

**Selected Writings of
James Madison Pendleton**

Volume 1 of 3

**Compiled and Edited by
Thomas White**

SELECTED WRITINGS
OF
JAMES MADISON PENDLETON

VOLUME I

Historical and Autobiographical



JAMES MADISON PENDLETON
(1811-1891)

SELECTED WRITINGS OF JAMES MADISON PENDLETON

IN THREE VOLUMES

Volume I

Historical and Autobiographical

- *James Madison Pendleton and His Contribution to Baptist Ecclesiology*
- *Reminiscences of a Long Life*
- *The Funeral of Dr. J. M. Pendleton*

COMPILED AND EDITED BY THOMAS WHITE



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Thou hast given a *standard* to them that fear thee;
that it may be displayed because of the truth.

-- *Psalms 60:4*

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THE WALDENSIAN EMBLEM

lux lucet in tenebris

“The Light Shineth in the Darkness”

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**SELECTED WRITINGS OF
JAMES MADISON PENDLETON
*IN THREE VOLUMES***

VOLUME ONE — HISTORICAL AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL

- James Madison Pendleton and His Contribution to Baptist Ecclesiology
by THOMAS WHITE
- Reminiscences of a Long Life
by JAMES MADISON PENDLETON
- Article on the Death of J. M. Pendleton
by M. M. RILEY

VOLUME TWO — ECCLESIASTICAL

- Selected Writings on Various Aspects of the New Testament Church
by JAMES MADISON PENDLETON

VOLUME THREE — THEOLOGICAL

- Selected Writings on Various Topics of Theology
by JAMES MADISON PENDLETON

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Historical and Autobiographical



	PAGE
Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction	xi
James Madison Pendleton and His Contribution to Baptist Ecclesiology	1
<i>by Thomas White</i>	
Reminiscences of a Long Life	279
<i>by James Madison Pendleton</i>	
The Funeral of Dr. J. M. Pendleton	443
<i>by M. M. Riley</i>	



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INTRODUCTION

This book is volume one in a three volume series. The first volume contains the only PhD dissertation to focus on James Madison Pendleton. The dissertation is titled, “James Madison Pendleton and His Contributions to Baptist Ecclesiology” and was originally written for Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in the spring of 2005. Minor changes and revisions have been made to the original publication but the work is substantially the same. This volume also includes Pendleton’s autobiography titled *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, and a newspaper article “The Funeral of Dr. J. M. Pendleton.” This volume provides much information about the life and influence of Pendleton. The second volume in the work contains many of his writings on ecclesiology. The doctrine of the church and more specifically the doctrine of baptism dominate much of the second volume. The third volume contains miscellaneous theological articles from Pendleton and demonstrates the pastoral concern of a man who truly personified the pastor/theologian.

Of particular interest in volume one is the dissertation’s discussion of the extent of Landmarkism. The term Landmarkism has been linked to many views which have little to do with it. This dissertation, among other things, attempts to pinpoint a precise definition of the central aspect of Landmarkism. In this definition, one will not find the mention of a denial of the universal church, nor an insistence upon closed communion, nor the belief of Baptist church succession. This definition restricts Landmarkism to the denial of Pedobaptist ministers as Gospel ministers and the denial of Pedobaptist churches as true churches. This is the

THOMAS WHITE

essential meaning of Landmarkism. All else is mere peripheral additions.

The key error of Landmarkism when properly defined can be easily determined. Landmarkism places the proper mode and proper subject of baptism in the “being” of a church and not in the “well-being” of a church. This placement affects all that follows ecclesiology. With proper mode and subject of baptism in the “being” or definition of the existence of a church, all Pedobaptist organizations are no longer churches. With Pedobaptist no longer possessing churches but societies, they cannot commission or ordain gospel ministers. Since a person cannot call themselves to the ministry because that call must be affirmed by the local church, Pedobaptist societies do not have gospel ministers. This is the outworking of Landmarkism which, ironically, began from Calvin’s definition of the true church—the word preached and the sacraments rightly administered. Calvin intended the ordinances to be “rightly” administered meaning without infusing grace which corrupts justification by faith alone while the Landmark movement extended that definition to include the ordinances administered according to Scripture in mode and subject.

A clear understanding of this movement can allow one to solve the Landmark riddle. The ordinances must be kept in the definition of the “being” of a church in order to distinguish the church from parachurch organizations and Bible study groups. The correction to Landmarkism comes by placing “rightly administering the ordinances” in the “well-being” of a church which allows one to consistently affirm what Scripture teaches without un-churching all Pedobaptist gatherings. This author believes that the proper mode and subject belong to the “well-being” of a church. With this definition, Baptists maintain that Pedobaptist gatherings are true churches and possess gospel ministers while maintaining that Baptist churches are closer to the New Testament and thus, purer churches than Pedobaptist churches. Understanding the error of Landmarkism does not undermine the usefulness of Pendleton or the Landmark

INTRODUCTION

emphasis on the local church. Pendleton's dedication to every detail of Scripture and his focus on proper ecclesiology can provide many insights to the reader in an age where the specifics of how church should occur have been substantially lost.

One final note worthy of notice is the bibliography of this dissertation which is the most complete listing of Pendleton's works. Months of effort scrolling through cloudy microfilm displaying issues of the *Tennessee Baptist* and other Baptist newspapers from the middle of the 1800s have resulted in listing more than seven hundred articles which Pendleton wrote. Perhaps this list will demonstrate the importance of Pendleton during his lifetime and help some future researcher to better understand our Baptist heritage.

At the request of his son, Pendleton wrote his autobiography titled, *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, which was published in 1891. Pendleton began writing this book on his seventy-ninth birthday, November 20, 1890, and finished it within two months.¹ This work is the most comprehensive account of Pendleton's life. One cannot read this work without admiring the man who wrote it. It seems as if every page demonstrates his concern for people, his devotion to the Lord, and his love for his wife.

The final chapter was finished by Pendleton's son after Pendleton's death, which occurred on March 5, 1891, at 12:40 p.m.² It was fitting that Pendleton's final sermon and breath came where he spent much of his ministry—Bowling Green, Kentucky. He preached his last sermon there on the 25th day of January in 1891.

In addition to providing wisdom for young ministers, this work demonstrates Pendleton's disagreement with the practice of slavery and the civil war. Pendleton considered

¹James Madison Pendleton, *Reminiscences of a Long Life* (Louisville, KY: Baptist Book Concern, 1891), 185.

²Unsigned article, "Editorial Notes of the Death of J. M. Pendleton," *Western Recorder* (March 12, 1891).

THOMAS WHITE

himself an emancipationist but not an abolitionist, desiring the gradual removal of slavery and not its immediate reversal. Pendleton not only disliked slavery but also rejected the right of the South to secede from the Union. These views forced him to flee North under threats to his life. He eventually wrote his systematic theology titled *Christian Doctrines: A Compendium of Theology* for the benefit of uneducated black ministers in the South.

The final article included in this volume discusses the death and funeral of J. M. Pendleton. The reader will notice that T. T. Eaton and W. H. Whitsitt who fought so vehemently against each other during the controversy over Baptist origins were both present and involved in the funeral proceedings of J. M. Pendleton. Two bitter enemies both had a sincere admiration for Pendleton. After years of studying his work and writings, this author continues to have a deep rooted appreciation for the man known as James Madison Pendleton. Although, I am not a Landmarker, it is my sincere desire that through Pendleton's writings, the reader will develop a desire for proper ecclesiology, a better appreciation of Baptist history, and a deeper understanding of Scripture.

**JAMES MADISON PENDLETON
AND HIS CONTRIBUTION
TO BAPTIST ECCLESIOLOGY**

BY

Thomas White

TABLE OF CONTENTS
VOLUME I
James Madison Pendleton and
His Contribution to Baptist Ecclesiology



	PAGE
ABSTRACT	5
INTRODUCTION	
§ Purpose of the Dissertation	9
§ Overview of the Dissertation	11
§ Definition of Terms	13
CHAPTER 1. THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JAMES MADISON PENDLETON	
§ Childhood 1811–1831	25
§ Beginning the Ministry 1831–1849	28
§ The Expanding Ministry 1849–1857	30
§ Relocation to Murfreesboro, TN 1857–1861	44
§ Relocation to the North 1862–1865	59
§ Upland, Pennsylvania 1865–1883	60
CHAPTER 2. BAPTISM: THE CENTRAL ASPECT OF PENDLETON’S ECCLESIOLOGY	
§ Introduction	67
§ The Importance of Baptism in Pendleton’s Ecclesiology	68
§ Pendleton’s Formulation of Proper Baptism	73
§ Pendleton Among His Contemporaries	103
§ Pendleton’s Unique Contribution	113
§ Current Discussion of Baptism	115
§ Pendleton’s Lasting Influence	117

**CHAPTER 3. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
POLITY AND LOCAL CHURCH AUTONOMY**

§ Introduction 120
§ Pendleton’s View of Congregational Church Polity 121
§ Pendleton’s View of Local Church Autonomy 130
§ Pendleton’s Rejection of Other Forms of Church
Government 133
§ The Graves-Howell Controversy 142
§ Pendleton Among His Contemporaries 145
§ Pendleton’s Unique Contribution 152
§ Current Discussions on Church Polity 153
§ Pendleton’s Lasting Influence 156

**CHAPTER 4. THE LORD’S SUPPER: WITH WHOM
SHOULD WE COMMUNE?**

§ Introduction 158
§ Pendleton’s Theology of the Lord’s Supper 159
§ Disagreement with Graves Over Denominational
Communion 169
§ Pendleton Among His Contemporaries. 178
§ Pendleton’s Unique Contribution 183
§ Current Discussions on the Lord’s Supper 185
§ Pendleton’s Lasting Influence 187

**CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION: EVALUATION OF
JAMES MADISON PENDLETON**

§ Purpose of the Dissertation 189
§ Evaluation of Pendleton’s Unique Contributions to
Baptist Ecclesiology 189
§ Evaluation of Pendleton’s Lasting Influence on
Baptist Ecclesiology 193

BIBLIOGRAPHY

§ Pendleton’s Works 199
§ Other Sources 247



ABSTRACT

The purpose of the dissertation is to research the life and works of James Madison Pendleton looking specifically at his contributions to Baptist ecclesiology. Pendleton, a member of the “Landmark Triumvirate,” had never been the focus of a dissertation which allowed this investigation to provide additional insight into the Landmark movement of the 1850s and the establishment of Baptist identity during the same time frame.

The method of the dissertation is as follows. In the introduction, the reader is briefly exposed to James Madison Pendleton and the need for the dissertation. This section identifies the outline of the dissertation as following Pendleton’s reasons for being a Baptist. Pendleton gave three initial reasons and later added a fourth. The first two relate to baptism, the third to church government, and the fourth to the Lord’s Supper. The introduction also discusses two areas of needed clarification. The definition of the term Landmarkism and the definitions of terms relating to communion have varied in scholarly works. Thus, for the purpose of clarity, this dissertation discusses and defines them in the introduction.

Chapter one attempts to interweave the life and works of James Madison Pendleton by chronologically tracing his life and discussing relevant works during the time in which they were written. Pendleton lived from 1811 to 1891 and wrote sixteen books and over seven hundred articles all of which could not be discussed individually. An additional provision to help future researchers can be found in the bibliography which lists all of Pendleton’s articles.

Chapter two identifies baptism as the central aspect of Pendleton's ecclesiology. Pendleton's ecclesiology is affected by his doctrine of baptism because he includes proper administration of ordinances as a requirement for the *being* of a church. The implication follows that churches not practicing proper baptism are not churches but religious societies. From this crux, Pendleton developed what he considered the central tenet of Landmarkism which was the non-recognition of Pedobaptist ministers as Gospel ministers. He reasoned that Pedobaptist churches practiced improper baptism which meant they were not New Testament churches. A Gospel minister needs to be ordained by a church and needs to be properly baptized. Since Pedobaptist ministers meet neither of these requirements, they are not Gospel ministers. This discussion identifies proper baptism as the line of demarcation between a true church and a religious society.

Chapter three addresses the issue of church government demonstrating that Pendleton supported congregational church government and local church autonomy. Pendleton based his support of congregational church government on Baptist principles of regenerate church membership and scriptural mandates for the congregation to elect church officers, accept or reject members, and discipline members. This chapter also discusses the Graves-Howell controversy and evaluates Pendleton's actions related to that controversy which influenced the Southern Baptist view of local church autonomy.

Chapter four identifies Baptist beliefs concerning the Lord's Supper as Pendleton's final reason for being a Baptist. Pendleton believed that this area of ecclesiology distinguished Baptists because they do not believe in transubstantiation or consubstantiation and because they require proper baptism for participation in the Lord's Supper. This issue also related to Landmarkism as Pendleton argued for consistency. Many Baptists who exchanged pulpits with Pedobaptists refused to admit them

to the Lord's table. This practice drew criticism from Pedobaptists. Pendleton argued that Baptists should be consistent by continuing to refuse Pedobaptists admittance to the Lord's table on the basis that they are unbaptized and to no longer exchange pulpits with them. Additionally, the debate over close communion or denominational communion placed Graves and Pendleton on opposing sides. This chapter demonstrates that although close communion is often associated with Landmarkism, Pendleton did not believe it to be one of the tenets of Landmarkism and that Pendleton supported the practice of denominational communion.

Chapter five attempts to summarize the conclusions of the dissertation. Each individual chapter identifies areas of unique contribution or lasting influence from Pendleton. This final chapter draws those conclusions together presenting a succinct discussion of Pendleton's contributions and influence.



INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE DISSERTATION

James Madison Pendleton (1811–1891) served as a Baptist pastor for forty-six years, taught theology at Union University for four years, served as editor of *The Southern Baptist Review* for five years, and served as co-editor of the *Tennessee Baptist* for three years. He wrote more than 700 articles for various Baptist papers.¹ He also published fifteen books, two of which, *Christian Doctrines: A Compendium of Theology*, and *Church Manual: Designed for the Use of Baptist Churches*, are still in circulation. Rufus Spain noted that these two works best represent Baptist theology in the latter half of the nineteenth century.² Pendleton was a towering figure in nineteenth century Baptist life.

Perhaps his most famous role came as a member of the “Landmark triumvirate.”³ This group, which also included J.

¹This author has personally collected 738 articles, yet there are references to other issues of the *Tennessee Baptist* which no longer exist that contain additional articles. The best estimate is that Pendleton wrote between 750–800 articles during his life. The articles still in existence are available on microfilm contained at the Southern Baptist Historical Library in Nashville, Tennessee.

²Rufus B. Spain and Samuel S. Hill, *At Ease in Zion: Social History of Southern Baptists 1865–1900* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 2003), 2.

³For more information on Landmarkism, see LeRoy B. Hogue, “A Study of the Antecedents of Landmarkism” (Th.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966); James E. Tull, “A Study of Southern Baptist Landmarkism in the Light of Historical Baptist Ecclesiology” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1960); James E. Tull, “The Landmark Movement: An Historical and Theological Appraisal,” *Baptist History and Heritage* 10 (January 1975): 3–18; Philip Bryan, “An Analysis of the Ecclesiology of Associational Baptists, 1900–1950” (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1973);

R. Graves and A. C. Dayton, contributed to the rise and continuation of the movement called Landmarkism that caused great controversy in Baptist history.⁴ Landmarkism contributed to the Graves-Howell controversy, the Whitsitt controversy, and a split of the convention in 1905 resulting in the American Baptist Association.⁵ Despite the impact of Landmarkism, Pendleton's contribution to it has not been

Hugh Wamble, "Landmarkism: Doctrinaire Ecclesiology Among Baptists," *Church History* 33 (December 1964): 429-47; Louis Keith Harper, "Old Landmarkism: A Historical Appraisal," *Baptist History and Heritage* 25 (April 1990): 31-40; W. C. Taylor, "James Madison Pendleton: World Landmark of Baptist Devotion to Truth and Loyalty to New Testament Churches" (Louisville: The W. C. Taylor Letters, 1990-1991); and Edward C. Briggs, "Landmark Views of the Church in the Writings of J. M. Pendleton, A. C. Dayton, and J. R. Graves," *The Quarterly Review* 35 (April 1975): 47-57.

⁴For more information on J. R. Graves, consult the following: Harold S. Smith, "A Critical Analysis of the Theology of J. R. Graves" (Th.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966); Harold S. Smith, "The Life and Work of J. R. Graves (1811-1891)," *Baptist History and Heritage* 10 (January 1975): 19-27; Marty G. Bell, "James Robinson Graves and the Rhetoric of Demagoguery: Primitivism and Democracy in Old Landmarkism (Baptist)" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1990); Michael Henry Bone, "A Study of the Writings of J. R. Graves (1820-1893) as an Example of the Nature and Function of Absolutes in Religious Symbol System" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2001); Myron James Houghton, "The Place of Baptism in the Theology of James Robinson Graves" (Th.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1971); Barry William Jones, "James R. Graves, Baptist Newspaper Editor: Catalyst for Religious Controversy, 1846-1893" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio University, 1994); T. A. Patterson, "The Theology of J. R. Graves, and Its Influences on Southern Baptist Life" (Th.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1944); and O. L. Hailey, *J. R. Graves: Life, Times and Teachings* (Nashville: O. L. Hailey, 1929). For more information on A. C. Dayton, see James E. Taulman, "Amos Dayton Cooper: A Critical Biography" (Th.M. thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1965); and James E. Taulman, "The Life and Writings of Amos Cooper Dayton (1813-1865)," *Baptist History and Heritage* 10 (January 1975): 36-43.

⁵Timothy George, "Southern Baptist Ghosts," *First Things* 93 (May 1999): 23, noted Landmarkism as a main movement in Baptist history and stated that "Landmarkism is still alive and well in the Baptist hinterland...."

thoroughly researched. Specifically, Pendleton's disagreement with Graves over what beliefs are part of Landmarkism needs further attention. Thus, a thorough study of Pendleton's position will reveal new insights into the core of Landmarkism and its influence on Baptist ecclesiology.

The insufficient research is reflected in the fact that Pendleton has never been the sole study of a dissertation. Two Th.M. theses focused on Pendleton, yet neither of these comprehensively studied his articles.⁶ Furthermore, only a handful of articles have been written on Pendleton, and most articles discussing Landmarkism utilize the definitions provided by J. R. Graves in his work *Old Landmarkism: What Is It?*⁷ Although Graves is rightly recognized as the key leader of the movement, this author believes Pendleton represents a less extreme view of Landmarkism. This dissertation will present Pendleton's view of Landmarkism along with his contributions to Baptist ecclesiology.

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

Before presenting the content of the dissertation it will be necessary to define important terms. Thus, immediately following this overview, Landmarkism and the terms relating to communion will be defined. Following these definitions, chapter one will provide an introduction to the life and works of Pendleton. This author will attempt to provide a short biography of Pendleton discussing relevant facts pertaining to the writing of his articles and books. By interweaving the biography with a summary of his works, this author desires to provide additional insight into the context of Pendleton's works.

⁶James Emmett Hill Jr., "James Madison Pendleton's Theology of Baptism" (Th.M. thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1958); and William Clyde Huddleston, "James Madison Pendleton: A Critical Biography" (Th.M. thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1962).

⁷J. R. Graves, *Old Landmarkism: What Is It?* (Texarkana: Bogard Press, 1880).

The second chapter will probe Pendleton's formulation of the doctrine of baptism, which formed the central aspect of his ecclesiology and took up more space in his writings than any other topic.⁸ This chapter will first summarize Pendleton's theology of baptism. The chapter will also identify Pendleton's unique contribution by comparing Pendleton's work with that of his contemporaries. By interacting with modern works, this chapter will identify any lasting influence on the theology of baptism. This chapter will demonstrate that Pendleton's unique contribution was pinpointing the issue of baptism as the central issue in pulpit affiliation, non-recognition of Pedobaptist churches, and non-recognition of Pedobaptist ministers.

The third chapter will focus on Pendleton's support for church independence and congregational church government. This chapter will begin by summarizing Pendleton's reasons for holding to congregational church polity. Additionally, this chapter will discuss the implications of Pendleton's emphasis on church independence and congregational polity. Following the summary of his theology, works from Pendleton's contemporaries will be examined to discover if Pendleton made any unique contribution to the issue of church polity. The final section will attempt to identify any lasting contribution made by Pendleton to congregational church polity by interacting with modern works on the issue.

⁸The following works contain his teachings on baptism: James Madison Pendleton, *Christian Doctrines: A Compendium of Theology* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1906); *Church Manual: Designed for the Use of Baptist Churches* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1867); *Distinctive Principles of Baptists* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1882); *An Old Landmark Re-set* (Nashville: Graves & Marks, 1854); *Three Reasons Why I Am a Baptist* (Cincinnati: Moore, Anderson & Company, 1853); *Three Reasons Why I Am a Baptist with a Fourth Reason Added on Communion* (St. Louis: National Baptist Publishing, 1856). In addition to these books, Pendleton wrote a number of articles dealing with baptism. See the bibliography for a complete list of articles.

The fourth chapter will examine Pendleton's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. This chapter will begin by giving an analysis of Pendleton's position on the doctrine, and then it will discuss Pendleton's contemporaries, identifying any unique contributions made by Pendleton. This section will specifically address the conflict between J. R. Graves and Pendleton over communion and Landmarkism. It will demonstrate that Pendleton saw nothing wrong with including members of other Baptist churches in communion. Pendleton stated in a letter to J. J. D. Renfroe that the Landmark doctrine concerns the non-recognition of Pedobaptist ministers and does not involve denominational communion among Baptist church members.⁹ Graves, on the other hand, wanted to make close communion part of the Landmark doctrine. The last section in this chapter will attempt to relate Pendleton to modern theologians, noting any lasting contributions. This chapter will demonstrate that Pendleton was unique by being the only member of the "Landmark triumvirate" who allowed denominational communion. However, in the area of formulation of the theology of the Lord's Supper, Pendleton popularized previously stated positions.

The final chapter will attempt to draw conclusions and evaluate Pendleton's unique contributions. After evaluating Pendleton's unique contributions, the author will summarize Pendleton's lasting influence in relation to Baptist ecclesiology.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Landmarkism

Two major disagreements exist over Landmarkism. The first disagreement concerns whether Graves and company created a new strand of thought or simply resurrected an old belief.

⁹James Madison Pendleton, "Introduction," in *Vindication of the Communion of Baptist Churches*, by J. J. D. Renfroe (Selma: John L. West, 1882), 5.

Pendleton's famous tract was titled, "An Old Landmark Reset." From the title one would gather that the Landmark members thought their beliefs were not new. In Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopedia*, Landmarkism falls under the topic of "Old-Landmarkism." Furthermore, the article states, "the doctrine of landmarkism is not a novelty, as some suppose . . . because William Kiffin, of London, one of the noblest of English Baptists, advocated it in 1640. . . ." ¹⁰ In addition to Cathcart, LeRoy B. Hogue concluded that Landmarkism began long before Graves's support of it. ¹¹ Finally, Bryan stated, "The Landmark movement, often called 'Old Landmarkism,' attempted to preserve historic distinctive Baptist principles." ¹² These men believed that Landmarkism reestablished historical Baptist principles.

However, others believed that Landmarkism represented new and original thought. James E. Tull in his dissertation sought to demonstrate that rather than resurrecting an ancient Landmark, Graves gave birth to a new one. ¹³ Concurring with Tull were Hugh Wamble and Harold Smith. ¹⁴ Wamble attempted to summarize the beliefs of Landmarkism, but he specifically stated, "I would like to make it clear that, despite Landmarkers' claim that their ecclesiology is the authentic Baptist view, Landmarkism differs at central points from ecclesiology held by Baptists

¹⁰William Cathcart, "Old-Landmarkism," in *The Baptist Encyclopedia*, ed. William Cathcart (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 867–8.

¹¹LeRoy B. Hogue, "A Study of the Antecedents of Landmarkism" (Th.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966).

¹²Bryan, "An Analysis of the Ecclesiology of Associational Baptists, 1900–1950," 11.

¹³James E. Tull, "A Study of Southern Baptist Landmarkism in the Light of Historical Baptist Ecclesiology" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1960).

¹⁴Hugh Wamble, "Landmarkism: Doctrinaire Ecclesiology Among Baptists," *Church History* 33 (December 1964): 429–47; and Harold S. Smith, "A Critical Analysis of the Theology of J. R. Graves" (Th.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966).

prior to 1850.”¹⁵ Thus, others believed that Landmarkism represented an aberration from traditional Baptist thought.

Truth exists in both of the previous claims. Depending upon the precise definition of Landmarkism, one can affirm or reject its claim to historical precedence. Certain beliefs identified with Landmarkism, such as (1) proper baptism being essential to the essence of church, (2) the belief that immersion alone is proper baptism, and (3) the belief in close communion, can be traced to long before Graves. However, a succinct discussion and definition of Landmarkism as put together by Graves and Pendleton had not existed before the 1850s. Thus, if Landmarkism is defined as the rejection of Pedobaptist groups as churches and the rejection of Pedobaptist ministers as Gospel ministers, then perhaps this system is new. In summary, the primary tenets of Landmarkism existed long before Graves and Pendleton; however, the specific system of defending these beliefs and their implications of rejecting Pedobaptist churches and ministers was new, if only in developing new implications.

The second disagreement over Landmarkism concerns a definition of the movement. The previous discussion has indicated the importance of a working definition. This author makes no claim to be the last word on the discussion but merely to introduce the reader to the issue and establish the definition which will be used for this study. Landmarkism has been defined by the *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists* in the following way:

The distinctive tenets of this movement fall into the category of ecclesiology, fitting into a very logical system centered around the primacy of the local church. Since a valid church is an assembly of baptized (immersed) believers, then pedobaptist organizations cannot be recognized as true churches, but only as religious

¹⁵Wamble, “Landmarkism: Doctrinaire Ecclesiology Among Baptist,” 430.

societies. Such groups cannot give authority to preach, and therefore their ministers should not be recognized as regular gospel ministers. Upon this follows a rejection of their ordinances. Even an occasional immersion must be designated alien and nugatory, since it lacks proper authority.¹⁶

At this point Patterson correctly defined Landmarkism; however, later in this same publication he also added close communion and church succession as Landmark distinctives.¹⁷ This idea of church succession was written on by G. H. Orchard who taught that there had been a line of churches holding Baptist beliefs going all the way back to biblical times.¹⁸ Although some people who supported Landmarkism held these beliefs, others who denied Landmarkism held to the succession of Baptist churches.¹⁹ Graves would have agreed with Patterson's definition and did so in his work *Old Landmarkism: What Is It?* However,

¹⁶W. Morgan Patterson, "Landmarkism" in *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, ed. Norman Cox (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), 757.

¹⁷Patterson, "Landmarkism," 757. However, Patterson later recognized that Pendleton did not hold to these views. He wrote, "Yet it must be remembered that Pendleton differed from other Landmarkers in significant ways. His understanding of Landmarkism seemed to be limited to his concept of pulpit affiliation. Also, unlike many Landmarkers, he accepted the concept of the universal church, never adhered to Baptist successionism, and was able to work within the organizational framework of the conventions and societies of Baptists in a way many Landmarkers were never able to do." See W. Morgan Patterson, "The Influences of Landmarkism Among Baptists," *Baptist History and Heritage* 10 (January 1975): 56.

¹⁸George Herbert Orchard, *A Concise History of the Foreign Baptists* (Nashville: Graves & Marks, 1855). This view was later espoused by J. M. Carroll, *The Trail of Blood* (Lexington: American Baptist Publishing Company, 1931).

¹⁹Graves, *Old Landmarkism*, 86. Those who held to this view but did not adhere to Landmarkism, include R. B. C. Howell, who said "that the Apostolic Church was Baptist and that through several channels it may be readily traced in a state of comparative purity down to our time." See R. B. C. Howell, *The Terms of Communion at the Lord's Table* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1846), 262.

Tull notes four areas where Pendleton disagreed with Graves: “(1) Pendleton never relinquished the idea of the universal church; (2) refused to equate the Kingdom of God with the aggregate of Baptist churches; (3) refused to subscribe to the theory of church succession; and (4) thought the theory of nonintercommunion was trivial and unimportant.”²⁰ Pendleton believed the central point of Landmarkism concerned the non-recognition of Pedobaptist ministers as Gospel ministers.

Three primary sources must be consulted in developing any definition for Landmarkism—the Cotton Grove Resolutions, *Old Landmarkism* by Graves, and *An Old Landmark Re-set* by Pendleton. The “Cotton Grove Resolutions” included the following:

1. Can Baptists, consistently with their principles or the Scriptures, recognize those societies not organized according to the pattern of the Jerusalem Church, but possessing different governments, different officers, a different class of members, different ordinances, doctrines and practices, as churches of Christ?
2. Ought they to be called gospel churches, or churches in a religious sense?
3. Can we consistently recognize the ministers of such irregular and unscriptural bodies as gospel ministers?
4. Is it not virtually recognizing them as official ministers to invite them into our pulpits, or by any other act that would or could be construed into such a recognition?

²⁰James E. Tull, *High-Church Baptists in the South* (Macon: Mercer Press, 2000), 44. On the issue of church succession, there is no clear refutation of the church succession theory in Pendleton’s writings. Tull did not document his statement; however, after studying Pendleton’s work, this author concludes that Tull accurately noted an absence of church succession in Pendleton’s writings.

5. Can we consistently address as brethren those professing Christianity, who not only have not the doctrine of Christ and walk not according to his commandments, but are arrayed in direct and bitter opposition to them?²¹

On July 28, 1851, the Big Hatchie Association met in an annual session at Bolivar, Tennessee and answered questions one, two, three, and five in the negative. Question four was answered affirmatively. This established the first formal statement of the tenets of Landmarkism.

Graves in *Old Landmarkism: What Is It?* added further beliefs to Landmarkism. One addition to which Pendleton objected was titled, “inconsistencies and evils of intercommunion among Baptists.” Graves also indicated a belief in the succession of the kingdom and a denial of the universal church.²² Many later scholars have attributed some form of succession of the kingdom or succession of Baptist churches to the definition of Landmarkism.²³ This author

²¹Graves, *Old Landmarkism*, 14.

²²*Ibid.*, 84. Graves said, “Nor have I, or any Landmarker known to me, ever advocated the succession of any particular church or churches; but my position is that Christ, in the very ‘days of John the Baptist,’ did establish a visible kingdom on earth, and that this *kingdom* has never yet been ‘broken in pieces,’ nor given to another class of subjects—has never for a day ‘been moved,’ nor ceased from the earth, and never will until Christ returns personally to reign over it.” Graves said concerning the local church, “He [Christ] has no invisible kingdom or church, and such a thing has no real existence in heaven or earth. It is only an invention employed to bolster up erroneous theories of ecclesiology” (28).

²³See Robert Torbet, who attributed this view to Graves, Pendleton, and Landmarkism in “Landmarkism” presented at the Second National Theological Conference in Green Lake, Wisconsin, June 6–11, 1959. John Steeley, “The Landmark Movement in the Southern Baptist Convention,” in *What is the Church?*, ed. Duke McCall (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), 136, said, “A major emphasis of Graves which serves to identify the Landmarkism of his time relates to church succession, expressed in the claim of Baptists to this distinction . . . It is not, of course, a peculiarity of Landmarkers alone that they claim apostolic succession for Baptist churches. Other Baptists who are not Landmarkers believe that such a succession may be traced or at least may be inferred. It is rather the *a priori* method of establishing such a claim. . . .” Hugh Wamble

believes Pendleton would have disagreed with directly linking church succession to Landmarkism although he never denied the view. Three reasons support this belief. First, Pendleton never used church succession as his primary argument to combat Campbellism or establish Landmarkism as others did. Second, Pendleton recognized that church succession flowed through the early Anabaptist who baptized by pouring. By acknowledging the true church flowed through those who practiced baptism by pouring, he would have weakened his position on baptism by immersion.²⁴ Third, R.B.C. Howell and other opponents of Landmarkism held to some form of church succession while earnestly rejecting Landmarkism.

Much confusion over Pendleton's position on the universal church may have come from a work titled *Landmarkism* published in 1899.²⁵ This work was not published until eight

"Landmarkism: Doctrinaire Ecclesiology Among Baptists," 439, stated, "Landmarkers contend that Baptist churches have existed continuously since the time of Jesus Christ." Chad Hall, "When Orphans Become Heirs: J. R. Graves and the Landmark Baptists," *Baptist History and Heritage* 37 (Winter 2002): 112–27, attributed the view of successionism to the Landmark movement. Lastly, Bill Leonard, *Baptist Ways: A History* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 2003), 183–4, claimed that closed communion and church successionism are part of the basic beliefs of Landmarkism.

²⁴S. H. Ford, "History of the Baptists in the Southern States by B. F. Riley, D. D. — Misstatements — Old Landmarkism — Succession — Irregular Immersions," *Ford's Christian Repository and Home Circle* (July 1899): 420, claimed that Pendleton said, "The ana-Baptist [*sic*] question [did they sprinkle] really has nothing to do with the landmark question; nor has the church succession question. . . . I doubt not there have been in all ages, from the days of the apostles, persons who have believed for substance as Baptists do now; but that there has been a regular succession of churches, I am by no means certain. . . . It has not been established to my satisfaction; but I am a 'landmarker.'"

²⁵Confusion over Pendleton's other positions can be clearly seen in works which assume that Pendleton, being one of the Landmark founders, accepted Grave's formulation of Landmarkism. For example, H. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 449, stated, "he never embraced the total system as did Graves" but McBeth went on to say, "Pendleton's [*Church*] *Manual* advances Landmark views

years after his death, yet the cover of the book appears as though Pendleton authored the work. At the bottom of the cover notations state that other authors produced articles for the publication. These authors include J. N. Hall, J. R. Graves, Judson Taylor, and J. B. Moody. As for Pendleton's part, this book merely reproduced his *Old Landmark Re-set*. However, this little book has led to much confusion because it contains a strong denial of the universal church. This denial comes from the inclusion of the last article titled, "The New Issue: The Invisible Church Idea" by J. N. Hall. Hall wrote, "For our part we deny this whole 'invisible, universal church' idea. There is but one sort of a church in the New Testament; and that is a local and visible church."²⁶ Hall never clarifies the "we" but by positioning this article as the last article in the book, he gave the impression that the previous writers concurred.

For the purposes of this dissertation, a less extreme definition of Landmarkism, Pendleton's definition, will be utilized. Landmarkism consisted of the following beliefs:

of Baptist life on closed communion, alien immersion, and Baptist successionism." This dissertation contends that Pendleton did not advocate Baptist successionism and did not hold to the closest form of communion. However, McBeth was not alone. Jesse Fletcher, *The Southern Baptist Convention: A Sesquicentennial History* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 62, included Pendleton as supporting Baptist successionism. William Brackney, *The Baptists* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 65, included a Pendleton quote in a section supporting Graves's view of close communion which implied Pendleton's agreement. Robert Torbet, *A History of the Baptists* (Valley Forge: Judson, 1950), 281, implied that both Graves and Pendleton held to the closest form of communion. He said, "they have not admitted members of different Baptist churches to share together in the observance of the Lord's Supper, for they have held that the ordinance is only for the members of the local church." Thus, much confusion exists concerning Pendleton's differentiation from Graves. Although it is not the sole purpose of this dissertation, Pendleton's and Graves's views will be distinguished in following discussions.

²⁶J. N. Hall, "The New Issue," in *Landmarkism, Liberalism and the Invisible Church* (Fulton: National Baptist Publishing House, 1899), 75. This collection does not note an editor.

1. proper administration of the ordinances is essential to the existence of a true local church;
2. proper baptism is by immersion only of believers only;
3. without proper baptism, Pedobaptist societies cannot be considered true churches;
4. Pedobaptist societies not being true churches, their preachers are not properly ordained or commissioned and cannot be considered Gospel ministers;
5. with no valid churches or ministers, Pedobaptist immersions (alien immersions) cannot be accepted; pulpits cannot be exchanged with Pedobaptists; and communion cannot be extended to Pedobaptists;
6. emphasis is placed on the primacy of the local church.

The Landmarkism supported by Pendleton ended at this point. He recognized the universal church (but did not emphasize it), allowed for denominational communion, and did not endorse a strict view of church succession. This position will be demonstrated later in this presentation.

TERMS RELATING TO COMMUNION

Because one section of this dissertation focuses on communion and because Pendleton and Graves disagreed on this issue, precise definitions of the terms relating to communion are necessary. Communion can be discussed in three categories. The first category is that of close communion. This has also been known as closed, strict, and restricted communion.²⁷ Close communion for the current

²⁷Pendleton used “close” in *Three Reasons Why I Am a Baptist with a Fourth Added on Communion*, 199. Edward Hiscox used “close” but acknowledged the terms “strict or restricted” in *The New Directory for Baptist Churches* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1894), 448. W. T. Conner used “close” in *Christian Doctrine* (Nashville: Broadman, 1937), 289. J. R. Graves used the terms “strict or restricted” communion in *Intercommunion: Inconsistent, Unscriptural and Productive of Evil*

discussion will mean that only members of a particular local church are allowed to participate in communion. Christians of similar beliefs belonging to other churches, or members of other denominations are not allowed to partake in communion.²⁸ The second category is denominational communion.²⁹ This practice has also been referred to as “transient communion” or “closed intercommunion.”³⁰ However, this dissertation will use “denominational communion” to refer to that view which allows non church members to partake in communion on the condition of like faith and practice. Such a person should be one that could be accepted into that particular church’s membership. The third category is open communion.³¹ This type communion allows any Christian to partake in communion because it belongs to Christ and is thus open to all children of God. This practice has also been referred to as “mixed communion.”³²

(Memphis: Baptist Book House, 1881), 10, 14. J. L. Dagg used the term “strict” in *Manual of Church Order* (Charleston: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1858; reprint, Harrisonburg: Gano Books, 1990), 225. Among current scholarship, McBeth used the term “closed” in *The Baptist Heritage*, 81, and Slaydon Yarbrough, *Southern Baptists: A Historical, Ecclesiological, and Theological Heritage of a Confessional People* (Nashville: Fields, 2000), 109, related the terms “close” and “closed” stating that they both mean “only members of the particular congregation are allowed to partake.”

²⁸This author recognizes that not all authors have used this term to signify the closest form of communion. For example, McBeth left open the possibility of intercommunion among Baptist churches (denominational or transient communion). He defined closed communion as “meaning that only those who had received believer’s baptism by immersion might join in the supper” (81).

²⁹Graves, *Intercommunion*, 11, used “denominational communion.”

³⁰Dagg, *Manual of Church Order*, 214, used “transient communion.” Yarbrough, *Southern Baptists*, 110, used “closed intercommunion.”

³¹This term has been widely used. See for example: Dagg, *Manual of Church Order*, 214; Hiscox, *The New Directory for Baptist Churches*, 447; Yarbrough, *Southern Baptists*, 110; and McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 81.

³²Thomas F. Curtis, *Communion: The Distinction Between Christian and Church Fellowship and Between Communion and Its Symbols: Embracing a Review of the Arguments of Robert Hall and Baptist W. Noel in Favor of*

An additional term that needs clarification is “intercommunion.”³³ Intercommunion has been utilized in multiple ways. One may participate in intercommunion which crosses denominational lines. This would fall under the category of open communion. One may participate in intercommunion which only crosses church membership lines but remains within the same the denomination. This would fall under the category of denominational communion. This dissertation will attempt to clarify which meaning is intended when cited from other writers. The primary usage for this word will be in describing discussions between J. R. Graves and J. M. Pendleton. Their disagreement over intercommunion centered on crossing church lines and not denominational lines. Graves and Pendleton both agreed that Baptists should not commune with Pedobaptists. Thus, “open communion” was not acceptable for either; however, Graves and Pendleton disagreed over “denominational communion.” Pendleton supported denominational communion while Graves supported close communion. This dissertation will use the term “denominational communion” when referring to communion which crosses the line of local church membership, except when quoting others who use the term “intercommunion” when referring to this practice.

Mixed Communion (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1850).

³³See Graves, *Intercommunion* for both uses of this word.

“Good principles are good things, but they have no self-propagating power. Principles are powerless apart from the persons who hold them. Baptists sometimes forget this. They are so confident in the correctness of their principles as to feel that all will be well. They think that their views, without any effort on their part, will commend themselves to general acceptance. They suppose that a good cause may be left to take care of itself; but no cause, however good, takes care of itself. Its friends must advocate it, and by their advocacy secure its triumph. Baptists must not forget that they are ‘fellow-helpers to the truth.’ None of them should fail to give the ‘truth’ their help. None should ever act as if they were ashamed of being Baptists. Their principles, when assailed, should never lack defense or vindication from them. Their silence, when they should speak, would be a culpable and an injurious silence. Baptists should be ready not only to meet and to repel attacks made on their principles, but should earnestly engage in the propagation of those principles. Leaving, on suitable occasions, their fortresses of defense, they should invade the domain of error and become actively aggressive. This is one fault of some of the Baptists of this generation—that they do not zealously propagate their distinctive views. They should see to it that the truth as embodied in their distinctive principles is brought into direct, positive, constant, exterminating contact with the error opposed to those principles. What distinctive mission have Baptists, if this is not their mission?—to present the truth in love on the matters wherein they differ from Pedobaptists. What is there but this that justifies their denominational existence and saves them from the reproach of being schismatics? If they have a right to denominational life, it is their duty to propagate their distinctive principles, without which that life cannot be maintained.”

JAMES MADISON PENDLETON

Distinctive Principles of Baptists

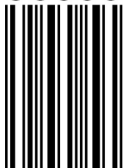
(Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1882).

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