The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology

Volume 13 · Number 1 Spring 2009

Editorial Office & Subscription Services:
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Celebrating 150 Years at Southern Seminary

Yearly subscription costs for four issues: $25, individual inside the U. S.; $50, individual outside the U. S.; $40, institutional inside the U. S.; $65, institutional outside the U. S. Opinions expressed in *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* are solely the responsibility of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors, members of the Advisory Board, or the *SBJT* Forum.

This periodical is indexed in Religion Index One: Periodicals, the Index to Book Reviews in Religions, Religion Indexes: Ten Year Subset on CD-ROM, and the ATLA Religion Database on CD-ROM, published by the American Theological Library Association, 250 S. Wacker Dr., 16th Flr., Chicago, IL 60606, atla@atla.com, www.atla.com.

The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology is published quarterly by The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2825 Lexington Road, Louisville, KY 40280. Spring 2009. Vol. 13, No. 1. ISSN 1520-7307. Second Class postage paid at Louisville, KY. Postmaster: Send address changes to: SBTS, Box 832, 2825 Lexington Road, Louisville, KY 40280.

Editorial: Celebrating God's Faithfulness to Southern Seminary

Stephen J. Wellum

One of the most beloved hymns of the past century is "Great is Thy Faithfulness." It is so loved because it expresses well the biblical truth that the Triune God of Scripture is one who is true to his character, unchanging in his promises, and faithful to his people. Despite our lack of faithfulness and our propensity to go our own way, even as the people of God, our God never fails. For he is the same yesterday, today, and forever (Heb 13:8). It is because of the Lord's great love, compassion, and faithfulness that we are not consumed (Lam 3:22-24). From Genesis to Revelation, our God is presented as the promise-maker, the promise-keeper, and the sovereign Lord of the universe whose plans and purposes cannot be thwarted. We, then, as his people, may have hope, confidence, and full-assurance that he will always remain faithful to what he has promised. In fact, it is due to these great truths that the people of God throughout the ages have been able to rest in God's promises, despite appearances to the contrary, to believe and to know that the kingdom of God will never fail, that the gates of hell cannot prevail against the church even though Satan's rage is great, and that nothing in all of creation can separate the child of God from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord (Rom 8:28-39).

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Now what the people of God have rested in and celebrated throughout history, we at Southern Seminary specifically take time to celebrate this year, since 2009 marks the 150th anniversary—the sesquicentennial—of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Begun in the fall of 1859 in Greenville, South Carolina, under the excellent leadership and godly vision of James P. Boyce, Southern Seminary was founded as the flagship seminary of the Southern Baptist Convention with the goal of preparing God-called individuals for more excellent gospel ministry. It was Boyce's

vision that regardless of a person's educational background, there needed to be a seminary that prepared and trained God-called ministers to proclaim the whole counsel of God to the churches and to take the gospel to the ends of the earth. From the seminary's humble beginnings in 1859, through its relocation to Louisville, Kentucky in 1877, during difficult times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and down to our present-day, it is very evident that the Lord's faithful hand has rested on Southern Seminary.

Specifically, God's faithfulness may be uniquely witnessed in how the Lord has preserved Southern Seminary over the years both in terms of her commitment to historic Christianity and to fulfilling her calling in training God-called individuals for gospel ministry. In this regard, one only has to consider the history of theological education in this country, let alone around the world, to note how rare it is to find seminaries, schools, and institutions that have celebrated their sesquicentennial and are still training ministers for the church who maintain anything resembling historic, orthodox Christian belief. Generally speaking, schools that began well in terms of their commitment to a confessional orthodoxy and who were committed to training gospel ministers for the church have, sadly, not finished well. Unfortunately, for many of these institutions, their commitment to the gospel is now only a distant memory, a matter of historical record. But not so with Southern Seminary. No doubt, the last 150 years of Southern Seminary's history has witnessed some high and low points as Greg Wills's article in this issue admirably points out. For a time, it looked like Southern Seminary was going to follow the path of so many institutions that had begun well but that eventually ended up compromising their commitment to historic Christianity. However, in the case of Southern Seminary, ultimately for reasons only known to him, God has been pleased to preserve and keep her over the years so that the same vision and commitment to the truth of God's Word that pulsated in her original founders is still alive and well today. For this, we at Southern Seminary pause to give God thanks, acknowledging without any hesitation or confidence in ourselves, that this is God's doing from beginning to end, a testimony to, and affirmation of, the biblical truth that God's faithfulness is very great indeed.

To commemorate, then, Southern Seminary's sesquicentennial, this edition of *SBJT* is devoted to articles which recount the history, legacy, and vision of the seminary, as well as Forum contributions from those who have been associated with Southern over the last number of years. For our anniversary celebration, the three words—truth, legacy, and vision—capture nicely the last 150 years. "Truth" in that we continue to ground all of our education, instruction, and theological beliefs in a commitment to the full authority, infallibility, and inerrancy of Scripture as God's Word written. "Legacy" and "vision" in that we continue to uphold and pass on the vision of J. P. Boyce and the other founders of the Seminary, as we stand on their shoulders, to equip and train God-called ministers for gospel ministry so that we can fulfill the mandate of the Great Commission in this country and around the world. And we do so proudly as the flagship Seminary of the Southern Baptist Convention, along with our sister institutions, thankful to the churches of the Convention who have prayed, sacrificially given of their financial resources, and labored together to encourage and support the training of gospel ministers. In addition, to honor the anniversary of the Seminary, readers of *SBJT* will notice that we have made some changes to the format of the journal, which we hope only makes it better.

It is our earnest desire, as you read this commemorative issue, that it will not only inform you of the history and legacy of Southern Seminary, but that it will also lead you to celebrate God's faithfulness with us and to pray for us. Pray that we will continue to stand for the truth and not waver, that we will continue to train individuals for gospel ministry, and that we will be found faithful to our great God who is always faithful to his people.

Mission, Transmission, and Confession: Three Central Issues in Theological Education

R. Albert Mohler Jr.

A magazine published by a seminary of the old Protestant "mainline" crossed my desk in recent days. The major theme of the issue was the adjustment necessitated by the fact that the seminary sold its majestic and venerable campus and is downsizing to a smaller campus, yet to be built. A faculty focus article featured a professor's new book on the perils of monotheism.

The fault lines in American theological education are clear, and the most important of these dividing lines is, perhaps unsurprisingly, theological.

The mission of theological education, defined biblically, is the task of educating and preparing servants of the church and agents of the gospel. This is accomplished through the transmission of biblical, theological, and practical knowledge from one generation to the next. Viewed over the last 200 years, the history of theological education demonstrates that the one thing absolutely essential to that faithful transmission is a robust and regulative confessionalism.

This was already apparent when the founders of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary set out their design for this institution. The defection of some well-known theological institutions, almost all in the North, was well documented by the 1850s. These schools had exchanged orthodox Christian theology for Unitarianism or were embracing the new "higher criticism" of the Bible. The theological trajectory of these schools was all too evident.

James Petigru Boyce and Basil Manly Jr. had attended Princeton Theological Seminary, where they had studied under confessional Presbyterians. Basil Manly Sr., Southern Seminary's first trustee chairman, was also a proponent of confessional theological education. In 1856, when Boyce presented his inaugural address at Furman

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University, "Three Changes in Theological Education," he was well aware of the danger of theological accommodationism, and he was ready with his prescription—regulative confessionalism.

"A crisis in Baptist doctrine is evidently approaching," Boyce warned, "and those of us who still cling to the doctrines that formerly distinguished us have the important duty to perform of earnestly contending for the faith once delivered to the saints."

Boyce's point was elegant and simple: Theological institutions that do not hold themselves and their professors accountable to a confession of faith will eventually compromise or abandon the faith. Over the course of the past 150 years, the history of Southern Seminary reveals that a regulative confession, though essential, is not sufficient in itself to prevent theological defection. The other essential element is the determination of the seminary's leadership and governing board to enforce the regulative nature of the confession of faith.

Like its oldest seminary, the Southern Baptist Convention has learned a similar lesson from history and hard experience. When organized in 1845, the SBC adopted no confession of faith. The churches represented at the organizing convention in Augusta were virtually all members of Baptists associations that were robustly confessional. Yet, by 1925, with the furor of the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy tearing apart denominations in the North, Southern Baptists adopted "The Baptist Faith & Message" as a statement of faith.

Less than four decades later, controversies over biblical authority again threatened the peace of the Convention. As in 1925, the Convention attempted to resolve a controversy by means of a confession—in this case a revision of "The Baptist Faith & Message." But, as in 1925, the Convention once again attempted to resolve a crisis by means of a confession, but without adopting confessionalism. The confession held an instructive and symbolic status, rather than a regulative function and authority. Though relatively few Southern Baptists seemed to perceive the real peril at the time, a theological crisis was then exploding—an explosion that would thoroughly reshape the convention.

In retrospect, it is clear that the controversy could have been avoided had Southern Baptists held their schools and faculties accountable to "The Baptist Faith & Message" and, at the same time, had the Convention understood that a confession of faith must be updated regularly in order to address the new and unexpected issues raised in every generation.

Those lessons were not learned until the last years of the twentieth century, and those lessons were learned with pain and controversy. Nevertheless, by the time the Southern Baptist Convention again adopted a revised version of "The Baptist Faith & Message" in 2000, it had learned the necessity of a regulative function for the confession—at least for its seminaries and mission boards.

The crisis in Baptist doctrine James P. Boyce saw on the horizon in 1856 came and continued. Boyce's concern for the theological fidelity of the seminary he would found was, as time revealed, prophetic. Yet, at the same time, we can see that his concern for a regulative confession of faith—binding on all who would teach—was crucial to the recovery of confessional theological education well over a century later.

The mission of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary is the preparation of ministers and missionaries by means of the transmission of Christian learning from one generation to the next. And that mission, we now know, is anchored in a commitment to confessional theological education.

As Southern Seminary celebrates its sesquicentennial, we dare not forget the lessons we should have known and honored from 1859 onward—and the essential nature of confessional theological education is the first of these lessons we must remember.

James Petigru Boyce: For Christ and His Church

Thomas J. Nettles

INTRODUCTION[1]

James Petigru Boyce (1827-1888) fits well into the category suggested by Brooks Holifield called "Gentlemen Theologians." In the list of Baptists that he included in this category, we find Boyce along with two of the teachers that partnered with Boyce on the first faculty at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary—John A. Broadus and Basil Manly Jr. The fourth member of that first faculty, William Williams, also could have been mentioned using the announced criteria of Holifield. In addition, Holifield lists the pastors under whom Boyce sat for his first eighteen years of life, Basil Manly Sr. and William T. Brantly Sr.[2]

Boyce certainly was a gentleman, reared in a gentleman's home, and found an urban setting and the developing culture of the cities of the South much to his liking. Far from being in the "middle class" of most of the men Holifield discussed, Boyce fit into the category of the wealthy, having real estate in 1860 worth over $120,000 and a personal estate worth over $330,000. Raised as a South Carolinian in Little London, Charleston, he absorbed the taste for exquisite culture fostered carefully by his predecessors and embraced gladly by him and his peers. His daughters bore testimony to his love of fashion, beautiful textiles, elegant book bindings, art, music, punctuality and his delight in trees, glaciers, flowers, quaint houses, social grace, and impeccable manners. They were quite amused and amazed that "Carpets, curtains, table linen, furniture, china and silver were purchased by him with no advice or assistance on the part of his family." These tasks gave him the "greatest pleasure." In considering how to please others, Boyce "always showed a remarkable faculty in the choice of beautiful and unique presents." Giving culture to his children was a personal project, joining them in lessons in French and German, buying them "quantities of beautiful and expensive books and magazines to enhance the pleasure of the studies and give us every opportunity possible to the acquisition of the language." He built a large library prior to the war but had to diminish

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his indulgence in book buying under the more straitened conditions after the war. "I have heard him say," one of his daughters related, "that it caused him positive pain to see beautifully bound or illustrated books and not possess them." A trip to California and a horse ride into Yosemite Valley produced exactly the effect on his daughters and wife that Boyce reveled in: "It seemed to us impossible how that anything could be more beautiful—the snowy cliffs bathed in the last gleams of the sun, the atmosphere of shimmering blue, the magnificent trees, the cascades, the ever-changing vistas all combined to make a scene that brought to our minds the description of the mountains from which Bunyan's Pilgrim was said to look on the beautiful land of Beulah." Though he had no personal talent for painting or drawing, he developed "excellent judgment, and great critical ability fully appreciating good drawing" along with "an excellent eye for color. He cultivated his taste in this direction by constant visits to art exhibitions." Boyce ordered flowers for the garden in Greenville and taught the Latin names to his eldest daughter. She recalled, "These flowers were called by their botanical terms and very learned it sounded to my childish ears and much it astonished me to hear the tremendous Latin names with which even the tiniest flowers were named. I learned many of them and it was a source of amusement to Father and Mother to hear me use them." Music was a part of every well-rounded gentleman's life and Boyce made it a point to be learned on the subject. When on trips to New York, Boyce attended symphony concerts, oratorios, and made it a point to hear every great singer. He went from Greenville to Charleston to hear Carlotta Patti and told his daughters many times "of the exquisite pleasure he had in hearing Jenny Lind sing 'I Know that My Redeemer Liveth' at Covent Garden." His daughters also were sure that if any young man or young lady wanted to know how to conduct oneself in public, they should take their father's lessons in etiquette.[3]

Boyce shared the intellectual outlook of his Gentlemen Theologian peers. He affirmed, contrary to Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, the authenticity of Scripture, its defensibility as revelation using rational arguments, the competence of the mind in engaging evidence, and the integrity of subject/object relationships as defined in Thomas Reid's Common Sense philosophy. Reid's understanding of corporate experience and rational discourse built on such experience was important in Boyce's argument for the Bible as a deposit of revelation. Boyce joined the conservatives, and resisted the liberals, in affirming that each individual doctrine of Scripture, such as the Trinity, does not have to pass muster before the sentinel of reason as an autonomous authority, once the authority that affirms the doctrine, that is the Bible, has been authenticated as revelation.

Boyce believed in the unity of truth, because the creator also was the upholder and redeemer. He accepted the traditional arguments for the existence of God as compelling, eschewing Hume's skepticism. Unlike some of his peers he found the ontological argument the most intrinsically powerful but admitted that *a posteriori* arguments seemed more plausible to most people. He believed in the convincing power of Christian evidences and studied *Elements of Moral Science* under the quintessential ethicist in mid-nineteenth century America, Francis Wayland. Boyce, however, went beyond the normal categories of moral science in his discussion of ethics and saw the Christian standard as embodied in the voluntary character of God manifest in the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ.

Boyce also shared the Southern political commitment to the sovereignty of the states and the potential greatness of the South through the wise execution of the institution of slavery. Boyce, nevertheless, believed that the Union of the states had great advantages for all, and he was pleased that his father had opposed nullification in 1832 when Boyce was five, and Boyce himself opposed secession in 1860. He wanted to see a proposal made by the South of conditions for operation together on

the basis of perfect equality, a proposal surely to be rejected by the North, but putting the North entirely in the wrong through their rejection of these southern overtures for compromise and acceptance. Then they, and not the South, would be responsible for separation. His views on nullification and secession, however, did not diminish his strong sense of States' Rights nor of his commitment to the Confederacy once secession had occurred. He worked for the financial stability of the Confederate government in the South Carolina Legislature, worked as a chaplain in the Confederate Army, served as aid-de-camp to Governor Magrath, and held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Subsequent to the war he wrote a young nephew and explained the situation to him:

> While you are in Virginia you will hear a great deal about the war, and see many men who have been in battle. Suppose you keep a little book, and whenever you hear any matter of interest write it down in your book, being particular to keep the dates and names of persons perfectly correct, and to state the events as fully as you can recollect them. Always be accurate, only putting down what you know was said, and also the name of the narrator. . . . Whatever else may be the verdict of history—let its writers be so befogged as to believe that the North fought to free the slaves, and not for its own selfish interests of gain, and that the South fought to defend slavery, and not the constitutional rights of the States—one thing is sure, that history must accord to the Confederate army in Virginia, under Generals Lee, Jackson, and others, the exhibition of fortitude, bravery, chivalric courtesy, and knightly courage never surpassed in any nation or period of time. Try then to hear of these things, and remember.[4]

Boyce knew that the South must change after the war, and he worked to contribute positively to that change and to restore relations with Baptist brethren in the North, but he did not want it forgotten that the South had been noble and its leadership great.

Boyce accepted with full confidence the task, described by Jon Butler as the "African Spiritual Holocaust," of the conversion of the slaves to Christianity. Butler argued that "Slavery's destruction of African religious systems in America constituted not only wholesale cultural robbery but cultural robbery of a quite vicious sort." Butler made his case through studying the systematic breakdown of African Native religion among the colonial slaves, a "holocaust that destroyed collective African religious practice in colonial America," to be replaced by Christianization in ante-bellum, post revolutionary America. According to Butler, the "systems" that gave coherence, meaning, beauty, security, and hope to Africans were destroyed but individual practices survived. Religious practices according to system were reorganized to be consistent with the dominant religious persuasion of their captors and a crippling system of affectionate regard known as "paternalism." The original culturally appropriate and helpful religious systems of native Africans "collapsed in the shattering cultural destructiveness of British slaveholding."[5] Butler's analysis of this process reveals much about the systematic deconstruction of the societal humanity of Africans that had come from a wide variety of backgrounds and the complicity of Christian ministers in this process. His argument also reveals his tenaciously held commitment to the cultural origins of all religion, including Christianity.

Boyce inherited a mature system of "Paternalism" and embraced its definitions of the relation between slave and master fully. Boyce, in addition, testified to a transcendent concern for his slaves and the entire population of African slaves. Along with others in his social and religious position, he believed that God had committed a special stewardship to Christians, especially Baptists, of the South in preaching and teaching the gospel to the slaves entrusted to their care. While it is difficult to grasp how a conscientious Christian could be

convictionally sympathetic to the arguments for slavery, one must concede that after the perspective of 150 years, the resultant social changes induced by the Civil War and several cultural revolutions, including a major conflict in the Civil rights movement, the context of our reception to arguments is quite different from Boyce's.

The peculiar obligations resting on southern Christians were taken too lightly, Boyce believed, and part of the divine retribution for not evangelizing with sufficient love and zeal was the removal of the institution of slavery. However culturally, politically, and economically defined slavery was, Boyce knew that the religious dimension had infinitely greater importance than any of those transient and temporal matters. By now, he has changed his mind about slavery as an honorable arrangement for the benefit of melding an inferior race into a society dominated by the economic concerns of the Americanized Anglo-Europeans of the South. He is willing to concede the justness of Butler's lamentation about the insensitive cultural brutality of the slave system as well as the myth of racial superiority. He sees justness in the observation that some religions in particular and much about religion in general, even Christianity, is socially constructed. Boyce would see that as intrinsic to humanity's rebellion against God. But that the message of Christ's incarnation and atoning work and the operations of the Holy Spirit to bring about repentance from sin and faith in Jesus Christ—his commitment to the doctrines of grace and justification by faith—are only the results of social forces he did not nor would he ever embrace. These, Boyce remains convinced, are revealed from the mind and purpose of God by the Holy Spirit and will never change from one generation to another nor from one culture to another.

Central to everything in his life was his commitment to the gospel of Jesus Christ. His particular gift in service of the gospel was the teaching of theology. This was present in his mind from the earliest days of his remembrance when he heard from the family pew the theologically driven pastoral messages of Basil Manly Sr. and then William T. Brantly Sr. His study at Brown under Francis Wayland reinforced this, and his conversion under the preaching of Richard Fuller showed him the conversion power of coherent doctrine fervently proclaimed and applied. His experience as an editor of a denominational newspaper steeled his spirit for a life of theological controversy and his education at Princeton provided an elongated demonstration of the clarity and trans-sectarian applicability of the great doctrinal truths of reformed Christianity. His preaching experience at Columbia, South Carolina, followed by his teaching theology at Furman gave him an invincible conviction affirming the usefulness of theology, specifically Calvinistic theology, in the churches.

However Boyce's background might have predisposed him to elitism, his theological conviction and his zeal for the strength and purity of Baptist churches drove him to an unrelenting advocacy of theological education for Baptist preachers from every level of social standing, economic condition, and educational preparation—that is, among white southerners. The recurring chorus of every public message, the driving theme of every promotional speech, the intensified focus of every explanation of the seminary's goal had the theological curriculum, with systematic theology as the centerpiece, for its theme. Every preacher should get theological education is some way. Find an older and capable preacher to study with, get a few good books and master them, or go to seminary—but do it some how, and the best way is the seminary.

Boyce lived and breathed theological education. For the preacher it greatly transcended classical education in importance. If one must choose between them, choose theology. He used his influence to begin the school, he sought the stability of Confederate currency to salvage the endowment of the school, he used his personal finances as collateral to support the school, he ruined his health in moving the school to a more secure environment,

and he drove himself to death in assuring both the financial and theological stability of the school. When he died, the school formed the last audible utterance from his lips. From Pau, France, we learn

> He was out of his head a great deal and in his wanderings his talk was mainly always of the Seminary. We would constantly catch the names of the different professors. The day before he died he was conscious for several hours but could not talk as his tongue was much swollen. He recognized us and pressed our hands and returned our kisses but did not attempt to talk. The English clergyman whom we called on to visit him, saw him for a few moments that morning and prayed and talked with him. Father said a good deal to him but it was impossible to understand what he was saying. He soon became unconscious remaining so until the end.[6]

Boyce overextended himself and further damaged his health in an effort to push his *Abstract of Systematic Theology* through publication in the year prior to his death. It embodied the systematic arrangement of biblical thought, a methodological witness in itself central to Boyce's understanding of truth. Beginning with a carefully developed defense of the knowledge of God and the apologetic credibility of divine revelation as fundamental to that knowledge, he showed how the Bible is in itself the locus of that revelation. Classic Reformed theology unfolds point by point with concise clarity, saturated with biblical proofs for every doctrine. His love affair with the doctrines of grace as defined within the Calvinistic stream of Particular Baptist life constitutes one of the leading features of his presentation of the ways of God with sinful humanity. These truths, however, are not mere abstractions, but all find their power and effect from their vital connection to the living Lord Jesus Christ and his present mediation and intercession built on his once-for-all work of reconciliation. To that christocentric focus we turn our attention.

IN CHRIST ALONE

The knowledge of God, the glory of God, and the scheme of redemption all radiate from the person and work of Jesus Christ, so taught Boyce. Furthermore, the true meaning and exemplar of our worship, our prayer, our ethic, our self-denial, our being in the world but not of the world are bound up in a robust grasp of the incarnation, that is, the true humanity of Christ. Biblical revelation culminates, and finds its most potent verification, in its explication of how Christ makes God known to us through his tabernacling among us for the purpose of redemption. In Boyce's 1870 *Baptist Quarterly* article entitled "The Doctrine of the Suffering Christ," Boyce makes the claim, "The Scripture doctrine of the Triune God lies at the foundation of that of Christ's sufferings."[7] In an unusual but revealing use of this sentence in the *Abstract of Systematic Theology*, Boyce wrote, "The doctrine of the Trinity lies at the foundation of that of Christ's Person."[8] He saw Christ's person in the incarnation as having become a historical phenomenon solely because of the necessity of redemptive suffering. In Christ one sees the glory of God in all its fullness; in him one sees the wisdom and power of God; in him, all the attributes are present, not only the fullness of divinity in bodily form, but in the redemptive act on the cross. The Father's character as well as his "voluntary" acts of mercy, grace, and lovingkindness find expression through the entire Christ event. The Spirit's peculiar operations of holy love and communication expressed naturally in eternity find economic expression in time through the work of Christ. An understanding, therefore, of Christ must begin with the biblical doctrine of the Trinity.

Trinity

Boyce began the section on the Trinity by quoting the Abstract of Principles: "God is revealed to us as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, each with distinct personal attributes, but without division of nature essence or being."[9] He defended the

straightforward propositions that "The Father is God," "This Son is God," "The Holy Spirit is a Person," and "The Holy Spirit is God." Each of these declarations summarizes a conclusion derived from a synthesis of a large number of biblical passages spread widely through Scripture. Woven into the discussion, the consistent reality of the unity, as well as the simplicity, of God permeated every affirmation of separate personality for each person within the deity. In his catechism, Boyce summarized the doctrine for children with the question, "Does this imply that there is more than one God?" "No," begins the answer, "the Bible teaches that the Father is God, that the Son is God, and that the Spirit is God, and yet that there is but one God."[10] His theology contains the more extended summary, "The divine nature is so possessed, by each of the persons in the Trinity, that neither has his own separate divine nature, but each subsists in one divine nature, common to the three." Neither is the divine nature divided "in its relation through the nature to the person" for that would admit parts into the divine nature and contradict its simplicity and the biblical teaching that "there is but one God."[11]

> The Scriptures teach everywhere the unity of God explicitly and emphatically. There can be no doubt that they reveal a God that is exclusively one. But their other statements, which we have been examining, should assure us that they also teach that there are three divine persons. It is this peculiar twofold teaching, which is expressed by the word "trinity." The revelation to us, is not that of tritheism or three Gods; not of triplicity, which is threefoldness, and would involve composition, and be contrary to the simplicity of God; nor of mere manifestation of one person in three forms, which is opposed to the revealed individuality of the persons; but it is well expressed by the word trinity, which is declarative, not simply of threeness, but of three-oneness. That this word is not found in Scripture is no objection to it, when the doctrine, expressed by it, is so clearly set forth.[12]

The affirmation of tri-personality begs for some manner of distinguishing the respective persons in their eternal internal relations. Boyce responded in the framework of historic orthodoxy with an extended defense of the eternal generation of the Son and the eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son. These are particularly important for the coherence of Boyce's argument concerning the character of redemption. The Redeemer must fully represent all the interests of the Godhead in his redemptive work; the Holy Spirit must know exhaustively the inner nature and eternal purpose of God and take delight in his communication of love and truth flowing from the Father to the Son and, reciprocally, back to the Father. Redemption, apart from the Trinitarian reality of eternal generation and eternal procession would not be the kind of redemption about which scripture speaks. In one sense, for Boyce, the entire doctrine of the Trinity, as well as the covenant of redemption, rested on the reality of eternal generation. Some ground rules, or "general statements," therefore, must be presupposed in this discussion.

First, one must discuss this phenomenon in terms provided by the Bible. The biblical language must be seen as expressive of real relations divested of all that "belongs to human conditions, and imperfections" but consistent with that "eternity, and unity, of the nature of God, which exist even in his purposes towards all things which are without."[13] Second, these relations exist in the nature of God, that is, necessarily, and not contingently. They are positive revelations of what he is. Third, the relations must be eternal. Though the words "begotten" and "proceed" indicate temporal relations in human connections, so it is with every word that tells us something about God even in his external relation to the world. For correct understanding we seek to divest these of their connections to time, space, and partition. In the same way, this divestment of time and succession characterizes the attempt to perceive correctly God's internal personal relations. Fourth,

the words must not be perceived so as to indicate any inferiority of essence from one person to the other. Of the one undivided divine essence three distinguishable persons partake, whose persons are defined and eternally exist in terms of relationships denominated by the words Father, Begotten Son, and Proceeding Holy Spirit.

Eternal Generation

In his early lectures as well as his later published text, Boyce gave both space and tightly reasoned theological energy to defending the doctrine of eternal generation. Earlier he had established the scriptural truth that the Son is God. He is expressly called "God;" he is called "Lord." Though these titles sometime appear when their object clearly is not divine, "the manner in which they are applied to Christ, and the frequency of that application, become, along with the other evidences presented, an incontestable proof, that he, as well as the Father, is true God."[14] Jesus is an object of worship; he is equally honored with the Father, and knows the Father as no one else knows him. Boyce listed fourteen proofs of the deity of the Son including the biblical ascription to him of "all the incommunicable attributes of God." Since the Son is God even as the Father is God, what is their relationship that preserves a single essence of deity but eternally distinguished persons? The answer is eternal generation.

Boyce's attention to this issue had precedence in the history of Baptist theology. Notably, both Benjamin Keach and John Gill made strong defenses of the doctrine. They viewed it as a necessary corollary to both the doctrine of the Trinity and the eternal covenant of grace. Keach is particularly insistent on the analogy between the Father's eternal generation of the Son and the arrangement within the eternal covenant by which the Father sends the Son.[15] Gill concurred and also tied belief in the doctrine of the Trinity to the doctrine of eternal generation. "For my own part," he preached, "could I be prevailed upon to part with this article of faith, I would at once give up the doctrine of the trinity, as quite indefensible." Paternity, filiation, and spiration as eternal, natural, and necessary distinctions within the Trinity all depend on the eternal generation of the Son, so insisted Gill.[16] The Philadelphia Association, the confessional mother of the Charleston theological tradition from which came the Abstract of Principles, took seriously the doctrine of eternal generation. In 1743 the Association received recantations from two men, members of associated churches, who had "departed from the literal sense and meaning of that fundamental article in our Confession of faith, concerning the eternal generation and Sonship of Jesus Christ our Lord." After reporting their recantations, an explanation of the means used for their recovery and the importance of this action was placed in the minutes. We "are glad," they stated, "that God hath blessed means to convict the said parties of their sin and error; and herein we were *nemine contra dicente*, fully united to repel, and put a stop, as far as we may, unto the Arian, Socinian, and Antitrinitarian systems." They had stiffened their resolve to give a clear testimony to the world "our joint belief of, and our resolution to maintain, the eternal and inconceivable generation of the second Person in the ever adorable Trinity."[17]

John L. Dagg, who wrote one of the first texts used by Boyce, did not discuss the idea directly but introduced virtually every consideration surrounding the concept that Boyce used in his discussion. In contemplating some of Christ's titles as they relate to his state of "Original Glory," Dagg set the table for profitable development of the doctrine.

> Why he is called the Son of God, is a question on which divines have differed. His miraculous conception, his mediatorial office, his resurrection from the dead, and his investiture with supreme dominion, have been severally assigned, as the reason of the title; but these appear rather to declare him to be the Son of God, or to belong to him because of that relation, than to constitute it. The phrases first-born, first-begotten, only-

> begotten, seem to refer to the true ground of the name, Son of God: but what these signify, it is probably impossible to understand. The ideas of peculiar endearment, dignity, and heirship, which are attached to these terms, as used among men, may be supposed to belong to them, as applied to the Son of God; but all gross conceptions of their import, as if they were designed to convey to our minds the idea of derived existence, and the mode of that derivation, ought to be discarded as inconsistent with the perfection of Godhead. Some have considered the titles Christ, and Son of God, as equal and convertible; but the distinction in the use of them, as pointed out in our examination of the charges brought against the Redeemer, shows the error of this opinion. . . . Christ, or Messiah, is a title of office: but the phrase "Son of God," denotes, not the mere office, but the exalted nature which qualified for it.[18]

In addition, Boyce's more immediate theological mentors gave the doctrine a high priority in their discussion of the Trinity and Christology. Turretin discussed it in question twenty-nine and devotes thirty-one paragraphs to its defense. One can see with little difficulty the impact that Turretin's discussion had on Boyce's wording, ordering, and arguing. Out of numerous bits and pieces of such evidence, Turretin's discussion of the Son's generation being complete explained that "[t]he generation may well be said to be terminated by a termination of perfection, not by a termination of duration."[19] Boyce worded it "Such an act must be ever continuing, and completed only in the sense of its being always perfect, though not ended."[20] Also, Boyce adopted a concept of Turretin on the relation between the nature and the will of the Father in his relation to the Son. Whereas Hodge says quite starkly, "It is by necessity of nature, and not by the will of the Father," Turretin preferred a more nuanced statement:

> Necessary and voluntary may in a measure be distinguished in God as to our manner of conception, yet they are not really opposed. Hence the Father is said to have begotten the Son necessarily and voluntarily; necessarily because he begat by nature, as he is God by nature, but voluntarily because he begat not by coaction, but freely; not by an antecedent will, which denotes an act of willing (free outwardly), but by a concomitant, which denotes the natural faculty of willing in God; not by the liberty of indifference, but of spontaneity."[21]

Boyce, like Hodge, focused on the nature of God but also acknowledged that the relations of Father and Son are not in the absence of "will." In a way similar to Turretin, while staying close to Hodge, Boyce argued,

> Though it is true that the Father wills to beget the Son, and the Father and Son will to send forth the Spirit; yet the will thus exercised, is not at mere good pleasure, but it results necessarily from the nature of God, that the Father should thus will the begetting, and the Father and the Son the sending forth. The will, thus exercised, is not like that of his purposes, in which God acts of free pleasure, . . . but like that by which he necessarily wills his own existence.[22]

As in many cases Charles Hodge is given the largest amount of space in Boyce's quotations. On three separate issues, Boyce included quotes from Hodge of at least one paragraph.[23]

Even with these powerful precedents and theological influences, Boyce gave original and fresh expression to many of the ideas and organized the discussion on the basis of his own peculiar emphasis. He continued to drive toward a vision of compelling coherence both in revelation and redemption that carried a convicting apologetic power.

Boyce did not share Dagg's shyness on speaking clearly about this issue. In his *Abstract of Sys-*

tematic Theology Boyce gave ten pages to it under the title "The Eternal Sonship of Christ." In his 1861 recitation lecture, Boyce included forty-three responses on the doctrine of eternal generation following twenty on the Trinity. His second question on the Trinity set the stage for both discussions. "In what sense is God revealed to us as Father?" Boyce asked. The answer he provided is in words virtually the same as a paragraph in the *Abstract*:

> Not merely in the general way in which he is the Father of all created beings & they his sons, nor in that in which he is the father of those who are his sons by adoption in Christ Jesus; but he is the Father as indicative of a relation between himself and another person whom the Scriptures call the "only begotten Son."[24]

His recitation further explored the Father/Son nomenclature in some detail with the purpose of showing its unique and eternal significance. He pointed to four different classes of Scriptures "which speak of God as the Father." Those in which "Christ addresses God as Father," those in which "Christ speaks of the Father as co-working with him," those that represent the "Father, knowing and loving the Son," and "that class in which He is spoken of as the Father giving and sending the Son." He listed many Scriptures under each category. Only once, Boyce claimed, does Jesus use the address "Our Father," but nearly fifty times he uses "My Father." Apostolic language such as Paul's in Eph 3:14 assumes uniqueness in the Father/Son dynamic within the Godhead: "For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Passages that speak of God calling Jesus his beloved Son, that speak of his being begotten, and that indicate pre-existence in saying that the Son was in the bosom of the Father, or that the Father sent the Son, or gave the Son, or that the Father gave certain people to the Son before the foundation of the world give further weight to the idea of an eternal Father/Son relationship. On that basis, he summarized the nature of Eternal generation as follows:

> The scriptures make known to us the fact of the sonship of Christ, the fact that that sonship expresses the relation between the first and second person of the Trinity, that this sonship is expressive of nature, consequently it cannot be separated from the relations of the persons in the God-head. The whole godhead is possessed by the Father, the whole God-head is possessed by the Son, consequently the generation is not one of the godhead but one of the persons in the godhead. The explanation thus given of this doctrine is, that the Father begets the Son not as God but as a person communicating to him the whole Godhead, so that the Son is God equally as much as the Father is God, that this begetting is consistent with or in accordance with but is not the result of the will of the Father, else would the existence of the Son be a dependent existence, but as the result of a necessity arising out of the very nature of the God head, which necessity like God himself, having no beginning nor end, neither has the generation to which it gives rise beginning nor end; consequently the generation is eternal.[25]

In *Abstract of Systematic Theology* Boyce summarized the evidence that Scripture affords for the relation of Father and Son to be both natural and eternal. Both paternity and filiation in God are not "mere names for something that does not exist, nor for some relation, different from that of father and son, to which these titles were first applied in connection with Christ's creation, or birth, or resurrection, or exaltation."[26] Boyce argued with conviction, taking the same position as Dagg, against those that see the title "Son of God" as being given in light of his offices assumed as mediator. Either given at birth or at resurrection or at his ascension, the title is synonymous with the offices he holds as the Christ, so some objectors contend. Boyce believed that such an

assertion had no evidence in the biblical text, but arose only negatively from resistance to the idea of eternal generation. The opposers commandeered scriptures such as Rom 1:4, Luke 1:35, and Acts 13:32, 33 to give biblical support to the view of sonship being an official status, but Boyce believed their exegesis to be contorted. When seen in their overall contextual thrust, such passages actually support natural and eternal sonship rather than official sonship.[27]

Christ's sonship is the fountain of his deity like begetting is the foundation of continuing humanity. A human son, like his father, partakes, alike and equally, of the whole of human nature. Though the father bestows and the son partakes of the nature thus bestowed, nonetheless, the son possesses the nature as an undiminished substance. Even in created things, however, paternity and filiation are co-existent, for one cannot be a father when there is no son, nor a son in absence of a father. So with God; though the Father begets, his begetting is of the undiminished essence of deity and, therefore, eternal. If God is Father by nature, then the Son has always co-existed in the same nature. For this reason the Bible assigns to the Son as Son all the incommunicable attributes of deity (e.g., John 5:17, 18, 23, 26).

Priority and succession of events characterize the reality of begetting in temporal, created things. But in God neither beginning nor end, antecedent nor consequent, nor "succession of any kind" characterize his immanent operations. Generation, therefore, ever continues, did not originate and will not end, does not come in a single act or "at a definite moment in the divine nature," but ever is.[28]

Boyce believed, "The tendency of not maintaining this doctrine is to a denial of the divinity of Christ & of the Trinity & leads to Unitarianism. We may not be thus far led away but those who follow us will if we do not hold to the doctrine."[29]

Completing his view of personal relations within the Trinity, Boyce affirmed the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. Both the Son and the Spirit proceed from the Father's eternal and necessary will in some manner. The Son's manner of proceeding, or coming from, has abundant biblical witness designated as generation. The Spirit's proceeding remains more "difficult to interpret, and the nature of the relation thus indicated even more incomprehensible than that of the generation of the Son." Boyce believed that the term "procession" is especially appropriate for the Spirit, for the idea of outbreathing serves as an image of the relation between the Spirit and both the Father and the Son. He did not insist nearly as stringently on the procession of the Spirit from the Son as he did for the eternal generation of the Son. In fact, the Scripture leaves it so as "to forbid any positive statement about it." He does affirm, however, that "the preponderance of evidence is in favour of a procession from both Father and Son."[30]

This double procession becomes a bit more important when the economy of salvation comes into view. Boyce believed that though equal in essence, one essence of deity, in personal relations within the Trinity eternally, subordination of mode of subsistence exists. The Father is of none neither generated nor proceeding, the Son is generated by the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds. If the Spirit is subordinated to the Father and the Son, and the Spirit proceeds, it stands to reason that he proceeds from the Father and the Son. This seems especially consistent with those Scriptures that speak of the Spirit as the Spirit of Jesus, or the Spirit of the Son, or Jesus' promise to send the Spirit. "In God," Boyce surmised, "it is probable that the official subordination is based upon that of the personal relations. It corresponds exactly with the relations of the person, from which has probably resulted their official subordination in works without, and especially in the work of redemption."[31]

For this reason, the Father sent the Son as the one representing the Father's glory in the interest of salvation. The Spirit, sent by the Father and the Son, effects in the elect those things purchased by

the Son in his meritorious redemptive operations. The Spirit, who is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, takes the things of Christ, that he did in full obedience to the Father, and makes us new creations that we might cry to the Father and trust in the Son even as we are transformed, by the Lord the Spirit, from one degree of glory to another, into the image of Christ, who in his incarnation is the example of the true godliness to which we should aspire.[32]

THE PERSON OF CHRIST

The incarnation of the Son of God constitutes the central event of revelation as well as redemption. The truthfulness of Scripture finds its most sublime and irrefutable point of coherence in this event and its centrality to all of Scripture. Also one finds the incarnate Son of God as the unique, and thus exclusive and necessary, person in whom redemption could occur. "It is well," Boyce remarked, "to see that the true doctrine as to the Saviour of man is not that of the New Testament only, but of the whole Bible." By proceeding from the Old to the New, "The unity of divine revelation will thus appear." The internal self-authentication of Scripture finds ultimate expression in its witness to redemption through the Christ. When the testimony of prophecy combines with the witness of the miracles in the ministry of Jesus, the authority "of the later revelation will be seen to rest, not upon these miracles alone, but also upon the concurrence of its teachings with the inspired truth already accepted by the Jews."[33]

Fulfilled Old Testament

Without the consistency of the Christ event with the Old Testament, no valid claim either to revelation or the credibility of the redemptive mission of Christ could be affirmed. Boyce set forth in broad strokes, therefore, "Christ in the Old Testament." He is the promised seed of the woman. The strictest grammatical interpretation of Genesis 3 and 4, Boyce argued, shows that not only did Eve "believe that Jehovah was to be the Messiah, but that she expected his appearance in human form."[34] Christ also is the patriarchal seed promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to which Abraham gave witness in his confidence that "The Lord will provide." The Messiah would be the seed of David, a status that involved a multitude of expectations summarized by Boyce.

> These references will suffice to show that David expected not only the perpetuity of the merely earthly kingdom, with its succession of monarchs of his family, but that he also looked in the same line of descent for a true appearance of Jehovah, whose reign in this human person would thus be universal, whose flesh would never see corruption, of whose kingdom there would be no end, whose power would be terrible and his wisdom and righteousness superhuman, to whom as his Lord, David would himself be subservient, who is already the begotten Son of God and can justly be called God, whose government would be especially spiritual, who, with the kingly, would combine a priestly office of peculiar character and origin, and yet whose sufferings would be intense, and these sufferings the foundation of the blessings of his people and of their devotion to God. Are not these the characteristics of the Christian idea of the Messiah as set forth in the New Testament? In whom, except in Jesus Christ, have these expectations been fulfilled? In what respect has he not met them fully?[35]

The prophetical material promotes expectations of a Messiah born from a virgin, known as Immanuel, born in Bethlehem, the desire of nations, a special king, bearing a relation to God that warrants the attribution of divine names and functions. His sufferings will be substitutionary, unmerited but meritorious, and invincibly effectual, and in his work the Gentiles also will participate. Descriptions of the Old Testament "Angel of the Covenant" raise expectations even higher, for in this angel, the promised redeemer appears in some form, even before his birth in Bethlehem

in true human flesh. He was given divine names, identified with Jehovah, had divine attributes and authority ascribed to him, and received, willingly, divine worship. Glowingly and confidently Boyce summarized the Old Testament witness to Jesus the Christ, the Savior of men.

> As the seed of the woman, he has utterly destroyed the power of the serpent, the great enemy of man. In him the day has come which Abraham foresaw and was glad. In him the Lion of Judah, the seed of David, appears as the King of kings, the Lord of lords, whose reign is universal, not over those living on earth only at any one time, but over all the living and the dead of this world, and indeed, of the whole universe. His untold sufferings have secured the happiness of his people and their devotion to God. His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. His priesthood has neither beginning nor end. He is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, he ever liveth to make intercession for us. He hath made us kings and priests unto God. At his name every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father. His flesh is indeed the tabernacle which is filled with the glory of Jehovah, in whom the ancient prophecy to Israel is fulfilled: "Behold your God!"[36]

The increasing detail of the picture given by the Old Testament combined with the actual description of Jesus in the New Testament, his life, teachings, actions, claims, and his miracles, fit perfectly the pattern of authentication of revelation and truth established early and carried out consistently through Scripture. Though not understood clearly in the time of its being given in the Old Testament, its unfolding in Christ stamps it with clarity. This establishes "the unity of the doctrines of both Testaments" and gives "evidence of the inspiration of each in their testimony in common" to the doctrines foreshadowed in the former and "distinctly declared in the latter revelation."[37]

Jesus, the Son of God

The prophecies distinctly lead to the expectation of a divine Messiah. Jesus, the Son of Mary, is God the Son. The following six responses appear as numbers 11-16 in Boyce's recitation.

> 11. What first proof of the divinity of this person? That class which to him divine attributes, powers, and wisdom.
> 12. What are the divine attributes thus ascribed? (a) self-existence Jo v.26. (b) Eternity Jo 1.3; Jo v.5, 24. Hebrews i.10-12 (from 102 Psalm) (c) Omnipotence Mt.xxviii.18. Lk xxi.15. (d) Omniscience Jo ii.24, 25. Jo xvi.30. Jo xxi. 17 (e) Omnipresence Mt. xviii.20. xxviii.20. Jo 3.13
> 13. What of Divine worship paid him. John v.23. Philippians 2.10. Hebrews 1.6. Mt. 2.2 Mt 9.18 Mt. xxv.25. Mt. xx.20 Mt.xiv.23. Lk xxiv.52. In Revelation the "Lamb of God" is spoken of as the object of worship in various ways.
> 14. What similarity of nature? Ans. His nature said to be equally incomprehensible with that of the Father Mt xi.27. Lk x.22.
> 15. What peculiar knowledge has the Son? He is said to know the Father as he is known by the Father. Jo x.15.
> 16. What class of passages is last mentioned. That class in which Christ has the titles of the Father and in which equality and identity with the Father are ascribed to Him. (Lord) I Cor ii.8. I Cor xiv.9. Rev. xvii.14. (God) John 1.1; John 20.28 acts xx.28. Romans ix.5 I Tim iii.16 (this passage thought probably to be interpolated) Titus 1.3 Heb. 1.8. I John v.20. Positive equality asserted between Father & son. Jo 5.18. Jon 10.32. Phil 2.6. Col 2.9 Col 1.15 Heb. 1.3.[38]

In his catechism Boyce emphasizes the same points. "Was Christ merely a man? No; He was God also," is the first question and answer. "By what name is He called as such? The only Begotten son of God." "How is He described in Hebrews? As the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of His person." He points out that

the Father addresses the Son in terms of deity: "Unto the Son He says, 'Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever.'" Is he called God in any other place and does he allow himself to be addressed as such? "Yes," Boyce teaches the catechumen, "in the first Epistle of John, speaking of Him, it says, 'This is the true God' and Thomas said to him, 'My Lord and My God.'" "In what other ways does the Bible teach the Divinity of Christ? It ascribes to Him the possession of every perfection ascribed to God" such as "Omniscience, omnipresence and eternity of existence." "Is the work of creation ever ascribed to Him?" Boyce asked in the final question; "Yes; the Bible says all things were made by Him."[39] Surely such a being is God.

His *Baptist Quarterly* article asserted, "Another important fact taught in the word of God, is that in this incarnation and work the Son of God maintains his essential relations to the divine nature unchanged. He was therefore as truly God during his incarnation as before that event."[40] His subordination came in his official capacity as mediator. This was a subordination, not of essence, but of one divine person to another divine person. For the sake of the necessity of living in obedience, he yielded all his prerogatives of rule and authority "exclusively into the hands of the Father." Even with this voluntarily accepted position, the Scriptures teach clearly that he was God in his incarnation: "we have no evidence at all of Christ's divinity which is not presented with equal force of him while on earth."[41] In this article Boyce modifies his earlier position in regard to Christ yielding his prerogatives of power and authority. "The constant workings of his divine power and energy, by which he is essentially, as God, always working with the Father, were indeed concealed." At times, however, both before the people and more often before his disciples, "the divinity shone through the veil which ordinarily concealed it." He allowed himself to be addressed in terms of divinity and claimed the prerogatives of divinity because "though a servant, he was still the Lord, having his relations to his divine nature unimpaired, and entitled to the names, as he was also able to perform the acts and display the attributes of God."[42] That Jesus maintained his deity unimpaired fit with the demands of his redemptive work.

> It is not sufficient for us to know that the person who died for us was divine before he came into the world. The Scriptures assure us, and we need to comfort ourselves with the assurance, that he was equally divine when a babe in Bethlehem, when suffering upon the cross, when ascending from Olivet, and even now, while in human nature, he rules as Mediatorial King, or makes intercession with the Father as our great High Priest. We must even go beyond the idea of some kind of divinity, and recognize him as the unchangeable God, who was, and is, and ever shall be, the Almighty, the well-beloved Son of the Father, whom the Father always hears, and to whom all things have been entrusted, in order that the consummation of his glorious kingdom may be fully attained.[43]

Jesus, the Son of Man

The Redeemer must be not only God, but man. The true humanity of Christ probably astounded Boyce more than any other single idea in Scripture. The Son of God truly became incarnate, that is he took to himself all that humanity is in its flesh. He possessed a true human body, not just the phantom appearance of one, and a true human soul. That omnipotence took on weakness, that omniscience submitted to ignorance and the necessity of increase of knowledge by instruction, investigation, and deduction, and that omnipresence contracted itself to measurability, all for the sake of sinners, engaged the highest of Boyce's intellect and affections.

Christ's incarnation occurred in such a way "that he became man." This in no mere indwelling of a human person but such a transaction that the Son of God, the second person of the Trinity, while retaining the divine nature unchanged, so

assumed human nature that "Christ also becomes truly man." Boyce considered the historical heresies on this point, Docetism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism, and rejected them decisively flooding his discussion with a deluge of scriptural evidences for the conclusions that Jesus had a true human body, Jesus had a true human soul.

All the essential elements he taught simply in his catechism under the title "Jesus Christ—A Man." By the answers that Boyce developed we learn that Christ was a man in every respect; but he was without sin." Also we find out that "He had a human body and soul and could not only suffer, but was also liable to temptation." Satan did in fact tempt him and "tried in every way to make Him sin, but could not." As a man Christ was subject to the law of God "and rendered perfect obedience to it." He had bodily appetites and, therefore, "felt hunger and thirst, and was liable to all sinless infirmities." Not only could he suffer in body as all humans, but his soul was liable to suffer. In his soul, in fact he "suffered most severely in fulfilling the work which He came to do." Not only did his humanity allow him to die for us "but also to sympathize with us in our trials and temptations."[44]

Boyce's lecture on Christian ethics set forth the humanity of Christ as the perfect exemplar of the ethical demands of the Christian faith. Considering that Christ has revealed God to us and has taught us that we are to be perfect, even as our heavenly Father is perfect, "we are able to take one step further forward in our discussion and show that the moral ethics of Christianity have been embodied in a perfect human example." Just as Jesus possessed full divinity "he has also perfect humanity so that in his human nature he can set forth a perfect human example to us." Apollinarianism, or Eutychianism, "the too intimate blending of his two natures" robs him of the character assigned him by Scripture as one "that can suffer, that can be tempted, that can have and does have human emotions, that is a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." His real humanity also qualified him to "make sacrifices in like manner as we do" and to submit to the "influence of the Holy Spirit for guidance and wisdom." He needed to "grow in favor with God and man" and draw "his replies to temptation from the same storehouse of God's truth" and gain "strength in praying to God," and exercise "faith and trust in Him."[45]

On these particular points of prayer from the Son of God, as well as his obvious faith and trust in the Father, Boyce concentrated in his sermon on "The Prayers of Christ." The two-fold nature of Christ gives assurance that Christ neither was ignorant of what he did nor did he intend to deceive in any of his actions. The fact of his divine Sonship makes the prayer of his humanity much more startling and informative.

> But here is the Son of God to whom the Scriptures ascribe the fullness of the nature of God, and even those attributes of self-existence and eternity which cannot be given to a creature, as well as the omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence which render impossible any need of aid or protection or of bestowing of blessing. The petitioner is here petitioning God, yet Himself is God. He earnestly prays as man, yet His prayer is to God and He is God. . . . Here it is the Son in his human nature that prays the Father.[46]

Even given the mysterious reality of communication, petition, agreement, and other aspects of interpersonal relationship within the Trinity, Boyce found the prayer of Jesus not to partake of that kind of discourse. Instead, "these have all the marks of human prayer, and these marks enter into their essential elements." His recorded prayers "are just such prayer as might be offered by a sinless perfect man, convinced of His dependence, conscious of His weakness, overwhelmed with His afflictions, resisting His temptations, and looking upward with earnest solicitude to One believed to be a very present help in time of trouble." These prayers of Jesus have no other explanation apart from "the plain teaching of Scripture of the full humanity of our Lord."[47]

Boyce would say emphatically, in resisting any tendencies toward monophysitism, that whatever was "the character of the mysterious union of the human and divine natures in the person of the Son of God, His human nature was still left so unaffected by His divine relations that He was in all respects a man, though He was a sinless and perfect one." Even at that he was "liable to all the sinless weakness and infirmities of human nature and to all the conditions of creaturely existence;" for one must not doubt that though eternally Son of God he had assumed, "a mere creation of God, . . . a mere creature . . . subject to the infirmities and conditions of creature existence" who depended on his "constant prayers to the Father for gracious aid and support that He might finish the work which it was His meat to do."[48]

Not only do we observe him dependent upon prayer as a man, but we find all other relations to be developed as a man, a perfect man, would. In his two-fold nature, we find that he "no more truly reveals the perfect God than He does the perfect man." He endures the contradictions of sinners. He submits to disgrace and scorn. He gives "his back to the smiters and his cheeks to them that pluck off the hair." In oppression and affliction he opens not his mouth but is brought as "a lamb to the slaughter and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb so he opens not his mouth." We find one in our nature that is the "the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross despising the shame and is set down at the right hand of God." In his example of endurance as a human we are to "consider him lest we be wearied and faint" and in his train we must resist "unto blood, striving against sin." In every respect he is the model to us of "obedience to the law of Christian ethics."

Boyce continued to expand his applications of this idea by a massive recalling of biblical material that he considered clearly demonstrable of the perfect human exemplar of Christian ethics. In order to demonstrate the superiority of Jesus in his humanity to any other human, Boyce delved into the study of comparative religions. "The newest form of infidelity," Boyce noted, "is to attempt to show that other religions do present systems which thus compare with Christianity." Among the latest of these Boyce found "a subtle objection" to his position in the "recent poem of Edwin Arnold called the Light of Asia of the great renunciation. It is intended to set forth the life and teachings of Gautama Prince of India and founder of Buddhism." After pointing to the deeds of Gautama, the frivolous account of the nature of his knowledge, his social life, his attempts at coming to terms with the complexity of his culture, and his father's attempt to shield him from it, Boyce compared this to Jesus. Jesus was "no selfwrapt, inward looking, world forgetting, pain despising, or piteously whining dried up, sanctimonious, secluded separatist from his fellow men." He was neither ignorant of human life, detached from it, nor mystified by it, but "He lived in them and with them, as he lived for them, that they also might not only live for him, but in him and with him." Boyce considered this "the highest conception possible of the divine teacher coming among men." While humanity yearns for God, nevertheless, "it fears him as such." Unlike heathenism, "Christianity presents not a god turned into a man, and that a sinful one, but the Son of God, remaining unchangeably God, yet becoming as truly man also, and in that manhood exhibiting the excellence of that character of God himself." This space-time manifestation "is the basis of the ethical duties Jesus has revealed both in the divine and human natures, and set forth to mankind for their imitation."[49]

Jesus' Two Natures Inhere in One Person

Jesus lived as a being with two distinct natures in one person. He affirmed that the foundation of his personhood was the person of the divine Son of God; given that, nevertheless, he could be called a human person and a divine person as long as one retains the reality that he is one person.

Jesus expressed both natures, deity and humanity, in personal relations through the eternal singular personhood of the Son of God because "the characteristics of personality . . . allow a most vital union of the two natures in his one person."[50]

This mysterious union of two natures in one person must be believed solely on the basis of the authority of Scripture and the necessity of showing that Scripture never contradicts itself. "So intimate is the union of the one person with two such distinct natures, " Boyce reasoned, "that we cannot always separate what Christ says of himself as God, from what is said of himself as man." While this may puzzle us in interpreting the word of God, it is vital for "harmonizing its statements." Apart from this doctrine "the word of God cannot be made to agree with itself." When one remembers, however, that though truly divine, Jesus also is human and "that because of the one person, all that he does in either nature may be as fully said to be done by him as though he had no other, we see the Scripture statements fall beautifully and regularly into their respective ranks, and in that two-fold unity, each receives its full force."[51]

This astounding union of two natures in one person called from Boyce some of his most admirable passages of literary passion.

> It is indeed the Son of God, who thus, in human soul, and body, is doing the work. But it is his human soul, not his divine nature, that thus pleads, and shrinks, and fears, and which still willingly submits, resolves to press on, is strengthened by God's messenger, and again, confident in God, goes forward with sublime self-devotion to the cross. The distance, between this and God is infinite; this soul, the creature, the finite, the fearful, the mutable, the suffering, the trusting, the dying; and him, the creator, the infinite, the support of those who trust, the immutable, who cannot suffer, who cannot die. The acts due to the divine nature are marked, and characteristic, and so also are those of the human nature. While we look at the former, we must say, this is God; none but he can perform such acts, can possess such attributes, can be called such names. Equally, while we look at the latter, we must say, this is man. None but man can thus suffer, can thus be limited, can thus pray.[52]

At the end of his lecture on ethics, Boyce could not let the occasion pass without pressing his hearers to draw the right conclusion for their eternal welfare. "In view of the truth presented to day let me in conclusion ask—what think ye of Christ?" Boyce queried. "If his wisdom be mere human wisdom, is it not worthy of your acceptance?" he continued; "If his example be merely human, does it not demand your imitation? If his conception of God be mere philosophy is it not the noblest man has ever known?" But as glorious as Christ would be were he merely human, that is not the whole story. He cannot be merely human; he must be divine. As Nicodemus noted, "We know that thou art a teacher come from God for no man can do these miracles except God be with him." The same must be true of these teachings, Boyce reasoned. "If so, seek him first in that salvation which though so simple is most important. And be not satisfied until it works out in you the full salvation of the ethical system."[53]

THE DESIGNATED, COVENANTAL BLOOD WORK OF CHRIST

The Atonement and the Person of Christ

Boyce summarized the teachings of Christ's person into twelve statements that included the following two: "This human nature was assumed because necessary to the work of salvation, it being impossible that a being only divine could undergo the experience necessary to redeem man." "There was here, therefore, no participation of the divine nature in the suffering." In a second summary of nine points, Boyce stated,

> This one person was, therefore, able to suffer and bear the penalty of man's transgressions, because, being of man's nature, he could become man's representative, and could also endure such suffering as could be inflicted upon man; yet, being God, he could give a value to such suffering, which would make it an equivalent, not to one man's penalty, but to that of the whole race.[54]

Boyce's catechism dealt with all the essential elements of how Christ's person fits the demands of salvation. After affirming Christ's voluntary offering of himself as a substitute, Boyce asked, "Did He suffer in both natures?" The answer? "No; in the human nature only. The Divine nature cannot suffer." The union of the divine and human was necessary, however, for "otherwise the human nature could not have sustained the sufferings it endured." In addition this union gave "value and efficacy to sufferings which, but for that union, would have been those of a mere creature." That could not have sufficed for "every creature is bound, as his own duty, to do and suffer all that God wills, and therefore can do nothing to secure merit or pardon for others." The value of the death of Christ, however, is that it delivers "those for whom he died . . . from the guilt and punishment of all their sins."[55]

The Atonement and the Offices of Christ

In the work of redemption, Christ served and fulfilled the offices of prophet, priest, and king. Boyce gave only four pages to this subject in his theology but stated clearly what is at stake in each of these offices. As prophet he revealed God, even before his incarnation through various means that resulted in the Old Testament Scriptures, but supremely in his incarnation through his actions that manifest the divine attributes, his instruction on all subjects, and his holy living. As Priest Christ made one offering, once for all, of himself, from which it gains is value, actually and effectively procuring forgiveness for "all for whom he died." He continues his priesthood through his present intercession. He is qualified for this by his sinless humanity conjoined with undiminished deity in one person who is in federal union with his people in order to be their substitute. As King he rules as a "Mediatorial king," that is, one that rules not only with the manifestation of justice and power but of mercy and compassion. He rules in the church, over the world, over the universe, and has all angels, men, and demons subject to him.

In his catechism, Boyce covered all these ideas under the subject "The Mediator." A mediator, Boyce taught, is "One who leads persons who are at enmity to become friends, or to be reconciled to each other." Christ serves this capacity because "he comes between man and God, and reconciles them to each other." He does this in the offices of "Prophet, Priest and King." Christ is prophet in that he "speaks for God, and Christ is the Great Teacher of Divine Truth." The priest had the duty "to offer sacrifice for sin, and to pray to God to pardon the sinner. Christ is in both these respects the High Priest of His people." As king, Christ "reigns in the hearts of saints and angels," is "King of the Universe" because he is called King of kings and Lord of lords," a position to be acknowledged by all at the judgment day.

The Atonement, Covenant Blessings, and a Misrepresentation

Boyce's chapter on the atonement covers forty-six pages, the longest chapter in the *Abstract of Systematic Theology*. It precedes chapters on election, reprobation, outward and effectual calling, regeneration and conversion, repentance, faith, justification, adoption, sanctification, final perseverance of the saints, and four chapters concerning last things. Failure to see all these manifestations of grace in their relation to the atonement has led to puzzling misapprehensions of Boyce's view.

Walter Draughon's treatment of Boyce's view of the atonement isolated five problems. First, he views it as a rationalistic presentation that makes

God captive to his decrees and hinders his freedom in working on behalf of the world. "His sovereignty is separated from his grace."[56] It is hard to understand this objection as other than an intrinsic resistance to the necessity of penal substitution for the procurement of forgiveness. Grace flows abundantly from Christ's reconciling work and, rather than inhibit God's freedom, constitutes the most profound manifestation of the freeness of grace.

Second, Draughon maintains that "Boyce neglects the subjective aspect of faith in favor of the objective work of Christ on the cross." He depicts Boyce's view of faith as "an appendage to Christian experience, not an integral part of it."[57] What justifies this dichotomy and depiction in Draughon's perception is a mystery. Boyce clearly discussed faith both as an acceptance of the facts of the gospel and as trust in the person of Christ. Far removed from Draughon's criticism, Boyce wrote that faith is based on the "knowledge of this testimony as given by our consciences and the word of God." It is truth apprehended by the mind, but as a spiritual truth "so it is apprehended spiritually by the heart." Since this faith occurs in the heart, "it must be the act of a regenerated heart which alone is inclined to such belief as constitutes trust."[58]

Three, Draughon indicates that Boyce's "emphasis on God's justice and law" led "to the neglect of mercy and love." Boyce, he said, failed to appreciate that God is both holy love as well as holy righteousness.[59] This presentation tells more about Draughon's views than Boyce's. Boyce maintains the right integration of love and justice throughout the theology and particularly in his discussion of the atonement. Because of the atonement, God's "electing love flows out freely" to his elect. "Christ did not die to make the Father love the Elect, but was given to die because of that love," and "Christ made full satisfaction to divine justice in order to render the exercise of love consistent with justice."[60] Boyce's five categories of love in God include a discussion of mercy, which "can be exercised only toward sinners." Then, arguing that one cannot emphasize one attribute at the expense of another, Boyce articulated, "When we say that this mercy must be exercised in accordance with the truth and justice of God, we say no more than is true of every attribute of God. No one can be exercised in such a way as to destroy another. Every one must be in harmony with the others."[61] Draughon has strangely mischaracterized Boyce.

Draughon's fourth objection has no more warrant than his first three. "Boyce's rational and objective atonement results in . . . the omission of the positive outcome of the atonement. . . . Man's fellowship with God suffers in his treatment."[62] The positive outcome of the atonement includes, not just forgiveness of sin, but positive justification, our adoption as sons, all the operations of the Spirit by which sinners are regenerated, and sanctified, or as Boyce stated, "the new covenant made in Christ, is one which includes not only the promise of the blessings, but of the establishment in his people of the conditions upon which these blessings depend."[63]

Draughon's fifth objection is too hackneyed, as well as demonstrably false, to be taken seriously. Boyce's view of "the sovereign will of God, the passivity of man, the objectivity of the atonement, and particular election produces an inadequate platform for missions and evangelism." In Boyce's view, according to Draughon, "the Great Commission has no reasonable basis."[64] Boyce's own preaching, his life, and his stated reasons for the founding of the Seminary, are sufficient refutation of this misrepresentation.

Boyce's Argument for Particular Redemption

Boyce began his discussion of Christ's death as he did several other chapters. He discussed alternate viewpoints that, in his estimation, fell short of the full biblical presentation. He rejected the Socinian theory, moral influence theory, the Andover Seminary view, the Lutheran view, the Arminian view, and the view proposed by Andrew Fuller among others that the atonement is general in its nature but "limited in its application." To each of these Boyce gave a brief description and a point by point catena of objections. The Andover theology and the view of Fuller drew the most attention of these views. The Andover view was making rapid progress in American Christianity at the very time Boyce wrote, and he believed that "[i]t is opposed by Scripture in every particular involved in it."[65] He gave space to Fuller's view because it was the closest to his, yet distinct in important particulars, and was held by many Baptists in the South in the nineteenth century.

The view Boyce intended to defend he described as "that of Calvin and the churches which he established. It is the theory of the Regular Baptists of the past. No other pre-

vailed among those who have held distinctively Calvinistic Baptist sentiments until the days of Andrew Fuller."[66] He defined it by writing, "In the sufferings and death of Christ, he incurred the penalty of the sins of those whose substitute he was, so that he made a real satisfaction to the justice of God for the law which they had broken." Because of such a death, God now pardons all their sins, and being fully reconciled to them, his electing love flows out freely towards them."[67]

Boyce divided his discussion of this definition into five affirmations. The first states that "the sufferings and death of Christ were a real atonement. By this he meant that it was truly a sacrifice, not just symbolic, that procured the actual remission of sins. It secured salvation, not just the means of salvation. Drawing his conclusion from Scriptures quoted from the Old Testament as well as the New, Boyce reaffirmed that Christ, by his blood, "procured pardon, peace, redemption and remission of sins for those whom he represented."

His second point declares, "In order to make this atonement Christ became the substitute of those whom he came to save." He demonstrated that the theme of substitution permeated the Scripture account of God's making a way to accept his people. He particularly concentrated on those passages that speak specifically of Christ's substitute in his people's stead: e.g., "Having become a curse for us;" "who gave himself for our sins;" "gave himself up for us;" "made to be sin on our behalf." Such substitution was possible and morally acceptable only because of the Christology discussed earlier. Christ possessed a human nature and a divine nature. He could, therefore, legitimately represent man and naturally infuse infinite value into his sacrifice. He came in just such mysterious union of nature because he was designated by the Father that "he might be the legal representative of his people and their covenant head."[68]

Boyce's third assertion states, "In so offering himself, Christ actually bore the penalty of the transgression of those for whom he was substituted." The first two naturally involve this point by inference, but the idea of such a direct bearing of penalty is affirmed by numerous Scriptures, Boyce shows. Those that speak of bearing iniquity mean "bear the penalty of iniquity." Passages throughout the Old Testament demonstrate this. The New Testament references to Christ's bearing sin, or iniquities, confirm it. Since Christ represented his people federally, their guilt was considered his and, thus, their punishment fell on him. "Thus," Boyce concluded, "it became fit that upon him God should inflict the penalty."[69]

These three points taken together lead ineluctably to the fourth point, "he made ample satisfaction to the demands of the law, and to the justice of God." Since Christ substituted himself for the sinner, and bore their penalty, the satisfaction made was necessarily ample; "Christ could have made none that was not." Its ampleness is seen from the fact that the demands of the law have been fulfilled both negatively and positively, mercy and justice are reconciled, in the approval that the Father gave to Christ's work as verified in the resurrection, and in the statements made by "the sacred writers of the certainty of the salvation that is based upon it." The confidence with which sinners are urged to come before God, "with boldness unto the throne of grace," argues the ampleness of Christ's atonement. This ample atonement based on a satisfaction of the demands of the law, however, still operates as a purely gratuitous transaction from God to the sinner because it is founded in a pre-mundane electing love and is made to render such love consistent with the demands of justice.

Fifth, Christ's atoning act constituted an actual reconciliation. It did not bring into being merely a way of reconciliation but enacted reconciliation. The Scripture presents Christ's death as the actual time in which redemption, reconciliation, and the deliverance from wrath took place. It did not merely make a way if we would comply, but was done while we were still enemies and guaranteed our compliance.[70]

What does all this mean about the extent of the

atonement. How can such certainty for a particular group of sinners be made consistent with the universal offer of the gospel and the Scriptures that speak of Christ's death for the world? One answer to this dilemma is to assert pure universalism. An effectual atonement made for the world results in the salvation of all men. Boyce listed seven objections to that answer including "The descriptions of the judgment day deny universal salvation," and "The Scripture doctrine of Hell prepared for the punishment of the wicked shows it to be untrue."[71]

Boyce listed five objections to the second answer that makes the atonement itself general but limited only by the belief or unbelief of persons. Boyce's objections included "It does not accord with justice that any should suffer for whom a substitute has actually borne the penalty and made full satisfaction."[72]

The third answer is that the limitation of the atonement comes from divine purpose. God specifically intended it for the salvation of some and not of others. This view answers all the passages that indicate the limitation of the atonement's effects for a specified group of people. It does not, however, seem to satisfy the phenomenon of a universal offer nor the Scriptures that speak of Christ's death as for the world "and in such a way as to contrast the world at large with those who believe."[73] Boyce followed A. A. Hodge in providing an answer to this apparent difficulty. Hodge said that the sufficiency of the atonement is such that it could "accomplish the salvation of all men, however vast the number." What would save one man would save another for the "relations of all to the demands of the law are identical" and Christ's death has "removed all legal obstacles from the salvation of any and every man." He added that an incidental effect of the atonement is "to remove the legal impediments out of the way of all men, and render the salvation of every hearer of the gospel objectively possible." At the same time, the specific design in the death of Christ was the impetration of "the actual salvation of his own people, in all the means, conditions, and stages of it, and render it infallibly certain."[74]

Boyce added his own comments and affirmed that "Christ did actually die for the salvation of all, so that he might be called the Saviour of all; because his work is abundantly sufficient to secure the salvation of all who will put their faith in him." In this way the death of Christ opens the way for a sincere offer of the gospel to all who will accept the conditions he has laid down. In his chapter on final judgment Boyce asserted, "While the value of Christ's work is indeed ample for all, we are taught that its benefits are not bestowed upon all."[75] For the elect, however, Christ made, not a possible, but an actual salvation for he has "obtained for them those gracious influences by which they will be led to comply with those conditions."[76]

He believed his final formulation conformed to the nature of the atonement as described earlier and made room for the elements of universal provision and offer indicated by many scriptures.

A Puzzled Observation

The reader may be excused if he is somewhat puzzled by Boyce's closing part of the discussion on atonement. It takes a turn that has every appearance of inconsistency with his earlier argument. He was insistent that the atonement did not render salvation possible, but absolutely procured it. Christ made a real sacrifice, was a real substitute, actually bore the penalty of sin so that nothing legal stands in the way of salvation, accomplished reconciliation of God to man, and thus procured all the means for the elect to be brought to forgiveness and justification. Nothing about his description made any gesture of congeniality toward a theoretical atonement, a mere pathway cleared to be taken at the discretion of the sinner. That work of Christ which guarantees salvation, according to Boyce, and opens the floodgates of grace, including the effectuality of all means, was Christ's becoming a curse for us, his obedience to take on himself the demands of

the Law against us and removing its just penalty of condemnation.

The reader might well ask, then, how is it possible under Boyce's discussion of the nature of the atonement for him to write finally of a "means of reconciliation for all men, which removed every legal obstacle to their salvation" without its being effectual. They did not comply with the conditions, he answered. But compliance with the conditions is a blessing procured in a real reconciliation; forgiveness must come to all those for whom the legal obstacles have been removed. To conclude otherwise radically changes the nature of the atonement to something other than what Boyce described earlier. The reader might conclude, and this writer would concur, that Boyce has equivocated severely on his definition of atonement. It would have been much better to have found a consistent hermeneutic for the passages that speak of universal provision and offer, than to have become confusingly inconsistent on the doctrine upon which he desired the utmost clarity.

In spite of that unfortunate inconsistency, one can still ponder with pleasure the exhilarating magnitude of his description of the Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God and Son of Man who alone can save us.

CONCLUDING REFLECTION

As students, faculty, staff, alumni, and friends of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary give attention to the remarkable continuity of theological education in this institution, a profound exclamation of gratitude for the life and theology of J. P. Boyce should be among the most dominant themes of the recognition. A man with one ounce less of transparent love for divine truth and confident perseverance could not have seen the idea through to its completion. Tenacity was essential, and Boyce had it. In addition, the vision of theological education in Boyce's head focused on the adjective—theological. Baptists as a denomination would not survive, in Boyce's view, apart from the perpetuation of their robust and edifying doctrinal position. This article has explored a portion of that. His was a biblically-founded, grace-infused, God-intoxicated, and Christ-centered theology. This article has highlighted Christ-centeredness for his thought draws its cohering energy from the person and work of Christ. This foundation has withstood many an assault on the superstructure and has provided support for important periods of recovery. As we remember the blessings connected with the 150 years of Southern Seminary, may we do so with the full recognition that "our hope is built on nothing less than Jesus' blood and righteousness."

ENDNOTES

[1]This article combines material that is found in the upcoming biography of James Petigru Boyce written by Tom Nettles to be published by Presbyterian & Reformed in 2009.

[2]Brooks Holifield, *The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture 1795-1860* (Durham: Duke University, 1978), 218.

[3]Lizzie Boyce, "Stray Recollections." This is a handwritten notebook by Boyce's daughters that covers their observations of their father's relation to a variety of subjects. John A. Broadus suggested that they write such a notebook. It is found in the archives of the James P. Boyce Centennial Library on the campus of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

[4]John A. Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893; repr., Birmingham, AL: Solid Ground, 2004), 209f.

[5]Jon Butler, "Slavery and the African Spiritual Holocaust," in *Awash in a Sea of Faith* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1990), 129-63.

[6]Lizzie Boyce, "Stray Recollections."

[7]J. P. Boyce, "The Doctrine of the Suffering Christ," *Baptist Quarterly* 4 (October 1870): 386.

[8]J. P. Boyce, *Abstract of Systematic Theology* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1887), 272.

[9]Ibid., 125.

[10]J. P. Boyce, "A Brief Catechism of Bible Doctrine," in

Teaching Truth, Training Hearts (ed. Tom J. Nettles; Amityville, NY: Calvary, 1998), 170.

[11]Boyce, *Abstract*, 135, 136.

[12]Ibid., 136.

[13]Ibid., 137.

[14]Ibid., 127.

[15]Benjamin Keach, *The Everlasting Covenant, A Sweet Cordial for a Drooping Soul* (London: printed for H. Barnard, 1693), 24.

[16]John Gill, *A Collection of Sermons and Tracts* (2 vols.; London: George Keith, 1773), 2:56, 57. See also John Gill, *The Doctrine of the Trinity Stated and Vindicated* (London: George Keith, 1752), 150; and the entire chapter entitled "A Dissertation on the Eternal Sonship of Christ," in *A Collection of Sermons and Tracts,* 2:534-64.

[17]*Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1851), 47, 48.

[18]John L. Dagg, *Manual of Theology* (Charleston: The Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1857), 203-04.

[19]Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (trans. George Musgrave Giger; ed. James T. Denison; 3 vols; Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 1992-97), 1:294.

[20]Boyce, *Abstract,* 144.

[21]Turretin, 1:301.

[22]Boyce, *Abstract,* 138.

[23]Ibid., 144, 145, 147f. Boyce quotes from Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology* (3 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1872) 1:474-476. Hodge's discussion covers pages 468-477.

[24]J. P. Boyce, "Questions for recitation" in a theological notebook taken by William Harrison Williams at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, October 1861. Course in Systematic Theology taught by James P. Boyce.

[25]Ibid., 105, 106.

[26]Boyce, *Abstract,* 142.

[27]Ibid., 144-49.

[28]Ibid., 143.

[29]Boyce, "Questions for recitation," 112.

[30]Boyce, *Abstract,* 152.

[31]Ibid., 154-55.

[32]Ibid., 162-66.

[33]Ibid., 258.

[34]Ibid., 261.

[35]Ibid., 264.

[36]Ibid., 271

[37]Ibid.

[38]Boyce, "Questions for recitation," 90, 91.

[39]Boyce, "Catechism," 169-70.

[40]Boyce, "The Doctrine of the Suffering Christ," 389.

[41]Boyce, *Abstract*, 274.

[42]Ibid., 275.

[43]Ibid., 275-76.

[44]Boyce, "Catechism," 168-69.

[45]Boyce, *The Christian Ethical System,* handwritten manuscript in the Archives of the J. P. Boyce Memorial Library at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

[46]Timothy George, ed., *James Petigru Boyce: Selected Writings* (Nashville: Broadman, 1989), 99.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid., 100.

[49]Boyce, *Ethical System.*

[50]Boyce, *Abstract,* 289.

[51]Ibid., 288.

[52]Ibid., 284.

[53]Boyce, *Ethical System.*

[54]Boyce, *Abstract,* 289, 291.

[55]Boyce, "Catechism," 172f.

[56]William Draughon, "A Critical Evaluation of the Diminishing Influence of Calvinism on the Doctrine of Atonement in Representative Southern Baptist Theologians: James Petigru Boyce, Edgar Young Mullins, Walter Thomas Conner, and Dale Moody" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1987), 237.

[57]Ibid., 238.

[58]Boyce, *Abstract,* 386.

[59]Draughon, "A Critical Evaluation," 238f.

[60]Boyce, *Abstract,* 317, 332f.

[61]Ibid., 96.

[62]Draughon, "A Critical Evaluation," 239.

[63]Boyce, *Abstract,* 435.

[64]Draughon, "A Critical Evaluation," 239.

[65]Boyce, *Abstract,* 310.

[66]Ibid., 317.

[67]Ibid., 317.
[68]Ibid., 325.
[69]Ibid., 328.
[70]Ibid. 333f.
[71]Ibid. 336.
[72]Ibid., 337.
[73]Ibid.
[74]Ibid. 338f. Boyce quotes from A. A. Hodge, *Outlines of Theology* (rev., enl. ed.; New York: Robert Carter and Bros, 1879), 416, 417.
[75]Ibid., 485.
[76]Ibid., 340.

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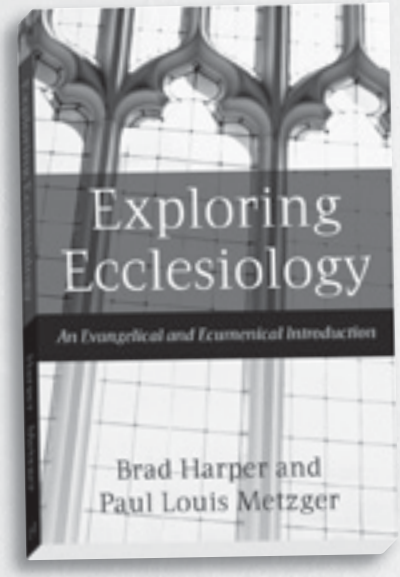

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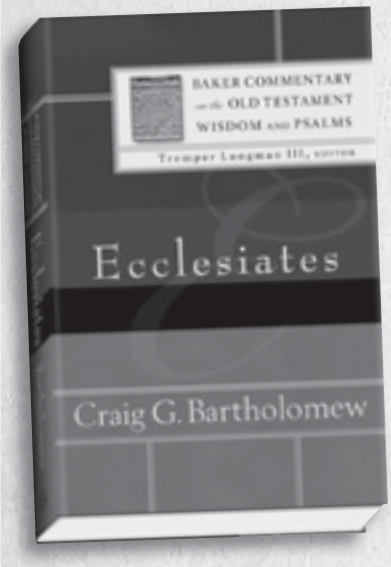

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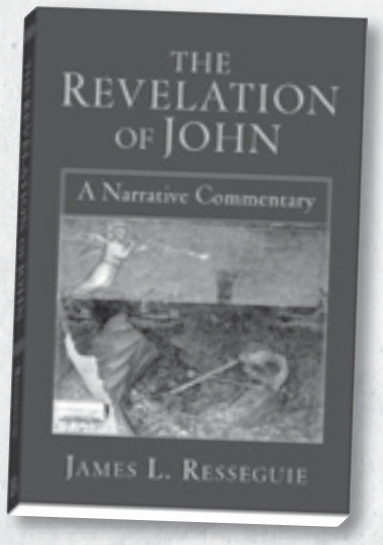

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"Soldiers of Christ, in Truth Arrayed": The Ministry and Piety of Basil Manly Jr. (1825-1892)[1]

Michael A. G. Haykin

A year or so after the death of Basil Manly Jr., his long-time friend and seminary colleague John A. Broadus (1827-1895) expressed the hope that a memoir of Manly would soon appear.[2] Nothing of substance was written by any who knew Manly, though, beyond a few brief pieces in a special edition of *The Seminary Magazine* and an article by John R. Sampey (1863-1948), Southern's fifth seminary president, in a 1908 issue of *The Review and Expositor*.[3] Thus, while there are extensive memoirs of both of Manly's long-standing seminary colleagues, James Petigru Boyce (1827-1888) and John Broadus, by men who knew them well, no such study exists that covers Manly's theology, piety, public ministry, and private family life.[4] Nor did Manly leave behind a large literary legacy. Apart from a substantial study of the doctrine of inspiration,[5] there are, in the words of A. T. Robertson (1863-1934), only a few "fugitive articles in newspapers and magazines, occasional addresses and pamphlets."[6]

Yet, in the last fifty-five years or so, two excellent biographical studies of Manly have appeared—both of them doctoral theses—as well as an important doctoral study of his hymnological significance.[7] Moreover, despite the fact that Manly left relatively little by way of a written corpus, there are two public texts associated with Southern Seminary that come directly from his hand—the seminary's statement of faith and the seminary hymn—and both have exercised a profound influence upon Southern Baptist life. If the right questions be asked, they reveal a tremendous amount about Manly's theological and spiritual convictions.

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SBJT 13.1 (2009): 30-44.

"ALL MY LIFE A STOPPER OF GAPS": A SKETCH OF MANLY'S LIFE[8]

Basil Manly Jr. was the eldest son of one of the most prominent ante-bellum Southern Baptist ministers, Basil Manly Sr. (1798-1868), who moved to South Carolina, shortly after his son's birth, to pastor the First Baptist Church of Charleston.[9] Founded in 1696 when the Calvinistic Baptist work in Kittery, Maine, led by its pastor William Screven (1629-1713), had migrated wholesale to South Carolina, Charleston's First Baptist Church was the oldest Baptist work in the South and one of the most influential.[10] The elder Manly was pastor of this congregation from 1826 through 1837, and, thus, the younger Manly's earliest years were spent in Charleston. It was here that he first met James Petigru Boyce, who became a boyhood friend and whose mother had come to faith in Christ under the elder Manly's ministry in 1830.

Manly Jr. moved to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1837 with his family when his father accepted the presidency of the University of Alabama in August of that year. Three years later, the younger Manly entered the freshman class of this university, where he was converted, in large part through the reading of the *Personal Narrative* of the New England divine Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758).[11] He was baptized on October 18, 1840, by his father in the Black Warrior River, which flows past Tuscaloosa. Graduating from the university in December, 1843, Manly spent a year of graduate study at Newton Theological Institution, near Boston, Massachusetts, from 1844 to 1845. Though a Baptist school, the theological and spiritual climate was far too tepid for Manly's liking.[12] When the Southern Baptist Convention was formed in 1845, in the formation of which his father played a key role,[13] Manly transferred to Princeton, where he studied under what has been well described as "perhaps the finest theological faculty in the United States."[14]

After graduation from Princeton in 1847 with a diploma in theological studies, Manly spent roughly fifteen months, from January 1848 to March 1849, pastoring three rural churches, two in Alabama and one close by in Mississippi. There is the distinct possibility that he pastored the three works simultaneously, since, like most rural or village churches of the time, they probably had preaching services but once or twice a month.[15] Nevertheless, Manly experienced a breakdown in his health and he ended up leaving all three churches in early 1849. The rest of that year was taken up to some degree with the compilation, with his father's help, of a hymnal, *The Baptist Psalmody* (1850).[16] In 1850 he accepted a call to the prestigious First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia, where he labored till 1854, when he resigned to take up the presidency of the Richmond Female Institute.[17]

It was during these years in Richmond that Manly became a keen supporter of the establishment of Sunday Schools, a concern that eventually led to Manly's being elected President of the first Southern Baptist Sunday School Board in May of 1863,[18] and his frequent writing of Sunday-School material for children over the next three decades.[19] In June, 1852, he preached a sermon before a gathering of Virginia Baptists, the title of which became part of a well-known motto, "A Sunday School in Every Baptist Church."[20] Central to Manly's argumentation was that Sunday Schools were designed to impart knowledge of the Scriptures and theology to both children and adults. "Religious knowledge is essential to true piety," he emphasized, and though the former cannot produce the latter, "there is no true religion without knowledge."[21]

It was in 1859 that Manly entered upon what "he considered his life's great work," namely his professorship at Southern.[22] Manly's commitment to theological education can be gauged by words he had written three years earlier when he stated that the "cause of theological education is one dearer to me than almost any other and I esteem no sacrifice too great for its promotion."[23] One of the four founding faculty, Manly was assigned the

task of teaching the Old Testament and Hebrew.[24] His work in this regard was halted by the Civil War when the seminary had to close from 1862 and 1865. Then, six years after the resumption of seminary life, Manly decided to accept the offer of the Presidency of Georgetown College in Kentucky. Key reasons inducing Manly to move to Kentucky were the opportunity he would have personally to supervise the education of his children, his deep distaste for the post-war politics of South Carolina, a better salary, and a dislike for correcting written sermons in his class on Homiletics, something he had come to regard as sheer "drudgery."[25] It is noteworthy that during his tenure at Georgetown from 1871 to 1879,[26] Manly experienced deep regrets about leaving the seminary. As he wrote to Broadus in 1875: "I loved that work, and the men that were associated with me in it, as I never expect to love any other. And probably I ought to have clung to it to the end, through thick and thin."[27]

During the time Manly was in Georgetown, the seminary also relocated to Kentucky, namely, to Louisville in 1877. And it was also during this period of time that Crawford H. Toy (1836-1919), who joined the faculty in 1869 and who took over Manly's teaching in the Old Testament, was compelled to leave the seminary after controversy erupted over his adoption of a critical methodology that denied the truthfulness of some of the historical, geographical, and geological assertions of the Old Testament.[28] Within days of Toy's departure in the spring of 1879, Manly was re-elected to the faculty as Professor of Old Testament.[29] That fall as Manly began teaching once again at the seminary he delivered a public lecture, "Why and How to Study the Bible," in which he made clear his position vis-à-vis the Toy Controversy. Toy was not mentioned by Manly in the lecture, but the latter was clearly refuting his views when he asserted that the Bible was "God's words" and "God's truth," "heaven-sent" "sacred oracles" that were distinguished above all by plenary inspiration.[30] As such, Manly forthrightly declared that he was not at all afraid of "being charged with bibliolatry in giving the Bible the central, dominant place in our system and in our affections."[31]

The subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures continued to occupy Manly's mind and theological research throughout the 1880s, eventuating in *The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration Explained and Vindicated* (1888), a comprehensive scholarly argument for the position that "the Bible as a whole is the Word of God, so that in every part of Scripture there is both infallible truth and divine authority."[32] That December his old friend and seminary colleague, James P. Boyce, died on a trip to Europe and was succeeded as seminary president by Broadus. The latter knew the seminary's great need of Manly's scholarship, piety, and versatility—Manly once referred to himself as a "stopper of gaps," though Broadus preferred to regard him as "the most versatile man" he had ever known.[33] Broadus thus wrote to him a month after Boyce's death to tell him that he valued his "advice in Seminary matters beyond that of all other men." He and Manly must therefore "husband [their] strength, and stand together, like two old oxen."[34] Manly continued to serve faithfully at the seminary as his strength allowed till his death on January 31, 1892.[35] Many of Manly's Baptist contemporaries found it striking that this was the very same day that the English Baptist preacher, C. H. Spurgeon (1834-1892), died in France.

One of the "brightest intellectual stars" of his generation,[36] Manly must be remembered as a central figure in the establishment, shaping, and preservation of what would become his denomination's flagship seminary. Along with Boyce and Broadus, he consciously sought to make Southern a place where a profound interface of intellect and piety could occur.[37] And as the two texts that remain central to the legacy of that founding generation bear witness, he—and his colleagues—succeeded admirably.

WRITING A "CREED": MANLY AND THE ABSTRACT OF PRINCIPLES[38]

The Abstract of Principles, the seminary's statement of faith, was drawn up by Manly in the months of March and April, 1858,[39] and was based on the classical Calvinistic Baptist confession of the seventeenth century—the *Second London Confession of Faith* (1677/1689).[40] When Manly originally began work on what became the Abstract of Principles, he told his younger brother Charles Manly (1837-1924) that he hoped to use both this seventeenth-century confession and the first Calvinistic Baptist statement, the *First London Confession of Faith* (1644; 2nd ed., 1646), as its basis.[41] As it turned out, though, Manly produced an abridgement of only the 1689 *Confession*, which had been very familiar to him from his youth.[42]

As noted above, the younger Manly had spent his earliest years immersed in what some later historians have referred to as the "Charleston Tradition."[43] Between the founding of the First Baptist Church of Charleston and the middle of the eighteenth century, this congregation helped in the organization of four more churches that came to constitute the Charleston Association in 1751. Sixteen years later this association took virtually all of the *Philadelphia Confession of Faith* (1742)—essentially a reproduction of the *Second London Confession* with the addition of an article on the laying on of hands and also one on the singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs—for its statement of doctrinal convictions. The sole area of difference was the Charleston confession's omission of the article on the laying on of hands. The 1767 Charleston confession was reprinted in 1813, 1831, and 1850, clear indication that it was a vital document for the churches of this association and that the younger Manly would have definitely been acquainted with it.[44]

There is little doubt that the Abstract of Principles contains a robust expression of the Calvinistic soteriology of the Charleston tradition in which Manly had been raised and which he had come to embrace wholeheartedly.[45] In only one key area of the perspective of the Charleston tradition on salvation did Manly leave room for significant difference of opinion, namely, the doctrine of particular redemption. Instead of the forthright statement of the *Second London Confession* that to "all those for whom Christ hath obtained eternal redemption, he doth certainly, and effectually apply and communicate the same," the Abstract of Principles simply states that Jesus Christ "suffered and died upon the cross for the salvation of sinners."[46] Particular redemption had been a flashpoint of controversy not only between Calvinists and Arminians in the nineteenth century, but also within the ranks of Calvinistic Baptists.[47] Manly clearly intended that those who held to various perspectives on particular redemption and those who affirmed a general redemption could sign their agreement to this statement.[48] But what exactly was Manly's view on this contentious issue? We cannot say for sure.

Yet, a close reading of the clause in the Abstract of Principles that immediately follows the one cited above may provide a hint regarding Manly's convictions about the extent of the atonement but as noted, we cannot be definitive. There it is affirmed that Christ "ever liveth to make intercession for His people."[49] The biblical support for the specificity of the Ascended Lord's prayers, namely, "for His people," can be found in passages like John 17:9. To the majority of Manly's Calvinistic Baptist forebears and contemporaries such specificity in prayer implied a particularity with regard to the death of Christ. John Gill (1697-1771), the English Baptist theologian whose views were considered oracular by many even down to Manly's day,[50] put it succinctly when he stated in his commentary on John 17:9: "for whom [Christ] is the propitiation, he is an advocate; and for whom he died, he makes intercession."[51] Gill regarded the idea of Christ not praying for all of those for whom he died as "absurd and incredible."[52] Similarly, Manly's colleague Boyce argued that Christ's priestly work in heaven involves intercession "with God for pardon or justification or other blessings

for all for whom he died, in all the respects in which his death is available for each."[53]

Four paragraphs in the Abstract of Principles contain a concise affirmation of Baptist polity and leave the reader in no doubt about Manly's ecclesiological commitments.[54] Following a classical delineation of congregational church government,[55] baptism is declared to be "obligatory upon every believer, wherein he is immersed in water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." As such, baptism speaks of the believer's "fellowship with the death and resurrection of Christ" and represents his experience of the "remission of sins, and of his giving himself up to God, to live and walk in newness of life." It is a requirement for both church membership and for "participation in the Lord's Supper."[56] The purpose of the latter is to remember the death of Christ, "to confirm the faith and other graces of Christians, and to be a bond, pledge and renewal of their communion with [Christ], and of their church fellowship."[57]

These statements regarding the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper are among the richest expressions of piety within the Abstract of Principles.[58] Just as expressive in this regard, though, is the other public text left by Manly—Southern Seminary's hymn.

"LET ALL THE PEOPLE PRAISE GOD": MANLY AS HYMNWRITER AND HYMNOLOGIST[59]

Manly had grown up in a home where music was a central feature of his family's life. His father had given him and his siblings musical instruction, and both he and his father played the violin.[60] His father was also deeply versed in hymnody, an interest that bore fruit when he and his son compiled the first hymnbook of the Southern Baptists, *The Baptist Psalmody*, which appeared in 1850.[61] This hymnal well displays the younger Manly's profound love for the classical hymns of the Christian Faith. Three hundred and nineteen texts in *The Baptist Psalmody* are by Isaac Watts (1674-1748), the so-called father of English hymnody.[62] Other hymnwriters liberally represented include Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), Charles Wesley (1707-1788), and John Newton (1725-1807), three of the great hymnwriters of the eighteenth century,[63] and the two outstanding Baptist hymnwriters from that same era, Anne Steele (1717-1778) and Benjamin Beddome (1717-1795).[64] This hymnal also contains nine hymns written by Manly, none of which, in the judgment of Paul Richardson, is "a great hymn," though "all are polished and meet or surpass the standard of much hymnody of the time."[65] One of these hymns, "Holy, holy, holy Lord" was included by C. H. Spurgeon in the London Metropolitan Tabernacle's *Our Own Hymn-Book*.[66] According to Manly's own estimate, *The Baptist Psalmody* was very successful and sold between fifty and sixty thousand copies over the next twenty-five years or so.[67]

In 1859, when Manly was in the process of moving to Greenville, South Carolina, to take up his position at the brand-new seminary, a "tune and hymn book" he had co-authored with a well-known Virginian musician by the name of Asa Brooks Everett (1828-1875) was published. Although *Baptist Chorals* enjoyed limited success, Nathan Platt regards it as a significant work since it "preserved the hymn texts of the preeminent European evangelicals, Baptist pioneers, and early American church musicians while promoting the works of contemporaneous writers and composers."[68] This "tune and hymn book" also gave Manly the opportunity to enunciate his philosophy of music in the "Introduction." Music was "one of the richest natural gifts of God" designed to drive home truth but it had been "perverted" from God's original intent that it subserve and promote congregational worship. Music thus needed to be liberated and employed "in inviting men to holiness." Manly was convinced that far too many Christians in his day regarded congregational singing as a non-essential aspect of worship that could just as easily be committed

into the hands of a trained choir. For others, there was no concern for striving for excellence in such singing. That it was done, "however faulty and disagreeable," was all that mattered. But Manly was keenly conscious of the role that congregational song could and should play in the maturation of the church. Sacred music and good congregational singing are nothing less than "a powerful auxiliary to preaching." In fact, Manly believed that music not only was vital to the promotion of truth, but a study of "devotional compositions of Christians" throughout church history would provide "a much more accurate sketch" of what doctrines were important to them than a study of their "regular creeds or confessions of faith."[69] Manly may be exaggerating somewhat to make a point, but he is certainly accurate in pinpointing singing as a key means for the inculcation of the Christian faith.

The *Baptist Chorals* came at the beginning of Manly's teaching at Southern. Near the close of Manly's ministry at the seminary, in 1891, was a third hymnbook, what Manly simply called *Manly's Choice*.[70] The reason for this small hymnal of 254 hymns was that Manly was deeply concerned that "the rage for novelties in singing, especially in our Sunday-schools, has been driving out of use the old, precious, standard hymns." Manly was referring to the use of gospel songs—he did not name any authors or composers in particular, but he would have had in mind such figures as Fanny Crosby (1820-1915) and Ira D. Sankey (1840-1908). He believed these songs were usurping the place of historic evangelical hymnody, much of which was increasingly unfamiliar to "the young people of today." Manly was not unequivocally opposed to the use of such songs, but he wanted to ensure that the rich hymnody of the past would continue to inform the worship of Baptist congregations.[71] In order to rectify the situation, Manly had compiled a pocket-size edition of classical hymns, which, he told the users of this hymnal, contains "no trash, and no unreal sentiment or unsound doctrine."

In compiling this hymnal, Manly noted that he had two specific goals. First, there was a concern he had had for much of his life: he wanted to stir up "universal congregational singing," or, as he said, alluding to Psalm 67:3 and 5, "Let all the people praise God." And second, he hoped that the hymnal would elevate "the general culture of musical and poetic taste among the Baptist people." As he went on to explain, the Baptists were a people "to whom the best labors" of his life had been given, a solid witness of the deep love he bore them.[72]

It is noteworthy that he included none of his own hymns in *Manly's Choice*. One of them, though, has certainly proven to be a classic, namely, "Soldiers of Christ, in truth arrayed." Manly wrote "Soldiers of Christ, in truth arrayed" for Southern's first annual commencement in 1860, though it appeared in the commencement program without attribution.[73] Manly's hymn has been sung at every graduation since 1860, though not with all of its original stanzas. As Manly penned it, "Soldiers of Christ, in truth arrayed" had six stanzas. From 1871 onwards, though, the original stanzas two and three have been omitted.[74]

"SOLDIERS OF CHRIST, IN TRUTH ARRAYED"

Soldiers of Christ, in truth arrayed,
A world in ruins needs your aid;
A world by sin destroyed and dead;
A world for which the Saviour bled.[75]

The first stanza begins with martial imagery that was not uncommon to the classical hymnody of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The most famous of such hymns in Manly's day was Charles Wesley's "Soldiers of Christ, arise" (1749).[76] But Manly was not simply reflecting the classical hymns he deeply loved and appreciated. He was also drawing from biblical passages such as Eph 6:10-17 and 2 Tim 2:4, where the Apostle Paul depicts the Christian as a soldier called to

engage in spiritual warfare against wicked spiritual powers. For Manly, the Christian (graduate from seminary) is to be a warrior going forth to do battle with the hosts of wickedness and to bring men, women, and children out from the thralldom of such hosts to serve the Lord Jesus. Four years before Manly wrote this hymn, he had told the graduating class of the University of North Carolina,

> I have no sad words of farewell, no sighs of trembling anticipation to breathe into your ears. Rather would I sound the cheering trumpet call, rather hail you as fellow soldiers marching to the battle, rather join my voice with the voices that come from numberless posts of honor and of duty, claiming the consecration of fervent piety, the active energies of young hearts. I will not say Farewell—and bid you go forth into the world—but Welcome, as you press out into life. Welcome to the field of conflict, welcome to the certain triumph, welcome to the armies of truth and holiness.[77]

Over thirty years later Manly made similar remarks in a graduation address that he gave at Newton Theological Institution in the year before his death: the "trophies" of the faithful minister's "success are not in battles won by bloodshed," but "in souls won from sin, in lives lifted and purified, in sorrows lightened and doubts dispelled, in victims rescued from ruin, in saints fitted for heaven, in glory brought to Jesus."[78]

Empowering Christians in their warfare, as Gregory A. Wills has noted, is the "truth," or the body of Christian doctrine.[79] It is only as Christians are "arrayed" in or submissive to this truth that they can be of help to anyone in the world. As has been noted above, Manly believed that this truth was found supremely in the Bible, which, as he put it in the late 1880s, is "truly the Word of God, having both infallible truth and divine authority in all that it affirms or enjoins."[80]

The next two lines of this first stanza paint a deeply pessimistic, though utterly realistic, view of the world of humanity. It is "in ruins." It is "destroyed and dead."[81] And the culprit is "sin." Some of Manly's other hymns also seek to express graphically the devastation caused by sin. Ruined by sin, human beings are "weak and wounded, sick and sore."[82] Due to the ravages of sin, the human heart is "vile," the "mind depraved," and the will rebellious, so that in the sight of God the totality of human life is "polluted." Men and women are thus in need of deliverance from both "the guilt and power of sin."[83] In fact, so deeply embedded and pervasive is sin that Manly can confess, "No terrors have my soul deterred/Nor goodness wooed me from my sin" and what he, and all other human sinners "deserve" is God's "deepest wrath."[84] In the systematic expression of Manly's Abstract of Principles, human beings are born with a "nature corrupt and wholly opposed to God and His law, are under condemnation, and as soon as they are capable of moral action, become actual transgressors."[85]

In contrast to such sinfulness, God is a "God of spotless purity." And the question naturally presents itself: "How shall sinners worship" God or even draw near to him?[86] The answer is sketched in the fourth line of this stanza: despite its conscious, unmitigated rebellion against God, this world is yet "a world for which the Savior bled." Though possibly committed to particular redemption, as has been noted above, Manly has no problem speaking of Christ dying for the world, for this is the way Scripture sometimes speaks.[87] In one hymn in particular, "Come all who feel your sins a load," written in 1871, Manly spells out how Christ's death decisively resolves the sin issue. Manly urges all who "feel your sins a load" to come and view Christ:

> A meek and lowly Saviour see,
> His love is vast, his grace is free;
> To him your guilt and burden take…

Wounded for love of us was he,
And bruised for our iniquity,
To heal our souls, behold him bleed![88]

The key biblical passage from which Manly is drawing his thought here is, of course, Isaiah 53, long used as a key text for those upholding the teaching that Christ, the sinless one, suffered in the stead of sinners.

The Omitted Stanzas

Forth to the realms of darkness go,
Where, like a river's ceaseless flow,
A tide of souls is drifting down,
Blasted beneath th' Almighty's frown.
No human skill nor power can stay
That flood upon its gloomy way;
But God's own love devised the plan
To save the ruined creature, man.

As noted above, these stanzas have not been generally sung since 1871. That was the year Manly left Southern to become the President of Georgetown College.[89] It seems unlikely the stanzas were dropped without Manly's agreement, for when he rejoined the faculty in 1879, the omitted stanzas were not reinserted which leads to the conclusion that Manly ultimately approved of the change. As a compiler of hymns who had made the occasional change to the hymns in his hymnals he would have known that hymns, unlike poems, can undergo minor changes if this enables them to be better used by congregations. A clue as to the reason why these stanzas may have been omitted must wait, however, until stanzas 4 and 5 are examined.

The battlefields upon which the soldiers of Christ have been called to fight (stanza 1) are here depicted in the second and third stanzas as "realms of darkness" filled with "souls" who are heading for destruction. Using the imagery of a river that is in spate and whose waters cannot be held back by any human agency, Manly is able to depict powerfully the utter hopelessness of the human condition. Sinful men and women, unreconciled to a holy God and thus under his wrath, are moment by moment being swept along by the stream of history to the final judgment of God.[90]

But there is hope, for though human ingenuity and energy cannot save "the ruined creature, man," God certainly can.[91] His love wrought a plan of salvation, whereby, as was declared in the first stanza, Christ bled and died for the sinful world. Henceforth, those who have come to embrace that plan of salvation are constrained to cry out, as Manly puts it in another hymn, "To thy grace all hope we owe."[92]

"Let light…break"

His gospel to the lost proclaim;
Good news for all in Jesus' name;
Let light upon the darkness break,
That sinners from their death may wake.
Morning and evening sow the seed;
God's grace the effort shall succeed;
Seed-times of tears have oft been found
With sheaves of joy and plenty crown'd.

Near the close of his 1856 address to the graduating class of the University of North Carolina, in which Manly spent much of his time reflecting on the vital importance and impact of the Scriptures, he noted that wherever, at the time of the Reformation, the "Bible was brought out of the cloisters and given to men … there was light." But "where it was absent, darkness reigned."[93] Here, in stanzas 4 and 5 of the seminary hymn, Manly can use the same imagery with respect to the preaching of the gospel: wherever the gospel, "good news … in Jesus' name," is proclaimed, there is light in the midst of "darkness."

Note that, if the second and third stanzas, discussed above, are retained, then the possessive pronoun in the phrase "His gospel" must refer back to the subject of the last two lines of stanza 3, namely God the Father. Stanza 3 ends by extolling his love that devised the plan of salvation and hence it is his gospel that was to be proclaimed to

"the lost." With the omission of stanzas 2 and 3, as occurred from 1871 onwards, the possessive pronoun of "His gospel" now refers back to the subject of the final line of stanza 1, namely, Jesus. Dropping stanzas 2 and 3 may then be understood to have been done for stylistic reasons to make the connection closer between stanza 1 that finishes with Jesus bleeding for the world and stanza 4 that opens with the gospel of his saving blood being proclaimed to a lost world. In this way, the entire hymn becomes tightly Christocentric.

The imperatival use of "let" in the third line of stanza 4—"Let light upon the darkness break"—recalls similar terminology in the Genesis account of creation—"Let there be light," for example, in Gen 1:3.[94] And just as the divine fiat in Genesis 1 brings to pass all that it is designed to accomplish, so likewise with the proclamation of the luminiferous gospel. But not only is divine power active in the gospel proclamation, but Christ's soldiers (stanza 1) must also be active in seeking to win the lost. They are to go forth "to the realms of darkness" (stanza 2), or as Manly puts it in another hymn, "Let the light shine … /The blessed news to all men take."[95] These two aspects of evangelism, the sovereignty of God's grace and the activity of human proclamation to all and sundry, are well captured in stanza 5 with Manly's skilful use of Ps 126:5-6.[96]

The need of the church, and her ministers, to be passionate about evangelism and missions was a constant refrain in Manly's thinking. "Any church that ceases to be evangelistic," Manly was convinced, "will soon cease to be evangelical."[97] And in one of his most powerful published addresses, *A Call to the Ministry*, which he gave at the seminary in the year following the Civil War, Manly declared,

> Now we need numbers in the Ministry. The plenteous, perishing harvest wails out a despairing cry for more laborers. But we need purity more than numbers; we need intelligence more than numbers; we need zeal more than numbers. Above all, we need consecrated men, men who have stood beneath the Cross, till their very souls are dyed with Jesus' blood, and a love like his for perishing millions has been kindled within them. We long for such men, but for such only, as are willing to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ.[98]

"Yet more blest employ"

> We meet to part, but part to meet,
> When earthly labors are complete,
> To join in yet more blest employ,
> In an eternal world of joy.

The evangelistic activism pervading the other stanzas is found here as well in this poignant final stanza.[99] Christian meetings, like the many commencements at which this hymn has been sung, are designed to send people out into ministry, "we meet to part." But as Manly envisioned it, such ministry and gospel labor had a goal, "an eternal world of joy" where all Christians will meet, never to part again. Manly's hymn thus points the singer to eternity.[100] And as such, the hymn reflects the common perspective of nineteenth-century evangelicalism that life is to be lived *sub specie aeternitatis*, and it is this orientation that helps establish what it means to be a Christian.

What, though, is the "yet more blest employ" in that "eternal world" of which this final stanza speaks? One possible answer can be found in a hymn that Manly wrote nearly a quarter of a century later in 1884, "Work, for the day is coming."[101] In the second stanza of this hymn we find Manly using Psalm 126 in a way that was reminiscent of "Soldiers of Christ, in truth arrayed":

> What we now sow in sadness,
> Then we shall reap in joy;
> Hope will be changed to gladness,
> Praise be our best employ.[102]

Is the "blest employ" of "Soldiers of Christ, in truth arrayed" the same as the "best employ" of

"Work, for the day is coming," namely, praise and worship? Quite possibly, for in 1856, four years before Manly wrote the seminary hymn, he had confidently stated that the highest goal of human existence is living for "the glory of God." Compared to "the grandeur of this lofty aim, all others become insignificant. In the radiance from this luminous pinnacle, all other lights are comprehended and lost."[103]

CONCLUSION

Given the easily accessible biographical studies of James Petigru Boyce and John Broadus, it is understandable that these two founders of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary have been particularly remembered by the seminary over the years. This article has shown, though, that Basil Manly Jr., through the seminary's confession of faith and through the seminary hymn, has also played a key role in shaping the school's identity. As we celebrate the sesquicentennial of the seminary's existence, we give thanks to God for Basil Manly Jr., who gave his strength and energy that this school might flourish to the praise of God. *Abi Viator, et pia sequere vestigia*.

ENDNOTES

[1]For help in preparing this article, I am indebted to: Drs. Gregory A. Wills and Esther R. Crookshank of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Revd. Carl L. Stam of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Mr. Jason Fowler, the Archivist of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and his assistant Mr. Chris Dewease; Dr. David Gregory, Music and A.V. Librarian at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and three of his assistants, Charles Priest, Andrew Wymer, and Chris Fenner; Dr. Jeff Robinson; Dr. Roger Duke of Baptist College of Health Sciences, Memphis, Tennessee; Dr. Peter Beck of Charleston Southern University, Charleston, South Carolina; and Revd. Steve Weaver, my Research Assistant at the Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies.

[2]John A. Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce, D.D., LL.D.* (New York: A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1893), 326, n. 2. There were hopes that Sampey would produce a biographical memoir of Manly, but it was not to be. See James M. Manley, "The Southern Baptist Mind in Transition: A Life of Basil Manly, Jr., 1825-1892" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1999), 291, n. 77.

[3]*The Seminary Magazine* 5, no. 6 (March 1892); John R. Sampey, "B. Manly, Jr.," *The Review and Expositor* 5, no. 3 (July 1908), 405-18.

[4]For Boyce, see Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce*, and for Broadus, see A. T. Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901). For contemporary studies, see especially David S. Dockery and Roger D. Duke, eds., *John A. Broadus: A Living Legacy* (Studies in Baptist Life and Thought; Nashville: B&H, 2008); and Thomas J. Nettles, *James Petigru Boyce* (American Reformed Biographies; Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2009).

[5]Basil Manly Jr., *The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration Explained and Vindicated* (1888 ed.; repr. Harrisonburg, VA: Gano/Sprinkle, 1985).

[6]A. T. Robertson, "Rev. Basil Manly, D.D., LL.D.," *The Seminary Magazine*, 5, no. 6 (March 1892), 297.

[7]Joseph Powhatan Cox, "A Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr." (Th.D. thesis, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954); Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition"; Nathan Harold Platt, "The Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr. to the Congregational Song of Southern Baptists" (D.M.A. dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004). For a concise biographical study, see also Gregory A. Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," in *American National Biography* (24 vols.; New York: Oxford University, 1999), 14:417-18.

It will be evident that the biographical section of this article relies significantly upon James Manley's study. As such, it needs to be noted that Manley makes much of the fact that throughout his life Basil Manly was subject to episodes of depression, episodes that were particularly crippling in his early years (see especially "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 8, 10-12, 29-30, 37-38, 66-72, 76-81, 107-

112, 294 ["melancholy" was "his life's companion"], 303-04). While some might question the importance that Manley places on these episodes in the overall shape of his subject's life, this does not negate, in the opinion of this writer, the overall usefulness of Manley's study.

[8]The quote is from a letter of Manly to his son George Manly, September 28, 1878 (Letterpress book, vol. 10, p. 296; The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Archives).

[9]For the life of the elder Manly, see A. James Fuller, *Chaplain to the Confederacy: Basil Manly and Baptist Life in the Old South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 2000). For his thought, see also Tom Nettles, *The Baptists: Key People Involved in Forming a Baptist Identity* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Mentor/Christian Focus, 2005), 2:250-84.

[10]For the history of this church, see Robert A. Baker, Paul John Craven, Jr. and Robert Marshall Blalock, *History of the First Baptist Church, Charleston, South Carolina, 1682-2007* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2007).

[11]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 20-21.

[12]Ibid., 43-60.

[13]Michael Sugrue, "We Desired Our Future Rulers to Be Educated Men": South Carolina College, the Defense of Slavery, and the Development of Secessionist Politics" in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century* (ed. Roger L. Geiger; Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 2000), 306, n. 103.

[14]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 65. On Princeton, see especially David B. Calhoun, *Princeton Seminary* (2 vols.; Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994, 1996). For Manly's time at Princeton, see Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 59-82. Of all his teachers at Princeton, Manly believed that he learned the most from Charles Hodge (1797-1878). See Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce*, 73.

[15]Joseph Powhatan Cox, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists* (Nashville: Broadman, 1958), 2:818; Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition;" 83-88.

[16]For more details of this hymnal, see below.

[17]For Manly's time in Richmond, see Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 99-155.

[18]William A. Mueller, *A History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary* (Nashville: Broadman, 1959), 92-93.

[19]See, for example, his *Little Lessons for Little People. Number I* (Greenville, SC: Sunday School Board Southern Baptist Convention, 1864), in which he told his young readers, "This little book has been made especially for you, by one who loves children" ("Preface"). For more details of this aspect of Manly's life, see Sampey, "B. Manley, Jr.," 407-09; Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 190-96.

[20]Basil Manly Jr., "A Sunday School in Every Baptist Church," *The Baptist Preacher*, 11 (1852): 117-36. This sermon is reproduced in H. Leon McBeth, *A Sourcebook for Baptist Heritage* (Nashville: Broadman, 1990), 291-95. The motto that Manly used later in life was "A Sunday School in Every Baptist Church and Every Baptist in the Sunday School" (Sampey, "B. Manley, Jr.," 407).

[21]Manly, "A Sunday School in Every Baptist Church," 128.

[22]Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 418.

[23]Basil Manly, Letter to John B. O'Neall, September 13, 1856 (Manly Collection of Manuscripts, Folder 64, microfilm, reel 1, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Archives). Quoted in Gregory A. Wills, *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1859-2009* (New York: Oxford University, forthcoming), chapter 1.

[24]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 142-43, 163-64, 197. During his career at Southern he also taught, on occasion, Greek, Biblical Introduction, Homiletics, Assyrian, and Apologetics (ibid., 164-65, 197; Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 418). For details of his teaching in Old Testament, see Mueller, *History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary*, 90-91.

[25]Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce*, 214; Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 215-16; Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 418.

[26]For this period in his life, see Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 219-42.

[27]Letter to John A. Broadus, April 28, 1875 (Broadus Papers, Box 6, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Archives). Cited in Wills, *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary,* chapter 2.

[28]For a clear statement of Toy's position, see his resignation letter from the faculty in Robert A. Baker, ed., *A Baptist Source Book With Particular Reference to Southern Baptists* (Nashville: Broadman, 1966), 168-72. For two helpful overviews of the Toy Controversy, see Timothy George, "Introduction" to Basil Manly, Jr., *The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1995), 6-9; and Jeffrey Paul Straub, "The Making of a Battle Royal: The Rise of Religious Liberalism in Northern Baptist Life, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004), 72-92. For a sympathetic perspective on Toy, see Mueller, *History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary,* 135-42.

[29]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 252.

[30]Ibid., 256. For other summaries of this lecture, see George, "Introduction," 9-10; and L. Russ Bush and Tom J. Nettles, *Baptists and the Bible* (Rev. ed.; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 190-91.

[31]Cited in George, "Introduction," 10.

[32]Manly, *Bible Doctrine of Inspiration*, 59. Basil's younger brother Charles Manly (1837-1924) played a significant role in encouraging Basil to write this book. See Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 263-64. For summaries of the book, see ibid., 264-69; and Bush and Nettles, *Baptists and the Bible*, 191-96.

[33]Basil Manly, Letter to George Manly, September 28, 1878; and Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus*, 399. On the value of Manly's versatility, see also Cox, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 818; Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 418.

[34]Letter to Basil Manly, January 28, 1889 (Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus*, 374).

[35]For Manly's final days, see Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 290-92.

[36]Ibid., 302.

[37]Timothy George traces this interface to the influence of Princetonian Christianity on Boyce and Manly ("Introduction," 3-4, 5, and 13, n. 7). But it would also have been modeled in the life of Manly's father, who played a critical role in both Boyce's and his son's lives.

[38]Manly called the future Abstract of Principles a "creed" in his Letter to John A. Broadus, February 15, 1858 (Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus*, 146-47).

[39]On April 20, 1858, Manly wrote to his brother Charles Manly "I finished my Confession of Faith last night, and sent it off to Boyce" (Basil Manly Papers, 1842-1893 [ms. 486-z], Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, henceforth abbreviated as BMSHC). Cited in Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 163, n. 18.

[40]Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 418.

[41]Letter to [Charles Manly], March 1, 1858 (BMSHC). Greg Wills has pointed out that this letter was written to Manly's brother, and not Boyce, as Cox had argued ("Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr.," 146). See Wills, *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary,* chapter 1.

[42]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 160. Timothy George mistakenly includes the *First London Confession* along with the 1689 *Confession* as a basis for the Abstract of Principles ("Introduction," 4).

[43]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 16.

[44]James Leo Garrett, Jr., *Baptist Church Discipline* (Nashville: Broadman, 1962), 16; and William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Rev. ed.; Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1969), 352.

[45]See Abstract of Principles V-XIII [cited 29 Dec 2008]. Online: http://www.sbts.edu/About_Us/Beliefs/Abstract_of_Principles.aspx.

[46]*Second London Confession of Faith* VIII.8 (Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 262); and Abstract of Principles VII.

[47]The clash in Calvinistic circles was between those who followed the view of John Gill (1697-1771), who were known as Gillites, and those who adhered to the perspective of Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), who were called Fullerites. While Gill was a firm believer in the idea that Christ died for the exact number of sins of the elect, Fuller argued that "the sufferings

of Christ, in themselves considered, are of infinite value, sufficient to have saved all the world, and a thousand worlds, if it had pleased God to have constituted them the price of their redemption, and to have made them effectual to that end" (*A Defence of a Treatise entitled The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation containing A Reply to Mr. Button's Remarks and the Observations of Philanthropos* in *The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller* ed. Joseph Belcher [1845 ed.; repr. Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle, 1988], II, 488-89).

See, for example, David Benedict, *Fifty Years among the Baptists* (New York: Sheldon and Co., 1860), 135-44; James Petigru Boyce, *Abstract of Systematic Theology* (1887 ed.; repr. Hanford, California: den Dulk Christian Foundation, n.d.), 311-35; Anthony L. Chute, *A Piety above the Common Standard: Jesse Mercer and the Defense of Evangelistic Calvinism* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 2004), *passim*; and Jarrett Burch, *Adiel Sherwood: Baptist Antebellum Pioneer in Georgia* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 2003), 90-92, 242-43.

[48]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 162.

[49]Abstract of Principles VII.

[50]See, for example, the "Preface" to the Charleston Association's *A Summary of Church Discipline* (1774)—reprinted in 1794, 1813, 1831, and 1850—in which the authors acknowledged being "greatly indebted to the late learned, pious, and judicious Dr. Gill" (Garrett, Jr., *Baptist Church Discipline*, 27-28). See also above, n. 47.

[51]John Gill, *Exposition of the New Testament* (London 1809 ed.; repr. Paris, AR: The Baptist Standard Bearer, Inc., 1989), 2:86.

[52]John Gill, *A Complete Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity*, Book VI, Chapter III (1839 ed.; repr. Paris, Arkansas: The Baptist Standard Bearer, Inc., 1989), 466.

[53]Boyce, *Abstract of Systematic Theology*, 293. For a concise overview of the Calvinism of the founding faculty of Southern and Broadus's apparent commitment to particular redemption, see Wills, *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, chapter* 2.

[54]Abstract of Principles XIV-XVI, XVIII.

[55]Abstract of Principles XIV.

[56]Abstract of Principles XV.

[57]Abstract of Principles XVI.

[58]On the contemporary significance of the Abstract of Principles for Southern Seminary, see R. Albert Mohler, Jr., "Don't just do something, stand there! Southern Seminary and the Abstract of Principles," *The Southern Seminary Magazine* 68, no. 4 (November 2000): 2-5. This article was first given as a Convocation Address at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, August 31, 1993. This article can also be accessed online: http://www.albertmohler.com/documents/TwoInauguralAddresses.pdf.

[59]The quote is from the "Preface" to *The Choice* (1892). It is a conscious echo of Psalm 67:3 and 5. This "Preface" can be found in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 216.

[60]Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody" in Harry Eskew, David W. Music, and Paul A. Richardson, *Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America* (Nashville: Church Street, 1994), 95-96 (this is a revised version of the article of the same name that appeared in *Baptist History and Heritage* 27 [1992]: 19-30); and Fuller, *Chaplain to the Confederacy*, 94-95.

[61]For a study of this hymnal, see Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 42-65. Also see Paul A. Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 97-101.

[62]Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 46, 190.

[63]Seventy-one hymns were by Doddridge, fifty-two by Wesley, and forty-three by Newton (ibid., 46-47, 190).

[64]Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 99. Fifty-two hymns were by Steele and forty-six by Beddome (Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 189). For Steele, see the definitive life by J. R. Broome, *A Bruised Reed: Anne Steele: Her Life and Times* (Harpenden, Hertfordshire: Gospel Standard Trust, 2007). For Beddome, see Thomas Brooks, *Pictures of the Past: The History of the Baptist Church, Bourton-on-the-Water* (London: Judd & Glass, 1861), 21-66; and Derrick Holmes, "The Early Years (1655-1740)

of Bourton-on-the-Water Dissenters who later constituted the Baptist Church, with special reference to the Ministry of the Reverend Benjamin Beddome A.M. 1740-1795" (Certificate in Education Dissertation, St Paul's College, Cheltenham, 1969).

[65]Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 100. For the text of the hymns, see Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 235-40.

[66]Manley, "Southern Baptist Mind in Transition," 120, n. 86.

[67]Cox, "Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly, Jr.," 79; and Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 417.

[68]Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 104. For studies of *Baptist Chorals*, see Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 101-03; and Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 66-104.

[69]Manly's "Introduction" to his *Baptist Chorals* can be found in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 195-96, from which the quotations in this paragraph have been drawn.

[70]For studies of *Manly's Choice*, see Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 106-08; and Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 105-49. *Manly's Choice* was a words-only edition. It was followed in 1892 by *The Choice*, which contained the tunes as well the words. *The Choice* appeared quite soon after Manly's death.

[71]Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 107-08. On the growing use of gospel songs in Southern Baptist circles in this era, see William J. Reynolds, *Companion to Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Broadman, 1976), 19-20; Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1997), 97-100.

[72]Manly's "Preface" to *The Choice* can be found in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 215-16, from which the quotations in this paragraph have been drawn.

[73]For proof that it was by Manly, see ibid., 242, n. 16.

[74]Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 103-04. Richardson does not provide a reason for the omission of these stanzas. For a possible reason, see below.

[75]For the hymn in its original form, the hymn-text has been cited as it appears on page 2 of the "Southern Baptist Theological Seminary: First Annual Commencement, May 28, 1860" (Commencement programme, 1860, four pages). The exposition of the hymn below follows the enumeration of stanzas as found in the original hymn-text and not the numbering according to the post-1871 shortened version. See also the full text of the hymn, with an alteration in spelling ("Savior" instead of "Saviour" in the final line of stanza 1) and some changes in punctuation, in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 242.

The four-stanza version of the hymn has appeared in at least six hymnals published between 1891 and 2008, including *Baptist Hymnal* (ed. William J. Reynolds; Nashville: Convention Press, 1975) [Hymn 315, in which the final word of stanza 1 was changed from "bled" to "died]; *The Baptist Hymnal* (ed. Wesley L. Forbis; Nashville: Convention Press, 1991) [Hymn 574, in which the final word of stanza 1 has been changed back to "bled"]; *Baptist Hymnal* (ed. Mike Harland; Nashville: LifeWay, 2008) [Hymn 661]. I am indebted for the information in this paragraph to David L. Gregory (e-mail to author, December 19, 2008).

[76]Manly included this hymn in all three of his hymnals. See Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 180, 206, 221.

[77]Basil Manly Jr., *A Sermon, Preached by Appointment of the Senior Class of the University of North Carolina, June 2, 1856* (Richmond: H.K. Ellyson, 1856), 16.

[78]Basil Manly Jr., "Free Research and Firm Faith," *The Christian Index* (October 15, 1891), 2-3. See also the use of martial imagery in Manly's *Halting on This Side of Jordan, or, Shall Your Brethren Go to War, and Shall Ye Sit Here?* (Greenville, SC, tract, eight pages). An electronic edition of this tract prepared by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is available in *Documenting the American South* [cited 3 Jan 2009]. Online: http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/

manlyb/manlyb.html.

[79]Wills, "Manly, Basil, Jr.," 418.

[80]Manly, *Bible Doctrine of Inspiration*, 90.

[81]In another context, Manly can speak of the world as "perishing" (*A Call to the Ministry* [Greenville, SC: G.E. Elford's Job, 1866], 16).

[82]"Come all who feel your sins a load", stanza 4. This hymn can be found in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 240. This line is taken directly from Joseph Hart's (1712-1768) "Come, ye sinners, poor and wretched," stanza 1, a hymn that Manly included in all three of his hymnals (ibid., 162, 201, 218).

[83]"Lord, I deserve thy deepest wrath", stanzas 2 and 4. This hymn can be found in ibid., 238-39.

[84]"Lord, I deserve thy deepest wrath", stanza 1. As Manly noted on another occasion, "The idea that God is too good to punish the evil doer is the halfway house to infidelity" (cited in Mueller, *History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary*, 86).

[85]Abstract of Principles VI.

[86]"Holy, holy, holy Lord", stanza 4. This hymn can be found in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 237.

[87]See, for instance, 1 John 2:2.

[88]"Come all who feel your sins a load", stanzas 1-3. This hymn can be found in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 240.

[89]As noted by David L. Gregory (e-mail to the author, December 19, 2008).

[90]For Manly's thinking about this final judgment, see the Abstract of Principles XX. "Serious views … of life and of death, of judgment and eternity" were, in Manly's estimation, "indispensable to real religion" (*A Sermon, Preached by Appointment of the Senior Class*, 7).

[91]In the final stanza of "Jesus, my Lord, I own thee God" (for the hymn, see Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 238), Manly similarly states, "Thou, gracious Lord, my soul would own / The power to save is thine alone."

[92]"Holy, holy, holy Lord," stanza 4.

[93]Manly, *A Sermon, Preached by Appointment of the Senior Class*, 15-16.

[94]See the similar wording in Gen 1:6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 20, 24.

[95]"There is a light which shines from heaven," stanza 5. This hymn can be found in Platt, "Hymnological Contributions of Basil Manly Jr.," 239-240.

[96]"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him" (KJV). See the similar use of this Psalm in Manly's 1886 hymn "Work, for the day is coming", stanza 2 (ibid., 241) and below.

[97]Basil Manly Jr., "A Sketch of the History of the Evidences of Christianity," *The Seminary Magazine* 3 (March 1890): 90.

[98]Manly, *Call to the Ministry*, 12.

[99]On the poignancy of this final stanza, see R. Albert Mohler, Jr., "For the Glory of God," *Southern Seminary Magazine* 71, no. 2 (Summer 2003): i.

[100]Ibid., i.

[101]For the historical context of this hymn, see Richardson, "Basil Manly, Jr.: Southern Baptist Pioneer in Hymnody," 106.

[102]"Work, for the day is coming", stanza 2.

[103]Manly, *A Sermon, Preached by Appointment of the Senior Class*, 12.

"We Cannot Sit in Judgment": William Whitsitt and the Future of the Seminary

Joshua W. Powell

In 1896 William H. Whitsitt, president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, became the focus of a fierce denominational controversy. On December 31, 1896, Whitsitt wrote in his diary, "This has been the stormiest year of my life.... I am exceedingly apprehensive for the future. Only God knows what 1897 may have in store for me." He looked forward to 1897 as the year in which he would exonerate himself of charges of false teaching. Whitsitt's friends worked hard behind the scenes to develop a plan to defeat Whitsitt's accusers. The plan hinged on the actions of the Seminary's Board of Trustees at Wilmington, North Carolina, the site of the Southern Baptist Convention in May 1897. The plan came together beautifully. After the convention Whitsitt's friends wrote, this day "was a glorious victory for the Seminary." Whitsitt returned to the seminary community and exulted that, "the experiences at Wilmington were more than I could ask or think." He claimed the victory: "Freedom of research and freedom of teaching when coupled with discretion in utterance and kept within the limits that have been set by the fundamental articles of our institution was vindicated."[1] This meant that Whitsitt himself was vindicated. He believed that the storms finally had passed. However, in just over a year from the victory at Wilmington, Whitsitt would tender his resignation as president of the seminary.

Whitsitt saw himself as a reformer who was fighting for the "freedom of scholarly research" for himself and the faculty of the seminary. He believed this to be the real issue rather than his alleged errors. B. H. Carroll, a trustee of the seminary and respected leader of Baptists in Texas, agreed that this was the issue, but he took the other side. He believed that the real issue was whether the seminary should be freed from the denomination. He held that the "freedom of research" must have accountability, and that the convention must hold the teachers accountable

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through the trustees. In the aftermath of the convention meeting at Wilmington, it was Carroll who led the fight against Whitsitt that ultimately led to his resignation.[2]

UNCLE BILLY: GETTING TO KNOW WILLIAM WHITSITT

William Heth Whitsitt was born near Nashville, Tennessee, on November 25, 1841. He would say of his spiritual lineage, "I have been a Baptist for three generations."[3] At the age of twenty, Whitsitt graduated from Union University, and was soon ordained into the ministry by the "old Mill Creek church . . . of which he and his people were members."[4] The Mill Creek Church was a Landmark congregation. Whitsitt rejoiced that the great leader of the Landmark movement, James R. Graves of Nashville, preached his ordination. When the Civil War began, Whitsitt enlisted into the Confederate army as a "fighting chaplain."[5] He served four years in the Confederate army, including two stints in a federal prison that together lasted twelve months.[6]

After the war Whitsitt resumed his education. He enrolled for one year at the University of Virginia, and then in the fall of 1866, he enrolled in The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary located in Greenville, South Carolina. At Southern Seminary Whitsitt demonstrated ability and diligence in his studies and upon graduation was encouraged by professor John Broadus to study in Germany. Between the years 1869 and 1871 Whitsitt studied in both Leipzig and Berlin. Upon returning from Germany, Whitsitt was called to the pastorate in Albany, Georgia.

Whitsitt settled in nicely to his pastoral position in Albany. Just six weeks into his pastorate he wrote to his former professor John Broadus saying, "I have never believed until within three or four weeks that God had blessed me with pulpit power.... I have learned to feel a glorious satisfaction in preaching the gospel."[7] Before accepting the position Whitsitt believed that he was only suited for an academic environment, but these six weeks "taught him" that he "was not the man that I took myself for."[8] The lure of the seminary, however, was greater, and he accepted an invitation to join the faculty at Southern in the chair of ecclesiastical history.[9] J. B. Jeter, editor of the Virginia Baptist Paper the *Religious Herald*, wrote to Broadus in support of the hire. After hearing Whitsitt several times, Jeter urged, "he is destined to take a high position among the thinkers of the age." Jeter was sure that "though he had no reputation, he will make one."[10] Jeter was correct.

Whitsitt leapt into his new position with much fervor. Though he loved the pulpit, he believed in many ways that his talents were fitted most clearly for the classroom. E. B. Pollard wrote that "Professor Whitsitt impressed himself deeply upon his students." Pollard explained this impression:

> When he spoke, he said something. Since no mortal man could predict what that something would be, the students were kept continually on the alert. His lectures were full of meaty observations upon men and movements. Little asides, which indicated at once, close familiarity with his theme and ample mother-wit, were delightful characteristics of his style.... His students had confidence in him, because he impressed them as one who had not only patiently investigated his subject and obtained the facts, but had thought profoundly upon their meaning.[11]

It was well known around the seminary for many years that Whitsitt was a favorite among the students. This would have no small part in his election to President in 1896. Many of his students, including future professor and president of the seminary John R. Sampey, referred to him affectionately as "Uncle Billy."[12]

"BOLDNESS AND INDEPENDENCE": ASSUMING A POSITION IN THE CONVENTION

In 1872, shortly after settling into his position at the seminary, Whitsitt began to struggle per-

sonally with his allegiance to Southern Baptists. During the Civil War, Whitsitt was exposed to other views of Baptist identity than the Landmarkism under which he grew up in Nashville. He had great admiration for Graves and the work he did through his paper the *Tennessee Baptist*. However, he finally came to the conclusion that he "had been misled by the representations of the Tennessee Baptist."[13] He continued to move away from Landmarkism as his education continued in Virginia and then Southern Seminary. The final and ultimate departure came during his years in Germany.

Whitsitt's education in Germany had a clear and lasting effect upon him. His education there gave him the framework that he needed to sever his ties with the Landmarkism of his youth. The German approach to history was scientific. As William E. Hull noted, "scholarship in Germany was an exact science characterized by objectivity, originality, and the freedom of independent thought." In history this meant that there should be "presuppostionless research purged of any bias" and a clear "disinterested search for facts."[14] Whitsitt wholeheartedly adopted this approach to research and within this framework was able to severe his ties to Landmarkism.

Landmarkism arose in the nineteenth-century south as an answer to the rise of denominationalism and the Baptists. Hull summarized Landmarkism as having three distinctive emphases. First, successionism was the historical belief that the origin of Baptist churches can be traced back in a "continuous chain of true congregations" to the apostles in the New Testament. J. M. Carroll would popularize this succession in his pamphlet, *The Trail of Blood*. Whitsitt would come to believe that this position was completely untenable given the "facts" of history. Second, localism placed the emphasis on the "autonomy and primacy on congregational life." This placed the organization of missions and education on the local church and not a denominational structure. Third, exclusivism meant a "rejection of alien immersion, open communion, and pulpit affiliation." The reason for this is because only the Baptists were the heirs of the true church. Therefore church bodies (or "congregations") that did not adhere to the Baptist faith were not true churches but "religious societies."[15] Whitsitt's research "purged of any bias" and his "disinterested search for facts" led him to believe that Landmarkism was a true "break from history" and the "error in their system" produces "pitiful and hurtful results."[16]

In his youth Whitsitt had admired Landmarkism for its centralization of power of all true religion in the local Baptist church. However, with his dismissal of Landmarkism and his rise to a position of prominence in the convention, he grew dissatisfied with what he saw on the other side. In his diary he struggled with the impulse to leave Baptist life. With charged language he blasted the Baptists and their problems. He wrote that "their organization is so defective, their egotism is so stupid, their conservatism is so unconservative, and their ignorance is so full of suspicion." This lead Whitsitt to believe that reformation must come, but he was "sure they would crucify [him] if [he] attempted a work of reformation."[17] Whitsitt believed that the "doctrine which the Baptists teach meets my approval in the main," but his main grievance was with the system of Baptist government. The insufficiency of the Baptist system was not seen in its biblical warrant, for "it may be most easily proven from the Bible," but in its practicality. Whitsitt asserts that it "may be biblical, but in our hands it has proved very unbiblical results." According to Whitsitt, these unbiblical results led to a "corrupt church whose members strongly entrench themselves in their wickedness." Whitsitt stated clearly that this problem would be solved if the "churches were less independent and democratical."[18] All of this led Whitsitt to believe that the "Episcopal system is more desirable to the Baptist." He even claimed, "the prospect of a bishop's hat might be sort of an enticement."[19]

Whitsitt turned to two of his favorite professors

in Germany for advice. Both Isaac Dorner of Berlin and Edward Riehm of Halle wrote "long and sympathizing letters" to Whitsitt urging him to "remain quietly" in his position among Southern Baptists.[20] The arguments from the German scholars were so strong to Whitsitt that he "concluded to dismiss for all time the idea of severing my present church relations." He even found it "difficult to understand why I should have been unsettled in my mind." Whitsitt also found encouragement in the lives of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Johnson, who died around this time. "These men," he admits, "perhaps should not be mentioned in the same breath, but they were certainly alike in the profound confidence in freedom."[21] This firm belief in freedom is why Whitsitt remained a Baptist. However, he was convinced that Landmarkism threatened freedom.

Now settled as a Baptist, Whitsitt was ready to exercise his freedom by dedicating his life to reform the Southern Baptist denomination. This task would take much effort, but Whitsitt was resolved. In 1880 he set out to England to delve into the sources of church history and discover the "true" history of the Baptists. He went to study at the British Museum in May of 1880. His task was to discover the "origins of immersion among English Baptists."[22] Whitsitt's discoveries convinced him that he uncovered some new "facts" in Baptist history. He believed these facts to be controversial and yet quite revealing.

Upon his return Whitsitt published his findings in the "Editorial Notes" section of the New York *Independent*. The first of the "Notes" appeared in the September 2, 1880, edition of the paper. Here Whitsitt claimed that Roger Williams, the founder of the Baptist faith in America, "never was a Baptist in the modern sense—that is, never was immersed." His reason for this conclusion was that the baptism of Williams took place in 1639, and Whitsitt was convinced that "up to the year 1641 all Baptists employed sprinkling and pouring as the mode of baptism."[23] This editorial was followed up the next week with another editorial in *The Independent*. In the second "Note" Whitsitt supplied the "proof" of his contention with the date of the "introduction of immersion" in England. Whitsitt argued that the "silence of history" regarding the practice of immersion sustained his contention. In a phrase that would later prove to be damaging to Whitsitt, he referred to the year 1641 as the year of the "invention of immersion."[24] This phrase haunted Whitsitt some sixteen years later as the controversy heated up. Whitsitt published the 1880 editorials anonymously. It was not until after Whitsitt's election to the presidency that he acknowledged his authorship. E. B. Pollard suggested that Whitsitt wanted his findings to be assessed on "their own merits" and not with the bias that would come from attaching his name and by default his institution. Whitsitt believed wholeheartedly in the validity of his findings, but he had lacked the boldness to publish them under his name.

It was some twelve years before Whitsitt published his historical positions again. This time the opportunity came in a contract with "the Company owning Johnson's Encyclopedia." Whitsitt was commissioned "to write all the articles pertaining to Baptist History."[25] The pay for the task was five hundred dollars in company stock, a sum that Whitsitt said "amounts to nothing." The publication of these articles, particularly the article on "Baptists," would cost Whitsitt a great deal. This was the first time that Whitsitt put his name on the claims that he came to almost over a decade before in the *Independent*. The thrust of the article was found in three main claims. First, Whitsitt said that there are "no traces" of the practice of immersion before 1641 in England. Second, Roger Williams was baptized in the year 1639 and the ordinance "was most likely performed by sprinkling." Whitsitt claimed that his immersion would be improbable since "the immersion of believers had not yet been restored in England." Third, Believer's baptism by immersion was not restored in America until 1644. That was the year that Williams returned to the colonies with a charter

for the state of Rhode Island, and he brought the new practice of immersion back with him.[26] To Whitsitt these theses about Baptist history made one thing certain; there was no room in Baptist history for the belief of Baptist succession, the major historical premise of Landmarkism.

Shortly after his installation as president of Southern Seminary, Whitsitt began to receive substantial criticism about his views on Baptists. H. M. King wrote an article in the *Examiner*, a Baptist publication in New York, in March, 1896, questioning Whitsitt's statements concerning the baptism of Roger Williams. King was the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, Rhode Island, the church that was founded by Roger Williams. In the article King called into question the sources that Whitsitt used. Whitsitt responded quickly in the *Examiner* with an explanation as to his research and publication. Whitsitt felt that it was time for him to speak boldly about his research and findings.

He now claimed ownership of all of the findings that he made. He stated that in the year 1878 he "made the discovery" that, prior to 1841, Baptists in England only "practiced sprinkling and pouring." He also claimed that he made known his "discovery" in the *Independent* during the summer and fall of 1880. Whitsitt then mentioned Henry Martyn Dexter, a church historian with whom Whitsitt had corresponded about his research, and stated that Dexter used Whitsitt's research without any credit to Whitsitt. Since his discovery, Whitsitt claimed that many historians published his findings. Whitsitt argued that "this discovery is his own contribution" and that it is "nothing but right that I should defend my property." Whitsitt wanted credit and he was ready to fight for his "property."[27]

Whitsitt brought forth his research in his book, *A Question in Baptist History*. The release of the book in September 1896 attracted immediate attention from all over the South. In the "Introductory" Whitsitt made his feelings clear about the findings that he obtained in 1880 and his right to them. He began by asserting that the Bible is the ground for all Baptist doctrine, and that "immersion is essential to Christian baptism."[28] Whitsitt suggested that the Bible is the only true "landmark" that Baptists should cling to. The book was 164 pages in length and explained the sources that Whitsitt claimed in support of his position. Whitsitt argued that the "burden of proof rests upon the critics who assert immersion both prior to 1641 and for Roger Williams."[29]

Whitsitt's scientific study of history and his own sense of independence led him to believe strongly in his conclusions. Over a period of time he had taken complete ownership of those conclusions. His bold and independent stance quickly brought a firestorm to his denomination.

"PRAYER AND WAR": THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION IN WILMINGTON, 1897

The second president of Southern Seminary, John A. Broadus, died on March 16, 1895. In the days immediately following his death, Whitsitt, the longest tenured professor at the seminary, assumed leadership. The faculty elected Whitsitt as chairman of the faculty, a position that carried with it the responsibilities of president until the meeting of the trustees. The election of the president took place in May. Though he was not the only candidate considered by the trustees, after the final vote Whitsitt was able to say, "I was elected President of the Seminary unanimously."[30]

Whitsitt had the great support of the faculty and a retinue of friends. One of his closest friends was the young professor, A. T. Robertson. Robertson was appointed as associate professor in 1890 and upon the death of Broadus, his father-in-law, he assumed the position of professor of New Testament. Robertson remained in that position until his death in 1934. Robertson loyally supported Whitsitt in the controversy. The friends of Whitsitt began to rally around their beleaguered friend. E. Y. Mullins wrote Robertson from New

Hampshire commending him on his support of Whitsitt. Mullins mocked the idea of a "chain of succession" in Baptist history even claiming, "a cap of heresy could be fitted" on the head of those that promote it. He claimed that the argument is really "a matter of such infinitesimal consequence, as compared with other things."[31]

Those opposed to Whitsitt surely did not see the conflict as "a matter of infinitesimal consequence." Carter Helm Jones, a Whitsitt supporter, wrote an article in the *Courier-Journal* on September 9, 1896, summarizing the Whitsitt controversy in the local churches. He mentioned that the first attack against Whitsitt came from a pastor outside of Louisville named J. H. Spencer. Spencer invoked the precedent of C. H. Toy's dismissal from the Seminary. He wrote to the state Baptist paper in Kentucky claiming that Whitsitt's arguments should be considered "heretical" no less than C. H. Toy's.[32] The unofficial head of opposition was T. T. Eaton. Eaton was the pastor of Walnut Street Baptist Church in Louisville, the church to which Whitsitt and his family belonged. He was also a trustee of the seminary, the editor of the Kentucky Baptist paper, the *Western Recorder*, and an avowed Landmarker.[33] The *Western Recorder* was at the forefront of the controversy.

The controversy was fought, for the most part, through the newspapers and in Baptists' annual meetings. Most Landmarkers were of the belief that Whitsitt disqualified himself from the position of president, and possibly even from teaching at the seminary. B. H. Carroll wrote to Eaton in September 1896 saying, "According to manifestations so far, Texas is practically a unit against Dr. Whitsitt and the feeling is *too deep* for dispassionate judgment."[34] Even though the "feeling" among the people of Texas was running "deep" against Whitsitt, Carroll wrote Robertson and assured him that he would "give Dr. Whitsitt a patient, thorough, and loving hearing before I write anything for the public."[35] Whitsitt's supporters were relying on Carroll's fairness and plotted ways to gain his endorsement. They needed a public forum where Whitsitt could speak for himself. They needed the trustees of the seminary to come out in full support of Whitsitt. This could happen at the next trustee meeting, which was at the same time as the Southern Baptist Convention in Wilmington, North Carolina, in May 1897. The friends of Whitsitt prepared for "prayer and war."[36]

In the months leading up to the Wilmington convention Whitsitt's friends began to make sure that the friendly trustees would be there and that they would vote in the proper way. One friend, J. O. Rust, who was counting votes, wrote to Robertson claiming "if we win, we are the convention; the others are seceeders."[37] Robertson, who was not able to attend the Convention, spent much time writing to William E. Hatcher as to the strategy for Wilmington. Hatcher, a Richmond, Virginia, pastor and seminary trustee, led the Whitsitt campaign. Hatcher wrote to Robertson noting his "anxiety" over the situation. He believed that the enemies were working hard and Whitsitt's friends were thinking that "the excitement was over."[38] Hatcher stated that it was Robertson's job to watch Eaton, "the arch-schemer," and not let him "pack the delegation" from Kentucky. Robertson was to find the friendly trustees in Kentucky and get them to Wilmington. The reason was that they "must fight for a ripping majority, and get in notes to end this thing forever."[39] The friends of Whitsitt met in Wilmington before the trustee meeting to finalize their plans.[40] Just one week before the convention Hatcher wrote to both Robertson and Whitsitt and stated his optimism. He believed that "the situation is brightening." The enemies of Whitsitt seemed to be the party of "wrangling" and the friends of Whitsitt appeared to be for peace.[41] The only question was the position of Carroll. Carroll was coming to Wilmington but he did not speak publicly about the controversy as he promised Robertson before. Over the previous year, Carroll was very sick and writing little correspondence. Hatcher believed, through J. B. Gambrell, that "Carroll is not going to fight." In fact, he was

"sure that he will practically fight with us."[42]

On May 6, 1897, the night before the convention, the board of trustees of Southern Seminary gathered for their annual meeting at Wilmington. Late in the afternoon, the Whitsitt case came before the group by way of a resolution from B. H. Carroll. Carroll's resolution, which was not recorded in the minutes of the meeting, sought to deal with Whitsitt's "historical teaching." Carroll later published his resolution in the *Texas Baptist Standard*. The main thrust of the resolution was that the board of trustees look into the statements by Whitsitt and "pronounce upon them clearly according to our best judgment of the facts and merits of the case."[43] Carroll believed that the trustees were the proper judges in the case and he was requesting the convention until the trustees could make a full report. Upon the reading of the resolution "it was promptly seconded and stated by the moderator."[44] However, the friends of Whitsitt were prepared and answered quickly.

W. J. Northen, former governor of Georgia, immediately offered up a substitute resolution.[45] With some discussion of the substitute Resolution the trustees adjourned to meet again to finish the discussion. Whitsitt's friends hoped to put an end to the Whitsitt matter once and for all. Hatcher wrote that "We must fortify against a compromise ... this thing ought to be settled this year."[46] The goal was to "protect" the seminary from further embarrassment, and the only way for that to be accomplished was the clear support of Whitsitt by the trustees.

At 8:30 p. m. the trustees gathered again to discuss Northen's substitute Resolution. After some discussion the Northen resolution passed. It disavowed any need to investigate Whitsitt's ideas and asserted the faculty's freedom of research. The resolution acknowledged "our cordial and thorough adherence to the fundamental articles" of the seminary, also their commitment to hold the faculty to those standards in teaching. But the main thrust of the resolution was freedom:

> We cannot undertake to sit in judgment upon questions of Baptist history which do not imperil any of those principles concerning which all Baptists are agreed, but concerning which serious conscientious and scholarly students are not agreed.[47]

The resolution continued to say that it is the duty of the trustees and Southern Baptists to allow the "utmost patience in research and the greatest discretion in utterance to foster rather than to repress the spirit of earnest and reverent investigation."[48]

After the adoption of the resolution, trustees decided that Whitsitt himself should address the board and "make such statement as he may wish."[49] The next morning Whitsitt came before the board and delivered a statement that answered the three main charges brought against him. First, he dealt with the editorials that were written in the *Independent* in 1880. Whitsitt admitted "he long felt" these articles were a "mistake." Amazingly, he argued that he wrote those articles from a "Pedobaptist standpoint with a view to stimulating historical research." This statement would be one that Whitsitt would soon regret even more than the articles. Second, Whitsitt stated that he would do whatever was needed to remove the offensive material that was in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*. Third, a charge had been brought against Whitsitt about a comment that he had made in private. Eaton had heard Whitsitt state that a woman that is married to a pedobaptist must follow her husband in membership to a pedobaptist church. Whitsitt answered that "obedience to God's demands is above every other duty." Finally, Whitsitt reaffirmed his belief that Baptists began immersing in 1641, since it derived from "patient and honest research." Whitsitt closed with a resounding declaration and reassurance that "I am Baptist."[50]

Immediately after the reading of the statement some members of the board sang the hymn, "How Firm a Foundation." Also, the minutes of the meeting recorded that "the Members of the Board pressed forward to grasp the hand of Presi-

dent Whitsitt." Clearly the board saw this as a statement of support on behalf of Whitsitt. The next step in the plan was to take this to the people of the convention. It was decided that the resolution accepted be read before the Convention that afternoon, and Carroll moved that Whitsitt's statement be read along with it.[51]

That afternoon "a communication" was presented to the convention from the board of trustees "as information."[52] The report, read by Hatcher, concluded by painting a picture of the scene. During the singing of "How Firm a Foundation," the statement said, "amid flowing tears and many expressions of satisfaction and joy, the members of the board pressed forward and gave Dr. Whitsitt the right hand of fellowship and confidence."[53] The report closed with the reminder to the Convention "that this statement is for information and not for action."[54]

The plan put in place by Whitsitt's friends was perceived as a victory. William Hatcher sent Robertson a quick note on May 7 that simply read, "Praise the Lord the agony over result most glorious."[55] A. C. Dargan, professor of homiletics at the seminary, quickly sent Robertson a statement with the good news. He wrote, "Dr. W's statement was manly," and while it did not satisfy everyone "it is a glorious victory for the [seminary] and a blessing to our dear Uncle Billy."[56] The papers in Louisville were quick to pronounce the victory as well. After describing the events at the Convention, the *Courier-Journal* reported that the trustees "had refused to put Dr. Whitsitt on trial." Upon the presentation of this news, the paper stated, "the mighty throng arose, and with song and happy tears gave Dr. Whitsitt an ovation unparalleled in religious bodies."[57] The author made the clear announcement, "Here ends the most serious dissension which has vexed the Baptist denomination for a generation." Even the Landmarker T. T. Eaton seemed satisfied with the results of the Wilmington Convention. He wrote to his wife on the day of the report, "If Whitsitt had said a year ago what he said today, the situation would have been very different.... Hope the air will now be clear."[58]

Writing to A. T. Robertson, William Hatcher wrote to bemoan the fact that Robertson was not in Wilmington. He wrote, "you would have been taken into our council of 'prayer and war' with pleasure and profit to us." He went on to report how the friends of Whitsitt went about the battle: "We treated their attack on Dr. W. as a disease and dosed them with palliatives."[59] I. J. Van Ness, the editor of the *Christian Index*, wrote to Robertson in a celebratory fashion, "It was indeed a victory." This was important for Van Ness because the alternative to victory was the "death kneil" of the seminary.[60] W. R. L. Smith wrote that "the freedom of scholarly research was maintained, and that is occasion for joy."[61]

THE "IDOL OF TEXAS": B. H. CARROLL AND "THE FREEDOM OF SCHOLARLY RESEARCH"

Upon his return home from Wilmington, Whitsitt took the "earliest opportunity" to report to the students the "satisfactory" action of the trustees and the convention. Whitsitt's address to the students was clear as to the meaning of the victory. He proclaimed, "Freedom of research and freedom of teaching when coupled with direction in utterance and kept within the limits that have been set by the fundamental articles of institution was vindicated."[62] Whitsitt painted himself as the hero of the Baptist cause and as one vindicated in his handling of the Seminary. He said that the actions of the trustees were "what I had hoped for" but the reaction by the Convention was "beyond all my dreams." However, Whitsitt stated that this is no time to "exult" but one must be humble, prayerful, prudent, considerate, and diligent after the truth. Whitsitt said that there was no need for further argumentation because, "we have just passed in safety the most threatening crisis in the history of Southern Baptists." Whitsitt was proud to serve the denomination for the first time in his life. The "religious fervor" of Wilmington reminded him of the "noblest passages in our Baptist

history."[63] Whitsitt's assessment was premature.

Upon his return to Texas, B. H. Carroll was besieged with questions concerning the action of the trustees in the Whitsitt case. The Texas Baptists were not happy with Whitsitt and "the desire to condemn Whitsitt's views were everywhere expressed."[64] The resolution offered by Carroll at the Trustee meeting was at the request of the Texas Baptists. The thrust of the resolution was over the jurisdiction of the case. Carroll's resolution centered upon the obligation of the elected board of trustees to consider the Whitsitt case and make a proper judgment. Carroll believed that the trustees, as agents of the Convention, were the proper agents to judge in the case. However, Whitsitt and his friends saw the issue completely differently.

The substitute resolution adopted by the trustees refused "to sit in judgment on questions in Baptist history which do not imperil any of those principles concerning which all Baptists are agreed, but concerning which serious, conscientious and scholarly students are not agreed." It also argued that in order for the seminary to remain "useful" to Southern Baptists it was the "duty" of the trustees to "foster rather than to repress the spirit of earnest and reverent investigation."[65] Carroll believed that this resolution was dangerous, for it was "as silent as the grave on the merits of the case." Even worse, Carroll thought that the idea that the trustees "cannot undertake to sit in judgment" meant the death of the seminary.[66] Carroll took up his pen against the resolution.

On May 20, 1897,Carroll responded with an article in the *Texas Baptist Standard*. In this article he corrected the errors that were reported about the convention at Wilmington. He began by stating, "The facts of the case are not before the people." He clarified what he meant by pointing out that "they do not appear in the newspaper reports, nor in the swift-winged, many hued rumors."[67] Carroll said that the idea that Whitsitt was tried for heresy, that he was fully exonerated by the convention, and that the announcement was followed by "a jubilee of song, joy and handshaking" was all "manufactured history." Carroll clarified that there was no trial, and therefore no acquittal, and that the only people shaking his hand were "students and other friends." Carroll was upset at the perceived results of the Wilmington convention and was ready to do battle for what he believed was the main principles in the case.

Carroll believed the central issue in the Whitsitt case was the proper relationship of the seminary to the convention. As the events of Wilmington played out, he thought that the convention was at a crossroads with its relationship to the school. The ruling of the trustees in Wilmington and the spin that Whitsitt's friends placed upon the results were unacceptable to Carroll. He contended that "there must be jurisdiction somewhere." Carroll argued that the jurisdiction was not in the convention proper or the local churches and associations. Jurisdiction, Carroll believed, must be in the trustees, and if they declare, "'We cannot undertake to judge' then there is no tribunal," then there is no relationship.[68] It was because of this simple clause that Carroll said he could not vote for the resolution.

Carroll believed that the resolution adopted by the board of trustees placed the future of the seminary in a perilous position. If the trustees could not judge on "historic" principles "about which good men are not agreed," then that leaves the door open for all kinds of beliefs. Even though the Abstract of Principles might not directly address such issues, it was still the duty of the trustees to judge the teaching. Carroll used the issue of "Higher Criticism" as an example. On July 22, 1897, Carroll published a sermon that he preached at First Baptist Church of Waco, Texas.[69] The thrust of the sermon was the "death" that resulted when seminaries gave any toleration to liberalism. The point of the sermon was clear. Unless the trustees took responsibility to investigate Whitsitt and the seminary, then it would suffer death also. This was Carroll's great fear. He wrote, "It can-

not be denied that there is an alarming tendency in theological seminaries to drift away from the simplicity of the gospel of Jesus, and that sad fact calls for unassuming vigilance."[70]

On August 5, 1897, Carroll stated that the only thing that could protect the seminary and the convention would be the "voluntary resignation of Dr. Whitsitt."[71] Carroll explained,

> As I expect to stand before the judgment bar and answer to my Lord for my conduct and stewardship on earth, I do solemnly aver and avow that the main question in the case is not Eaton vs. Whitsitt, is not a mere question of English Baptist history, is not, "shall Landmarkism be arbitrarily forced on the Seminary for dogmatic teaching," is not this or that theory of organic church succession, is not traditionalism versus the Scriptures.... I fear there are extremists on both sides working hard to make this unfortunate matter an occasion of rending the Convention.... It is better to let the Seminary perish than to split the Southern Baptist Convention.... I solemnly affirm that it is better to sever absolutely the connection between the Seminary and the Convention than for the Convention to be disrupted.[72]

If the "freedom of scholarly research" meant that the seminary was not under the judgment of the convention, then Carroll believed it was time to sever ties to the seminary.

On June 19, 1897, A. T. Robertson received a letter from professor John R. Sampey about the situation with Whitsitt. Sampey was touring the Middle East at the time and the news had traveled slowly to him. Writing from Alexandria, Egypt, Sampey was ecstatic. "How I rejoice that the crisis in our history has been safely passed," Sampey wrote, "and that the cause of freedom and enlightenment has been victorious!" After calling Whitsitt's "Address to the Students" a "gem," Sampey urged, "we must try to heal all wounds, though not by surrendering the ground we have won by swords."[73] That ground was about to be overrun.

The editor of Georgia's *Christian Index* and Whitsitt supporter, I. J. Van Ness, told Robertson that he was "not pleased with Dr. Carroll's article." He was "not a fan" of the "idol of Texas."[74] Van Ness believed that people would dismiss Carroll as "Texas bossism" and that, therefore, Whitsitt would be fine. Carroll's "opposition" would "die."[75] William Hatcher, the mastermind in the Wilmington plan, wrote about Carroll's position to the trustees by stating that "Carroll can never be a leader in our ranks any longer." Hatcher attacked the opposition to Whitsitt as "truly demoniacal" and "deadly orthodoxy of the letter." Hatcher was ready to continue his policy of full support of Whitsitt against "an Ephesian mob."[76] However, C. S. Gardner the pastor of First Baptist of Greenville, South Carolina, had a different idea of the influence of Carroll. He wrote to Robertson, "I think Carroll is the man whom we now have to fear."[77] Gardner's fears were quickly realized.

Carroll's influence became evident far beyond Texas and the West. J. W. Bailey, the editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, wrote to Robertson to tell him that most of North Carolina had turned against Whitsitt after previously supporting him. After assessing the situation, Bailey stated that the sentiment was "overwhelming" that Whitsitt should resign. He told Robertson that "I know the Seminary and the Southern Baptist Convention will lose the confidence of our people if Dr. Whitsitt remains." Bailey also defended Carroll's actions. He argued that he would fight for Whitsitt if Eaton was the one leading the opposition, but with Carroll joining the fight the issue was more serious. The arguments of Carroll convinced many of the leaders of North Carolina to push for the resignation of Whitsitt.[78] Van Ness admitted that with North Carolina "gone," then the "line of battle is broken." Also, he was afraid that "South Carolina shows signs of breaking."[79] The turning of North Carolina and South Carolina were just the tip of the iceberg as far as Bailey was concerned. He again wrote to Robertson to try and open his

eyes to the situation. He said, "I still think that Dr. Whitsitt and his closest advisors are blind to the real state of affairs." Bailey went on, "if Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, half of Alabama, Georgia, all of Arkansas, and North Carolina, with half of Kentucky and Tennessee, with a few scattering in Virginia" are against Whitsitt then the Convention is heading toward a split. He felt that the only thing that could stop that was the resignation of Whitsitt. Carroll promised with "strongest assurance" that with the resignation the "fight would stop."[80]

As the year progressed the two sides in the debate became more and more polarized. Plans were made to set up another battle at the Norfolk meeting of the SBC in 1898. That battle did not come to pass. Many leaders were not happy with the way that Eaton and the *Western Recorder* attacked Whitsitt, but Carroll's influence was still strong. The only action of the trustees was to appoint new trustees and offer a resolution that was written by Carroll. The resolution asked the Convention to look into the relationship between the seminary and the Convention. The resolution stated that the purpose of the relationship between the Seminary and Convention was "unity in mission" and this "unity in mission work is more important than unity in seminary work." Therefore, they resolved,

> That this Convention without expressing any opinion whatever on the merits of the controversy concerning Seminary matters, about which good brethren among us honestly differ, but in the interest of harmony, particularly with a view to preserve and confirm unity in mission work, does now exercise its evident right to divest itself of responsibility in the Seminary management, by dissolving the slight and remote bond of connection between this body and the Seminary; that is, that this body declines to nominate trustees for the Seminary or entertain motions or receive reports relative thereto, leaving that Institution to stand on its own merits and be managed by its own trustees.[81]

Carroll had already invoked the heritage of Boyce and Broadus as it concerned the seminary and the relationship to the Convention. He offered, "When Dr. Broadus died, the Seminary was in the hearts of all our people ... its faculty was welcome at every state convention in the South. In two years time under the present executive, and by his own course, what a sad change! The wisdom of thirty years reared an imposing structure, a veritable lighthouse, and two years of unwisdom threatens it with overthrow."[82]

All of this was more than Whitsitt could withstand. A little over thirteen months since his return from Wilmington and declaration of victory to his students, he tendered his resignation from the seminary. Carroll successfully shifted the thrust of the controversy from Whitsitt's historical views to the future control of the seminary. Many of the friends that had so staunchly supported Whitsitt began to see the need of his resignation. Van Ness finally urged that "Whitsitt cannot bring victory, he must resign."[83] Even Robertson in the end urged Whitsitt to resign. He believed that, "the denomination did not want another campaign"; so, in order to avoid it, Whitsitt could "go with dignity and grace."[84] On July 14, 1898, Whitsitt wrote to Robertson, "I have sent my resignation to Mr. Levering," the trustee chairman.[85]

CONCLUSION

Upon Whitsitt's death in 1911, E. B. Pollard took up his pen to memorialize his friend. He characterized Whitsitt as "gentle as a woman, guileless as Nathaniel, as devout as Francis, but in matter of conscience and conviction, he was a Luther."[86] The comparison with Luther would probably have satisfied Whitsitt. As he prepared his "Farewell Address" to the seminary community he was prepared to take his stand much like Luther at the Diet of Worms. After giving appreciation to the people of Louisville, the authorities of the seminary, his fellow faculty, and his many students, Whitsitt desired "to make a part-

ing request." He asked that "all who have ever studied with me in the Theological Seminary ... to maintain and industriously to proclaim the fundamental Baptist doctrine of the universal spiritual church." This doctrine, Whitsitt urged, is "the very citadel of Baptist orthodoxy." The loss of this doctrine among Baptists comes from an "inexplicable freak of history," and the recapturing of this doctrine has become the "issue of the hour among us." Whitsitt explained, "It would be the keenest satire of history if our beloved Denomination should disown and forsake the fundamental Baptist principle of the universal, spiritual church, and should embrace the contradictory opposite doctrine of general, visible church, and of visible church succession."[87] Whitsitt saw himself as a modern Luther. He fought against the Catholic nature of the Landmark view of church succession. He argued that the spiritual nature of the church had been lost in the "third century." To make his point clear he asked, "Are we to follow the sad example of the Christians of the third century?" Just as Luther fought against the Catholic Church, Whitsitt fought against the catholic view of church. Pollard urged that Whitsitt would never give up a principle in which he believed. When the possibility was suggested, Whitsitt replied, "I'd die *dead* first."[88] Here he stood before the seminary community, and before the denomination, and he was making his stand; he could do no other.

On Founder's Day 1954, W. O. Carver gave an address entitled, "William Heth Whitsitt: The Seminary's Martyr." Picking up on the theme that was implied in Whitsitt's own speech, Carver believed that the Whitsitt controversy, culminating in Whitsitt's resignation, had secured "a new and continuing recognition of the right and responsibility of Baptists for free research."[89] Carver urged that Whitsitt "actually won his contention and that his victory" was evident in the fact that W. J. McGlothlin, who succeeded Whitsitt as professor of church history at the seminary, was in complete agreement with Whitsitt's findings in the history of the Baptists. The hiring of E. Y. Mullins as the next president was further evidence, since he was in agreement with Whitsitt. Carver's interpretation was accurate in important respects, but did not give the full story.

It became clear in the summer of 1897 that for many Southern Baptists, the real issue of the case was the relationship between the seminary and the convention. At Wilmington, Whitsitt seems to have averted the danger that was before him concerning his positions in Baptist history. Even Eaton, his most prominent foe, seemed satisfied. However, when Carroll pressed the issue of denominational control, most Southern Baptists applauded. Whitsitt may have been victorious in the issue of history, but his resignation represented the denomination's commitment to the Convention's control of the seminary. The seminary would always have to answer to the people.

ENDNOTES

[1]William H. Whitsitt, "Dr. Whitsitt's Address to the Students," Correspondence—Whitsitt Controversy, B. H. Carroll Collection, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

[2]The author wants to express thanks to Gregory A. Wills. Without the many conversations and his assistance with the sources, this article would not have materialized. It was providential that Dr. Wills was working on his chapter about Whitsitt for his forthcoming book, *The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1859-2009,* at the same time this article was being written. While we came to our conclusions independently, his influence is seen in this article.

[3]E. B. Pollard, "The Life and Work of William Heth Whitsitt," *Review and Expositor* 9 (1912): 159.

[4]Ibid.

[5]W. O. Carver, "William Heth Whitsitt: The Seminary's Martyr," *Review and Expositor* 51 (1954): 449.

[6]Pollard, "Life and Work," 160.

[7]William H. Whitsitt to John A Broadus, 25 March 1872, Broadus Papers, Archives and Special Collections, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (SBTS).

[8]Ibid.

[9]William H. Whitsitt to John A. Broadus, 4 April 1872, Broadus Papers.

[10]J. B. Jeter to John A. Broadus, 16 February 1872, Broadus Papers.

[11]Pollard, "Life and Work," 164.

[12]John R. Sampey to A. T. Robertson, Robertson Papers, Archives and Special Collections, SBTS.

[13]William H. Whitsitt, Personal Papers, Reel 1, Microfilm, SBTS.

[14]William E. Hull, "William Heth Whitsitt: Martyrdom of a Moderate," in *Distinctively Baptist: Essays on Baptist History* (ed Marc A. Jolley; Macon, GA: Mercer University), 244.

[15]Ibid., 251.

[16]William H. Whitsitt, Journal, c. 1 January 1875, 248-49, Whitsitt Papers, Archives and Special Collections, SBTS.

[17]William H. Whitsitt, Journal, c. 1 January 1874, 248-49, Whitsitt Papers.

[18]Ibid., 266.

[19]Ibid., 265.

[20]Ibid., 280.

[21]Ibid., 284.

[22]Charles Basil Bugg, " The Whitsitt Controversy: A Study in Denominational Conflict," (Th.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1972), 75.

[23][William H. Whitsitt], "Editorial Notes," *The Independent*, September 2, 1880, 17.

[24][William H. Whitsitt], "Editorial Notes," *The Independent*, September 9, 1880, 16.

[25]William H. Whitsitt, Diary, 5 March 1892, quoted in Mary Whitsitt Whitehead, "Excerpts from the Diary of William Heth Whitsitt for W. O. Carver," W. O. Carver Papers, Archives and Special Collection, SBTS.

[26]William H. Whitsitt, "Baptists," in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia* (new ed.; ed. Charles Kendall Adams; New York: A. J. Johnson, 1893), 1:490-93.

[27]William H. Whittsitt, "Baptist History," *The Examiner*, 23 April 1896, 5.

[28]William H. Whitsitt, *A Question in Baptist History* (Louisville, KY: Chas. T. Dearing, 1896), 5. It must be noted that at this time most all Baptist historians had accepted the 1641 date as the first known date that immersion was practiced, however, no one would assert the certainty that Whitsitt had that there was no immersion before the date. The "argument from silence" was not strong enough for such a claim. Whitsitt believed it was.

[29]James Thomas Meigs, "The Whitsitt Controversy," *The Quarterly Review*, 31 (1972): 46.

[30]Whitsitt, "Excerpts from the Diary," 30 September 1895.

[31]E. Y. Mullins to A. T. Robertson, 6 September 1896, A. T. Robertson Papers.

[32]Carter Helm Jones, "The Recorder," *Courier-Journal*, 9 September 1896.

[33]C. Ferris Johnson, *Thomas Treadwell Eaton: Pastor, Controversialist, and Denominational Servant* (Th.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1965).

[34]B. H. Carroll to T. T. Eaton, 11 September 1896, Eaton Papers, Archives and Special Collections, SBTS.

[35]B. H. Carroll to A. T. Robertson, 27 August 1896, Robertson Papers.

[36]William Hatcher to A. T. Robertson, 18 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[37]J. O. Rust to A. T. Robertson, 1 January 1897, Robertson Papers.

[38]William E. Hatcher to A. T. Robertson, 11 April 1897, Robertson Papers.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]William E. Hatcher to A. T. Robertson, 27 April, Robertson Papers.

[42]Ibid.

[43]B. H. Carroll, "The Whitsitt Case at Wilmington" in *The Texas Baptist Standard*, 20 May 1897, 1.

[44]Ibid.

[45]"Minutes of the Board of Trustees," May 1897, 221, Archives and Special Collections, SBTS.

[46]William E. Hatcher to A. T. Robertson, 19 April 1897, Robertson Papers.

[47]"Minutes of the Board of Trustees" May 1897, 222.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

[52]"Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention held at Wilmington, N.C., May 7-10, 1897, 14.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid.

[55]William Hatcher to A. T. Robertson, 7 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[56]E. C. Dargan to A. T. Robertson, 7 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[57]"Peacefully the Whitsitt Case was Ended Yesterday," *The Courier-Journal*. 8 May 1897. Robertson Papers, Archives and Special Collections, SBTS.

[58]T. T. Eaton to Alice, 7 May 1897. Eaton Papers. Eaton understood Whitsitt's speech as a thorough retraction of his views, except the 1641 position. Note that Eaton was satisfied with this position.

[59]William Hatcher to A. T. Robertson, 19 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[60]I. J. Van Ness to A. T. Robertson, 17 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[61]W. R. L. Smith to A. T. Robertson, 18 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[62]William H. Whitsitt, "Dr. Whitsitt's Address to the Students," Correspondence—Whitsitt Controversy, B. H. Carroll Collection.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Robert A. Baker, *Tell the Generations Following: A History of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary 1908-1983* (Nashville: Broadman, 1983), 91.

[65]B. H. Carroll, "The Whitsitt Case at Wilmington," 1.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid.

[69]B. H. Carroll, "Theological Seminaries and Wild-Gourds," *The Baptist Standard*, 22 July 1897, 6.

[70]B. H. Carroll, "A Word in Passing on the Seminary Issue," *The Baptist Standard*, 9 September 1897, 5.

[71]B. H. Carroll, "The Real Issue in the Whitsitt Case," *The Baptist Standard*, 5 August 1897, 5.

[72]Ibid.

[73]John R. Sampey to A. T. Robertson, 19 June 1897, Robertson Papers.

[74]I. J. Van Ness to A. T. Robertson, 26 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[75]I. J. Van Ness to A. T. Robertson, 31 May 1897, Robertson Papers.

[76]William Hatcher to A. T. Robertson, 15 July 1897, Robertson Papers.

[77]C. S. Gardner to A. T. Robertson, 10 August 1897, Robertson Papers.

[78]J. W. Bailey to A. T. Robertson, 9 August 1897, Robertson Papers.

[79]I. J. Van Ness to A. T. Robertson, 11 August 1897, Robertson Papers.

[80]J. W. Bailey to A. T. Robertson, 1 September 1897, Robertson Papers.

[81]"Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1898," 22-23.

[82]Carroll, "The Real Issue in the Whitsitt Case."

[83]I. J. Van Ness to A.T. Robertson, 11 July 1898, Robertson Papers.

[84]A.T. Robertson to E.C. Dargan, 21 July 1898, Dargan Papers.

[85]William Whitsitt to A.T. Robertson, 14 July 1898, Robertson Papers.

[86]Pollard, "Life and Work," 183.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid, (emphasis in original).

[89]Carver, "William Heth Whitsitt," 468.

A Review of James H. Slatton's *W. H. Whitsitt: The Man and the Controversy*

Gregory A. Wills

James H. Slatton. ***W. H. Whitsitt: The Man and the Controversy.*** **Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009. 348 pp. + xviii. Illustrations. $40.00.**

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William H. Whitsitt (1841-1911), the third president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was one of the most controversial figures in Southern Baptist history. His beliefs and actions precipitated a four-year controversy that threatened permanently to injure the seminary or to divide the convention.

Whitsitt was also one of the most important figures in Southern Baptist history. The failure of his crusade for freedom established the fact that Southern Baptists were determined to control their denominational institutions, especially the seminary. In response, denominational progressives developed indirect strategies of reform. For much of the twentieth century Whitsitt became for progressive Southern Baptists the inspiring symbol of their quest to enlighten and modernize Southern Baptists.

Slatton's biography is a good introduction to Whitsitt's life and to the controversy he precipitated in 1896, but it deserves close attention especially because it uncovers for the first time the contents of Whitsitt's secret journals. The sixteen-volume set, and an important manuscript containing the edited correspondence of Whitsitt to his wife, are held under seal by the Virginia Baptist Historical Society at the University of Richmond. Whitsitt's heirs gave Slatton permission to use these materials to produce this book. Oddly, the journals remain sealed, even though this book reveals their essential content and character, and no good purpose can be served by keeping them sealed.

Slatton relies heavily on these materials, and on the Whitsitt collection at the Library of Virginia,

SBJT 13.1 (2009): 60-62.

to tell Whitsitt's story. Whitsitt early identified with J. R. Graves and his Landmark Baptist movement—Graves preached at Whitsitt's ordination. But Whitsitt's experiences with non-Landmark Baptists during the war, and as a student at the University of Virginia and at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, helped convince him that Landmark views were incorrect. In 1872, after his return from two years of study in Germany, he began his career as a professor at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Whitsitt quickly became dissatisfied with Southern Baptists. The fundamental source of the dissatisfaction was apparently the fact that so many Southern Baptists seemed to prefer the leadership of poorly educated demagogues to that of educated and cultured men. He finally resolved to remain a Southern Baptist in order to reform the denomination.

The reform that the denomination needed was to become intelligent, educated, and efficient. The main obstacle was the popularity of Landmarkism. Whitsitt aimed therefore to rid the denomination of Landmarkism. He characterized the movement as a new Roman Catholicism, and viewed his effort to destroy it as a new Protestant Reformation. He would lead Baptists to become truly Protestant.

Whitsitt conducted historical research aimed at undermining Landmark claims. His most direct assault came in a series of anonymous articles published in New York's *Independent* in 1880. In these articles Whitsitt argued that the early English Baptists did not immerse until 1641, and that Roger Williams, who was baptized in 1639, therefore could not have been immersed. This was significant because Landmarkers held that the validity of baptism and the validity of the churches depended on an unbroken succession of immersion baptisms extending in perfect continuity to the apostles. Whitsitt repeated his arguments in an 1893 encyclopedia article.

Shortly after Whitsitt became president of Southern Seminary in 1895, Landmarkers began criticizing Whitsitt's historical arguments. They then discovered that Whitsitt was the author of the 1880 articles. Whitsitt made it worse when he said that he had written the articles "from a pedobaptist standpoint." He quickly lost the trust of Southern Baptists, including a large number of non-Landmarkers. He resigned as president and professor in 1899. He afterward taught philosophy at the University of Richmond until his death in 1911.

If Whitsitt could drive out Landmarkism, perhaps the denomination would be ready for a more enlightened approach to the faith. Whitsitt in fact sympathized with the emerging liberalism, though he acknowledged that orthodoxy possessed some truth (126). He hoped to reform the denomination toward a more progressive faith, but believed that this would take time. Liberalism had advanced through the recent "progress of many stirring events in the Christian church" (109), and "its time will come but not yet" (126). He viewed Christianity as the "best religion" but was untroubled at the real prospect of its future "disintegration" (108-09).

Outwardly however Whitsitt professed his complete adherence to traditional evangelical orthodoxy and Baptist principles. He kept his progressive sympathies to himself. Southern Baptists were so hostile to progressive ideas, Whitsitt believed, that open expression of progressive views would result in his crucifixion. The journals uncover Whitsitt's remarkable secret life.

In the journals, for example, Whitsitt characterized the temperance movement as "insanity" (126). Those who promoted it were "fanatics" and "Bedlamites" (111). But in public he was careful to insinuate his support for temperance in order "to keep out of the clutches of the fanatics. . . . It is lawful to employ expedients to allay the ferocity of insane people. Whatever I may do or say in any temperance emergency may be explained by reference to this policy" (126).

He sneered at the prejudices of the "evangelical public" who would not tolerate enlightened opinions (110). Baptists especially were "poor silly

creatures" and "stupid blockheads," given to "preposterous literalism" and to "logical stupidity and sectarian arrogance" (112-14). He judged that Baptists were mistaken in ascribing authority to apostolic practices. There was "no good reason" for their insistence on immersion baptism and on baptism as a prerequisite to participation in the Lord's Supper (113). Outwardly he professed complete sympathy with Baptist principles.

Whitsitt professed outwardly great respect and affection for his seminary colleagues, but he secretly despised them. He thought Boyce, who was one of the most effective leaders Southern Baptists have ever known, "such a dunderhead" as was "rarely ever known" (117). To enlightened progressives, any person who retained traditional orthodoxy was nearly by definition a dunderhead.

He acknowledged some ability in Broadus alone, though he pitied condescendingly Broadus's "physical defects," which amounted to an "ungainly figure" who walked with a "rapid hitch" that was a "spectacle to watch" (122). When Broadus stood with Boyce against Toy and in favor of the traditional view of inspiration, Whitsitt believed that Broadus should have supported Toy. He thought that Broadus and Boyce conspired to dupe Toy into resigning and that Broadus merely feigned grief at Toy's departure. Since Whitsitt apparently sympathized with Toy's views, he thereafter distrusted Broadus (82-84).

He considered Basil Manly Jr., one of Southern Baptists' most effective institution builders, a "bungler" in everything he attempted (116). He considered Toy, whose scholarship was sufficiently impressive to his Harvard colleagues, to be a "man of common caliber" with an "average" mind (85). He was "ashamed" of A. T. Robertson's inaugural address (159). He was embarrassed by his colleagues' mediocrity.

His contempt derived largely from his conviction of his own superiority. He complained that Toy "enjoyed higher success than I have though I consider him but an ordinary mind" and that Boyce "obtained a far superior station though I can see hardly any but ridiculous features about him" (122). When his salary remained lower than those of his older colleagues, he became bitter because it implied his inferiority (116).

The most startling feature of Whitsitt's secret journals does not consist in the contemptuous criticisms of his colleagues—most are facially discreditable, based on self-interested speculation and misanthropic prejudice. The most startling feature consists rather in Whitsitt's unembarrassed sense of superiority, an arrogance unencumbered by self-consciousness or self-criticism. He entertained no doubts regarding his judgments of his colleagues or his own superiority.

He felt that he had heroically suffered many indignities. The backwardness of Southern Baptists had forced him to hide his enlightened opinions, to endure subordination to his inferior colleagues, and to resign from his position of honor in the denomination. He had complete conviction that history would vindicate him. The secret journals served finally as a plea for vindication.

Like all books, *W. H. Whitsitt: The Man and the Controversy* has its shortcomings. It fails to evaluate Whitsitt's opinions and interpretations. Whitsitt's is nearly the only voice. Attention to the writings and correspondence of Boyce, Broadus, Robertson, Dargan, and Eaton, and to important secondary sources, would afford a reasonable basis for historical evaluation. Its chronological treatment of material in the diaries produces a disorganized arrangement of subjects and impedes the development of a coherent story. The reader is thus left alone to piece together the patterns, ironies, and errors of Whitsitt's life.

Readers should be aware that the index is inaccurate—most entries occur in the text one to two pages later than the index indicates.

Despite the shortcomings, the book provides an important service and deserves careful attention. It enriches and alters the historiography on Whitsitt. Among other things, it reveals that the Whitsitt of memory is not the Whitsitt of history.

Southern Seminary and Progressive Religion 1870-1940[1]

Gregory A. Wills

Beginning around 1900 the faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary began promoting a distinctly progressive theology. Its central elements were a new view of the inspiration of the Bible and the belief that religious knowledge derived fundamentally from religious experience. These distinctive elements of Protestant liberalism undergirded the transformation of the theological character of the seminary's faculty during the twentieth century. Before the 1940s, the professors who led the transformation were Crawford H. Toy, Edgar Y. Mullins, and William O. Carver.

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CRAWFORD TOY AND THE INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE

When Southern Seminary dismissed Old Testament professor Crawford Toy in 1879, it became the first American school to dismiss a teacher over the emerging liberal theology. Charles A. Briggs, the professor of theology at Union Theological Seminary who nearly suffered a similar fate a dozen years later, recognized Toy as modernism's first martyr: "The first to suffer for the higher criticism in the United States was C. H. Toy."[2] In 1877 Toy wrote a letter congratulating Charles A. Briggs—the two had studied together at the University of Berlin—on his inaugural address as professor of Old Testament at Union Theological Seminary in New York: "I am glad to find that we are in accord as to the spirit of Old Testament study, and rejoice that you have spoken so earnestly and vigorously on behalf of the spirit of broad, free, spiritual minded investigation. There is much work in this country for the advocates of such a view, and it will require patient and wise effort to dislodge the traditional narrowness that has obtained so firm a foothold in some quarters." Both men would be charged with heresy.

SBJT 13.1 (2009): 64-79.

Briggs had the more celebrated trial. Toy was the first to suffer.[3]

American Protestantism was entering a new era. A new theology, known as liberalism or modernism, grew in response to growing skepticism about the validity of traditional Christianity. Developments in philosophy toward an austere empiricism fostered the skepticism. The principles of empiricist science seemed to undermine Christianity's claim to absolute truth and morality. Christianity's claims derived from historical events, the argument went, and eternal truth could not logically derive from historically conditioned occurrences. On a popular level, the traditional Protestant approach to the Bible, with its plain literal approach to the Bible's historical accounts, seemed increasingly implausible to many Americans and Europeans as the nineteenth century went on. The parting of the sea, the slaughter of the Amalekites, and the cursing of the fig tree, seemed not only an improper basis for moral absolutes, but seemed self-evidently fabulous.[4]

Although the philosophical objections damaged the credibility of traditional Protestant Christianity, the greatest damage came from science, from developments in geology, biology, and historical criticism. Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* overturned the reigning catastrophist model of geological formation in favor of a uniformitarian approach that lengthened the age of the earth and discredited the Bible's chronology of creation. Charles Darwin's 1859 *Origin of the Species* similarly overturned the prevailing creationist models of the origin of living things in favor of the gradual evolution of all species from primeval organisms. This cast doubt on the Bible's account of God's immediate creation of full-orbed plant and animal kingdoms. The science of historical criticism applied naturalistic rules to the analysis of the Bible's historical accounts and discredited the supernaturalistic elements of its history.

Advocates of the new liberal theology believed that it afforded a stronger defense of Christianity than traditional orthodoxy. A critical element of the new theology was a new view of the inspiration of the Bible, which held that many of the Bible's historical statements were mythological. God inspired the Bible in such a way that its historical meaning could be false but its religious meaning true. The creation account in Genesis, they held, was historically false but religiously true. It taught nothing of the history of the earth or of living things. It rather taught God's fatherly love for creation. This approach allowed them to be critical of the Bible's history and at the same time endorse many of its traditional religious affirmations. Crawford Toy adopted the new view of inspiration because he thought that the old view was inconsistent with the facts of science and of the historical criticism of the Bible.

Toy's troubles began with Genesis. Since boyhood he had read books on geology. Before the 1830s, the reigning geological model held that the earth's geological features could be explained by violent upheavals and catastrophic change over a short period of time. This approach to geological development was consistent with the traditional interpretation of Genesis in which the earth was less than ten thousand years old. The new geology, promoted persuasively by Charles Lyell in the 1830s, held that the earth's geological features came about by gradual change at uniform rates over hundreds of thousands of years.[5] Toy adopted Lyell's uniformitarian geology and was convinced that the earth was very old. Genesis, he concluded, taught on the contrary that the earth was quite young.[6]

But the problem was more than geology. In the early 1870s Toy adopted Darwinism. Toy's colleague John Broadus reported that Toy embraced evolutionary views after studying Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin. In the 1870s Toy gave a public lecture advocating Darwin's view of human evolution.[7] In 1874 he told his students that they should "not deny evolution on Christian grounds," for Christianity and evolution were compatible.[8]

Toy could no longer harmonize the Bible with science. If evolutionary views of geology and biol-

ogy were correct, then the Genesis history of the origin of the earth and of living things was false. For some time he could not reconcile Genesis with the accepted science. He feared the consequences. "What, then, would become of the Bible, its truthfulness, its helpfulness?"[9] He could not repudiate the new science, but he was loathe to give up the Bible.

Around 1875 he solved the problem by adopting the new liberal view of inspiration. He reconciled science and the Bible by practically divorcing the divine and human aspects of the Bible. The divine aspect was the internal spiritual meaning inspired by the Holy Spirit. The human aspect was the outward literal meaning. Toy so divided the Bible's outward meaning from its inward that its outward meaning could be false but its inward meaning true. He held that the Bible was wholly true because it was true in its "real" spiritual intent, even though its historical, human assertions were in error. The Bible employed the primitive thought forms of the day to convey its inner spiritual truths. Genesis was wrong as science but true as religion. It erred on the when and the how of creation, but was right on who was behind it all. With this new approach in hand Toy could embrace the scientific claims of gradualist geology and Darwinian evolution wholeheartedly and at the same time retain his faith in a Bible that was true in its spiritual meaning.

The new view of inspiration had great interpretive consequences. It required a reconstruction and reinterpretation of the Bible. Toy adopted the reconstruction of the history of Israel advanced by the Dutch biblical scholar Abraham Kuenen.[10] Kuenen held that both Old Testament and New Testament religion were like the other religions of the world, just "so many manifestations of the religious spirit of mankind."[11] God's "never resting and all-embracing activity" in all humanity put every religion on a path from lower forms to the "higher form of religion."[12] The correct "starting point of modern theology" was the "rejection of supernaturalism" in favor of critical research of the religion of Israel based on the premise of its "natural development."[13] On these premises Kuenen sketched out the ostensible evolution of Israelite religion, and redated the various Old Testament books based on the degree to which the book's perspective seemed to correspond to various points in the religion's historical progress.[14] By this method Kuenen concluded for example that the Pentateuch's historical setting was incorrect, since its perspective reflected later religious developments rather than those of the time of Moses, who can not therefore have produced the laws ascribed to him, not even the Ten Commandments.[15] Kuenen argued therefore that both the historical and ritualistic material in the Pentateuch developed in the postexilic era.[16]

Toy viewed Kuenen's reconstruction of the Old Testament as reverent and constructive. The prophets and the psalter provided the materials for a reconstruction of the history of Israel, and showed that the history contained in the Pentateuch and the historical books was not trustworthy as history. Over many centuries the prophets developed the religion of Israel: the strict monotheism, the "ethical" portrayal God as compassionate and personal, and the fierce patriotism. From this vital spiritual religion finally emerged the codified sacrificial system with its Levitical priesthood and liturgy. In the light of this new history, Toy saw the Old Testament in terms of the gradual development of spiritual religion, which consisted centrally in monotheism and an ethic of love and justice. The religious meaning of Old Testament texts inhered in their promotion of such spiritual truths.[17]

By 1874 Toy taught his students some of the conclusions of current historical criticism of the Old Testament. He taught them for example that the second chapter of Genesis had a different author than the first chapter because of differences of style and because each called God by a different name, the two chapters being gathered together by an unknown "editor."[18] Genesis, he said, was not written by Moses but derived

from a Jehovist source and an Elohist source.[19] Leviticus was not written by Moses, but was written later by someone in the spirit of Moses: "The genius given by Moses was elaborated in the after history of Israel." In this sense, it could be called "the teachings of Moses."[20] He told his students to interpret the various particular passages in terms of concepts of spiritual redemption: monotheism, sin deserves punishment, the need for a mediator, the promise of a messiah, and God's intention to bless all nations. "All revelation is intended to develop redemption." This notion of "spiritual redemption" furnished Toy with his "canon of interpretation."[21]

Between 1874 and 1877 Toy revised extensively his understanding of the Old Testament's history and interpretation. In 1874 he arranged his Old Testament lectures in canonical order: Pentateuch, historical books and Psalms, and finally the prophets. He spent half the session lecturing on the Pentateuch. But in 1877 he ordered them according to the critical reconstruction of Hebrew religion: historical books and Psalms, then prophets, and finally Pentateuch. He barely discussed the Pentateuch, which he now regarded as the work of the priests and of Ezra during the time of the exile, though Moses provided the germ.[22] The Law, Toy told students, represented declension from the pure religion of the prophets—the Law "imprisoned" spiritual religion and produced formalism.[23] In 1874 he defended the unity of Isaiah, but in 1877 he assigned portions to three different authors.[24]

In 1877 Toy taught students that the traditional messianic prophecies in the Psalms, Isaiah, Micah, and Joel did not refer to Christ, but that Christ was the fulfillment of all truly spiritual longings, and in this sense only the passages were messianic.[25] Over and over Toy told students that specific prophecies were not fulfilled and "never came to pass," but they were fulfilled in a general way by Christ, because he represented spiritual redemption.[26] The prophetic promises of Israel's national prosperity and the restoration of the Davidic dynasty were "not realized in fact." But such ideas reflected merely the "outward form," the "framework of the spiritual thought." The spiritual truth was underneath. The "true inward spiritual thought was wonderfully fulfilled in Christ."[27] Toy interpreted the individual and national experiences of the Hebrews typologically, or rather allegorically. "Israel is the anticipation of Christ and his the fulfillment of Israel."[28] The "outward framework of spiritual idea" was irrelevant, since the true spiritual thought conveyed within communicated God's plan for spiritual redemption, represented most fully in Christ.[29] This was the "great principle of exegesis," he told the students, to "pierce through the shell, framework" to discover the "real, religious, spiritual idea."[30]

In 1877 Toy also began cautiously to publish some of his conclusions based on the historical-critical reconstruction of the history of Israel. In an 1877 homiletical commentary, Toy wrote that Deut 17:14-17 probably originated in some oral tradition from Moses, but that 250 years later Samuel developed it into a constitutional form and wrote it down as law.[31] In lessons for Sunday School teachers he wrote that the laws restricting temple service to priests came into existence long after Moses, perhaps in the seventh century B.C.[32] Toy explained that an unknown writer drew upon existing materials and produced the book of Deuteronomy around 623 B.C.[33]

One consequence of divorcing the human and spiritual elements was that Toy began to reinterpret the Bible's accounts of supernatural events as natural events. Toy maintained that God acted through ordinary natural law—he guided history by his providence. Traditional orthodoxy held this also, but added that God sometimes accomplished his purposes apart from natural agency in a miracle. Toy however explained miracles as the spiritual interpretation of God's acting through natural causes. He suggested that where the scripture said that leprosy broke out on Uzziah's face while he burned incense beside the altar, that in

fact the leprosy was already there and the priests only then saw it for the first time and naturally regarded it as divine judgment.[34] He suggested also that the destruction of Sennacharib's army was not miraculous in the common sense, but that the "inspired writers" represented a "natural event as the work of an angel of God."[35]

Toy came to believe that most of the passages quoted in the New Testament to establish the fact that Christ was the Messiah were not messianic in a traditional sense. For example, the New Testament quoted Psalm 2 several times as proof that Jesus was the promised Messiah. Toy however argued that Psalm 2 had no reference to a messiah, but rather spoke of God's promise of blessing to Israel through his "son," the king. Toy however wanted to save the truthfulness of the New Testament, so he concluded that although the New Testament writers erred regarding the meaning of Psalm 2, they nevertheless taught its spiritual meaning—"God's watchcare over his people"—and saw rightly that such spiritual truths had their fullest representation in Christ.[36] Toy interpreted Isa 42:1-10 and 53:1-11 as references to Israel, although New Testament writers understood them to refer to Christ. The New Testament authors misinterpreted the texts, Toy believed, but they still taught truth about Christ in a general way, for "Christ was by divine appointment the consummation of all God's revelation of truth in ancient Israel."[37] Indeed for Toy the entire history of Israel was the "anticipatory, predictive picture of the Messiah."[38] In a broad sense, Toy made every passage in the Old Testament messianic.

Toy explained to a friend in 1879 that New Testament interpretations of the Old Testament were frequently wrong. The New Testament writers often quoted Old Testament passages in ways false to their original meaning. Toy wrote that Paul imposed on Old Testament texts meanings contradictory to their real meaning. When Paul quoted Deut 30:11-14, for example, to prove that sinners are saved by faith and not by works in Rom 10:6-9, Paul's interpretation was "not valid." The passage in Deuteronomy "means obedience to law; Paul makes it mean not obedience, but faith."[39] Toy held that such contradictions did not diminish the divine character of the Bible's spiritual message, which was "independent of all such externals. God permitted the prophets and psalmists to use the incorrect astronomy and geography of their day, and the apostles and other New Testament writers to use the incorrect translation and exegesis of their day, and in this human framework is the divine thought manifest and powerful. To insist on the framework is ritualism and fetishism."[40] The Bible's inner truth was effectively independent of its outward form.

In his resignation letter to the trustees, Toy summarized and defended his new views. The facts of the Bible, he wrote, convinced him that the "outward form" of the Bible was subject to mistake but this did not jeopardize its religious message. Moses gave the Hebrews some basic laws which later generations developed into the "Mosaic" law of the Pentateuch. Certain prophecies of Isaiah and Hosea did not occur as they predicted, but these statements were the "mere clothing of their real thought." The Old Testament historical writers composed their histories as Christ composed parables, in order to teach religious truth rather than factual history. But the historical assertions constituted merely the "framework or vehicle of a religious truth." Such defects were of the human element only. The Bible was the outward record of Israel's inner experience of God's care and guidance. Because they experienced God, their writings had religious power to inspire, encourage, and guide. Because they had this religious power, Toy recognized in them "a divine element."[41]

Toy claimed that his view was in full accord with the seminary's creed, the Abstract of Principles, and that it established divine truth more firmly than the old orthodox view. His teaching was "not only lawful for me to teach as professor in the seminary, but one that will bring aid and firm standing-ground to many a perplexed mind

and establish the truth of God on a surer foundation."[42] This represented well the apologetic character of his emerging liberalism. For those who accepted evolution, uniformitarian geology, and the new critical view of the history of Israel's religion, such a view of inspiration was the only way to retain an authoritative Bible. Its inspiration and authority extended to spiritual matters, and therefore did not interfere with science or history.

Toy's resignation letter defended his views at some length. Trustees appointed a committee of five, who discussed the matter with Toy and learned his views in greater detail. They recommended that the board accept Toy's resignation because his views diverged significantly from those commonly held among Southern Baptists. "After a full discussion" the board voted sixteen to two in favor of Toy's dismissal.[43] They made no attempt to prove the unsoundness of Toy's views. Seminary trustee John Chambliss wrote that Toy was "astonished" that the trustees accepted his resignation.[44]

Toy left the South, left Baptists, and finally left the church. His efforts to enlighten Southern Baptists generally largely failed. They held firmly to traditional orthodoxy. But the tide was about to turn, and the seminary would lead the way. A large percentage of the next generation of seminary professors adopted the new view of inspiration. Edgar Y. Mullins, William O. Carver, George B. Eager, Charles S. Gardner, and most of their successors took the new view of inspiration for granted. They followed Toy in seeking by "patient and wise effort to dislodge the traditional narrowness." Carver observed correctly in 1954 that Toy's "views would today not be regarded as sufficiently revolutionary to call for drastic action."[45]

EDGAR Y. MULLINS AND PROGRESSIVE RELIGION

Edgar Y. Mullins, who became the seminary's fourth president in 1899, led Southern Baptists away from traditional orthodoxy in significant ways and reshaped Southern Baptist theology. He did so while maintaining a reputation for conserving the orthodoxy of the founding faculty. He for example established an annual Founders' Day observance at the seminary, but it served more as a monument to their memory than as a standard of measure. He recognized that the monument helped to cover the seminary's progressive values in the mantle of the founders.

Mullins viewed his approach to theology as "progressive as well as conservative."[46] It was in fact a mediating theology. Mediating theology was the dominant theological approach in Germany from the 1840s until the 1880s. It agreed with Schleiermacher's privileging of experience as the source of revelation, but differed with him by insisting on the objective character of that revelation. These two commitments formed the two fundamental commitments of Mullins's theology. But he elaborated on them in a unique way. He argued that Borden Parker Bowne's Personalist philosophy united the subjective experience to its objective meaning, and that William James's philosophy of pragmatism authenticated this union of experience and objectivity. Running through it all is a distinctly American privileging of the individual, whether in epistemology, ethics, or doctrine.

These commitments make Mullins one of the more difficult and most contested figures in American religious history. Progressive Southern Baptists have claimed Mullins as the chief originator of their movement, and conservative Southern Baptists have claimed him as an ally in theirs. Naturally, he rather belonged to both. Yale literary critic Harold Bloom called Mullins "the Calvin or Luther or Wesley of the Southern Baptists." He did not found the Southern Baptist movement, Bloom acknowledged, but he reformulated their faith. He was "their refounder, the definer of their creedless faith."[47] Historian Paul Harvey argued similarly that Mullins transformed the traditional Calvinist orthodoxy of Southern Baptist churches into a more progressive and experientialist faith.[48] Above all, it was a more individualist faith.

Mullins reshaped Baptist theology by combining the central idea of modern theology with

the denomination's conservative heritage, and by building a faculty who agreed with these principles. The new theology built upon religious experience. Calvin represented the old theology's emphasis on God's transcendence and objective doctrine. Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher represented the new theology's emphasis on subjective religious experience. "Calvin and Schleiermacher are the two great names which stand forth in the doctrinal history as most significant for these two standpoints."[49] Christianity needed both. Like Germany's mediating theologians of the prior generation, Mullins constructed a theology that united the objective knowledge of God with individual religious experience. Schleiermacher provided the central insight that religious consciousness connected human experience with divine reality. But Mullins sought a more secure basis for the objectivity of the knowledge that derived from experience by incorporating the insights of two of America's great philosophers, William James and Borden Parker Bowne.

Mullins had deep appreciation for William James. James taught philosophy at Harvard University and established his own philosophical tradition, pragmatism. James did what Mullins thought Christian apologists should do—he took the data of Christian experience seriously as a proper field of scientific study. James stopped short of concluding that human experience revealed anything other than the internal operations of the human consciousness. God, for James, was an important idea in human consciousness that provided the integration, hope, courage, and industry in religious individuals that made them healthy and productive members of society.

Mullins did not see pragmatism as a philosophy or a worldview. It had a more modest role. It was a test of truth claims. Mullins valued pragmatism as a method for evaluating truth claims, because it considered personal experience and volition as valid data for determining truth. Mullins held that used this way pragmatism established a theistic worldview. It established the validity of the Christian's claims of assurance of salvation and of future blessedness in heaven. Jesus, Mullins said, "was the greatest of pragmatists," for "his approach to the whole question of truth and reality was pragmatic." Modern pragmatism was "simply catching up" with Jesus.[50]

Mullins appreciated James in particular for his analysis of the role of religious beliefs in the psychological health and personal welfare of religious persons. James demonstrated that people's religious beliefs had measurable impact on their well-being. For a large class of persons, James argued, their religious beliefs answered the most basic needs of their soul and integrated their consciousness for meaningful and healthy existence in society. Mullins appreciated the popular liberal theologian Albrecht Ritschl for similar reasons. Ritschl's analysis of the role that doctrine played in the experience of Christians provided a compelling basis for doctrine in individual experience. Because the doctrines had personal value, Ritschl argued, Christians naturally held the doctrines to be true. But James's pragmatism had the advantage of a scientific basis, Mullins felt. James's analysis of religious experience was empirical and scientific. It examined the facts of experience. It had great apologetic value, Mullins thought, because when viewed correctly it provided empirical evidence of the truths behind Christian experience.

But Mullins found both James and Ritschl deficient, because they did not see this. Both accepted the limits of human knowledge imposed by Immanuel Kant's critique of reason. Ritschl did not move beyond religious belief as personal value. James, with minor exceptions, did not move beyond religious belief as pragmatically beneficial. Mullins however held that the religious experience of the Christian was a genuine encounter with the self-revealing God and that it bridged the gap between personal experience and divine realities. "In religious experience," Mullins said, "we have direct knowledge of the noumena."[51] The Christian's religious experience involved essentially direct

knowledge of eternal reality.[52] Mullins needed a philosophic basis for ultimate truth, which was more than James or Ritschl could provide.

The philosopher who had established the viability of this approach was Borden Parker Bowne, the founder of the Boston Personalist school. Bowne taught philosophy at Boston University from 1876 until his death in 1910. Bowne argued for a brand of idealism that began with the empirical data of personal experience and personal relationship, and united all reality in the personal mind of God. Belief in the existence of a personal God was warranted, Bowne taught, because it provided the most convincing and the most practical explanation of human experience.[53]

Personalism was attractive to Mullins because it promised to solve the basic problem of empiricism, how to bridge the divide between the world of sense and the world of spirit. But it appealed to Mullins also because of its obvious apologetic value. It started with personal experience, with "the facts of life," and yet transcended fact. It deduced "ultimate truth from empirical facts," the facts of common human experience, of coexistence of persons, and of common reason. And finally, it led "directly to Theism."[54] It is not surprising that Mullins called Personalism the "highest stage in the development of philosophic idealism," or that he identified himself as an "ardent admirer" of Bowne.[55]

MULLINS AND THE NEW SHAPE OF BAPTIST THEOLOGY

Mullins led Southern Baptists to adopt a new approach to theology. He reconstructed Christian doctrine on the basis of experience. "The Christian doctrinal system," Mullins wrote, "arises out of the facts of Christian experience."[56] This new basis for doctrine led him to recast many traditional beliefs. In his 1906 *Axioms of Religion* Mullins appealed to religious experience in a more limited way, as a proof of the validity of Christian truth claims. In his 1917 *Christian Religion in Its Doctrinal Expression*, Mullins based all Christian theology on experience. The result was a shift in emphasis that altered the contours of Southern Baptist religion.

Mullins's "experiential method" for the construction of Christian theology was not new. Schleiermacher was the pioneer a century earlier. Mullins however, like German mediating theologians and some contemporary personalist theologians, gave experience more power than Schleiermacher had—it revealed facts. "Religious experience is the starting point of religious knowledge. Of course the facts concerning which we obtain knowledge exist independently of us. But we acquire truth about these facts through experience."[57]

Mullins promoted his approach to religion as empirical. He analyzed human religious experience. In this he was following in the train of liberalism generally, which since Schleiermacher had claimed that religion consisted in human experience. To learn about religion theologians had to study the religious subject, humans, not the religious object, God. This "turn to the subject" was the foundation of Christian liberalism.

But as many critics of liberalism had already pointed out, an analysis of human religion can not logically yield any knowledge of God or spiritual realities. This was the critical weakness in reliance on human experience. There were two common solutions and Mullins had recourse to both.

The first solution was the assertion that religious experience corresponded to and revealed eternal truths in the spiritual realm. The basis for this was the argument that the existence of spiritual realities was necessary to make sense of human experience. Human experience was rife with questions of meaning, longing for purpose, sense of conscience, recognition of good and evil, experience of sin and guilt, and the desire for forgiveness and redemption. These experiences were incomprehensible, even absurd, unless they corresponded to spiritual realities. The existence of God, the immortality of the soul, a divine standard of good and evil, and divine purpose and

destiny for humanity—such things must exist if humans were to make sense of their experience. "Faith in Christ is an act which takes for granted that the universe answers to the soul's craving for deliverance from sin."[58] Indeed, even the more basic experiences of personhood and freedom were unintelligible apart from belief in the existence of such spiritual realities.

This went beyond Kant's a priori argument that it was practically necessary to postulate God's existence based on considerations of conscience and freedom. In Kant's argument, God's existence remained a postulate and was not strictly knowledge. Mullins taught that Kant's argument was valid, but that it fell short of what was needed, since it could establish only the phenomena or experiences of religion and not the noumena, the realities behind the phenomena. Kant's argument neglected consideration of the fact of the Christian experience of God. "Our experience of redemption through Christ brings knowledge of the reality behind the phenomena. It brings direct knowledge of God." The Christian's experience was knowledge of the divine realities. The noumena remained beyond the reach of Kant's pure and practical reason, but were accessible to Christian experience.[59]

The second solution to the problem involved the doctrine of divine immanence. This approach, which Mullins shared with liberalism broadly, distanced doctrine. Traditional Protestantism placed true doctrine as one of the essential elements of the Christian religion, without which true religious experience was impossible. But for Mullins, as for liberal Protestants generally, religion was an experience rather than a doctrine. Doctrine was a natural development because religious experience yearned for expression. But the doctrine was derivative of religion, not constitutive. Religious experience was a fact and doctrine was an expression of the meaning or personal value of the experience. "Facts are one thing, meanings are another," Mullins wrote, reflecting the popular Ritschlian distinction between fact and meaning. "The doctrines are simply the statement of the meaning of religion."[60] Mullins, however, unlike Ritschl, believed that the meaning in the theological statement was objectively true. Mullins having placed doctrine on a new footing, now gave it a new cast.

Mullins and the more progressive Southern Seminary faculty embraced liberalism's middle way. It sought to establish a viable path between rationalism and orthodoxy. Rationalism was the great enemy, but traditional orthodoxy was also defective, since it was unscientific and could not answer the challenges posed by rationalism. As a mediating approach, liberalism tended to spread out across the spectrum. Some forms seemed nearly to slide into rationalism. Other forms seemed relatively traditional. Mullins and the faculty rejected identification as liberals. They called themselves by such identifiers as "conservative-progressive." Mullins explained it this way: "I believe in progress in theological thought and statement, but I believe in the evangelical fundamentals."[61]

Many Southern Baptist scholars, especially those at Southern Seminary, followed this mediating approach. It was sometimes pietistic more than philosophical, especially in the case of students. It divided the realm of physical science and historical criticism from the realm of religion. Humans lived in both the physical and the spiritual world, but they knew the realities of these realms by different means. They knew the facts of nature and history by observation and its reasonable deductions. But they knew the facts of the spiritual realm by personal experience—freedom, personality, and above all, consciousness of the divine.

What made them pietistic was their insistence that the two realms were entirely independent of each other. The facts of one realm could not challenge the facts of the other realm. This meant that scientists and historical critics of the Bible could have absolute freedom in their methods and conclusions, and they could never pose any threat to

the facts of the spiritual realm in religious experience. The approach enabled them to accept such findings of science as evolution, and at the same time to accept unqualified the Bible's account of direct divine creation. The two beliefs belonged to different spheres of reality. The two realms were coherent because God was the ground of both. God was immanent in both. His presence in the world's course ensured that its development and destiny coincided with the spiritual development and destiny of humanity. Augustus H. Strong, the president of Rochester Theological Seminary whose career and thought paralleled Mullins's in many ways, expressed clearly what so many Southern Baptist scholars felt: "Neither evolution nor the higher criticism has any terrors to one who regards them as part of Christ's creating and education process."[62]

Mullins's wall of partition between scientific knowledge and religious knowledge introduced the profound tension between his acceptance of the methods of science and historical criticism on the one hand, and his insistence on traditional doctrinal positions on the other. At a popular level, Southern Baptists generally accepted Mullins's approach and erected the same wall, and they did not worry much over the apparent contradictions.

This was an attractive approach for the faculty's progressive conservatives, and for preachers in the conservative denomination who also valued the latest scholarship of the historical critics. Mullins himself erected a division between scientific and religious knowledge that encouraged the pietist approach.

The approach was vulnerable to devastating criticism. It implied above all that truth lacked unity. Both Carver and Gardner criticized Mullins for this approach. Carver described his own reaction:

> He [Mullins] adopted and vigorously applied the principle of partition in the fields of thought and learning, and insisted on the "rights of theology" to its own matter, method, and principles, as an autonomous sphere along with the philosophical and the scientific spheres, whose rights he was always ready to concede. I was myself, never able to use this method and in my department, and frankly said so. It was a method more useful for meeting conflicts current in the cultural thinking of the day and for adjusting progressive thinking to lagging conservatism than for what I regarded as the truer approach. For me, truth is a comprehensive unit. What is true in any sphere of thought and culture is to be recognized as actually true. No plea for "rights" in one field that conflict with "rights" in another field can yield true insight and permanent understanding. But for very many readers his method brought about a modus vivendi which enabled them to hold in suspension incongruities and even conflicts and contradictions between "truths" in different spheres.[63]

Carver was right. Educated Southern Baptist preachers widely adopted Mullins's division of the spheres of knowledge. It permitted them to affirm broadly the work of scientists and historical critics without requiring them to adjust their traditional theology. Carver rejected pietistic mediating approaches.

WILLIAM OWEN CARVER, MISSIONS, AND MODERNISM

In the early twentieth century the seminary was already gaining a reputation as a "liberal" school. When Arkansan Perry Webb planned to enroll in 1919, someone asked him why he was going to "that liberal school."[64] The teaching of William O. Carver was the main reason for that reputation.

Carver exercised an extraordinary and enduring influence on the character of the seminary's teaching in the twentieth century. Carver's theology, like Mullins's, held that our knowledge of spiritual reality came through religious experience, which provided sufficient data for deriving reasonable conclusions about God, humanity, and

ethics. Carver's theology incorporated some personalist elements but was basically Ritschlian in its framework. It was neoromantic, neo-Hegelian, and historicist—which is to say that the Christian faith derived from religious experience, God was immanent in the world's historical progress, and true knowledge is historical knowledge, since eternal truth always arrived clothed in its historical conditions.

Carver's 1910 *Missions and Modern Thought* was an extended justification of the missionary enterprise based on the new modernist form of Christianity. Many scientists, philosophers, and sociologists argued that the era of religion was ending, and that humans no longer needed religion to explain the mysteries of the natural world—science had assumed that function. Humans no longer needed religion to give wholeness and meaning to their lives—psychology now did that. And humans no longer needed religion to form ethical values—sociology now did that. And anthropologists were arguing that the introduction of non-native Christianity into other cultures deeply injured societies whose ideals and practices had been constructed on the basis of other religious views. As a result of these developments, many leaders, inside and outside the church, questioned the value, and even the morality, of the Christian missionary enterprise.

Carver agreed that the traditional justification of missions no longer sufficed. Christian missions was formerly based on the premise that persons who did not repent and believe in the gospel of Jesus Christ would spend eternity in hell under God's judgment of their sin, Carver said, but now Christians understood that many non-Christians already knew God "in experience" and "in the processes of nature and history." Modern Christians could not believe that God would condemn anyone to eternal misery. Missions had to adjust to modern conditions of knowledge and society.[65] The modern church should promote the missionary enterprise "for the life of the nation, for the salvation of society, for the condition of the world." The Christian message would save the world—that is, the social institutions of this world.[66]

Religion alone, Carver felt could muster sufficient resources to save the world from ignorance, hatred, and injustice. It, above all human institutions and ideas, promoted the "advance of the race." Christianity was the "highest religion" and was "adaptable" to the state of progress in every society. "Christian civilizations," Carver urged, "are the highest, the most ethical, the most spiritual." Therefore, he concluded, every person who cared about human progress should "seek to promote the extension of the Christian faith." Other religions made positive contributions by striving for goodness, but "it is the Christian spirit alone that brings to their destiny these scattered strivings of the human heart." Christianity alone could civilize the world and establish justice, peace, and human brotherhood among the peoples of the earth.[67]

But traditional Christianity, Carver argued, was outworn. Human history had outgrown it. But that was no discredit to Christianity. Christianity, Carver said, was universally adaptable and was adapting to the new conditions of the world.[68] What the modern world needed was a just and meaning social order, a better civilization. But only Christianity could bring civilization. The motive and aim of modern missions was to Christianize the world, so that Christianity would become in truth the one great world religion, and the nations of the world one great brotherhood. Christianity was the engine of progress toward this "true civilization."[69]

The future of the civilization of the world depended upon the universal spread and dominance of Christianity. The motive for missions was not lost, therefore, when traditional theology disintegrated. Carver called for missions, then, not because souls were perishing daily into eternal misery apart from Christ, but because individual misery and social disintegration threatened to deepen in the modern world unless the world was Christianized.

But *Missions and Modern Thought* was not

about missions only. It was also an apologetic for Christianity, for the new form of Christianity adapted to the conditions of the modern age—modernist Christianity. The old theology, Carver said, had its origins in medieval social constructs. As human religion in the modern era drew closer to "the revelation of God in Christ Jesus," the reconstruction of theology became necessary.[70] The old theology was too provincial and nationalistic. The times demanded a universal religion that interpreted God as the "God of all humanity" who through Christ, the eternal Logos, "lighteth every man that comes into the world."[71] A new theology was therefore inevitable in the modern world. Christianity had always been the most adaptable of all religions, while at the same time it always remained true to its essence. Modern Christianity was "only tearing down her house to build a greater, because new conditions are present."[72]

The new theology recognized that religion was basic to human existence and consisted in human experience of God. "Man is essentially and so permanently religious," Carver wrote.[73] Carver described religion even as Schleiermacher had: "Religion is man's God-consciousness." God-consciousness consisted, Carver explained, of three basic sentiments: "a sense of dependence upon the super-human, the recognition of obligation to the super-human, and desire for fellowship with the super-human."[74]

To reconstruct Christianity, theologians had to recognize and preserve its genuine essence. Carver understood Christianity in modernist terms. He contended that religion was, in its essence, the experience of God's love as the power to live for others. Although Carver held that God revealed himself in history by Jesus Christ, God had always been in the business of revealing himself in the hearts of humans, and did so still. Jesus was the Logos of God, the reason of God, and so enlightened every person. The Christian faith was fundamentally experiential.

But this did not isolate humans from real knowledge of God. Ludwig Feuerbach and other critics of liberalism had argued that if all religion derived from human experience, then it could not transcend the merely human. It was trapped in its own subjectivity. But Carver, like Mullins and many liberals, overcame this criticism by asserting that God was immanent in human experience. Experience bridged the gap between sensation and thought, between matter and spirit. Religious experience and human freedom formed the ground of "personality," which transcended the limitations of physical science. "God is immanent in the world," Carver said, and therefore the forces of both natural and human evolution were "a progressive manifestation of God."[75] The development of human knowledge and culture was therefore "the growth of religion." God was in all things and was bringing his purposes to pass through all things. The new understanding of religion, humanity, and Christ, were but the "new unfolding of Himself" in the world.[76]

It meant also that all religions, despite their ignorance of the fact, were leading to Christianity. All religions, Carver argued, were "more or less successful movements toward God."[77] "The sacred writings of all the faiths" were "preparatory" to the full revelation of Christ. Missionaries saw first that the "Law of Buddha, the Analects of Confucius, the Bhagavad Gita," functioned in reference to Christianity in the same way that the Old Testament did.[78] Thus "we now think of the religions of the world . . . as approaches to God."[79] In sending out the gospel to all religions, God met "his own Spirit" leading people of "dim faith and imperfect religions unto himself."[80]

Every religion followed an evolution from primitive to more enlightened religion. "All religions begin with the impulsive stage," and their real growth and pure development occurred "under the guidance of the inspiration of God."[81] This was true because God was immanent in the world process and in human progress. Human "experience in all the life and movement of the world" was God's "immanent activity."[82]

Salvation in modern Christianity was living for

God and his kingdom. God destined humans to establish a perfect society based on brotherhood and selfless service of others. But humans did not attain such brotherhood until they realized and acknowledged God's fatherly love. "Brotherhood can have no sure foundation except in fatherhood."[83] Christ redeemed persons by revealing God's fatherly love. "His Son becomes our savior by revealing the Father love of God."[84] To live in the knowledge of God's fatherly love is true faith. The cross became the "greatest principle in the rescue and development of human personality" and the "mightiest principle in the evolution of character," because the cross evoked faith in God's fatherly love. It was God's purpose that humans should live in selfless service to each other and the cross revealed "the principle that he who would save his life must continuously lose it."[85] Jesus thus manifested God's fatherhood in his flesh, and for this reason he was called "Redeemer."[86]

Carver urged Christians to adapt their faith to the modern conditions. Christians who ascribed authority to the Bible were missing the point, Carver felt. The true authority was not the Bible but the God to whom the biblical records bore witness. Scripture was an indispensable historical record of God's revelation to men, and recorded the writers' interpretations of God's revelation in their own hearts. The advance of Christianity required the "transfer of Christian authority from the Book to the soul."[87] Christians therefore did not need to fear the ravages of the historical criticism of the Bible. The "attacks on the New Testament" served only to make Christ "more resplendent and more certainly living." They proved that "Jesus Christ can not be taken away."[88]

The realization of Christ's universal love in a world Christianity cast doubt on the traditional doctrine of hell. The new theology did not yet have a final answer, Carver said, concerning the destiny of persons who rejected God's call to acknowledge his fatherhood and live in brotherhood, but he suggested that it was time to dispense with the doctrine of hell. Persons who supported missions from the belief that "the heathen are going to hell" needed to rethink the subject.[89] The truest conception of both the Old and New Testaments was in terms of its revelation of God's universal love for all persons. The Bible in fact did not associate the missionary duty with the doctrine of "eternal damnation," Carver argued. None of the apostles adduced "endless torment" as a "motive of his missionary endeavor. None were even "directly influenced by this." And although Jesus spoke of the "awful doom of hell," he "must have his true interpretation" translated into the "consciousness and consciences of all men."[90]

The loss of the doctrine of hell would not diminish the motive for the missionary enterprise. "What we have lost of the 'tragic realism' of a literal hell," Carver explained, was more than compensated by the "task of bringing whole nations into their destiny of moral life." Modern missionaries were no longer moved by the "emotional enthusiasm of snatching a few souls from the eternal burning."[91] All these modern developments were preparing the world for one universal religion for all men, a world Christianity, founded in the revelation of Christ in the hearts of all men and intended for the development of true personality and perfect society.[92]

E. Y. Mullins and W. O. Carver promoted different visions of progressive religion. Mullins's was an evangelical liberalism better suited for gaining acceptance among traditionalist Southern Baptists. He sought to affirm both scientific truth, derived from empirical methods, and transcendent religious truth, derived from personal experience. Mullins convinced relatively few Southern Baptists to adopt his complete schema, but he convinced many leading pastors and future faculty of important elements of it, especially the experientialist epistemology. Mullins's experientialist faith had wide influence among Southern Baptists and reshaped their piety in significant ways toward pragmatism and individualism. It did not displace the older scripturalism and supernat-

uralism, but rather flourished alongside it. Carver represented a broadly Ritschlian approach that maintained certain central Christian beliefs, but interpreted the faith largely in terms of its ethical commitments. Toy first inspired educated Southern Baptists, mostly graduates of Southern Seminary, to adopt the liberal view of inspiration, but Mullins and Carver had wider influence. Mullins's approach conserved more of the old doctrine and had wider appeal among Southern Baptists generally. Carver's approach became the most popular among Southern Baptist scholars, especially after World War II, when the faculty's liberal convictions distanced them increasingly from the traditional orthodoxy of the founding faculty and from the conservative biblicism of the vast majority of Southern Baptists.

ENDNOTES

[1]This article is adapted from parts of two chapters of my *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1859-2009* (New York: Oxford University, 2009 [forthcoming]). More extensive discussions of Toy, Mullins, and Carver can be found there.

[2]Charles A. Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 286.

[3]C. H. Toy to Charles A. Briggs, 19 Jan. 1877, Charles August Briggs Papers, Series 31, Ledger 5, Letter 773, Archives, Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Briggs, *General Introduction*, 286. In the same letter Toy expressed surprise that Briggs held that the "last redaction of the Pentateuch was made before the Babylonian Exile."

[4]On the new theology, see Gary Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion, 1805-1900* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001); William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1976); Kenneth Cauthen, *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

[5]The first American edition of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* appeared in 1837; the first English edition appeared in 1830.

[6]Toy, "A Bit of Personal Experience," *Religious Herald*, 1 Apr 1880, 1. See also C. H. Toy, quoted in A. J. Holt, Lecture Notes of C. H. Toy's Old Testament Class, 28 Sep 1874, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary ("The word day then can not mean a geological period").

[7]John A. Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce* (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1893), 260.

[8]C. H. Toy, quoted in Holt, Lecture Notes, 9 Oct 1874, 155. See also, unattributed, "News and Notes," *Religious Herald*, 28 Jun 1877. The paper evidently did not publish Toy's article.

[9]Toy, "A Bit of Personal Experience," 1; Toy, "Genesis and Geology," *Religious Herald*, 6 May 1880, 1.

[10]Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 260. See also George F. Moore, "An Appreciation of Professor Toy," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 36 (1919): 12.

[11]Abraham Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State* (trans. Alfred Heath May; London: Williams and Norgate, 1874), 6.

[12]Ibid., 9.

[13]Ibid., 11-12.

[14]Ibid., 13-14.

[15]Ibid., 134-42.

[16]Toy esteemed Kuenen's work highly (Toy, "Kuenen's Life and Work," *Christian Register*, 21 Jan 1892, 4). For another contemporary estimate of Kuenen's role in Old Testament criticism, see T. K. Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), 185-94.

[17]See Toy, "Kuenen's Life and Work," 4.

[18]Holt, Lecture Notes, 151.

[19]Ibid., 168.

[20]Ibid., 182. In 1874 Toy held that it was "morally certain" that Moses wrote Exodus, though Moses could not have written all of it (ibid., 168, 194).

[21]Ibid., 162.

[22]Hugh C. Smith, Lectures in Old Testament English by C. H. Toy, 1877-1878, 130-32, Archives and Special Collections, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (SBTS).

[23]Holt, Lecture Notes, 148-246; Smith, Lectures,

1-139, 132 (quote).

[24]Holt, Lecture Notes, 239; Smith, Lectures, 68.

[25]Smith, Lectures, 44, 49-51, 58-60, 67-69, 118-24.

[26]Ibid., 48, 56-57, 65-68, 108.

[27]Ibid., 108.

[28]Ibid., 125.

[29]Ibid., 124.

[30]Ibid., 125.

[31]Toy, Translator's note, in C. F. D. Erdmann, *The Books of Samuel* (trans. and ed. C. H. Toy and John A. Broadus (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1877), 136-37.

[32]Toy, "Critical Notes," *Sunday School Times*, 9 Feb 1878, 87.

[33]Toy, "Critical Notes," *Sunday School Times*, 12 Jan 1878, 23. As noted above, Toy held that Ezra gave Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch their final form around 400 B.C. See also Toy, *The History of the Religion of Israel* (Boston: Unitarian Sunday School Society, 1882), ix-x.

[34]Toy, "Critical Notes," *Sunday School Times*, 9 Feb 1878, 87.

[35]Toy, "Critical Notes," *Sunday School Times*, 2 Mar 1878, 135.

[36]Toy, "Critical Notes," *Sunday School Times*, 8 Feb 1879, 87.

[37]Toy, "Critical Notes," *Sunday School Times*, 12 Apr 1879, 231.

[38]Toy, "Critical Notes," *Sunday School Times*, 19 Apr 1879, 247.

[39]Toy to John L. Johnson, 16 Dec 1879, John Lipscomb Johnson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[40]Ibid.

[41]C. H. Toy to the Board of Trustees, May 1879, SBTS; Toy, "Full Text of the 'Paper' Offered with the Resignation of Rev. C. H. Toy, D.D., as Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary," *Baptist Courier*, 27 Nov 1879, 2. Also, Toy, "Dr. Toy's Address to the Board of Trustees of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary," *Religious Herald*, 11 Dec 1879, 1.

[42]Toy, "Full Text," *Baptist Courier*, 27 Nov 1879, 2.

[43]Minutes, Board of Trustees, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 7-13 May 1879; James C. Furman, chmn., "Report of Dr. Toy's Committee of Resignation," SBTS; The two who voted against dismissal, John A. Chambliss and D. W. Gwin, submitted a formal statement of protest against the board's action, which the board received. The statement apparently did not survive, as the trustee books of reports, with all such exhibits, were evidently lost for the period through 1888.

[44]John A. Chambliss, "The Trustees of the Seminary and Dr. Toy's Resignation," *Baptist Courier*, 12 June 1879, 2.

[45]William O. Carver, "Recollections and Information From Other Sources Concerning the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary," typescript, 27, SBTS.

[46]Edgar Y. Mullins to Charles S. Gardner, 4 May 1907, Letterbook 31, 1906-1908, 340.

[47]Harold Bloom, *The American Religion* (2nd ed.; New York: Chu Hartley, 2006), 215. Bloom concluded that "pragmatically he is more important than Jonathan Edwards, Horace Bushnell, and the Niebuhrs."

[48]Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1997), 152-55.

[49]Edgar Y. Mullins, "Southern Baptists and the Changing Viewpoint," *Biblical Recorder*, 22 Apr 1903, 2.

[50]Edgar Y. Mullins to Carl Murchison, 24 Sep 1912, in Letterpress Copy Book 42, 27 Jan 1913 – 28 Oct 1913.

[51]Edgar Y. Mullins, "Forty Years of Progress in Theology," ts., 20, box 39, Mullins Papers.

[52]On Mullins's assessment of Kant, Ritschl, and James, see, e.g., Edgar Y. Mullins, *The Christian Religion in Its Doctrinal Expression* (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1917), 193-96, 201-02, 225-26.

[53]See Gary Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion, 1805-1900* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 378-81.

[54]Edgar Y. Mullins, "Pragmatism, Humanism, and Personalism—The New Philosophic Movement," *Review and Expositor* 5 (1908): 510-12.

[55]Edgar Y. Mullins to Frederick White, 22 Dec 1913, in Letterpress Copy Book 43, 29 Oct 1913 – 6 Oct 1914, 176.
[56]Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 68.
[57]Ibid., 180.
[58]Edgar Y. Mullins, "The Meaning of Religion, No. II—Certainty in Religion," *Religious Herald*, 8 May 1919, 4.
[59]Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 134-35.
[60]Edgar Y. Mullins, "The Meaning of Religion," *Religious Herald*, 1 May 1919, 4.
[61]Edgar Y. Mullins to Albert Waffle, 29 Apr. 1914, Letterpress Copy Book 43.
[62]Augustus H. Strong, *Outlines of Systematic Theology* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908), ix.
[63]William O. Carver, "Recollections and Information From Other Sources Concerning the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary," SBTS, 80-81.
[64]Perry Webb Jr., in Transcript, SBC Peace Committee Meeting, 9-10 Jan 1986, tape 4, 7, Honeycutt Papers.
[65]William O. Carver, *Missions and Modern Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 14.
[66]Ibid., 22-23.
[67]Ibid., 34-35, 37-39.
[68]Ibid., 40, 66-67.
[69]Ibid., 52-67, 136
[70]Ibid., 227.
[71]Ibid., 228-29.
[72]Ibid., 231.
[73]Ibid., 194.
[74]Ibid., 122-23.
[75]Ibid., 182.
[76]Ibid., 196, 240.
[77]Ibid., 315.
[78]Ibid., 255-56.
[79]Ibid., 288.
[80]Ibid., 299-300.
[81]Ibid., 124, 131.
[82]Ibid., 158.
[83]Ibid., 169.
[84]Ibid., 155.
[85]Ibid., 164-65.
[86]Ibid., 165.
[87]Ibid., 250.
[88]Ibid., 254.
[89]Ibid., 296-97.
[90]Ibid., 301-06.
[91]Ibid., 298-99.
[92]Ibid., 282.

Southern Seminary and the Reshaping of American Culture: Retrospect and Prospect[1]

Russell D. Moore

INTRODUCTION

The complicated relationship between Southern Seminary and American culture in the twentieth century can be summed up at least in part in the person and work of Jimmy Carter. By this I do not mean a direct connection between the Republic's most famously Southern Baptist president and his denomination's flagship seminary—although some connections exist.

Carter, after all, was a racial moderate in Plains, Georgia, right down the road from the interracial community Koinonia Farm project pioneered by Clarence Jordan—a project that began at Southern Seminary.[2] When Carter ran for president in 1976, Southern Seminary professor Henlee Barnette offered "Clergy for Carter" meetings at his home, and the *Towers* campus newspaper reported that a majority of students at Southern Seminary supported Jimmy Carter for president in 1976, not because he was a Southern Baptist but because of his views on the issues.[3] Carter was among the final commencement speakers under the moderate leadership of the old Southern Seminary in 1992.

These direct connections do exist, but more important are the less obvious correlations. I mean that the social, political, and ecclesial forces that produced the thirty-ninth president of the United States coincided with the high-water mark of Southern Seminary's attempt to engage American culture in the post-World-War II era and to lead Southern Baptist churches and institutions to do the same. Like Carter, Southern Baptist's leadership's twentieth century project was to promote a progressive agenda articulated in a conservative dialect to a populist constituency; both constituencies later revolted against that leadership toward a more conservative model; and, like Carter and his administration, the Southern Baptist Conven-

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SBJT 13.1 (2009): 80-98.

tion and Southern Seminary's displaced leaders moved much more self-consciously to the left in the years out of office.[4]

The tension in the midst of all of this between Southern Seminary's self identity as a prophetic voice in a populist denomination is a reality that has changed in light of the conservative redirection of the convention and the seminary. But it is not altogether gone. The tension still exists. And it should still exist, I would argue—albeit in a different form.

I write not as a historian or a sociologist or even in my role as a theologian and ethicist, but frankly, first and foremost as a partisan. I believe the Conservative Resurgence—or "Fundamentalist Takeover," depending on one's view of things—was a necessary and welcomed return of the seminary and the denomination to its founding charter and ongoing mission. But, though I write as a partisan, I do not write as a Manichean. I do not believe that the legacy of liberalism at Southern Seminary was a wholly failed project. I do not believe that liberalism at Southern Seminary after World War II—though wrong-headed and at times even wicked—was the result of a conspiracy of the ill-intentioned. I certainly do not believe it should be forgotten.

Instead, resurgent conservatives have much to learn about the points at which the institutional and personal heroism of some of the liberal figures in Southern Seminary's last generation were attempting to maintain a prophetic populism—lessons that could be applied today in the quest to forge a confessionally-orthodox, eccleisally-accountable future for the seminary and for the denomination. This means we must examine the points at which this prophetic populism both succeeded and failed, asking why it did so in both cases.

AMERICAN CULTURE AND SOUTHERN SEMINARY'S PAST

Duke McCall—Southern Seminary's seventh president—did not endorse a candidate in the 1976 presidential election in the pages of the seminary magazine, but he almost did. He took media criticism of Jimmy Carter very personally and said so in some of the strongest terms, saying,

> Outside of the deep South, there are many people who think Southern Baptists are not worth knowing. In much of the United States, 'Baptist' carries the connotation of a fringe group. Our own self-image as a denomination responsibly related to American history and to the American decision making process is not widely shared beyond our own churches. Outside of the South, we have not thus far made the right kind of political noises to be taken seriously.[5]

McCall continues,

> Let me illustrate the point. If the Episcopalians have a ridiculous debate over the ordination of women [and McCall does not exactly define how that would be ridiculous], it is viewed as an aberration among dignified, responsible community leaders. But if an emotionally disturbed Southern Baptist gets on the floor in one of our conventions, he is reported as 'typical' even though the embarrassed messengers pay no attention to his proposals.[6]

McCall continued in his article,

> Paint us purple with passion if a public official advocates any form of gambling. Color us absent in the ecumenical meetings. Paint us red with rage if one of our leaders takes a stand on a public issue with which we individually do not agree. But that is only one side of us. We put our money into schools and hospitals. We produce hosts of dedicated young people for all kinds of benevolent causes. We even help the Presbyterians and Episcopalians by providing some of their leadership because of wedding bells. We take our religion so seriously that a sizable percentage of us actually act on our theological convictions some of the time.[7]

McCall defined the perception of Jimmy Carter and Southern Baptists in much of the media as an almost irrational frenzy. He said, "The idea of a Baptist in the White House has sent some Americans into panic. Maybe they did not notice that Harry Truman and Warren G. Harding were Baptist presidents. The trouble is that Jimmy Carter not only is a Southern Baptist—he talks like one."[8]

Now, when McCall wrote that Carter "talks like" a Southern Baptist, he does not specify if he means the content of Carter's evangelical communication (i.e., Carter referring to himself as "born again" and having "a personal relationship with Christ") or Carter's often-imitated south Georgia accent. After all, in 1976 Carter's candidacy was for many Southern Baptists as much a vindication of the Deep South as it was a recognition of evangelical acceptance in the public square. The South's marginalization in American culture from Reconstruction onward weighed heavily on the Southern Baptist Convention that produced the twentieth century Southern Seminary experience.

This can be seen perhaps nowhere more clearly than in Wayne Oates, professor of pastoral counseling at Southern Seminary and a pioneer of the kind of Southern Seminary progressive movement that harbored high ambitions for shaping and reshaping American culture. In his autobiography Oates wrote about the formative experience of being a page in the United States Congress as a young man, saying that

> all the other pages were from privileged homes. They were sons of career government officials, grandsons of senators, sons of wealthy patrons of senators, etc. Yet behaviorally they were less well disciplined than my schoolmates back home. They made fun of my speech, my cotton-mill background, my social shyness, and my personal appearance. They quickly noted that I had a body odor, dental problems, bad breath, and strange speech patterns. For the first year I was tormented, hazed, ridiculed, and beat up on by these people. I sought to make personal friends with them one by one to no avail. Consequently, my time off from work was spent in isolation from these persons. I was alone. That was it.[9]

Oates described this as a "struggle to be free from inferiority"—the inferiority of an impoverished background, of a Southerner in a Northern-directed world. "Respectability itself can be a sort of bondage to people who are 'born with a silver spoon in their mouth'," Oates wrote. "To a person born into poverty, respectability is a hard-earned triumph over being inferior as well as over seeing oneself, and being seen by others, as inferior. The struggle for respectability among other people in the poverty areas where my family lived often took on a religious quality."[10] Oates was hardly alone in this struggle.

Novelist William Faulkner famously told students at the University of Virginia that Southern Baptists are not religious. When a student asked, "Well if they're not religious then what are they?" Faulkner replied, "Well, they're Southern Baptist. I think that is an emotional condition that has nothing to do with God or politics or anything else." And he defined this as coming from times of hardship in the South when "there was little or no food for the human spirit—where there were no books, no theatre, no music, and life was pretty hard and a lot of it happened out in the sun, for very little reward and that was the only escape they had. I think that is the human spirit aspiring toward something. Of course, it got warped and twisted in the process."[11]

Wayne Oates wrote of this struggle to be free from the disadvantages of his impoverished background and his regional identity by seeking to become, in his words, "bilingual" in speaking to American culture. No one was going to take him as anything less than a credible and coherent voice because he was going to be able to speak the language of the ambient culture. And so Oates wrote of "psychotherapeutic wisdom" and "theological wisdom" providing "cross checks" on both fields. Employing Paul Tillich's categories, he wrote of

an "act of correlation" between the two.[12] No one need choose between the old time religion and the new therapeutic ethos; they could co-exist and thrive together.

Oates's project was psychologically adept and theologically sophisticated. He was a brilliant thinker and a dynamic entrepreneur (an unusual combination), able almost singlehandedly to transform not only Southern Baptist perceptions of psychology and mental health but also to re-engineer the way virtually all SBC seminarians were trained in the disciplines of pastoral care. The complex system of clinical pastoral education (CPE) pioneered among Baptists by Oates became the standard for Southern Baptist seminaries and universities in training not only counselors but all ministers. Moreover, Oates's observations of the unique stresses and strains of twentieth-century Americans were perceptive and helpful to pastors. His writings tapped into the same suburban angst and Baby Boom-era despair chronicled in the literary works of John Updike and Phillip Roth. Oates understood—better than most—the times Southern Baptists were facing, and he could "translate" these times into terms Southern Baptists could understand.

Oates's engagement with a tumultuous American culture could be at times naïve and shortsighted. Take for instance Oates's interpretation of the controversial Kinsey Report on human sexuality, the precursor manifesto to the sexual revolution. Oates argued,

> Kinsey and his associates have left to the religious leadership the task of interpreting the data they present. They have set an example of untiring devotion and discipline thoroughness. We can hope for the day when scientists will no longer shirk the task of setting forth the moral implications of their findings, and when religious leaders will have the courage and the freedom to make the matters of human morality factually realistic as well as emotionally attractive.[13]

Oates noted that he did not commend the report as a desk guide for most pastors in counseling (only for use "in the hands of people who have sufficient training and objectivity to evaluate it properly"), but assured Christians that "the scientific honesty and moral integrity of the authors of this book have been clearly established."[14] Oates at least initially didn't seem to recognize that the Kinsey Report wasn't simply an objective distillation of data. It was in fact a moral claim that what is "normal" cannot be "immoral." Oates was, of course, biblically correct when he counsels pastors to patience with those overtaken in sexual sins, but when he used the Kinsey data to do so he was following the exact script the ideologues of a new sexual era had written. Later generations on both sides of the "culture wars" would see this clearly; Oates—and many of his co-laborers on the religious Left—did not.

The same can be seen in Oates's discussion of cohabitation, much later in his ministry. He clearly did not endorse unmarried couples living together. But he articulated this in terms of the fact that marriage is best—for legal, emotional, and sociological reasons. He contextualized cohabitation as a result of societal distrust of social institutions (because of Vietnam and Watergate), societal value of short-term commitments (due, in part, to the Vietnam draft and industry layoffs), loneliness, increasing divorce, and economic pressures.[15] Many of these factors indeed did play a role in the normalization of cohabitation, but what was missing in Oates's critique was an eschatology—the Pauline admonition that the sexually immoral "will not inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor 6:9).

Oates and his colleagues in their project at Southern Seminary were clearly successful to some degree in this correlative project, including in the hopes that they would make the Southern Seminary contribution relevant to the outside secular culture. After all, Oates's obituary in the *New York Times* credits him not first and foremost with his professorial work at Southern Seminary, nor

with his work in developing pastoral counseling; rather, the headline focused on his coining of the phrase, "workaholic." No one was making fun of Wayne Oates. Indeed, the concept and the phrase that he created in order to explain it is quoted on almost a daily basis in every sector of the U.S. to this day. Oates had correlated and spoken in the language of the emerging therapeutic ethos in American culture with distinctively Southern Baptist content in his view.

Oates is unique in his singular success, but he was not unique in the kind of project he was undertaking. The same was taking place in all of the disciplines at Southern Seminary—especially in ethics and biblical studies. The faculty sought a similar correlation, for instance, of the preaching and teaching ministries of the church with the insights of, for instance, German higher criticism and Darwinian scientific insights. This attempt was, again, largely missiological. Southern Baptist progressives believed they were saving the Southern Baptist Convention by being a prophetic voice, calling the SBC away from the missiological dead-end of being the Confederate States of America at prayer. Correlating old-fashioned piety with the highest currents of academic progress was about saving the Southern Baptist witness, in their view, not destroying it, since the progressives read history in an upwardly linear trajectory. Christianity must change or die—and they wanted the faith to survive into a new millennium.

This was hardly an easy project. The ensuing tussle is why Duke McCall—in the institutional crisis of 1958—characterized the controversy between the faculty and the administration as being a dispute over whether or not Southern Seminary would become a Southern Baptist version of Harvard and Yale, a divinity school for elites rather than a seminary for training the preachers of the churches of the Southern Baptist Convention.[16] McCall understood the kinds of people who were paying the bills; he wasn't sure the liberals did—sequestered as they were in their seminary community churches. But it isn't entirely accurate to say that the liberals didn't understand "real Southern Baptists." Most of them, after all, were reared in "real" Southern Baptist churches—with orthodox doctrine and revivalist fervor. That was just the point. They saw these people as the past and the big wide world outside as the future. They knew typical Southern Baptists—and that's what they didn't want to be.

This brings us back to Jimmy Carter. Carter's open explanations of his personal piety were important. But that accent was important, too. It was important to Southerners who saw their regional dialect portrayed as buffoonish or bigoted on "The Beverly Hillbillies," in the voice of Gomer Pyle, or in the regularly broadcast rantings of figures such as George Wallace, Lester Maddox, Bull Conner, and other figures so spiteful and demagogic that they became almost cartoon caricatures of themselves.

But Carter's self-presentation was also important to mainstream Northern, Midwestern, and Western Americans. George McGovern, after all, had been categorized four years earlier by his opponents as the "AAA candidate"—abortion, acid, and amnesty.[17] Though conservatives in 1976 warned that Jimmy Carter's positions had little if any difference on paper than those of George McGovern on those issues, that he was just a "Southern-fried McGovern," their warnings were ineffectual. Tip O'Neill had famously remarked in 1972 that George McGovern had been nominated by the cast of "Hair"—because of the counter-cultural appearance and affectation of the McGovernites. It was the McGovern campaign that, in the words of political scientist Bruce Miroff "shifted power among Democrats from the blue-collar party created during the New Deal to a party dominated by suburban, issue-oriented, and college-educated activists."[18] The McGovern movement seemed—to both supporters and detractors—to be much more than a political campaign. It seemed, to both, to be more evidence of the dawning of the Age of Aquarius. Carter, on the other hand, could quote Paul Tillich, Rein-

hold Niebuhr, Bob Dylan, and Joan Baez, but he could also couch that within an unquestioned personal piety and a mode of discourse that was non-threatening to culturally-conservative Middle America. He too was bilingual.

The project at Southern Seminary proved most influential mid-century among Southern Seminary professors who were the most bilingual, that is, who knew how to both footnote German critical scholars and give a revival meeting altar call. Theologian Dale Moody, for instance, is the classic example of one who could study with Emil Brunner and others while still being able to preach with all the enthusiasm, piety, and fiery rhetoric of a backwoods itinerant evangelist. Even when Moody became a lightning rod of criticism within the denomination, it was not for the modernism that is so clearly articulated in his writings—especially in his magnum opus, *The Word of Truth*—but for his position on apostasy, which was articulated at (of all places) an Arkansas denominational pastor's meetings.[19] Moody's views on apostasy were, to be sure, outside the Southern Baptist confessional tradition (and worthy of his firing), but, in terms of shock value, they were no different than those of an orthodox Free Will Baptist.[20] It was what Moody preached from the biblical text—preached as though he believed it inerrant—that alarmed Southern Baptists, not what he wrote in texts they never read.

Southern Seminary saw itself in the post-World-War-II era increasingly as a "prophetic" voice to the denomination, calling it to progressive movements in American culture they saw as healthy, even providential. This is one of the reasons why, when the conservative movement began in the denomination, the Southern Baptist academy expressed horror at statements (albeit taken out of context) from conservative leaders, such as that if Southern Baptists believe pickles have souls then the seminaries should teach that pickles have souls. This is a statement that fully summed up for many in the Southern Baptist academy—most importantly at Southern Seminary—what was at stake: the tension between being a prophetic voice in a populist denomination.

This tension, at its best, can be seen in an issue on which the progressives were inarguably right: the question of race. Several Southern Seminary professors—most notably Henlee Barnette—were personally heroic and institutionally courageous. As different as I am from them theologically, I would still argue that without the efforts in the civil rights movement of Barnette and others, we would not have a recognizable Southern Baptist Convention today. When it comes to the issue of race and the Southern Baptist controversies, I have made an argument that has been misunderstood by some, so I will reiterate it here.[21] What I am *not* arguing is that the civil rights movement among Southern Baptists was led by conservatives. Let me be very clear. During the most important days of the civil rights movement, conservatives—for the most part—were the villains. Biblical inerrantists often stood on the side of segregation, and those who most clearly articulated a progressive view of race—a view that we all would accept today—were for the most part theologically moderate or liberal.

But that is exactly my point. *There is no culture war on race among Southern Baptists in 2009.* Granted, American culture has moved in a progressive direction on race, but America moved in a progressive direction on sexuality, gender, and other issues while Southern Baptists have moved in the opposite direction—at least in their public pronouncements. Why? I would argue it is because the liberals didn't employ a "culture war" strategy on race in the first place. The civil rights agenda was articulated—by liberals predominantly, yes—through a conservative mode of discourse. Henlee Barnette, for instance, when he spoke to Southern Baptist pastors and churches and seminary students, spoke of civil rights as being about personal regeneration, declaring that Jesus died for people of every racial background. He spoke of white supremacy as being ultimately an issue of individual sin, self-love, and called

those engaged in racial prejudice to repent.[22] It is not simply a social justice issue; it is exactly what Southern Baptists can understand—an issue of sin against God and a violation of the Great Commission of Jesus Christ.

Another Southern Seminary professor, J. J. Owens, spoke of the inconsistency between Southern Baptists taking up a Lottie Moon offering to reach people in Africa, while those same Africans to be converted could not have been received into membership in Southern Baptist churches.[23] They were calling conservative populist Southern Baptists in the churches to account for their own hypocrisy.

They were not alone in this. Martin Luther King Jr., in his 1961 chapel address at Southern Seminary, spoke in much the same way as he almost always did—in terms that sound less like Hegel or Niebuhr and more like King James. In King—whether in Southern Seminary's Alumni Memorial Chapel or before the Lincoln Memorial at the March on Washington—one hears the cadences of the words of Amos, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Jesus. King knew he was not speaking simply to other social progressives. He must reach the conscience of those who have been shaped and formed by the reading and preaching of the Christian Scriptures. And that's exactly what, repeatedly and effectually, he did.

When King was at Southern Seminary, Penrose St. Amant, who was Dean of the School of Theology at the time, hinted that he might like to hire King on the faculty at Southern Seminary to teach preaching. Hinted is the key word. St. Amant later denied that he had actually made an offer because he did not have authority to make that unilateral offer and indeed he did not.[24] Duke McCall protected the seminary from the controversy that ensued over the invitation of King to deliver the Julius Brown Gay Lectures when, for instance, Baptist churches refused to send money to the seminary. All of McCall's engagements on behalf of Southern Seminary in the state of Mississippi, Henlee Barnette reported, were canceled for two years. And McCall also recounted that "a Baptist layman, Mr. W. A. Malone, a member of the First Baptist Church of Dothan, Alabama, raised $50,000 for mass mailing to all the Southern Baptist churches for the expressed purpose of enlisting the churches in an effort to get Dr. McCall fired as president." Dr. McCall said to Malone, "That is a stupid thing to do. Just give me $25,000 and I will resign!"[25]

Progressives prophetically forced conservatives on the basis of the authority that conservatives already expressed—the biblical text and the Great Commission—to a choice between Jesus Christ and Jim Crow. And the conservatives chose Jesus. What is striking about this is that the progressives "won"—yes—but not by being "progressive." This is self-evident in the reality that "progress" didn't come on other issues.

The gender and sexuality issues are one example of this phenomenon. If Barnette was the most recognizable voice on the civil rights issue and Wayne Oates on the question of psychotherapy, theologian Molly Truman Marshall was the most recognizable voice of the feminist movement at Southern Seminary. While her proposals on God-language and the God-world relationship would have placed her on the theological margins of even mainline Protestant theology at the time, her views on egalitarian marriage relationships and in favor of the ordination of women were virtually consensus positions among Southern Baptist elites—and certainly in the Southern Seminary community.[26] Marshall herself argued that feminism was part of the Southern Seminary tradition as far back as W. O. Carver's articulation of "the liberative vision of Jesus and early Christianity" in the matter of gender relations.[27] She called the move toward an egalitarian understanding of gender "another Reformation" sweeping the church.[28] If so, the Southern Baptist wing of the church responded with a counter-Reformation culminating in the 2000 *Baptist Faith and Message* statement with its traditionalist view of male headship in the church and home.

Marshall was correct to note that American culture was on her side of this question, starting with the expansion of women in the workforce in the 1940s and into theological studies in the 1960s and 1970s.[29] Indeed, the egalitarian view of sex roles arguably was even more consonant with the ambient culture than was the pro-civil rights view of race. Women, after all, made strides in almost all social and political categories (with the obvious exception of election to the presidency of the United States) earlier than African-Americans or other minorities. The feminist movement was as celebrated in American popular culture as the civil rights movement—if not more so (see, for instance, the feminist spin of everything from 1970s situation comedies to the shifting presentation of heroines in Disney animated films). Americans are now accustomed to seeing women serve in roles from corporate CEO to NASCAR driver to astronaut to Secretary of State. The progressive view of the relationship between the genders was fully consonant with the movement of American culture toward feminism and gender equality.

But feminism was not received by Southern Baptists—although racial progress was. This is the case even among Southern Baptists who hold in their personal lives to something far short of a "complementarian" marriage or church structure. Even those who don't understand or live out male headship believe they do—or believe they ought to—and they certainly affirm the Bible teaches it. That's quite a different story from the Southern Baptist trajectory on race. Why?

Quite simply, biblical texts teach the complementary aspects of the male/female duality, and affirm male headship. From Southern Seminary and other progressives, Southern Baptists heard how these texts cannot possibly mean what they seem to say. Henlee Barnette, for instance, dismissed passages such as Paul's affirmation of male headship in 1 Corinthians 11 as due to the fact that the Apostle "was a creature of his time." Paul "was Jewish in practical matters as seen in his limitations on the freedom of women in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, but he had a vision of the principle of liberation in Jew-Gentile, slave-free, male-female relations" in Gal 3:28.[30] Barnette could conclude, as he did, that those who "argue against liberation in the male-female category must also, to be consistent, support slavery and racism," but his argument wasn't persuasive to those who held to Scripture as the definitive authoritative norm—that is, the vast majority of Southern Baptist Christians.[31]

The same is true on the question of bioethics and the sanctity of human life. The culture has moved toward liberalization on issues such as abortion rights while Southern Baptists have veered in the opposite direction. On this one as well, Southern Seminary's liberal professoriate tried to move Southern Baptists with the culture. Ethicist Paul Simmons, the most theologically radical figure in the history of Southern Seminary when it comes to the issue of the denial of the dignity of unborn human life, spoke of the emerging pro-life movement as being the equivalent of the McCarthy era and the Salem witch trials, and that it would be just as repudiated by history.[32]

Addressing the abortion issue theologically, Simmons wrote,

> The one who unquestionably fits this portrayal is the woman or mother in question. Because the pregnancy is hers, so the decision is uniquely hers. Certainly, the entire circle of those most intimately involved with the abortion question are persons—reflecting on the meaning of this moment, considering the data, weighing the facts of the past, anticipating the future and making some decision. The abortion question focuses on the personhood of the woman, who in turn considers the potential personhood of the fetus in terms of the multiple dimensions of her own history and the future.[33]

Simmons concludes, "This is a god-like decision. Like the Creator, she reflects upon what is good for the creation of which she is an agent. As stew-

ard of those powers, she uses them for good and not ill—both for herself, the fetus and the future of humankind itself."[34]

Simmons was the most brazen, but he was hardly alone. Henlee Barnette, for instance, in an argument for an ecological ethic, writes about responsible parenthood mentioning both Oregon Senator Bob Packwood's voluntary means of population control and Paul Erhlich's coercive means of population control, while making no distinction in the article as to the moral integrity of either. Instead, Barnette states that

> regardless of the debate about voluntary or coercive approaches to the problem of birth control, the Christian ethic calls for responsible parenthood. No parents have the right to produce more children than they can adequately care for. Hence, parents must evaluate their own and the world's situation and in the light of love and reason, mutually agree on the number of offspring they should have and use the most effective birth control methods available to achieve their goal.[35]

Only one year after the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision, Wayne Oates wrote dispassionately about legalized abortion along with accelerating contraceptive technology creating "increased control" women have over their own bodies "because of more effective contraceptives and the legalization of abortions."[36]

Of course, conservative Southern Baptists were slow (much too slow) to join the Roman Catholic-led pro-life movement. Biblical inerrantists such as W. A. Criswell and W. O. Vaught made initial apologies for denying "personhood" to "the fetus" until the "breath of life" at birth. As with segregationist thought, though, such viewpoints fell away into a consensus so strong that the right to unborn life was articulated in resolution after resolution from the beginnings of the conservative resurgence to the present day and included in the 2000 *Baptist Faith and Message*. Southern Baptist churches in the 1960s, 1970s, and even the 1980s, did not have a carefully developed ethic of the sanctity of human life like the full-orbed theology of Pope John Paul II's *Human Vitae* and *Theology of the Body*. But there was, in Southern Baptist churches, an intuitional moral revulsion at the idea of a "god-like" decision to take the life of the fetus. The very rhetoric employed would have seemed, to biblically-literate Southern Baptists who heard it, to sound suspiciously like monologue they'd heard before, from a reptilian mouth in the opening pages of their Bibles (Gen 3:1-5). One doesn't need sophisticated bioethical training to discern that the God of Jesus Christ is on the side of the life of babies, not on the side of those who justify killing them. The conscience that served progressives on the race question witnessed against them on the life question.

The progressive agenda was frustrated by the populist constituency within the Southern Baptist Convention. Often Southern Seminary professors and their allies in the convention articulated this as being a problem of a lack of education of ministers and laity. Richard Marius for instance, an alumnus of this institution, wrote about Bailey Smith's election to the presidency of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1980 and why this was so incredible to so many in the Southern Baptist academy, arguing that "the moderates have imbibed the scholarly, critical approach to the Bible. That is how the Bible is taught in Southern Baptist seminary classrooms by professors who have taken sabbaticals in Oxford or in Cambridge or in German universities."[37] These moderates, Marius concluded, "dare not make clear pronouncements about their true beliefs, and their language swims with annoying futility in a defensive smokescreen that fundamentalists claim (with some justice, I think) is dishonest and deceitful."[38]Marius argued that moderates often dismissed "fundamentalists" because of class and education divisions as much as because of theological ones. Marius wrote,

> One of the moderates, pastor of a large, comfortable church, told me privately that the real trouble with Bailey Smith was that he served a one-class "blue-collar congregation" and that he had never been a member of a downtown Rotary Club. It gave me pause to realize that a moderate (who happened to be a former president of the denomination) prized the Rotary Club as a civilizing influence and as a standard for proper behavior.[39]

Southern Baptist churches increasingly saw Southern Seminary as not only disconnected from church life, but hostile to it. And this was articulated not merely by the conservative opposition to the Southern Seminary faculty and administration. Clayton Sullivan, a Ph.D. graduate of Southern Seminary, reflecting on his experience at Southern, writes of "anticlericalism" in the classroom at Southern Seminary in the era in which he studied in the twentieth century. Sullivan said,

> Most professors under whom I studied at Southern had no prolonged experience in the pastorate. That was unfortunate because they had no appreciation of the role the church plays in the lives of common people. They had no real understanding of what ministers do in relating to folk in the crises of life when sickness, divorce, tragedy, and death come. Maybe if all my seminary teachers had each conducted a hundred funerals the administration-faculty conflict I am relating would never have taken place. But in any case, because of their anticlericalism and denominational hostility some members of the faculty were not primarily interested in Southern Seminary as a service to the Southern Baptist Convention, as a preparatory school for working pastors. They wanted it to be a divinity school—the Harvard of the evangelical world, with a hyperintellectual approach to the Christian faith. They placed it in a world somehow "above" the Southern Baptist Convention and its fried-chicken-eating churches, a Laputa for Protestants alienated from their roots.[40]

Some of this alienation was undoubtedly the result of a disappointed idealism about the church's potential in leading American culture toward social justice. And this was not new. In his recent biography of William Whitsitt, James Slatton writes about Whitsitt's conflict in relating to his constituency because, as Slatton writes,

> Whitsitt had developed into a gentleman of considerable refinement as well as scholarship. He prized dignity, proper decorum, good company, and elevated interests, such as the classics he studied in his spare hours. While Baptist churches had a share of the people of privilege and refinement in the communities they served, they were predominantly and overwhelmingly churches of the common folk. Whitsitt's correspondence and diaries show he had not lost the common touch or his respect for the rank-and-file Baptist, but he also yearned for a communion and fellowship more congenial to his sensibilities. That impulse alone would not have moved him to leave the Baptists. He thought mainly in terms of duty. He was torn between his commitment to Baptist principles and the evident failure of Baptist churches to produce better results.[41]

The same kind of language is used in the mid to late twentieth century by some Southern Seminary professors. Barnette, for instance, was very critical of the social gospel as naïve about human depravity. He was a Niebuhrian after all. But he quoted, tellingly, Brooks Hays, United States congressman from Arkansas, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and a courageous leader on the issue of race who said, "'Don't be shocked if you find our government more Christian than the church on such issues as racial discrimination and economic justice.'"[42] Barnette concluded, "There is a measure of truth in this statement. The church has been prone to drag

its institutional feet on the most crucial issues of our day while political forces have moved in to right social wrongs."[43] And Barnette's antidote to this consisted mostly of the education of the individual, registering voters and church teaching from Romans 13 on the usefulness of the State.[44]

As Southern Seminary developed an increasingly higher view of social justice, and an increasingly lower view of the church's ability to meet that standard, the end result was a protest movement. From the vantage point of liberal Baptist historian Bill J. Leonard, the Baptist establishment—including its nexus at 2825 Lexington Road in Louisville, Kentucky—lost the ability to connect with its populist denomination, and thus became more and more the "Democratic party of the Southern Baptist Convention," a "coalition of diverse subgroups unable to agree on a common vision for the denomination or evoke the focused ideological intensity that characterized the fundamentalist camp."[45] Like the struggling Democrats of the late twentieth century, the older generation of Baptist moderates relied on a message of Big Government to try to sway the masses, but found the appeal of such government was waning. As Leonard put it, the Baptist establishment "often promoted the programmatic and corporate identity of the denomination, thereby contributing to the impersonal, bureaucratic image that the fundamentalists exploited."[46] And, again like the bleakest days of the Democratic Party, beneath the attempt at government as a unifying theme was a student protest movement consisting of special interest groups and causes.

The final throes of opposition to the conservative resurgence at Southern Seminary looked something like the 1968 Democratic National Convention—only held on the seminary lawn, complete with long hair, tie-dyed T-shirts, sit-ins, and Pete Seeger guitar sessions on the steps of the James P. Boyce library. This wave of protest—launched by the election of conservative Albert Mohler as Southern Seminary's ninth president—might have been cathartic for the faculty and students involved, but it was hardly effective in communicating with Southern Baptists. Anyone familiar with the lyrics of Merle Haggard's song "Okie from Muskogee" could have predicted the conservative backlash—and Molly Marshall was, in fact, an Okie from Muskogee. The ethos of the left-wing dissent looked and sounded more and more distant from the churches of the Southern Baptist Convention. The progressives gave up on populism, and their cause was over.

AMERICAN CULTURE AND SOUTHERN SEMINARY'S FUTURE

If the moderate Southern Baptist Convention looked something like Jimmy Carter, the conservative resurgence within the Southern Baptist Convention arguably looked something like Ronald Reagan. Bill Leonard noted that when Adrian Rogers was elected president of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1986, Charles Stanley—the outgoing president—read a letter from president Reagan that expressed gratitude that "so many of the proud liberal myths … have shriveled up and look as though the next strong wind should blow them away."[47]

Just as Reagan was portrayed by his critics as an anti-intellectual amiable dunce, so were the conservative leaders in the Southern Baptist Convention. And just as we now see from the personal diaries and writings of Reagan that he was far more intellectually engaged than the caricature, the same is true of leaders such as Adrian Rogers and Jerry Vines and Paige Patterson—each of whom were razor-sharp intellects and sophisticated theological wits, as interlocutors such as moderate Cecil Sherman would acknowledge.[48] Just as Ronald Reagan was able to speak directly to the populist values of his constituency, Southern Baptist leaders (especially mega-church pastors) had both the venue and the ability to do the same. Critics attempted to make Ronald Reagan seem like a war-hungry ideologue—just as they did Barry Goldwater a generation before—but his hopeful, optimistic communication countered this in the

eyes and ears of his hearers. In the same way, the Southern Baptist establishment tried to convince Baptists that the conservatives were "independent fundamentalists" of the J. Frank Norris stripe, but it didn't work with people who had heard Charles Stanley preach or Adrian Rogers pray or Bailey Smith plead with the lost to be saved.

But the Reagan narrative is more complicated than either his defenders or his detractors often present it. Reagan didn't go to church. Reagan was estranged from his rebellious children. Reagan had what no one would call a "complementarian" marriage. His closest friends were the media elite, his speechwriters and supporters castigated. When Jimmy Carter said that he had stayed with a Hispanic family during the 1980 campaign, Ronald Reagan quipped that he stayed with a Hispanic family as well—in the home of television *Fantasy Island* star Ricardo Montalban. He was, in the words of songwriter Kris Kristofferson, "a walking contradiction, partly truth and partly fiction." In an era of arguably the most self-consciously pro-life president, you also had the rise of a consumer culture that gave us the nighttime sex dramas *Dallas* and *Dynasty*. Even as we saw the end of Soviet totalitarianism, we didn't notice that the free market we so praised was quietly and entrepreneurially pioneering the technology that would never give us a Strategic Defense Initiative nuclear shield but would give us Internet pornography. When he spoke, though, Reagan could call forth the ideals of an American Republic its citizens—especially the swing voters of the working and middle classes—could identify as what they had been taught to hope their country could be.

After Reagan, though, the contradictions of American conservatism became strained, and some of Reagan's most idealistic supporters grew to wonder what had actually been gained. After all, abortion is still legal. Marriage is even more contested. The sexual revolution has hardly abated. The Reagan Administration may have been about smaller government, but it's hard to say which New Deal or Great Society program or bureaucracy was wiped away, and government spending could hardly be said to be curtailed with massive deficits tallied at the end of the eight-year revolution. The Cold War is won, but the world is, it seems, even more unstable and in some ways scarier. Most conservatives—and arguably most Americans—believe the Reagan Revolution was a good idea, but many wonder just how "revolutionary" it actually was.

A similar scenario is being played out within the Baptist Right. Conservatives during the controversy often pointed to the statistical success of conservative churches—in membership, attendance, and baptisms—as indicators of God's blessing, over against the declining baptisms and waning evangelism of moderate and liberal Baptist churches and certainly the left-wing Protestant mainline. Now, however, conservatives are alarmed by declining baptism and moribund evangelistic statistics.[49] Conservatives lampooned the nepotism and cronyism of the Southern Baptist establishment, a key aspect of their populist appeal. Now, however, younger conservative Southern Baptists question the same thing when they see the same list of speakers at virtually every denominational gathering at the local, state, or national level. Conservative resurgents countered the idea that loyalty to the bureaucracy equals loyalty to the Great Commission—and so Adrian Rogers famously declared that the Cooperative Program was becoming a "golden calf."[50] Now, however, some conservative Southern Baptists complain that the definition of CP giving—through what they sometimes consider wasteful and overlapping state convention structures—is unfair and nonsensical. Now whether these concerns and critiques are right or wrong is beside the point. The question of conservative cooperation in the next century is a live debate.

Whatever frustrations conservative Southern Baptists may experience, however, are tiny compared to the chaos ensuing among what used to be the left-wing of the Southern Baptist Convention. From the point of view of orthodox Baptists,

the conservative resurgence restored a degree of trust between the bureaucracy and the churches that support the cooperative mission. The resurgence restored the confessional basis upon which Southern Baptists have agreed to cooperate and continue to agree to cooperate throughout the history of the denomination. But the resurgence did not settle all the issues; it merely clarified that it is the canon of Scripture that is our common authority, and that it is truthful, accurate, and God-originated.

In the midst of all of this, Southern Seminary once again—albeit in a different way—has to play the role of the prophetic populist voice. The turnaround of the Southern Baptist Convention is nowhere more obvious than in the faculty assembled by Southern Seminary president Albert Mohler since 1993 and in his role, personally, as a theological leader of the Convention. Due to Mohler's leadership—along with co-laborers such as David Dockery, Daniel Akin, Thom Rainer, and others—Southern Seminary is an "ideas center" for orthodoxy and mission in the Southern Baptist Convention. The responsibility of Southern Seminary over the next fifty to one hundred years is sobering, and the challenges faced are even more so.

Newly elected Metropolitan Jonah of All America and Canada of the Orthodox Church in America has spoken about the fact that the Orthodox Church in America is so identified with a cultural identity rather than an outward mission that it is becoming in many cities little more than ethnic food- and dance-festival promoters. The same could be true with Southern Baptists, except with sequined quartets and dinners on the ground. The answer though, it seems to me, lies in a missional rootedness in which Southern Seminary trains a generation that is not living in rebellion against the rural agrarian blue-collar roots of the real churches that gave birth to the seminary and that we continue to support, but also does not substitute cultural hegemony—that of the Bible Belt of yesteryear—for the Koinonia of the Spirit of the Christ.

Part of the problem is that Southern Baptists have, for too long, defined success as our ability to reach "the right kind of people." Just as the liberals before us found "freedom from inferiority" by being taken seriously by Harvard and Yale, we often seek the same thing by seeing to it that our churches are filled with upwardly mobile suburbanites or early trend-adopting urbanites. Yes, we must—as did the first-century church—reach people in every economic category, but a dismissal of our rural blue-collar roots evidences not only ingratitude and a lack of self-awareness but also theological and missiological shortsightedness.

The reason that Pentecostalism is exploding across the globe, especially in what Phillip Jenkins calls the global South, is because Pentecostalism is able to speak to the poor and the marginalized—to those who are not part of the elite classes. Why would Southern Baptists give up the opportunity to speak to such people, people whose economic and cultural roots are so similar to our own even when—perhaps especially when—their language and skin color are dissimilar from our own? Southern Seminary can and must train pastors who value education but who do not see education as a means to "transcend" people whom the culture around us deems less than valuable—the poor, the uneducated, the rural, the "uncool." At the same time, Southern Seminary is to be a prophetic voice constantly calling Southern Baptist churches and the convention itself to question those things endemic to our own culture that drag us away from our common theology and common mission.

A temptation for Southern Baptists in the next generation will be the same temptation that fell to Oates and Barnette and others in the Southern Seminary tradition which is to speak to issues because of how well-received they are in culture around them while muting those deemed by the culture to be "backward" or "yesterday." Take ecology, for instance. I write as one who would be to the left of most of the Southern Baptist Convention on the issue of environmental and ecological

issues, but some are speaking of ecological concern as a means of reaching people "where they are" because secular Americans are already concerned about ecology. Should the church speak to environmental stewardship? Yes. Is environmental stewardship a key part of the cultural mandate and thus the church's mission? Yes. Is environmental stewardship a way to build the kind of common ground that would then bring about an easier reception of the gospel? I believe the answer is no. The church must speak to ecological stewardship but it must speak to it in ways that will sound dissonant to the ambient culture—including whatever "Green" trends come and go. We must speak to a broader ecology—that is ecclesial, familial, and sexual as well as cosmic. This will be resisted by the present age—as it always is—but it will clearly lay forth the distinctive sound of the Christian message.

Southern Seminary must train pastors to think through the issues that are not being asked or considered by the culture or, more importantly, by the churches. Ronald J. Sider, for instance, has written compellingly and with conviction of the hypocrisy of an evangelical church culture in which divorce rates are the same or higher than those of the outside culture. Why are conservative Southern Baptist preachers not disturbed to the point of tears and all-night prayer meetings over such? Wayne Oates, of all people, wrote in mid twentieth century of the problem of the Southern Baptist "marrying parson," the pastor present in almost every town who will marry—as Oates put it—"any and all persons for a fee." Oates lists all the self-justifying rationalizations this pastor tends to rattle off: "If I don't marry these people, somebody else will" or "This 'opens the door to win them to Christ.'" Oates wrote that these marrying parsons are "oblivious to the superstition of the persons marrying about wanting a minister to marry them. They are naïve about the way the church is 'used.'" Oates called this a "*laissez-faire* approach to divorce" and he repudiated it.[51] Wayne Oates, here, I would argue, is more conservative and more prophetic than we are on this issue, and that is to our shame. Divorce has not become moral in our eyes, but it has become normal. This normality puts us at odds with Holy Scripture, with Jesus himself, and with our ability to be relevant to the people crushed beneath a soul-devouring divorce culture. In what other ways are we too normal to be prophetic?

Cultural libertarianism and global capitalism make for a volatile mix. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Southern Seminary must recognize that the era of the Bible belt is over. Southern Baptist churches will then, by definition, if they remain orthodox and evangelistic, seem increasingly odd. Southern Seminary must equip pastors and church leaders who will know what this oddity must look like—by distinguishing a biblical Christian conservation of historic orthodoxy from what passes for "conservatism" in the world around us—even among those we too often have named as our allies. What we mean by conservatism cannot be Fox News with prayer requests. It is the oddness of Southern Baptist churches, though, that will secure the future for these churches. Only those churches with something distinctive to say will have a voice for the burned over generations of men and women seeking something more permanent than the cruel and tireless tyrannies of Bacchus, Mammon, and Aphrodite.

The recovering of confessional accountability is a first and necessary step, then, to Southern Seminary's future. The most important aspect of Mohler's re-emphasis on the Abstract of Principles upon his election was not, first of all, fidelity to the document but accountability *to the churches* through fidelity to the doctrines outlined in the confessional statement. This necessitates a theologically and morally vigilant president and dean and board of trustees, to be sure, but it also necessitates the right kind of collegiality and interdisciplinary cohesion among the Southern Seminary faculty. Disciplinary silos will inevitably lead left. When biblical studies narrow down to mere mor-

phology or archaeology or literature, theologians are needed in the conversation to call biblical scholars to teach what the text means. The disciplines of theology and ethics are perhaps the most vulnerable to historical myopia and thus to faddishness. We need historians who are familiar enough with the patristic, medieval, Reformation, and contemporary eras to raise questions and insights when they see these disciplines making well-intentioned but misguided return trips to Vanity Fair. Abstraction also leads to the Left, which is why biblical scholars and biblical theologians are necessary to point systematic theologians and philosophers away from mere categories and toward the narrative of the Scripture itself. Disciplinary boundaries should never be so rigid that a biblical scholar cannot explain, for instance, not only that he agrees with how the apostles interpreted the Old Testament but how to model such interpretation—of the Bible and the rest of reality, in light of Christ—for the preaching and teaching and counseling ministries of the church. The so-called "practical disciplines" of preaching and evangelism and spirituality should be as academically robust as the so-called "classical disciplines" and should hold the seminary accountable—in every field of study—to demonstrate how whatever aspect of Scripture or doctrine or philosophy under consideration contributes to the mission of Christ and his church.

We must also ensure that our confessional conservatism is not reflexive reaction. Ideas are not to be opposed simply because non-orthodox people once trumpeted them (or continue to do so). Religious liberty and the separation of church and state, for instance, are not "liberal" ideas. Yes, some liberals held to (sometimes highly decontextualized and hyperbolic versions of) these concepts, but they originated with our "fundamentalist" forebears under persecution in England and colonial America, and they are, when rightly understood, rooted in the gospel itself. Do we really want an unregenerate teacher instructing an unregenerate student to pray "Our Father, who art in heaven" because of some bureaucratic edict? Do we really wish to tax citizens to pay for Muslim mosques or Mormon temples or Baptist family life centers? Of course we do not—because we believe the spheres of the state and the church are separate, and that only the Spirit—not any Caesar—can call forth authentic faith.

Paying attention to Southern Seminary's past can help us to see the heroic nature of putting one's life and reputation on the line for an issue of gospel importance. The civil rights issue is at the forefront of such. It can also help us to see ways that we might be blinded by our social, cultural, and political commitments just as our predecessors were, but in different ways. It is easy for conservatives to see how moderates and liberals became chaplains for a progressive American cultural order—providing a benedictory blessing for everything from feminism to pacifism to environmental activism. It is not as simple for us to see how we could be just as easily co-opted in the same way for anything from corporate environmental degradation to technologically-fueled consumerism to unjust or unwise warmongering to robber baron economics.

Being ecclesially accountable, though, is not enough. If Southern Seminary is to remain viable in a time of shifting cultural context, the seminary must also be self-consciously ecclesially rooted. This will mean the recovery of a vibrant ecclesiology. One of the reasons I am most optimistic about the future of the Southern Baptist Convention is because of the renaissance of concern for community and ecclesiology. Discussions over baptism, the Lord's Supper, elder governance, church discipline, and the whole gamut may be controversial in the short run, but the conversations themselves are a demonstration that Southern Baptists are beginning to re-remember where the locus of God's activity is—in the Body of Christ.

The danger that was faced by the liberals in the past generation of a certain kind of social justice utopianism are just as real for resurgent conservatives at Southern and elsewhere at the level of a

theological utopianism. Whether or not the system is Calvinism, Landmarkism, or anything in between, there can be a tendency to give up on the church when the church does not meet ideals that are presented. Just as our liberal forebears grew impatient with local congregations for their lack of urgency with regard to social justice, we too can face the test of seeking to replace the church with something else—to our own destruction. Southern Seminary students must continue to see that the outpost of the kingdom of God in this age is not a classroom lectern, the Oval Office, or a parachurch ministry; it is a covenant community of believers accountable to one another in a local assembly. This means Southern Seminary students must know not only how to diagram Greek and Hebrew sentences, but how to love and to live with those who don't have their English subjects and verbs in perfect order. For the most part, that cannot be taught in a classroom, but it can and must be emphasized and modeled.

The kind of "anticlericalism" Clayton Sullivan encountered among his professors could just as easily happen among orthodox, confessionally accountable faculty members as among the liberals of Sullivan's seminary experience. This is why Southern Seminary must strive for the tension of high academic expectations while combating the ever-present temptation to elitism. In recapturing the heritage of founder James P. Boyce, we must also guard his founding vision for a seminary in touch with the commonness of biblical Christianity. In the 1856 address that laid forth his idea for theological education, Boyce said,

> Trace our history back, either through the centuries that have long passed away or in the workings of God in the last hundred years, and it will be seen that the mass of the vineyard laborers have been from the ranks of fishermen and tax gatherers, cobblers and tinkers, weavers and ploughmen, to whom God has not disdained to impart gifts, and whom He has qualified as His ambassadors by the presence of that Spirit by which, and not by might, wisdom, or power, is the work of the Lord accomplished.[52]

The answer to this is not simply adding pastoral experience to the list of qualifications for faculty members. By itself, this could actually have the opposite effect from that intended. One could conceive of a faculty of burned-out ex-pastors seeking refuge from deacons and building programs and, well, people, by serving behind a classroom lectern. Southern Seminary founder John Broadus was correct when he wrote, "No man is fit to be a theological professor who would not really prefer to be a pastor."[53] Southern Seminary can ensure its future prophetic voice by ensuring that the church is the focal point of all instruction. This means that no future generation of Southern Seminary students should hear their professors sarcastically deriding the "typical Southern Baptist sermon" or the "typical Southern Baptist church." Southern Baptist churches will be—and should be—criticized by future Southern Seminary faculty members but only by seminary professors who clearly see themselves as insiders calling churches and pastors they adore to their common first love.

This is precisely why I am optimistic about Southern Seminary's future. Thomas R. Schreiner, arguably the most significant Southern Baptist biblical scholar since A. T. Robertson, preaches every Sunday in a congregation down the street from his seminary office. Bill Cook, one of the most popular classroom lecturers on the seminary's faculty, pastors a thriving congregation. Theologian Chad Brand, one of the most prolific writers in Southern Baptist life, pastors a flock in nearby Elizabethtown every Sunday morning. Hershael York, one of the Convention's most respected preaching professors, pastors a church in the Kentucky state capital, and as a former state convention president serves as a kind of unofficial "bishop," encouraging and equipping fellow pastors all around the state and beyond. And the list of such faculty members

could go on and on. This is a good sign.

Who knows what the future looks like for the United States of America? Will the generations to come have a discernible Christian memory? Will there be persecution or marginalization? Will our grandchildren be grappling with the question of how to evangelize human clones or with the ethics of artificial intelligence or how holographic transmission dehumanizes conversation? We don't know. We do know that the church is the outpost of the kingdom of Christ. We do know that the church is the "pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim 3:15 NASB). And we know that the gates of hell—much less the waves of American culture—cannot overcome it. This means that Southern Seminary must speak prophetically to the church but must always do so as the church's servant, knowing, in the end, the church will survive even if, God forbid, Lexington Road is underwater or the Statue of Liberty is buried beneath the rubble of a dead civilization.

In short, in order to reshape American culture, we must give up on reshaping American culture. We must instead turn to reshaping Southern Baptist churches, including reshaping the way they feed from and respond to American culture. In order to save our influence, we must lose it. Otherwise, we will become increasingly similar to the culture around us and therefore increasingly irrelevant. And the culture we seek to save may say to us with an amiably dismissive shrug what one unchurched American once said to a Southern Baptist Sunday school teacher a generation ago, "There you go again."

ENDNOTES

[1]This article was originally delivered as an address to the Center for the Study of the Southern Baptist Convention's February 2009 conference on Southern Seminary and the History of American Christianity.

[2]For the history of the Koinonia experiment, see Tracy Elaine K'Meyer, *Interracialism and Christian Community in the Postwar South: The Story of Koinonia Farm* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2000).

[3]"Carter Wins Survey," *Towers*, 25 October 1976, 1.

[4]For Carter's articulation of his religious development since leaving office, see Jimmy Carter, *Our Endangered Values: America's Moral Crisis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006).

[5]Duke McCall, "The Baptist Threat," *The Tie*, October/November 1976, 12.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Wayne E. Oates, *The Struggle to Be Free: My Story and Your Story* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 31.

[10]Ibid., 36.

[11]*Faulkner in the University: Class Conferences at the University of Virginia, 1957-1958* (ed. Frederick L. Gwynn and Joseph L. Blotner; New York: Vintage, 1959), 189-90.

[12]Wayne E. Oates, *Pastoral Counseling* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 57.

[13]Wayne E. Oates, "A Critique of the Kinsey Report," *Review and Expositor* 46 (1949): 352.

[14]Ibid., 348.

[15]"The Care of 'Living Together' Couples: An Interview with Wayne E. Oates," *Journal of Family Ministry* 12 (1998): 57-60.

[16]For an analysis and interpretation of the 1958 controversy between the Southern Seminary administration and faculty, see Gregory A. Wills, *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary: 1859-2009* (New York: Oxford University, 2009). For McCall's recollection, see Duke McCall (with A. Ronald Tonks), *Duke McCall: An Oral History* (Brentwood, TN: Baptist History and Heritage Society, 2001), 161-211.

[17]The famous "triple-A candidate" quip was offered by U.S. Sen. Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), but was adapted from an earlier comment by an unidentified liberal Democratic U.S. Senator warning about the perils of a McGovern candidacy to columnist Robert Novak. Novak identified this anonymous Democratic detractor years after the senator's death as U.S. Sen. Tom Eagleton (D-Mo.) who would go on, of course, to later serve—for a brief time—as McGovern's running mate. Robert D. Novak, *The Prince of Darkness:*

Fifty Years of Reporting in Washington (New York: Crown Forum, 2007), 224-27.

[18]Bruce Miroff, *The Liberals' Moment: The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 2.

[19]For Moody's own perceptions of the apostasy controversy, see Dale Moody, *Apostasy: A Study in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in Baptist History* (Macon: Smyth and Helwys, 1997).

[20]For a compelling rebuttal of Moody's position on perseverance from within the Reformed confessional consensus of the Southern Baptist tradition, see Tom J. Nettles, *By His Grace and for His Glory: A Historical, Theological, and Practical Study of the Doctrines of Grace in Baptist Life* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1986), 322-47.

[21]Curtis Freeman, "'Never Had I Been So Blind': W. A. Criswell's 'Change' on Racial Segregation," *Journal of Southern Religion* 10 (2007): 1-12. Freeman responds, in part, to my "Crucifying Jim Crow: Conservative Christianity and the Quest for Racial Justice," *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 8 (2004): 4-23.

[22]Henlee Barnette, *Crucial Problems in Christian Perspective* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 117-25.

[23]From transcript of oral history interview by Becky England and Diana Frederick with J. J. Owens, Estill Jones, Henry Turlington, and Wayne Ward, April 1986, James P. Boyce Centennial Library and Archives, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

[24]Henlee Barnette, "The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and the Civil Rights Movement: The Visit of Martin Luther King, Jr., Part Two," *Review and Expositor* 93 (1996): 103-05.

[25]Ibid., 93.

[26]For examples of her articulation of a Baptist feminist theology, see Molly T. Marshall, "Galatians 5:1, 13-14: Free Yet Enslaved," *Review and Expositor* 91 (1994): 233-37; and "The Promise of Feminist Theology for Baptist Theology," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 25 (1998): 99-104.

[27]Molly T. Marshall, "Engaging Gender Relations," *Review and Expositor* 101 (2004): 38.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Henlee Barnette, "Coarchy: Partnership and Equality in Man-Woman Relations," *Review and Expositor* 75 (1978): 23.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Paul D. Simmons, "A Theological Response to Fundamentalism on the Abortion Issue," *Church and Society* 71 (1981): 34-35.

[33]Paul D. Simmons, *Personhood, the Bible, and the Abortion Debate* (Washington D.C.: Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, 1987), 8.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Henlee H. Barnette, "Toward an Ecological Ethic," *Review and Expositor* 69 (1972): 31.

[36]Oates, *Pastoral Counseling*, 205.

[37]Richard Marius, "Musings on the Mysteries of the American South," *Daedalus* 113 (1984): 161.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Clayton Sullivan, *Called to Preach, Condemned to Survive* (Macon: Mercer University, 1985), 86.

[41]James H. Slatton, *W. H. Whitsitt: The Man and the Controversy* (Macon: Mercer University, 2009), 53.

[42]Henlee H. Barnette, "Protestants and Political Responsibility," *Review and Expositor* 65 (1968): 299.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., 301-04.

[45]Bill J. Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope: The Fragmentation of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 182.

[46]Ibid., 181.

[47]Bill J. Leonard, "Southern Baptists and the New Religious Establishment," *Christian Century*, 10-17 September 1986, 775.

[48]For primary source documentation of Reagan's early and ongoing handwritten thoughts on his political philosophy, see *Reagan in His Own Hand: The Writings of Ronald Reagan that Reveal His Revolutionary Vision for America* (ed. Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, and Martin Anderson; New York: Free Press, 2001).

[49]See, for instance, Thom Rainer, "A Resurgence Not Yet Realized: Evangelistic Effectiveness in the Southern Baptist Convention Since 1979," *The Southern*

Baptist Journal of Theology 9 (2005): 54-69.

[50]Dan Martin, "Doctrinal Unity, Program Unity Rise, Fall Together, Rogers Says," *Baptist Press*, 14 May 1982, reproduced in *Going for the Jugular: A Documentary History of the SBC Holy War* (ed. Walter B. Shurden and Randy Shepley; Macon: Mercer University, 1996), 69-71.

[51]Wayne E. Oates, "The Church, Divorce, and Remarriage," *Review and Expositor* 61 (1964): 50-51.

[52]James P. Boyce, "Three Changes in Theological Institutions," in *James Petigru Boyce: Selected Writings* (ed. Timothy George; Nashville: Broadman, 1989), 37.

[53]John A. Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893), 245.

The *SBJT* Forum

Editor's Note: Readers should be aware of the forum's format. Daniel L. Akin, David S. Dockery, Mark Dever, Thom S. Rainer, Hershael York, Timothy George, and David Miller have been asked specific questions to which they have provided written responses. These writers are not responding to one another. Their answers are presented in an order that hopefully makes the forum read as much like a unified presentation as possible.

***SBJT*: Given your close relationship to Southern, what are some of your hopes and dreams for the seminary?**

Daniel L. Akin: I had the honor and joy of serving at Southern Seminary for almost eight years. Those were wonderful days in every way, and Charlotte and I look back on that time with fondest memories. We built a deep and lasting friendship with Albert and Mary Mohler. I believe history will show that of all the great men who have led Southern Seminary, none will surpass the administration of Dr. Mohler in terms of vision, quality of faculty, and impact. I am well aware that some will challenge my words, but I am happy to let history make the call on the accuracy of my prediction. In addition we came to know and love some of the most gifted and remarkable men and women anywhere in the world. I had the privilege of helping Dr. Mohler build a world class faculty, and since my departure in 2004, and under the capable leadership of Dr. Russell Moore, it has only gotten better.

As I reflect upon Southern Seminary's past, present, and future, let me share several things for which I am thankful. Then I will note my hopes for its future.

First, I am eternally grateful for the recovery of confessional identity and integrity that now marks the seminary. Southern takes with great seriousness its affirmation of the Abstract of Principles and the *Baptist Faith and Message*. What is believed and taught is not an open or debated question. Southern Baptists can be very confident that what the seminary proudly confesses it faithfully teaches.

Second, I am thankful for the impact Southern's faculty is making in the classroom and in its writing. From the undergraduate program of Boyce College to the Ph.D. level, I have observed the excellence of a faculty that refuses to honor God with anything less than its best. This is not theoretical for me. My son Jonathan began as

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a student at Boyce, made his way through the M.Div., and is now moving toward completion of his Ph.D. As a father vitally interested in a son he deeply loves, I have been pleased with what Jonathan has received in terms of instruction as well as mentoring by a faculty that loves students and takes a personal interest in them.

Third, I am appreciative of the rigorous biblical and theological education that finds its outlet in an expository model of preaching. Our churches are filled with biblically illiterate people. I fear many are filled with those who are unregenerate. Those who come through Norton Hall have impressed upon them the truths that the gospel must be central, theology really matters, and biblical exposition is essential to the health and vitality of our churches.

Fourth, I rejoice in the fact that Southern believes with Abraham Kuyper that God stamps all of creation with the word "mine!" Therefore, all that this world entails should—it must—be redeemed for the glory of God and the good of man. This pursuit will only reach its goal when Jesus returns to this earth to consummate His kingdom, but that truth will not hinder our efforts to move things in that direction until that glorious consummation takes place.

What are my hopes for the mother seminary of Southern Baptists with an eye toward the future? First and foremost, I want it to be a Great Commission seminary in confession, action, and reputation. I want the heartbeat of this wonderful institution to be the heartbeat of Jesus when he delivered his parting words at the end of Matthew's gospel (28:18-20). Collin Hansen called Southern Seminary "ground zero" for Reformed theology. While I have a great appreciation for the "Reformed Tradition," that is not what I want as the moniker attached to this seminary. Because it is Southern's natural impulse to excel in biblical and theological studies, the passion for a Great Commission culture will always need to be intentional and intense. Because of its reputation, fair or unfair, as a hot bed for Calvinism, Southern Seminary will need to go the extra mile in confession and action to make clear what is of utmost importance in its mission. I want it to be nothing less and nothing other than the Great Commission. I want a Southern Seminary that draws from the tradition of Carey, Fuller, Rice, Judson, and Spurgeon. Administration, and especially the faculty (all of them!), need to be regularly on the mission field engaging the lostness of the world. It will give them a deeper theological and spiritual perspective. It will make them better teachers.

Second, I pray for a faculty and student body that loves God with their heart as well as with their mind. What I hope for here is "spiritual balance" that is wary of the danger exposed in 1 Cor 8:1. God is never honored by ignorance. He is not honored by a cold, hard heart either. Most seminaries need to heed this warning.

Third, I pray for a faculty and student body that joyfully embraces their calling to be personal evangelists for Jesus. Anyone called to leadership in Christ's church is called to "do the work of an evangelist" (2 Tim. 4:5). How we do it may take different routes, but that we do it is not an option.

Finally, I pray that Southern Seminary, and for that matter every seminary, will turn out students who love the church. Dr. Mohler and I talked about this on many occasions when I was at Southern. We noticed that many students were passionate for Christ and His Word, but that they were jaded and even jaundiced when it came to our Lord's church. Now, I will be the first to admit I have seen and been a part of some very weak, sick, and dysfunctional churches. Nevertheless, I do not love Christ as I ought if I do not love His church as I should. To say it another way, I cannot love the bridegroom and trash His bride. He doesn't like it when we do, and we better be careful. No, His bride sometimes is not very pretty, but he loves her, he died for her, and he is cleaning her up. I believe he wants us to join him in the process.

I congratulate The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary on its 150th anniversary. It has honored God and blessed the church for much of its

history. It has had a good past. My prayer is that the future will be even better.

***SBJT*: Can you give us a brief survey of the history of the study of the New Testament at Southern Seminary?**

David S. Dockery: When one thinks of theological education at Southern Seminary, observers are often drawn to the marvelous innovations through the years. Southern has been at the forefront of theological education in the study of the English Bible, the development of Ph.D. programs, the study of world religions, as well as psychology of religion, religious education, church music, and missions and church growth. Yet there has been a constant focus for 150 years on the study of the New Testament with particular emphasis on the study of the Greek language. John A. Broadus and A. T. Robertson set the trajectory during the first half of this 150 year period, and their stamp remains even today. In this brief overview we will first look at the Broadus-Robertson period (1859-1934). We will divide the second half into a period of about fifty years (1930s-1980s), which will be followed by a look at the current period since the 1980s. A personal postscript will conclude the survey of the work of the New Testament department and its central role in the life and work of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

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1859 – 1934

New Testament Study at Southern Seminary finds its beginnings with John A. Broadus (1827-95). In 1856 Broadus was appointed by the Southern Baptist Convention to serve on a feasibility study committee to prepare a plan for the seminary. This work was the introduction for Broadus of what was to be his life's work. Broadus taught from 1859-1895, also serving as the Seminary's second president during his final years. As a member of the founding faculty, Broadus taught preaching and New Testament. Nearly thirty years after the founding of the seminary, Broadus published his magisterial commentary on *The Gospel of Matthew* (1886) in the American Commentary, a volume on which Broadus labored for over twenty years. This famous volume and his fine work on *A Harmony of the Gospels* (1893) have stood the test of time and provided the trajectory for future generations.

While John Sampey (1863-1946) and W. O. Carver (1868-1954) also briefly taught Greek and New Testament, it was the son-in-law of John Broadus, A. T. Robertson (1863-1934), who raised the bar to a new level. For forty-six years, from 1888-1934, "Dr. Bob," as he was affectionately known, penned forty-five books and numerous articles, including his magnificent *Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (1914). While the "Big Grammar" sealed Robertson's legacy as the premier Baptist New Testament scholar of all time, it was the six-volume *Word Pictures of the New Testament* (1934) and the revision of Broadus's *Harmony of the Gospels* (1922) that help us to see Robertson's deep commitment to the church, particularly his love for pastors, as well as his faithfulness to the Broadus legacy.

Robertson was honored to carry forth the Broadus tradition. Broadus and Robertson faithfully taught the Bible in the spirit and conviction of the Baptist heritage, while advancing Baptist scholarship into the twentieth century, and placing it on solid footing. The legacy of their work is found not only in their writings, but in the lives of those whom they taught, best exemplified in pulpit giants like H. H. Hobbs and W. A. Criswell, and echoing throughout Southern Baptist life. We recognize in the writings of Broadus and Robertson the pervasive tone of solemn reverence for Scripture and an abiding and deep spirituality.

1930s – 1980s

W. Hersey Davis (1887-1950) became the leader of the New Testament department following the death of Robertson in 1934. Davis, who joined the faculty in 1920, was known as a model classroom teacher. While not as prolific as Robertson, Davis's *Beginner's Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (1923) became a standard introductory textbook. Primarily known for his work as a grammarian and lexicographer, Davis's legacy was carried forth through his students who admired his gifted classroom teaching. The legacy of Broadus, Robertson, and Davis remains for all to see to this day on the Southern Seminary campus. The two faculty office wings in Norton Hall bear the names of Robertson and Davis, and the beautiful Broadus Chapel holds a special place for visitors and students alike.

Edward A. McDowell (1898-1975) joined the New Testament faculty in 1935. McDowell brought a theological emphasis to the department, which was best seen in his *Son of Man and Suffering Servant* (1944). He also penned an important volume on Revelation (1951). Though an awareness of the issues regarding historical criticism was evident with Broadus, Robertson, and Davis, it was McDowell, following his post-World War II sabbatical at Union Theological Seminary (NY), who opened the door to historical-critical studies at Southern. After McDowell left Southern to help launch Southeastern Seminary in North Carolina, the work of the New Testament department was carried forward by Henry Turlington, (1918-2000), W. W. Adams, (1892-1978), William E. Hull, (1930-), and Frank Stagg (1911-2001), among others. Turlington, Hull, Stagg, and McDowell all made important contributions to the Broadman Bible Commentary, for which Stagg served as the New Testament editor. Turlington wrote the commentary on Mark, Hull wrote the commentary on John, Stagg penned the works on Matthew and Philippians, and McDowell interpreted 1, 2, 3 John. All evidenced an openness to or embrace of historical-critical methodologies. Other Southern faculty also contributed to the series: T. C. Smith (Acts), Dale Moody (Romans), Raymond Brown (1 Corinthians), George R. Beasley-Murray (2 Corinthians), E. Glen Hinson (1, 2 Timothy and Titus), and Harold Songer (James). The brilliant influence of Hull and Stagg continued well into the 1980s. Hull's influence extended far beyond the department with his significant administrative roles. Stagg's *New Testament Theology* (1962) and his commentary on Acts (1955) shaped the way many Southern Baptists read the New Testament in the second half of the twentieth century. Stagg's interpretations, however, of key New Testament themes, especially his treatment of the atonement, have been severely criticized by many as demonstrated in an interpretative article on the life and influence of Stagg by Robert Sloan ("Frank Stagg," in *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* [ed. T. George and D. Dockery; B&H, 2001], 257-78).

Ray Summers (1910-1992), who also wrote an introductory Greek textbook (1950) and contributed the work on the Petrine Epistles in the Broadman Commentary, brought a perspective to the department during his brief time at the seminary that was more representative of the Robertson tradition. Peter Rhea Jones (1937-) contributed creative works on the parables.

George Beasley-Murray (1916-2000), who taught at the seminary from 1973-80, brought a rich theological approach to the study of the New Testament reflecting the influence of British evangelicalism. His work was marked by evangelical conviction as well as an openness to conversation with broader ecumenical emphases. His works on *Baptism in the New Testament* (1962), *The Book of Revelation* (1974), and *Jesus and the Kingdom of God* (1986) continue to influence both scholars and pastors. Though technically considered professors in the department of theology, the impact Dale Moody (1915-1992) and Wayne Ward (1921-) had on New Testament studies at Southern cannot be overlooked.

1980s – THE PRESENT

The New Testament department during the final decades of the twentieth century was stellar in its scholarship. R. Alan Culpepper (1945-) broke new ground with his creative literary studies. His *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* (1983) received wide-ranging attention from the scholarly community. The work of James Blevins (1936-2004) on the Book of Revelation (*Revelation as Drama*, 1984) reflected the same kind of creativity as Culpepper's. Extensive work on the background of the New Testament was provided by Harold S. Songer (1928-2005) and David E. Garland. Garland, a marvelous classroom teacher and the current interim president at Baylor University, has written important commentaries on the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul, including a brilliant exposition of 2 Corinthians in the New American Commentary (1999). New Testament studies at Southern Seminary took a significant turn toward a more historical orthodox direction in the department colloquium in the spring of 1989. With a focus on 2 Corinthians for the semester, Garland, commenting on 2 Cor 5:21, publicly countered the teaching of his doctoral mentor Frank Stagg on the atonement by affirming the Pauline emphasis on substitutionary atonement, comments which were well received and endorsed by the majority of both faculty and students in attendance.

Gerald Borchert and John Polhill provided additional evangelical voices to the department. Borchert contributed two volumes on John (1996, 2002) in the New American Commentary and Polhill wrote the widely-praised commentary on Acts (1992) in that series. A gifted writer and wonderful classroom teacher, Polhill also contributed a major work on *Paul and His Letters* (1999). Carey Newman brought his rhetorical emphases to the interpretation of Paul during the 1990s.

More recent and current members of the department have also made their mark. Robert H. Stein is an extremely capable Gospels scholar and author of the volume on Luke (1993) in the New American Commentary. Thomas Schreiner is a prolific scholar with major commentaries on Romans (1998), the Petrine Epistles (2003), and an impressive work on *New Testament Theology* (2008). Mark Seifrid is recognized for his exegetical and theological insights into the writings of the Apostle Paul. William Cook brings pastoral insight to the teaching of the New Testament, while Daniel Hatfield and Robert Plummer add a vibrant missionary perspective. Brian Vickers, Jonathan Pennington, and James Hamilton are fine New Testament scholars who reflect the theological emphases of Schreiner and Seifrid. Daniel Akin, who now serves as President of Southeastern Seminary, contributed the warm exposition of the Johannine Epistles (2001) in the New American Commentary when he served as Dean and Vice President at Southern.

PERSONAL POSTSCRIPT

I was invited to serve as a visiting professor in the New Testament department in 1987 and was elected to a full time faculty position in 1988 where I taught in both the New Testament and Theology departments from 1988-1996. It has been my privilege to author interpretive works on both Broadus and Robertson. My first faculty office was housed in the Robertson wing of Norton Hall, which was most meaningful for me as I am sure it has been for dozens of others. I have personally listened to H. H. Hobbs and W. A. Criswell tell stories about their classes with Robertson and Davis.

I have been honored to know Drs. Hull, Stagg, Beasley-Murray, Moody, Ward, Culpepper, Blevins, Songer, Garland, Borchert, Polhill, Newman, Stein, and the current faculty. I have been blessed to serve as the New Testament editor for the New American Commentary series, which has included significant volumes by Stein, Borchert, Polhill, Garland, Schreiner, and Akin. I was present in that New Testament colloquium in 1989 when David Garland's public comments on 2 Corinthians 5 turned the tide of New Testa-

ment studies at Southern in a more explicit evangelical direction, thus reversing the trends that had developed since the days of E. A. McDowell.

Indeed, the best of the Broadus-Robertson tradition has now been recovered. The thoroughgoing scholarship, serious exposition, careful exegesis, and devotional spirit that characterized the best of both Broadus and Robertson remains a worthy model to be imitated and carried forward in the twenty-first century. We give thanks to God for the far-reaching kingdom impact of Southern Seminary's New Testament department over the past 150 years.

***SBJT*: In what areas should we be thankful for God's kindness towards Southern over these last 150 years?**

Mark Dever: Some years ago, I happened to be staying in the old guesthouse of the seminary during the same time the late D. James Kennedy was there. He remarked to me how lovely the grounds were, and how storied the history of the place. And he said, "This is your Princeton. We [Presbyterians] lost ours; but you were able to retake yours!"

I can only imagine the pleasure that James Petigru Boyce, the Seminary's founder—and an alumnus of the old Princeton—would take at that observation. Both the comparison itself, and then the reflection on God's good providence through this institution, would have pleased him.

It was my privilege to grow up in what some have called a typical Southern Baptist, county seat, tall steeple First Baptist Church, and to do so back when Southern Baptist church practices were fairly uniform. The "culture," as we grandly say, was intact. Our pastor was a graduate of Southern in the 1930s and held his association with the school close to his heart. The faculty of the seminary in the 1960s and 1970s were regularly preaching in our church (though it has to be said that our pastor's preaching was more expositional and more orthodox than theirs). My own family has been associated with the seminary at various points of its history. I currently have the privilege of serving as the chairman of the Board of Trustees. I've been a trustee for about ten years. I was a student at Southern in the mid-1980s. My uncle was a student 1972-1975. And my great-grandfather was a student at SBTS for three classes in 1911.

The school has grown from its initial twenty-six students in 1859 to now over 4,000. Its character was and is again Baptist, evangelical, Reformed, and Protestant. It was always a counter-point to the populist Landmarkist movement, particularly popular among Baptists in Kentucky and surrounding areas. President Whitsitt was removed from office because of controversy with Landmarkists. And President Sampey always made a particular point of stressing the doctrine of "the universal spiritual church" (the doctrine the Landmarkists denied). Sampey stressed the fact that the universal church was "that Church which Christ established on the rock (Matt 16:18); the only church that has received and enjoyed the promise of unbroken succession; the only church that is identical with the kingdom of God, and outside of which salvation is impossible" (John R. Sampey, *Memoirs* [Broadman, 1947], 100).

Early in the seminary's life, it was faced with a choice of the priority of personal relationships or orthodoxy, and, with tears, Boyce and Broadus fired the erring Crawford Toy and, so, chose to prioritize orthodoxy. Again, a century after Boyce's death, this priority was clearly recovered and is again operating consistently with the founders' wishes and intentions.

Many who have gone into making this school what it has become under God go unnoticed by historians. So, for example, consider founding faculty member John Broadus's reflections on what his wife had borne in order to allow Broadus

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He is the President of 9Marks Ministries and has taught at a number of seminaries, including Beeson Divinity School, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, and The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Dr. Dever is the author of several books, including *Nine Marks of a Healthy Church* (Crossway, 2004), *The Message of the New Testament: Promises Kept* (Crossway, 2005), and *The Gospel and Personal Evangelism* (Crossway, 2007)

to serve the seminary as he did. Broadus wrote,

> I feel proud of having such a wife, who has not only mind and knowledge and character, such as I am sure will make her in the end a successful teacher, but who will urge her husband to cling to the ministry, though it must keep her in poverty, and even sometimes require, as now, that she should toil beyond her strength to eke out the inadequate support. Precious wife, my heart bleeds when I think of her fatigues and distress, of all her sacrifice and self-denial, met without any affectation of heroism, met with all the shrinking of a sensitive and delicate woman, not made to stand alone in the world, and yet with all the firmness and fortitude of a noble heart. People sometimes speak of my making sacrifices in order to preach, but I am apt to think in my heart, it is not I, it is my wife that bears the cross (John A. Broadus in a letter to his wife, printed in A. T. Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus* [American Baptist Publication Society, 1901], 136).

Through the unlikely path of liberalism, orthodoxy was attacked as "creedalism" in the second half of the twentieth century, even in the chapel sermons by the seminary's own faculty. But Basil Manly Jr.'s Abstract of Principles (which he himself referred to as a "creed") has outlasted not only its critics, but also those who would affirm it for employment's sake, though they themselves had numerous mental reservations.

God has continued to honor the tenacity of the school's founders. The famous story is told of the first meeting of the seminary after the Civil War. A. T. Robertson recounted it of his father-in-law Broadus, meeting with Boyce, Manly, and Williams.

> The end of the Seminary seemed at hand. When they all came together, Broadus said, "Suppose we quietly agree that the Seminary may die, but we'll die first." So the four professors held together. . . . . When the Seminary did reopen on Nov. 1st, it was with only seven students. In homiletics Doctor Broadus had only one student, and he was blind. But it was like Doctor Broadus to give this one blind student the best he had. The careful preparation of full lectures for the blind brother led to the writing of "Preparation and Delivery of Sermons" (Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus,* 214).

Commitment. Diligence. Faithfulness. And a willingness to start something new for the benefit of the churches. These marked the seminary from its founding. Even as Boyce raised the finances for the institution, Broadus gave himself to raising its profile. He was one of the most popular preachers in the country in the second half of the nineteenth century. The seminary faculty was engaged in evangelical life beyond the Southern Baptist Convention. So Broadus preached in "churches of all evangelical denominations" (Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus*, 316). In 1884, in celebration of the birthday of London's C. H. Spurgeon, the seminary faculty sent him a letter in which they said "Especially we delight to think how nobly you have defended and diffused the doctrines of grace" (Basil Manly Jr. actually died eight years later on the same day as Spurgeon).

There was an evident catholicity in the Christianity of the seminary during its first generation. But there was also evident thankfulness for the particular blessings of our own denomination. So Dr. Broadus reported that "it was sometimes said by other denominations that Baptists had among them a great mass of ignorant people. This was true. And he felt like replying to those who made the statement, 'Why haven't you a similar mass?'" (Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus*, 379).

Controversy has repeatedly engulfed the school. I appreciate the struggles earlier Board chairmen have had to weather. So W. E. Hatcher of Virginia chaired the Board through the Landmarkist controversies surrounding the presidency

of William Whitsitt. Our current President is not the first to know controversy (though he may have been the first to have survived it so well!).

Southern Seminary stands today squarely on the truth of the gospel, of the Scriptures, as summarized in its original Abstract of Principles. The quality of education as represented in the faculty, the curriculum, and the library facilities is good. The fellowship among the students is warm. Networks of friendship and cooperation in ministry are being fashioned which will see this generation through as earlier connections did earlier generations. The churches of Louisville are undergoing a regeneration themselves which reflects the spiritual regeneration of the seminary. And the continuing trust and generosity of Southern Baptist churches makes this education affordable.

Looking back over the 150 years of God's kindnesses to this institution gives us reasons for great thanksgiving, and for even greater hope as we look forward.

***SBJT*: As a student at Southern Seminary during the conservative resurgence, what are some of your remembrances of this significant time in Southern's history?**

Thom S. Rainer: I began my journey to Southern Seminary with a great deal of zeal and probably even more naiveté. My pastor was an alumnus of Southern. His recommendation carried so much weight that I chose Southern without visiting Louisville; and I never considered another seminary. My background was banking, and I had been a Southern Baptist for only three years when I was called to ministry.

In November 1982, my wife and our two young sons (we would add a third child three years later) rented a U-Haul and moved our remaining possessions to Seminary Village. Though the conservative resurgence was in its third year, I had little awareness of the battle, and I certainly did not know that The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was ground zero in the battle.

I began classes in January 1983. And I would remain at Southern through June 1988. In that time I earned both the Master of Divinity and the Doctor of Philosophy. In addition, I learned much about the conservative resurgence in those few years.

Because of my ignorance about the political maelstrom in the Southern Baptist Convention, I entered Southern with absolutely no political agenda. Indeed, because of the influence of some students and professors, I was more sympathetic to those in the moderate camp in my early days at Southern.

My move to become a proponent of the conservative resurgence was really the result of two major factors: attending classes at Southern and the influence of conservative students. I have no need to name professors or rehash specifics that are over three decades old. Simply stated, I was stunned by what was being taught in some of the classes. Countless times I heard doubts expressed by professors regarding the accuracy and truthfulness of Scripture. And on some occasions, I heard moral positions advocated that would have shocked most Baptist laity.

I thus became convinced and convicted that a conservative resurgence was necessary. I was troubled by what I was hearing in many of my classes; and I was troubled that many of the SBC churches were unaware of these issues. I began to read voraciously about the paths of mainline denominations; and I was convinced that our denomination was already headed down that path. The trend had to be reversed. The plan of the conservative leaders was simple: elect a conservative president who would ultimately influence through his appointments the trustees who would serve in the various SBC entities, particularly the seminaries.

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Before coming to LifeWay, Rainer served as the inaugural Dean of the Billy Graham School of Missions, Evangelism, and Church Growth at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He has served as pastor of churches in Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, and Indiana. Dr. Rainer is the author of many books, including *Surprising Insights from the Unchurched* (Zondervan, 2001), *The Unchurched Next Door* (Zondervan, 2003), *Breakout Churches* (Zondervan, 2005), and (with Sam S. Rainer) *Essential Church? Reclaiming a Generation of Dropouts* (B&H, 2008).

Those trustees in turn would ultimately name conservative presidents to the entities, and then these men would change the course of the institutions.

One of the great benefits of my years at Southern was developing friendships with fellow conservative students. Many of them became life-long friends. We eventually organized our own student group, the Student Evangelical Forum (SEF). The administration of Southern was not supportive of our new group, but they eventually granted us recognition as an official student group of the seminary. We were a small number of students relative to the overall student population, but we were a close-knit group. Because we often sat at a large round table in the student lounge, we soon accepted the unofficial moniker as "the round table."

Historical records of the conservative influence at Southern Seminary would be incomplete without an account of the key role of Dr. Lewis Drummond. Dr. Drummond was the Billy Graham Professor of Evangelism. He also served as the faculty sponsor of the SEF. He was our mentor, our counselor, and our encourager. From Lewis Drummond we learned that conservative theology was not mutually exclusive with academic excellence. We also learned that one could be strong in his theological convictions and still maintain an irenic spirit.

It is that issue where I have the greatest regret. I was willing to speak the truth, but more times that I am comfortable admitting, I often did not speak the truth in love. Those years at Southern Seminary were contentious times. Emotions were high. Theological debates sometimes degenerated into personal vendettas. Words were exchanged that did not demonstrate the love of Christ. Guilty parties were on both sides of the debate. But my concern is not so much with what others said and did; I must take responsibility for my own actions and words. Sadly, I must confess that I did not bring honor to God in much of what I said in the years I was a student at Southern.

Do I believe the conservative resurgence was needed? Unequivocally and without hesitation, my answer is "yes." At least as evidenced by many of my classroom experiences at Southern Seminary, the path on which we were headed theologically was a path away from the complete veracity of Scripture. I honestly do not know what alternative we had other than the conservative resurgence.

I am a Southern Baptist by conviction. I was raised in a liberal, mainline church. My journey to become a Southern Baptist began when I first married. My wife and I were looking for a new church home. It was in a Southern Baptist church that I saw the vital need to be in a Bible-believing, mission-minded, evangelistic church. I thus became a Southern Baptist by doctrinal, missional, and evangelistic conviction.

I am also a proponent of the conservative resurgence by conviction. It was at Southern Seminary where I discovered that many sectors of our denomination were moving away from doctrinal fidelity and evangelistic passion. Change was desperately needed, and the conservative resurgence provided the vehicle for that change.

Indeed, I serve as the President of LifeWay Christian Resources because I have been able to stand on the shoulders of the giants who paid the price for the change. It is my prayer that I will be a faithful steward of the responsibility given to me, that I will continue to stand for truth, and that I will live that truth in all that I say and do for the glory of God.

***SBJT*: Over twenty years ago you chose not to attend Southern Seminary as a student due to personal conviction, but now you are a member of the faculty. Reflect on what brought about this change in your thinking.**

Hershael York: As an aspiring seminarian in 1987, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary never even made my list for serious consideration.

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Dr. York has authored two books on speaking and preaching, has served as the President of the Kentucky Baptist Convention, and is currently the Pastor of the Buck Run Baptist Church in Frankfort, Kentucky.

After completing a Master of Arts in Classical Greek at the University of Kentucky and serving seven years as an associate pastor in Lexington, I felt led to earn a Master of Divinity and a Doctor of Philosophy degree at a seminary. Though my young family and I were comfortable, living in church housing, enjoying a steady income, and surrounded by family and friends, I never thought about matriculating at Southern—even though it was within driving distance.

I distinctly remember the conversation in which my pastor suggested I attend Southern. He offered me the same salary, housing, and whatever time I needed during the week to attend classes. Though I was grateful for his generosity, my answer was short and to the point. I refused because I wanted to go to a seminary where all the professors believed the Bible, including the miracles.

Imagine the shock to my system when, a mere ten years later, I joined the faculty in the school I had so quickly dismissed. The events of the intervening years had so radically altered the course of the seminary that I was happy to teach at a school that only a decade earlier I considered completely inconsistent with my own convictions.

The heroic decision of the trustees to elect the thirty-three-year-old R. Albert Mohler Jr. as the ninth president of Southern Seminary forever altered the course of the school, the Southern Baptist Convention, and my life. By the time he was elected president I had finished my seminary work at Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary in Memphis, Tennessee, and was back in Kentucky, serving as pastor of the same church I had previously served before I left to attend seminary. I watched Dr. Mohler's early years with more than passing interest. I heard the stories of students who stood in chapel and turned their backs to him when he preached. Some trustees shared with me how the faculty opposed him and repeatedly expressed their disdain. The *Western Recorder*, the Kentucky Baptist newspaper, gleefully and relentlessly reported the turmoil that pervaded the campus. I could not help but wonder if he would survive the wounds of radical change.

But radical change was precisely what the seminary needed, and one need not take the word of conservatives for that. In 1997 Susan M. Shaw and Tisa Lewis, both Ph.D. graduates of Southern, conducted a survey of twenty-six out of thirty-four women who had graduated from Southern with a Ph.D. or Ed.D. in the ten years prior to Mohler's election [Susan M. Shaw and Tisa Lewis, "'Once There Was a Camelot': Women Doctoral Graduates of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982-1992, Talk about the Seminary, the Southern Baptist Convention, and Their Lives since SBTS," *Review and Expositor* 95, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 397-423]. According to the interviews the authors conducted, they found that of the twenty-six SBTS graduates they interviewed

> thirteen are involved in higher education. Four work in the local church, five participate in other forms of religious work, and four are no longer in ministry. All of the women in the study are white. Four identify as lesbian. Thirteen are married. Eleven are ordained. Eighteen also received a masters degree from Southern Seminary. Twenty-one of the 26 were Southern Baptist when they began doctoral work. Of those 21, only three are still Southern Baptist. Six are members of Cooperative Baptist Fellowship churches, 10 have joined churches in other denominations (Presbyterian, United Church of Christ, American Baptist, Episcopalian, United Methodist, Metropolitan Community Church), and two no longer participate in religious communities.

One cannot help but be saddened to think that Southern Baptists were supporting a seminary that was graduating female Ph.D. students with the surreptitious message that being a lesbian would not impede service in a Southern Baptist context. Some of Shaw and Lewis's interviewees also accused the faculty in those years of sexual harassment:

> Four women reported having been physically sexually harassed or assaulted by male professors or male graduate students (grabbed or kissed). Several others reported having been asked out on a date by married graduate students. Judy suggested that a "bar culture" existed among male doctoral students in the graduate lounge in the seminary's library.

Strangely enough, the article laments the passing of the old Southern Seminary and expresses anger at Mohler for leading the seminary back to its "fundamentalist" moorings. One wonders how avowed feminist theologians would ever look wistfully at a past that included alleged blatant sexual harassment.

By 1997, Dr. Mohler's realignment of the seminary was well on its way. Student enrollment reached its nadir, the lowest in many years due to the closing of the Carver School and other factors. Moderate to liberal students quit coming, and conservative students were still mindful of the school's recent past. I joined the faculty by presidential appointment because, as I was candidly informed, the faculty would not have elected me. My appointment to the faculty, however, was not without controversy. The *Western Recorder* penned an article that was clearly critical of the choice, linking me with the Whitsitt Controversy of 1896 in the process. One Baptist association in Ohio passed a resolution against my hiring and protested to Dr. Mohler. I received one call from a liberal Baptist pastor in my city who felt obligated to share his opinion that Southern had really "gone off the deep end" by hiring me, while another conservative called to beg me not to treat liberal students as badly as he had been treated by moderate professors while enrolled at Southern.

Now, more than a decade later, the impact that Southern Seminary has had on Southern Baptist life is incalculable. Perhaps most noticeably, the Kentucky Baptist Convention has changed as a result. Hundreds of young Southern Seminary graduates now fill the pulpits of Kentucky Baptist churches, confidently preaching from a Bible they believe is not only inerrant, but sufficient. Two other adjunct faculty members and I have served as president in the last four years. Next year KBC messengers will hear the convention sermon from Dr. R. Albert Mohler, another milestone in KBC-SBTS relations.

Dr. Mohler's leadership and the biblical fidelity of the faculty has changed much about Southern Seminary since 1993. It now ranks as the largest seminary. More importantly, when my own son was weighing his options for seminary, he wanted to enroll in a conservative school that would best prepare him for a life of ministry and service to the church. Perhaps the most telling change in Southern Seminary is that he was as resolute in his desire to attend Southern as I was in my decision to go elsewhere.

***SBJT*: How did you come to teach at Southern Seminary and what are your impressions of the decade you spent on the faculty there?**

Timothy George: I was a member of Southern's faculty from 1978 to 1988, a period of transition in the life of the seminary and a formative time in my own work as a scholar and teacher. When I came to Southern in the late seventies, I was one of the few faculty members who had done no study at any Baptist institution. In the conservative Baptist circles in which I had grown up around Chattanooga, Southern was regarded as far too "liberal." The pastors I knew and trusted recommended New Orleans Seminary and Southwestern Seminary as more biblical and evangelistic schools. However, *mirablile dictu*, I was led to Harvard Divinity School where I had the privilege of working with the great church historian, George Huntston Williams.

Williams had lectured at Southern and once

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He is a highly sought-after preacher and conference speaker and has served as pastor for churches in Tennessee, Alabama, and Massachusetts. A prolific author, Dr. George regularly contributes to scholarly journals and has written more than 20 books, including *Theology of the Reformers* (B&H, 1999) and *Is the Father of Jesus the God of Muhammad?* (Zondervan, 2002).

compared it to the great monastic community at Cluny with thousands of students busily engaged in study, worship, and church work. I found Southern a bustling community if not quite monastic. Duke McCall was the president when I joined the faculty and Roy Honeycutt was the dean. My friend Bill Leonard was already a member of the faculty and encouraged me to join him there.

When I came to Southern, I was a member of both the church history and theology departments. Historical theology had not been pursued in a serious way since the departure of James Leo Garrett some years before. The effort to revive this discipline led to some tension, and one colleague suggested that I stick to the Reformation (in a narrow sense) and leave the history of doctrine alone. With one or two exceptions, though, I was well received by other members of the faculty and developed deep friendships that persist to this day.

During my faculty interview I wanted to lay all of my cards on the table, so to speak, and confessed that I was an inerrantist, a Calvinist, and a premillenialist. This brought some amusement to the group, and one person remarked that Southern had hired no one with those views for at least 100 years! Later, there was more of a stir when I suggested that the seminary would do well to reconsider its "evangelical and Reformed roots." The leading anti-Calvinist on the faculty in those days was Dale Moody with whom I always had a cordial relationship, and with whom I often agreed on many other points of biblical interpretation. On one occasion, Moody invited me to debate him on Calvinism in his theology class. It was a memorable event, as I presented him with a bouquet of tulips and he gave me the holy kiss!

I was honored when I was asked to present in 1988 the annual Founder's Day address. I chose to speak on James P. Boyce, a collection of whose sermons I edited. Cave Hill Cemetery became a special place for meditation and prayer, and I often gave lectures to my students around the graves of Boyce, Broadus, Robertson, Mullins, and other leaders of the seminary who lie buried there. I found that students knew little, if anything, about those pioneers of the past, and I wanted to encourage a program of réssourcement—not a return to "the good old days" but an appropriation of the warranted wisdom and spiritual insight they can offer to the church today.

It was at Southern that I learned to teach and learned to love teaching. I recall walking down a hallway in Norton one day headed to my church history class and thinking to myself, "Wow, this is a wonderful calling—and such fun!" To this day, I can think of nothing in ministry more exhilarating, apart from preaching the gospel, than helping to prepare God-called men and women for the service of the church of Jesus Christ. I have always believed that teaching should be no less confessional than preaching. A professor who doesn't profess something is worse than useless. If we never get beyond "on the one hand this, and the other hand that" in our teaching, we should leave the lectern alone and just let the students use the web.

During my ten years at Southern, I was privileged to teach a cadre of superb students, highly motivated and eager to learn. Mark Dever, Mark DeVine, Al Mohler, Thom Rainer, Bruce Beck, Tim McCoy, Elizabeth Newman, Barry Harvey, Paul House, and Brent Walker are among the students I taught. I rejoice in all that God continues to do through their life and witness. I also tried to have an open-door policy to students, and I encouraged informal contacts outside of class. On one occasion, however, I remember thinking I was carrying this a bit far when one of my students followed me directly from a classroom into the faculty men's room calling out, "Dr. George, Dr. George, I have a question."

The specter of Landmarkism has shadowed the history of Southern Seminary for most of its 150 years leading to the resignation of one president (W. H. Whitsitt) and the attenuated ecclesiology of another (E. Y. Mullins). In some ways, the lure of an introverted Baptocentrism still haunts the SBC today. But my experience at Southern Semi-

nary taught me that one could be deeply committed to the Baptist heritage and also committed to Christian unity throughout the Body of Christ. At its best, Southern Seminary has a history of being both evangelical and ecumenical. This was the emphasis of George Beasley-Murray, Carl F. H. Henry, and James Earl Massey, three great teachers of the church who became my friends and mentors—all of whom I first met at Southern Seminary. May God continue to bless and use this great institution for the furtherance of his Kingdom, to the praise of his glory. As Basil Manly, Jr. wrote in the seminary hymn: "Morning and evening sow the seed, God's grace the effort shall succeed."

***SBJT*: You served on the Board of Trustees during a crucial time in Southern Seminary's history. Reflect on your relationship to Southern and why you believe the Abstract of Principles is so important to the seminary's future.**

David Miller: My first exposure to Southern Seminary was in 1981 when Professor Dale Moody spoke at the Arkansas State Evangelism Conference. I thought it strange when Dr. Moody said, "I believe in propitiation as long as you allow me to define the term. However, I do not believe the old notion that God was mad 'til Jesus made Him glad." Shortly after this meeting, Dr. Moody came to my hometown of Heber Springs, Arkansas, to speak at the First Baptist Church. The pastor came to my office the next day disturbed that Dr. Moody preached that it is possible for a child of God to willfully turn away from Christ and lose his salvation. The pastor was uncomfortable challenging his "old professor" so he gave me a copy of Moody's book *The Word of Truth* and asked me to read the chapter on "Salvation and Apostasy."

Later, the Executive Board of the Little Red River Association wrote a letter to President Duke McCall inquiring how the Seminary could retain Dr. Moody on the faculty when he was teaching inconsistent with and contrary to the Abstract of Principles. Dr. McCall wrote an innocuous letter suggesting that we must substantiate our charges with many infallible proofs. So, we documented the charges and referred him to Dr. Moody's chapter on "Salvation and Apostasy"; however, Dr. McCall ignored us thereafter. When Dr. Honeycutt became President, we sent him and the Arkansas trustees, Wilson Deese and Emil Williams, copies of all previous correspondence; however, we received no response from any of them. I was deeply disappointed by their lack of action.

By God's good providence, I was serving on the Executive Board of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention. Following the example of the owner of the vineyard in Matthew 21, I thought, perhaps, they will honor them! I presented Dr. Moody's chapter on "Salvation and Apostasy" to the Executive Board along with copies of all previous correspondence. The Executive Board instructed the Executive Director to write to Dr. Honeycutt and Dr. Moody requesting a response to our concerns. We also informed them of our intentions to print their responses in the Arkansas Baptist News-Magazine. Dr. Honeycutt defended Dr. Moody's right to teach at Southern Seminary in his response. In typical fashion, Dr. Moody retaliated by saying, "If you want Arkansas to know what I believe, then print my chapter on Salvation and Apostasy." So we did just that!

Again, by providence, I was President of the Arkansas State Pastor's Conference at that time. In an attempt to be fair to Dr. Moody, I invited him to speak at the Pastor's Conference in order to defend his position on apostasy. I assured him that while I did not agree with his position, he would be treated with grace and respect as a Christian brother. With great enthusiasm, Dr. Moody told 1,100 Arkansas Baptists that it was possible for Christians willfully to turn away from Christ and lose their salvation. The next day, Arkansas Baptists voted with a 95 percent majority to call

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He has also served as the Director of Missions for the Little Red River Baptist Association, Heber Springs, Arkansas, from 1969-1995, and on the Board of Trustees of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary from 1988-1995.

for his resignation. The tragedy is that Dr. Moody was allowed to teach this theology of apostasy at Southern for forty years.

My second exposure to Southern Seminary was in 1987. My wife and I, along with many others, led a grass roots effort to pass the "Unborn Child Amendment" which prevents the use of state tax dollars to fund abortions. The pro-abortion crowd brought in Dr. Paul Simmons, ethics professor at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, to speak against the amendment. On state-wide television, Simmons said, "We don't know when personhood begins. We are not aborting a person. We are aborting a glob of protoplasm." I was stunned! My church was helping to pay his salary. How could this be?

In 1988, I was elected to the Trustee Board at Southern. I was an itinerant country preacher. I hadn't graduated from college nor had I attended a seminary. There was no reason for me to be a trustee other than divine providence. At my orientation, I was asked to give a three-minute testimony. In my deliberations for the testimony, I remembered that opportunity neglected may never come my way again, or as with the Israelites, it might be forty years from now! So I began by saying, "I had a very lowly beginning in life. I was not only a *depraved fellow*, I was a *deformed fetus*. Consequently, I get nervous around Baptist ethics professors who are pro-choice on abortion. If you think I have an agenda as I come to serve on this Board, then I commend you for your discernment!"

At my first official meeting of the Trustee Board, we were asked to give tenure to a female faculty member. As I perused her vitae sheet, I noticed that she was an ordained deacon at a local Baptist church in Louisville. I inquired further and spoke against giving tenure to a woman deacon. I suggested this was an aberrant view among those Southern Baptists who view the deacon role as equivalent to pastor/elder. However, the vote to grant tenure was 58 to 1. I was not in the majority! I requested that the record show that David Miller voted against it. How could I preach one thing back home and do the exact opposite at the Seminary?

It soon became obvious to me that if real change were to occur at Southern, not only would policy manuals have to be re-written, but an appeal to the Seminary's charter and the enforcement of the Abstract of Principles would have to occur. We could not allow faculty and administrators to continue to interpret the Abstract differently from what the founding fathers intended. For example, we kept hearing professors tell us that the article on inspiration did not necessarily mean "plenary verbal inspiration." Again, by providence, I acquired sixty-five copies of Basil Manly's book on inspiration and sent a copy to every trustee. I suggested that primary sources were more reliable than secondary sources. Since Basil Manly wrote the Abstract, he was in a better position to explain what the Abstract meant than "academics" who, sadly, too often re-write history for their own agenda.

The Abstract also served us well when it was time to select a new president. We were compelled to find a man who embraced all twenty articles. The new president must understand and affirm the reformed theology that the Abstract confesses. For example, while the Abstract does not require one to believe in "limited atonement," it does require one to believe in penal substitution, total depravity, unconditional election, and the preservation/perseverance of the saints.

Recently, some people have suggested that Southern Seminary abandon the Abstract of Principles and use only the *Baptist Faith and Message.* In my opinion, this is not a correct way to go. It would not only rob Southern Seminary of her rich heritage as the flagship Seminary of the Southern Baptist Convention, but as history has shown, it has served Southern very well over the years.