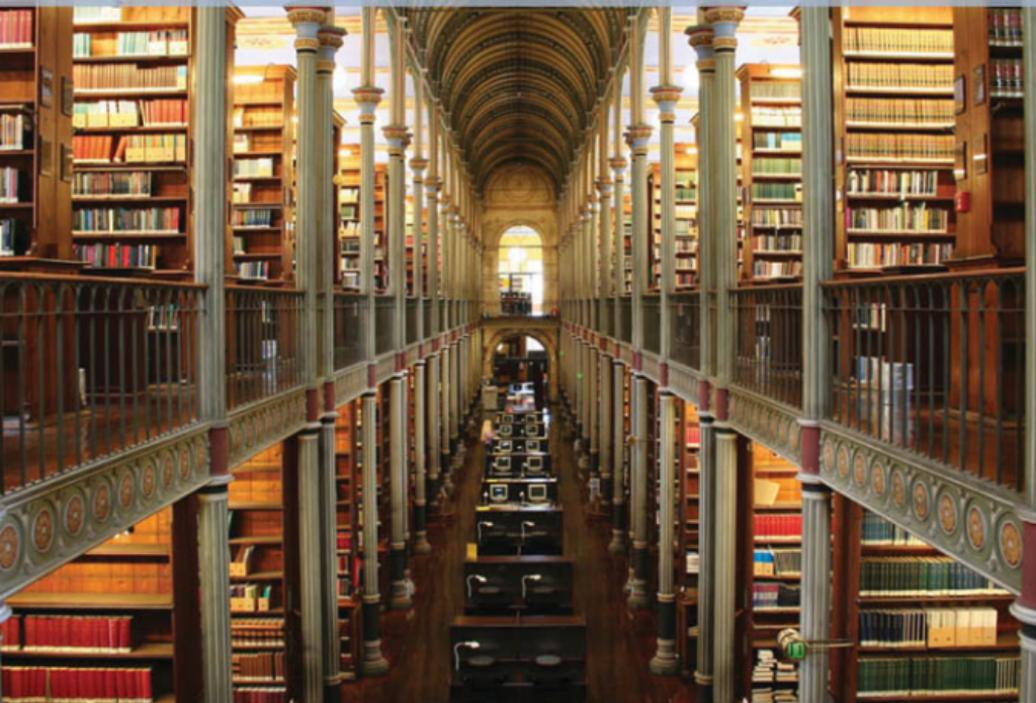


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Gregory A. Wills

Southern Baptist Theological
Seminary, 1859–2009

SOUTHERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, 1859-2009

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SEMINARY, 1859–2009

GREGORY A. WILLS

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P R E F A C E

Southern Baptists have remained stubbornly conservative in a culture whose democratic impulses have led American Christians to adapt their beliefs and practices to modernity's individualist values. These values have reoriented Christianity inward and disadvantaged the objective authority of scripture and traditional orthodoxy. Through most of the twentieth century, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was the denomination's chief promoter of adaptation to modernity. After about 1900 many of its faculty embraced progressive theology and aimed to influence Southern Baptists in this direction. E. Y. Mullins, president and professor of theology at the seminary from 1899 to 1928, effectively promoted a form of modern theology that made individual experience the source of religious authority and the mediator of the Bible's meaning. Southern Baptists broadly embraced the individualist reformulations of Baptist identity and abandoned such traditional commitments as Calvinist doctrine and church discipline. By the 1940s progressive theology spread dramatically in Southern Baptist colleges and seminaries.

But for most Southern Baptists, the adaptation went only so far. Throughout the twentieth century, most remained committed to traditional orthodoxy in such fundamental areas as biblical inspiration, creation, conversion, atonement, and miracles. Southern Seminary played a surprising role in restraining modernism and preserving orthodoxy.

Founding president and professor of theology James P. Boyce bound the seminary to an orthodox creed and committed its governance ultimately to popular control by Southern Baptists. When the inspiration controversy of the late 1870s and early 1880s challenged traditional beliefs, he and the faculty led the denomination to reaffirm orthodox views. Boyce and his faculty established the seminary with such great personal sacrifice, and led the denomination with such wisdom, that they attained a heroic status in denominational memory. The seminary's founding commitment to preserving orthodoxy was thus implanted in denominational memory in ways that strengthened the denomination's conservatism and limited the seminary's ability to stray from it.

The denomination's popular conservatism and the founding faculty's place in denominational memory limited the influence and reach of progressive thought. Through most of the twentieth century, progressive faculty members related to the denomination by means of a realistic policy in which they accommodated their teaching to the fact that Southern Baptists were incorrigibly conservative and expected their seminary to be the same. At the end of the century a majority of Southern Baptists nevertheless recognized that the seminary faculty was progressive, and they overhauled the school in order to reestablish traditional orthodoxy. Southern Baptist populism privileged orthodoxy over individualism. The seminary could not evade the symbolic power of its original commitment to orthodoxy and popular control.

This book is not about Southern Seminary alone—it is also about Southern Baptists. It shows how the denomination navigated the tension between the individualist values of modernity and traditional commitment to orthodoxy. The seminary's conflicts and transformations revealed Southern Baptists' most basic commitments and significantly shaped their identity. The story has a larger meaning also. It helps illuminate the course and character of religion in America, its conservative versions especially.

A few words about the sources are in order. This book relies heavily on manuscript sources, especially personal correspondence, but including also diaries, notebooks, and memoranda. I have in nearly every case regularized spelling, capitalization, and punctuation in quotations from the sources. Where the sources contained shorthand symbols or abbreviations, I have usually spelled out the words.

Several collections require comment. The Olin T. Binkley Papers and the Henlee H. Barnette Papers at the Z. Smith Reynolds Library at Wake Forest University were recent accessions and were not fully processed. The special collections staff kindly accommodated my request to conduct research in these valuable collections. Due to the fact that these collections were in process, references to items from these collections may lack box numbers.

Two unique sources document the 1958 controversy over the dismissal of twelve professors. The first is a 555-page transcript of interviews conducted by the school of the theology committee of the board of trustees, April 28–30, 1958, in Louisville, Kentucky. The committee interviewed twenty-three members of the faculty and President Duke McCall and recorded its proceedings on nineteen tape reels. In 1974 the trustees had the recordings transcribed, then destroyed the recordings and placed the transcript under seal. Trustees removed the seal in 2007.

Another important source is Hugh Wamble's lengthy electronic manuscript, "Conflict between Authority and Conscience." Wamble was a professor

of church history and was among those dismissed in 1958. Although some of the manuscript's statements are based on memories current when Wamble wrote it in 1990, it includes lengthy quotes from his contemporaneous notes and from other contemporary sources. Wamble's family graciously provided me an electronic copy for my research. When citing this work, I included the chapter number as well as the page number, since the page numbers may differ based on line spacing and margins. My copy was 787 total pages, with one-inch margins and single spacing. A copy has been placed in the archives of the James P. Boyce Centennial Library. Andy Rawls and media services provided copies of many audio recordings.

I conducted about twenty oral interviews in the course of my research and read twenty or thirty oral interviews conducted by others. Though oral histories are immensely valuable in many respects, I have treated them with less deference than contemporaneous sources. Memory is selective and naturally tends toward the self-serving. Oral histories do not often distinguish between beliefs that were based on hearsay at the time of their origin, and those based on sounder evidence. They may accurately reflect a belief that was held by an individual or group, and this is historically significant, but the belief gains little additional credibility thereby. Though they are often suggestive rather than probative, the suggestions are invaluable. I found them valuable also in interpreting or corroborating the contemporaneous records.

Trustee and faculty minutes are on deposit at the president's office of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Dozens of persons contributed in significant ways to the making of this volume.

Trustees and President R. Albert Mohler made this history possible by granting full and ready access to essential material: minutes of trustee and faculty meetings, the presidential papers of Duke K. McCall and Roy L. Honeycutt, and the transcriptions of faculty interviews of April 1958. I wish to thank R. Albert Mohler also for granting a candid and helpful interview, and above all for his perfect respect for the freedom to write the seminary's history without partisan constraints or institutional interference.

Russell D. Moore, Senior Vice President for Academic Administration and Dean of the School of Theology, supported this project in many ways and was a source of encouragement throughout. Without the generous provision of teaching relief and research support, this task could not have been completed for many more years.

Duke McCall gave generously of his time in answering my many questions and provided gracious hospitality during my visit in Florida. William Hull kindly sat for an interview and for additional hours of discussion concerning Southern Seminary. David S. Dockery on numerous occasions provided

needed information or insight in response to many questions. Wayne Ward shared at length from his large store of memories of more than sixty years at Southern Seminary and was always ready to answer questions of detail or fact. Others who kindly assisted me by granting interviews were Heber Peacock, T. C. Smith, Ralph Elliott, Hargus Taylor, Marvin Tate, Clara McCartt, James Leo Garrett, Rick White, Jerry Johnson, Jim Chancellor, Scott Hafemann, Paul House, Ladislau Biro, and Edgar Hatfield. Without these interviews, my understanding of the people and events that make up this history would be greatly impoverished.

I owe special thanks to the many archivists and librarians without whose help I would not have had access to the rich store of sources that illuminate the seminary's history. Jason Fowler, Chris DeWease, and others at the James P. Boyce Centennial Library's archives and special collections department assisted me time after time. They not only had the foresight to modernize the organization and storage of the manuscript collections and to prepare extensive finding aids, including correspondence calendars, but also cheerfully fulfilled my requests for information, copies, and work space. They also provided invaluable aid in the scanning, selection, and captioning of photographs. Paul Roberts and the interlibrary loan staff always found the documents that I needed.

Bill Sumners, Kathy Sylvest, and Taffey Hall at the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives provided much valuable advice and assistance during many long visits. They also awarded the project a research grant that defrayed the expenses of one of those visits. Vicki Johnson and Julia Bradford in the special collections department of Wake Forest University's Z. Smith Reynolds Library were unstintingly helpful in affording access to their valuable collections over several weeks of research there. Librarians at Samford University, Furman University, Union Theological Seminary, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Harvard University, Baylor University, the University of Virginia, Campbellsville University, the University of South Carolina, Meredith College, the American Baptist Historical Society, Duke University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill also provided valuable assistance.

Colleagues and friends supported this project in invaluable ways. Tom Nettles graciously provided a manuscript copy of his forthcoming biography of James P. Boyce, patiently discussed many questions with me, and loaned needed books. Josh Powell provided friendship, encouragement, and sound advice. Jason Allen provided space for research of trustee and faculty minutes in the president's office, helped me find needed sources, discovered a forgotten collection of John R. Sampey's papers, and was always eager to discuss various issues in the seminary's history. Mark Rogers, Adam Winters, Brandon Nygaard, John

Randolph, and Josh Green served as research assistants and did much yeoman's work. They took many of the 100,000 photographs of documents on which this history largely relies, entered many thousands of notes from them, and scoured long lists of newspaper microfilm for needed articles. Dan Stiver and Bart Tichenor graciously provided a copy of Hugh Wamble's manuscript history of the 1958 controversy, and Hargus Taylor and John Michael kindly provided copies of additional relevant materials. Tim Harrelson and Jeff Mayfield provided many helpful books.

Several colleagues and students read various drafts of the manuscript in part or in whole and provided helpful feedback. Kurt Wise defined neighborliness when he cleared our yard of trees felled by the remnants of Hurricane Ike while I was rushing through a second draft. Ingrid Buck, my mother-in-law, kindly provided a two-week writing retreat at a critical time. My wife, Cathy, not only encouraged the book's completion by many acts of patient sacrifice but also worked long hours entering indecipherable corrections and wielding her own editing pen with uncommonly good sense. Sam, Abby, James, and Maggie patiently shared their father with a project that must have seemed interminable.

A word about the author may also be in order. I am a Southern Baptist. I have worked and taught at Southern Seminary since 1994 and sympathize with its aims and commitments. Perspective inescapably affects interpretation, but I have attempted to avoid partisan judgments. It ill serves history and the present to recolor the past to suit the historian's predilections or institutional reputation. I have endeavored to let the actors in this drama speak in their own voices. It is hard otherwise to do justice to their arguments, interpretations, and perspectives. It is impossible otherwise to achieve historical understanding. The lessons of the past cannot be right if the history is wrong.

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REFERENCES AND NOTES

The following manuscript collections are held at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, in the Archives and Special Collections Department of the James P. Boyce Memorial Library. In the notes I have omitted reference to their holding location.

James P. Boyce Papers
John A. Broadus Papers
Archibald T. Robertson Papers
Thomas T. Eaton Papers
Edgar Y. Mullins Papers
John R. Sampey Papers
Ellis A. Fuller Papers
Duke K. McCall Papers
Roy L. Honeycutt Papers
Letterpress Copy Books
Transcription of Trustee Interviews 28–30 Apr. 1958

Notes Abbreviations

- ANTS Franklin Trask Library, Andover Newton Theological Seminary, Newton, Massachusetts
- HUA Harvard University Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- LVA Library of Virginia, Richmond
- SBHLA Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee
- SBTS Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

- SWBTS Archives, A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas
- UNC Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
- USC South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia
- UVA Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville
- WFU North Carolina Baptist Historical Collection, Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

SOUTHERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, 1859-2009

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BOYCE'S SEMINARY

On the first day of October 1859, four young professors and nine students opened the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.¹ It was an uncertain undertaking. Southern Baptists were not sure that they needed it, and many doubted its success. And opposition to it came from many quarters. By November Professor Basil Manly Jr. judged that the seminary's survival was already "drawing to a crisis," and he grieved at the prospect of seeing "so auspicious a movement for Southern Baptist interests come to naught."² The seminary survived the crisis. It survived others worse. From the beginning its success depended uniquely on one man, James P. Boyce. His remarkable determination to establish and preserve the seminary rescued it from failure time and again. Without his leadership it would have passed into extinction.³

James Petigru Boyce was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on January 11, 1827, the son of one of the South's wealthiest merchants, Ker Boyce. He grew up faithfully attending the Charleston First Baptist Church, where his mother was a member. In 1846, at the age of nineteen, he came under the conviction that he

1. John A. Broadus to Mamma [Mrs. Major Broadus], 1 Oct. 1861, box 17, Broadus Papers.

2. Basil Manly Jr. to Basil Manly Sr., 25 Nov. 1859, Manly Collection of Manuscripts, microfilm, reel 1, SBTS.

3. The two best sources on Boyce's life are John A. Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce* (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1893), and Tom J. Nettles, *James Petigru Boyce* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P and R Publishing, 2009).

was a sinner in need of the grace that could be found in Christ alone. He experienced conversion and was baptized shortly after.⁴

Boyce immediately applied himself with great earnestness to prayer, Bible reading, and evangelistic work among his friends at Brown University, where he was a student. After graduation in 1847, he resolved to apply himself to the ministry of the gospel. Eye trouble prevented him from pursuing theological studies immediately, and he agreed to serve temporarily as editor of the Charleston weekly, the *Southern Baptist*. In 1848 he and his wife, Elizabeth Ficklin Boyce, moved to New Jersey. Boyce took the full theological course at Princeton Theological Seminary in two years, by taking the second- and third-year courses simultaneously. In 1851 the Columbia First Baptist Church ordained Boyce, and he served as its pastor for four years. When his father died in 1854, he became executor of his father's estate, a position that demanded considerable attention for the rest of his life.⁵

Furman University, a Southern Baptist school with a small theology department, elected Boyce as professor of theology in 1855. By this time he had already determined to do all he could to establish a full-fledged theological seminary for Southern Baptists. When he convinced South Carolina Baptists to take the lead in the effort in 1856, he became the recognized leader of the seminary movement. From that point Boyce gave himself to establishing and preserving the seminary. He made extraordinary personal sacrifices for its success. But it was not his determination alone that accomplished the design—it was vision. It was his proposal that won denominational support for the seminary, and it was his blueprint for the seminary's design that denominational leaders adopted.⁶

At the very heart of Boyce's vision was a commitment to subordinate the seminary to Bible truth and to the denomination. The seminary should always conform to scripture truth and always serve Southern Baptist churches. To accomplish the first he persuaded Southern Baptist leaders to adopt a confession of faith for the seminary and to require every professor to subscribe

4. Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 34–35, 43–45.

5. Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 46–47, 53–88, 93–95, 336. The terms of his father's will required that the estate remain in executorship until the youngest of his grandchildren entered majority, which did not occur until one month after James Boyce's death. The estate was reputed to be worth \$17 million in 1854 ("Notes from the Life of a Southern Millionaire," newspaper clipping from Chattanooga paper, in box 16, Broadus Papers).

6. Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 101–102, 106–107. Boyce was a Furman trustee but resigned ahead of his nomination as a professor. He opposed faculty serving on trustee boards and had before urged ending the practice at Furman. See James C. Furman to Edwin Mims, 3 Dec. 1851, quoted in Harvey Toliver Cook, *The Life Work of James Clement Furman* (Greenville, SC: Alester G. Furman, 1926), 140.

agreement with it. To accomplish the second he persuaded Southern Baptist leaders to establish a board of trustees controlled finally by the Southern Baptist Convention. The churches had the power, through their delegates to the Southern Baptist Convention, to determine the trustees who directly governed the seminary.

Boyce's design for the seminary centered in these two ideas, and he led the denomination to establish them permanently into the constitution of the seminary. On this basis he rallied Southern Baptists to support the seminary in that generation and in the generations following. Boyce's leadership so characterized the seminary that one critic objected that the school belonged to Boyce more than to the denomination.⁷ The critic was in an important sense correct. Boyce's imprint made the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Boyce's seminary.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AND THE BAPTIST COLLEGES

By 1830 Baptists and Methodists were the most popular American denominations. They did not require formal education for ordination. Their preachers were farmers and mechanics rather than college or seminary graduates. However, both denominations broadly supported educating preachers, and their most popular preachers promoted the cause of education and led their churches to establish a multitude of colleges in the nineteenth century.⁸ They lagged behind other denominations, however, in establishing seminaries.

Presbyterians established Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, in 1812; Columbia Theological Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1828; and Danville Theological Seminary in Danville, Kentucky, in 1853. Episcopalians chartered Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia in 1823. Lutherans established Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary in South Carolina in 1830, and Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis in 1839. But Baptists had no seminary in the South.

Southern Baptists had only small theology departments at some of their colleges. In most cases Baptists had established these colleges for the purpose of training ministers, but they in fact taught little theology. The college curriculum consisted of the liberal arts and sciences, culminating in moral philosophy. Theology courses were outside the undergraduate curriculum and attracted

7. James P. Boyce, "The Two Objections to the Seminary, I," *Christian Index*, 16 Apr. 1874, 2.

8. See Archibald T. Robertson, "Southern Baptist Ministers of a Hundred Years Ago and Education," *Seminary Magazine* 4 (1891): 4-8.

few students. Even if they had attracted more students, the colleges could not afford to employ a sufficient number of professors to teach an entire theological curriculum.

Baptists in Ohio and Kentucky established the Western Baptist Theological Seminary in Covington, Kentucky, in 1849. It attracted few students, and Kentucky Baptists were dissatisfied with the faculty's rumored antislavery views. A few years later they divided its few assets between the two groups, and the Kentucky Baptists merged it with Georgetown College to create a theology department like those existing at other Southern Baptist colleges.

Georgia's Mercer University was founded to train men for the gospel ministry but had no theology professor until 1839, when trustees elected Adiel Sherwood. Sherwood found that the students were few and ill prepared. Upon his resignation in 1841, trustees suspended the theology department until 1844, when they elected John L. Dagg.⁹ When Basil Manly Jr. graduated from the University of Alabama, his heart thrilled at the prospect of studying theology under Dagg's direction. But Dagg discouraged him from attending Mercer because he did not believe that Manly could get a thorough theological education there. Dagg advised him to go north, to Newton Theological Institute in Newton, Massachusetts, so that he could have "the best advantages and the fullest course" available.¹⁰

Newton was one of three theological seminaries that Baptists had established in the North by midcentury. They were Hamilton Theological Seminary (later Colgate) in New York in 1820; Newton Theological Institute in 1826; and Rochester Theological Seminary in Rochester, New York, in 1850. Until the establishment of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1859, many Southern Baptist ministerial students who wanted to take the full theological course matriculated at northern schools. When southerners began to suspect these northern Baptist schools of entertaining antislavery sentiments, some Southern Baptists preferred the Old School Presbyterians' Princeton Theological Seminary, where both James P. Boyce and Basil Manly Jr. matriculated.¹¹

But Southern Baptists found northern seminaries unsatisfactory, and their dissatisfaction with them grew throughout the antebellum period. They worried that southern ministerial students who studied in the North would come under the influence of Yankee values, habits, and manners. More worrisome

9. See Spright Dowell, *A History of Mercer University: 1833–1953* (Macon, GA: Foote and Davies, 1958), 80–81.

10. Basil Manly Jr., "The Beginnings of the History of the Seminary," *Seminary Magazine* 5 (1891): 114.

11. See Manly, "The Beginnings," 114; Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 65, 67.

was the growing antislavery sentiment in northern seminaries and the theological systems that seemed to nurture antislavery views. Southerners believed that the New Divinity and German theology had deeply tainted many northern seminaries and had fostered antislavery sentiment. Their “peculiar dogmas” made them untrustworthy in theology and uncharitable toward southerners.¹²

Many southerners connected objectionable theology with antislavery views. The Presbyterians' Columbia Theological Seminary came under suspicion of fostering both the New Divinity and abolition in 1837. Samuel Weir, editor of Columbia, South Carolina's *Southern Times and State Gazette*, asked whether the seminary was “as free from all suspicions of a taint of the new divinity, and of abolitionism, as a southern school ought ever to be.” Although the students publicly avowed their southern identity and their opposition to abolitionism, Weir warned that as long as any professor or student was a northerner, “it will be impossible to eradicate all apprehensions on this score from the public mind of this country.”¹³ The same year, William B. Johnson sought a theology professor for Furman University and fretted that the obstacles of “abolition and the German theology” made it impractical to “transplant northern professors into southern institutions.”¹⁴ Southern Baptists who wanted a full course in theology had two choices, a committee of Alabama Baptists said, “either to enter a pedobaptist seminary where erroneous views of divine truth are inculcated, or else go north, where they are continually exposed to insult.”¹⁵ Southern Baptists needed their own seminary.

THE MOVEMENT FOR A SOUTHERN BAPTIST SEMINARY

Earlier efforts to establish a Baptist seminary in the South had failed. In 1835 Basil Manly Sr., pastor of the Charleston, South Carolina, First Baptist Church, urged Southern Baptists to establish a southern seminary. He noted that South Carolina had already escrowed \$20,000 for theological education. He called on the Baptists of North Carolina and Georgia each to contribute the same amount and to establish a board of trustees representing each state equally. The endowment would support three professors. Such an institution, with God's

12. R. B. C. Howell, “A Great Southern Theological School,” *Monthly Miscellany*, Mar. 1849, 81, 83. Also published in the *Southern Baptist*, 2 May 1849, 625.

13. Samuel Weir, untitled, *Southern Times and State Gazette*, 24 Feb. 1837, 3.

14. William B. Johnson to James C. Furman, 2 Mar. 1837, William B. Johnson Papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University.

15. “Report on Education,” in Alabama Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1858, 20.

blessing, would attain an “importance and usefulness of which we can not now conceive.”¹⁶ Jesse Mercer, the leading figure among Georgia Baptists, encouraged Baptists in Georgia and the Carolinas to take the matter in hand.¹⁷ An effort by some Virginia Baptists to establish such a school in Williamsburg failed due to opposition from prominent Baptists.¹⁸

In 1843 Joseph S. Baker, editor of Georgia’s *Christian Index*, argued that the colleges could not provide adequate theological training. He called on Baptist educational leaders to subordinate their ambitions for state honor and to become partners in establishing a southern seminary. There was no other way to provide adequate theological education.¹⁹ The Baptist conventions of Georgia and South Carolina each appointed a committee to discuss combining their efforts at theological education. They concluded in 1843 that Georgia and South Carolina could not support a theological seminary by themselves. The effort would require the other southern states to unite with them.²⁰

The formation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845 gave renewed hope to proponents of a southern seminary. Southern Baptists withdrew from the northern-controlled boards for foreign and home missions when the southerners objected to the antislavery scruples of board members. These same objections applied to northern Baptist seminaries. Joseph S. Baker, for example, urged that the delegates who met to organize the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845 adopt among its causes the establishment of a southern seminary.²¹ Although the convention did not take up the question, after it adjourned a number of delegates held a conference to discuss the matter. They decided to hold a similar conference after the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Richmond in 1846. Richard Furman published arguments aimed to persuade them to adopt

16. Basil Manly Sr., “Theological Education in the Southern States,” *Southern Baptist and General Intelligencer*, 14 Mar. 1835, 170–172. Also published in the *Christian Index*, 24 Mar. 1835, 2.

17. Jesse Mercer, untitled, *Christian Index*, 24 Mar. 1835, 2.

18. See Joseph S. Baker, “A Small Mistake,” *Christian Index*, 30 May 1872, 85.

19. Joseph S. Baker, “Education amongst the Baptists,” *Christian Index*, 28 Apr. 1843, 265.

20. Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention, “The Georgia Baptist Convention,” *Christian Index*, 2 June 1843, 347.

21. Joseph S. Baker, “A Southern Theological School,” *Christian Index*, 25 Apr. 1845,

2. See also Henry Keeling, “Southern Theological Sem.—Southern Colleges,” *Christian Index*, 11 Apr. 1845, 3. There was apparently some discussion of the issue at the 1845 Southern Baptist Convention meeting, perhaps in an informal meeting during the convention (*History of the Establishment and Organization of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary*, [Greenville, SC: G. E. Elford, 1860], 3).

Furman Theological Institute as the great southern theological seminary, but the conference in Richmond did not take place.²²

R. B. C. Howell, pastor of Nashville First Baptist Church, sought to revive the movement in 1847. When Nashville hosted the meeting of the American Indian Mission Association in that year, he invited the delegates to hold a conference to discuss the establishment of a Southern Baptist seminary. The conference recommended that the delegates to the 1849 Southern Baptist Convention take action to establish a theological seminary.²³ Howell promoted the cause in the months before the 1849 convention, arguing that Southern Baptists had a duty before God to equip and prepare preachers thoroughly and that the theology departments of Baptist colleges were inadequate to the task.²⁴

College leaders agreed that their efforts in theological education fell short and that Southern Baptists needed a great theological seminary. Some South Carolina leaders believed that Furman University was the logical place for the new seminary. James C. Furman, the senior theology professor at Furman Theological Institute, pressed the claim that Furman should become the nucleus of the new seminary. "The theological department of Howard, the department of Mercer, and our own are the three claimants now before the churches. Among the three which is likely to succeed? Our Georgia brethren have as much as they can do to get the collegiate department of their university fairly afloat. . . . We have three professors [of theology]. . . . Let the young men from sister states swell our numbers."²⁵

Others held that Mercer University was the logical place for the seminary. James L. Reynolds, who had served as professor of theology at both Furman and Mercer, had already urged Southern Baptists to adopt Mercer as the nucleus of the new seminary. He hoped in 1847 that the time would soon come "when all young ministers in the South will rally around Mercer University and contribute to the enlargement and growth of at least one theological seminary of which Baptists need not be ashamed."²⁶

When Howell wrote college leaders ahead of the 1849 conference on theological education, the response was not encouraging. The chief obstacle was

22. William B. Johnson, "Furman Theological Institution," in South Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1847, 19–20.

23. R. B. C. Howell, "Proceedings and Report," *Christian Index*, 13 Jan. 1848, 10–11. The resolution called on the delegates to act but left open whether they should act through the Southern Baptist Convention or as a separate conference.

24. Howell, "A Great Southern Theological School," 81, 83.

25. James C. Furman to R. B. C. Howell, ca. Jan. 1849, quoted in Cook, *The Life Work of James Clement Furman*, 109.

26. James L. Reynolds, quoted in Cook, *The Life Work of James Clement Furman*, 108.

not outright opposition but the natural protectiveness of the state colleges. The general scheme for the new seminary was that the various state Baptist colleges should donate their individual endowments for theological education to endow a central theological seminary. And the most feasible approach would be to use the pooled endowments to build upon the foundation of the theology department at one of the existing colleges. This meant that one school would advance at the expense of the others.

But even if the new seminary was established independently of any college, so that none would benefit directly from it, many believed that the colleges would be injured. Most colleges had emphasized theological education and had significant theological endowments. The colleges struggled to raise what little money they had, and they relied heavily on the fact that they taught theology. Baptists supported them in large measure because they promised to train ministers for the churches. If the colleges gave up teaching theology, the churches would feel less obliged to support them. The Baptist leaders of each state felt too keenly the many sacrifices already made to establish their colleges to jeopardize them in this way. It was too much to ask. Thomas Meredith, president of North Carolina's Wake Forest College, argued that establishing a seminary would undermine support of the college because Baptist resources were insufficient to support both. Besides, he said, there were too few ministerial students to justify the enterprise, and the colleges themselves would still have a theology professor to train ministers.²⁷ The cost to the colleges was too high.

Even Richmond College, whose state charter prohibited it from teaching theology, opposed the scheme. Robert Ryland, president of Richmond College, argued that such a seminary could not attract sufficient funding or students, since there was no need for it. The state colleges were doing the job well already. As Ryland explained, "It is impracticable. It is not demanded. . . . My chief objection . . . is the certainty of its failure."²⁸

FAILURE

Advocates of the seminary pressed forward despite opposition. William B. Johnson, president of both the Southern Baptist Convention and the South Carolina Baptist Convention, called a special session of the South Carolina

27. Thomas Meredith, "Theological Education in the Southern States," *Biblical Recorder*, 8 Apr. 1835, 2.

28. Robert Ryland, "A Great Southern Theological School," *Southern Baptist*, 2 May 1849, 625.

Baptist Convention in April 1849 in answer to the call of Howell's 1847 Nashville meeting. Johnson's opening address urged the necessity of establishing a full-fledged theological seminary for Southern Baptist churches. The convention responded by adopting a report urging that a "General Baptist Theological Institution for the South" was a matter of "great importance" and authorizing South Carolina's delegates to enter fully any conferences on the matter.²⁹ James P. Boyce also supported the movement. He argued that the state funds for theological education could be transferred to a cooperative seminary, and that such a seminary would attract especially the "most pious and intelligent" students. Predictions of failure were premature, Boyce felt, since the venture had never been attempted.³⁰

Delegates to the 1849 meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in Charleston responded to the Nashville call by convening a special conference on theological education during the second and third days of the meeting. The convention adjourned early each day to permit delegates to hold the conference, and delegates held a third session on theological education after the convention's adjournment.³¹ They held these conferences outside the sessions of the Southern Baptist Convention, undoubtedly to avoid unnecessary questions about whether it was proper or expedient for the Southern Baptist Convention to take responsibility for theological education. The convention was a missionary organization, and some delegates wanted to avoid encumbering it with any agencies beyond its foreign and home mission boards. Proposals that the convention establish a publication board, a Bible board, a Sunday school, and an Indian mission board faced similar opposition.³²

At the first session of the conference on theological education, A. M. Poindexter submitted a resolution urging that "this meeting consider the establishment of a theological institution of a high order by Southern Baptists." The resolution provoked an "interesting and exciting debate," which continued the following afternoon.³³ Advocates of the scheme argued that Baptists should rise above local

29. South Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1849, 1–2.

30. James P. Boyce, "Central Theological Institution," *Southern Baptist*, 28 Mar. 1849, 602.

31. See unattributed, "Baptist Triennial Convention," *Charleston Mercury*, 25 May 1849, 2; *ibid.*, 26 May 1849, 2; D. K. Whitaker, "Baptist Convention," *Charleston Courier*, 26 May 1849, 2; *ibid.*, 29 May 1849, 2; Southern Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1849, 38. Whitaker signed his articles "W.," but he is identified in Southern Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1849, 43.

32. For some discussion of the issues here, see, e.g., William B. Johnson, "The North and South," *Biblical Recorder*, 9 May 1846, 2.

33. D. K. Whitaker, "Baptist Convention," *Charleston Courier*, 26 May 1849, 2. Whitaker gave no account of the substance of the discussion.

interests in order to advance the greater common good. I. S. Tinsley of Virginia argued that a great central seminary would have a commanding influence far greater than that of the colleges. It would also strengthen the bonds of denominational union. This was a grand enterprise that called for noble sacrifice of local interests to the benefit of the whole. “Southern Baptists wanted no petty institution,” Tinsley said, “where theology was doled out in small and scanty quantities, but they wanted an institution of a broad, high, and liberal character, and one suited to the demands of an enlightened age. They wanted an institution of which they might be proud, and which might become a bond of union and strength for the several states of the South.”³⁴

Basil Manly Jr. agreed in a carefully prepared speech. He pointed out that the theological education provided at the colleges was inadequate and inefficient. The theology professors at the colleges had to teach every subject of theology, since the schools had only one or two professors. But a central seminary would bring together the best-qualified professors, and each one could concentrate his efforts in specific disciplines. Bringing students together would unite their affections as well as stimulate their natural competitiveness and promote greater effort. Theological education in the colleges was expensive, and a central seminary would provide it more economically. The enterprise would succeed if only the colleges would transfer their theological education endowments to the new seminary.³⁵

J. B. Jeter, pastor of the Richmond, Virginia, First Baptist Church, however, expressed grave doubts about the possibility of success. Jeter asked, “Could conflicting local interests, which interfered with the plan proposed, be reconciled, so that without heart burnings anywhere, the thing could be really accomplished?” He thought it unlikely. The only hope for success was if South Carolina’s Furman Theological Institute, Georgia’s Mercer University, and Alabama’s Howard College agreed to donate their theological education endowments to the new seminary. But Jeter surmised that none of these was “so well satisfied with the utility of the plan proposed that they would be willing to part with what was now their own.”³⁶

At the final session, members appointed the Committee on Ministerial Education to try to persuade at least two of the state schools to contribute their funds to establish a common seminary. The committee was asked to promote any promising scheme by which to accomplish this.³⁷ It contacted the trustees

34. Quoted in Whitaker, “Baptist Convention,” 2.

35. Quoted in Whitaker, “Baptist Convention,” 2.

36. Quoted in Whitaker, “Baptist Convention,” 2.

37. Whitaker, “Baptist Convention,” 2.

of the various colleges to determine whether their endowments for theological education could be combined.

The committee's efforts were unavailing. The South Carolina Baptist Convention pledged that it would "unite with our brethren of other states, in the founding of a theological institution, to be located at such place as may be determined upon by a convention of all the states willing to cooperate in the enterprise," but it made no definite proposal and did not commit to donate its endowment for theological education.³⁸ Georgia Baptists expressed similar interest in a cooperative effort but likewise made no definite commitments.³⁹ Overall the response from the various states was discouraging. Most conventions commended the idea in general, but no definite proposal emerged.⁴⁰ The committee concluded in its 1851 report that it was not possible to combine the theological departments of the colleges.⁴¹

Howell's 1847 call had elicited considerable support for a Southern Baptist seminary, but nothing came of it. The Baptist leaders of the various southern states agreed that the cause of Christ in the South veritably demanded that they establish such a seminary, but they lacked a plan that both promised success in establishing the school and protected the state colleges from injury. Perhaps more important, no leader took the matter in hand. R. B. C. Howell and William B. Johnson had exercised the chief leadership. Howell had convened the special conference in 1847 and pressed the case for united action at the 1849 conference at the Southern Baptist Convention annual meeting. Johnson publicly urged action on the matter and called the special conference of the 1849 South Carolina Baptist Convention. But neither Johnson nor Howell made it a matter of personal duty to accomplish the thing.

Most leaders seemed convinced that the enterprise could not succeed on any terms. Even Johnson, who supported the effort, was sure Southern Baptists would not do it. Just ten days before the called meeting of the South Carolina Baptist Convention, he told James Mims that the seminary effort would fail: "I have no thought of its succeeding. . . . I apprehend that the effort will prove abortive, and that each state, having a theological institution must work on for a time longer, till one or the other will overshadow the rest." The chief obstacles, Johnson noted, were the "rival jealousies of state feeling" arising from the fact that each state naturally protected its own efforts and

38. South Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1849, 7, 16.

39. Broadus, *Memoirs of Boyce*, 114; Georgia Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1849, 17.

40. See, e.g., Mississippi Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1849, 22–23.

41. J. F. Dagg, "Report of the Committee on Ministerial Education," *Christian Index*, 1 May 1851, 70.

interests in theological education.⁴² Johnson was right about the obstacles to success. The remarkable leadership of James P. Boyce would soon change the outcome.

BOYCE'S BOLD PROPOSAL

In 1856 James Petigru Boyce emerged as the leader of a new effort to establish a Southern Baptist seminary. By the time of his election as professor of theology at Furman University in 1855, Boyce had concluded that it was his duty under God to do all in his power to establish the seminary. Had he known in advance the full measure of the trials and personal sacrifices he would feel required to undertake for the establishment and survival of the seminary, he would likely have recused himself. But without his leadership and sacrificial devotion, the seminary would have failed to be established or, once established, would have suffered extinction. His energy, wisdom, and determination overcame the many great obstacles and crises that threatened the seminary's existence. In 1856 it became apparent to most Southern Baptist leaders that God had providentially raised up Boyce for this purpose.

At the age of twenty-two Boyce had seen clearly that Johnson's called meeting of the state convention in 1849 would harm the effort, because it would appear that South Carolina was trying to predetermine the outcome of the 1849 conference in favor of making Furman the nucleus of the new seminary. The special convention would produce the impression, Boyce said, "that the Carolina delegation have caucused at Aiken for the purpose of saddling the Furman Institution upon the convention as a central institution for the South."⁴³

When advocates of theological education initiated another effort to establish a Southern Baptist seminary in 1855, Boyce's vision and commitment quickly propelled him to the front. In 1855 various friends of theological education met the day after the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in Montgomery, Alabama. After free discussion regarding establishing a seminary, the assembly resolved that "the interests of the cause of truth" demanded that Southern Baptists "unite in establishing a theological

42. William B. Johnson to J. S. Mims, 14 Apr. 1849, William B. Johnson Papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University.

43. James P. Boyce, "Extra Convention: Our Correspondent Countryman," *Southern Baptist*, 11 Apr. 1849, 612.

institution of high grade." They appointed Boyce to the committee charged with publicizing and promoting the cause, and called Baptist leaders to a similar meeting in Augusta the following year.⁴⁴

The 1856 Augusta meeting afforded little encouragement. Sixty delegates enrolled. Two-thirds were from Georgia and South Carolina, though eight other states sent representatives. The presidents of Baptist colleges in Mississippi, Kentucky, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina sent reports to the convention. Just as in 1849, the leaders of the colleges were not keen to support the establishment of a Southern Baptist seminary. In the end the convention accomplished little. It concluded that the task was "embarrassed by difficulties at every point." Robert Ryland of the University of Richmond wrote John A. Broadus that "the theological education convention in Georgia was a failure, at least nothing was done."⁴⁵ But that was not entirely accurate. To be sure, many left discouraged. But they agreed to make one more push. They called for another convention to meet in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1857, and asked the Baptist colleges and theology departments in each of the southern states to appoint delegates and to report what funds they held for theological education and whether such funds could be appropriated to the use of a seminary for the whole South.⁴⁶

What Boyce accomplished on July 30, 1856, earned him the leadership of the seminary effort and stamped the date as one of the most important in the seminary's history. At his suggestion, South Carolina Baptists pledged \$100,000 for the seminary's endowment, provided that all the other southern states jointly raised an equal amount.

When Boyce was ordained to the gospel ministry in 1851, Thomas Curtis asked him if he planned to make preaching his life's work. Boyce replied, "Yes, provided I do not become a professor of theology."⁴⁷ When Furman's trustees elected Boyce to the chair of theology in 1855, he had already committed himself to the goal of establishing a southern seminary. Boyce declined his election to the presidency of Mercer University in Georgia in 1857 for this reason.⁴⁸ He told his close friend H. A. Tupper that his plans were either to study in

44. *History of the Establishment*, 3–4.

45. Robert Ryland to John A. Broadus, 7 May 1856, box 1, Broadus Papers.

46. "History of the Establishment," 4–6.

47. Broadus, *Memoirs of Boyce*, 88.

48. "Report of the Board of Trustees of Mercer University," in Georgia Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1858, 15.



James P. Boyce

Europe or “the establishment of a Central Institution.”⁴⁹ His friend J. P. Tustin reported that Boyce refused the Mercer presidency because it seemed “to him, at present, to militate against cherished plans, long since formed—labored during many years—and apparently now within his reach.”⁵⁰ God had called Boyce to lead Southern Baptists to establish the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

When Boyce accepted the position at Furman, he had already participated in the 1855 conference on theological education in Montgomery. He offered the resolutions at the 1855 South Carolina Baptist Convention that induced them to appoint ten delegates to the next conference in Augusta in 1856.⁵¹ But it was at the 1856 meeting of the South Carolina Baptist Convention that Boyce

49. James P. Boyce to H. A. Tupper, Feb. 1857, quoted in Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 107.

50. J. P. Tustin, “Southern Baptist Theological Seminary,” *Southern Baptist*, 22 Sept. 1857, 2.

51. South Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1855, 8–9, 14.

earned leadership of the entire Southern Baptist effort to establish a theological seminary.

At the 1856 meeting of the South Carolina Baptist Convention, E. T. Winkler reported that the Augusta meeting on theological education had made a plea for information and proposals, but he offered no motion or proposal for convention action on the matter. The convention appointed a committee to consider its response to the Augusta plea. The committee consisted of John B. O'Neill, South Carolina's leading Baptist layman and from 1859 South Carolina's chief justice, James C. Furman, president of Furman University, and James P. Boyce. Boyce was convinced that the committee should make a definite proposal that Furman University would give its endowment designated for theological education to the new seminary, and that South Carolina Baptists would raise \$100,000 in total for the seminary's endowment, provided that Baptists in the other southern states raised an equal amount.

Boyce felt that if one state took up the burden in a courageous and generous initiative, the seminary could be established. Anything short of this would mean delay and failure. Furman believed that a central seminary for Southern Baptists would not succeed and that it was in several respects unwise. And he might naturally hesitate to favor a plan that would diminish his university's endowment by more than 40 percent.⁵² Furman opposed Boyce's idea, and O'Neill agreed. Boyce could not persuade them. The committee's report included no proposal, so Boyce prepared a minority report.

When Furman and O'Neill presented the committee's majority report, Boyce moved the substitution of his minority report. The convention debated the issues posed by the alternative reports for all of Tuesday afternoon and much of Wednesday morning, and Boyce ultimately persuaded the convention to adopt his proposal.⁵³ The delegates agreed to donate Furman University's theological education endowment, worth about \$26,000, and to raise an additional \$74,000 in South Carolina, for a total of \$100,000 toward the new seminary's endowment, provided that it be located in Greenville, South Carolina, and that the other southern states raised jointly an additional \$100,000.⁵⁴

52. James C. Furman to E. T. Winkler, ca. 1856, quoted in Harvey Toliver Cook, *The Life Work of James Clement Furman* (Greenville, SC: Alester G. Furman, 1926), 164–165.

53. J. P. Tustin, "South Carolina Baptist State Convention," *Southern Baptist*, 12 Aug. 1856, 2; South Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1856, 9.

54. South Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1856, 18–19. Soon afterward Furman and O'Neill apparently came to support the plan. Furman was a founding trustee of the seminary.

“THREE CHANGES IN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS”

The South Carolina Convention adopted Boyce’s proposal at the end of the morning session on July 30, 1856. That evening Boyce gave his inaugural address as professor of theology at Furman University, titled “Three Changes in Theological Institutions.” The trustees had the year before assigned Boyce to present his inaugural address at this time. It was the night before Furman’s commencement exercises. The audience comprised Furman’s faculty, trustees, graduating students, as well as many delegates to the state convention just adjourned. Boyce took this opportunity to propose the three fundamental principles that should frame the new seminary’s organization. In the morning he had put the seminary movement on a solid financial and denominational footing. In the evening he presented the blueprint of its essential principles. The seminary movement had its undisputed leader.⁵⁵

In the address Boyce argued that a theological seminary needed to secure three things. The first was a curriculum that permitted students at every level of educational preparation to study there. The second was a curriculum that permitted the ablest students to pursue advanced studies. The third was a confession of faith that determined the boundaries of acceptable belief among the faculty.

Boyce proposed the first change because he judged that Baptists’ theological education had failed in its promise to provide an adequate ministry for the churches. The main reason was that traditional theological education assumed that a “classical education” at college was prerequisite to ministerial training. But few Southern Baptist pastors had attended college and could meet the prerequisites for theological instruction. Boyce proposed to admit students without regard to previous college work, and to combine them in the same classes. This meant that all theology students should take instruction based on the English version of the Bible and English-language texts. College graduates and other able students could take advanced courses in interpreting the Bible in Hebrew and Greek, and in studying theology using Latin-language texts. But for most courses necessary for theological training, all students, from the least educated to the most advanced, would take the same courses. “Let us abandon,” Boyce urged, “the false principle” of requiring a “classical education” of Greek and Latin, and establish an “English course of study for those who have only been able to attain a plain English education.” Boyce proposed adopting a curriculum that relied first on the Bible in English.⁵⁶

55. James P. Boyce, *Three Changes in Theological Institutions* (Greenville, SC: C. J. Elford, 1856). The following day the trustees formally requested the publication of the address.

56. Boyce, *Three Changes*, 17–18.

He proposed the second change because he judged that Baptists' theological education did not produce scholars who were able to meet the needs of Baptists or of the Christian faith generally. In areas of biblical studies and church history, Baptists had depended on German scholarship, much of it based on a "defective standpoint." One evil this had produced was that scholars had "overlooked, ridiculed, and defamed" Baptists, alternately ignoring them or classing them among "fanatics and heretics." To answer this need, Boyce proposed two remedies. First, the theological school needed an extensive library that collected not only rare books from the past but also the most advanced scholarship of the present. Second, the school should provide for advanced study of one or two years after graduation for the study of such languages as Arabic and Syriac, or for original scholarship. If Baptists made such provisions in a theology school, Boyce predicted, "a band of scholars would go forth" to make valuable contributions to theological study and to the defense of distinctive Baptist principles.⁵⁷

He proposed the third change because he believed that a "crisis in Baptist doctrine" was approaching. Years before, while visiting the Baptists of Culpepper and Rapahannock counties in Virginia, he judged that the "current of the people" was strongly toward Arminianism, and that Baptist preachers, though at the time still sound, "may become Arminians." The beliefs of a "large portion of the ministry and membership" of Baptist churches was "either very much unsettled or radically wrong."⁵⁸ The errors of Campbellism, of Arminianism, and of the idea that all doctrine is mere opinion prevailed increasingly. To protect the theological school from such errors, Boyce proposed that they should adopt a confession of faith. He urged the adoption of the confession of the Charleston Baptist Association, which was called the Philadelphia Confession of Faith and was essentially the same as the Second London Confession, published by London Baptists in 1677 and 1689.⁵⁹

BAPTISTS, CONFESSIONS, AND THE THIRD CHANGE

Boyce knew that some Baptists opposed the adoption of confessions of faith. The most formidable opponent was the president of Furman's board of trustees, William B. Johnson. Johnson had the leading role in the organization of the first Baptist state convention in America, the South Carolina Baptist Convention, in 1821. He also had the leading role in the organization of the Southern Baptist

57. Boyce, *Three Changes*, 25, 28–29, 31.

58. James P. Boyce, untitled, *Southern Baptist*, 18 Sept. 1850, 2.

59. Boyce, *Three Changes*, 34, 38.

Convention in 1845. Although Baptist churches and the local associations that the churches organized adopted confessions, neither state conventions nor the Southern Baptist Convention did so.

The main reason was that state conventions and the Southern Baptist Convention were primarily missionary “societies” whose members consisted of any individual, society, church, or association that contributed money.⁶⁰ William H. Stokes, editor of Georgia’s *Christian Index*, argued in 1843 that since the “single purpose” of a missionary convention was “to send the gospel,” the basis of union was on this single point. Agreement on other points was unnecessary.⁶¹ J. J. Finch, corresponding secretary of the North Carolina Baptist Convention, explained in 1846 that doctrinal agreement was inexpedient for missionary conventions because its object was the practical business of saving sinners. A “difference in doctrinal sentiments” should pose no barrier to cooperation in this object. “All who are friendly to this object are invited to cooperate, and this they may do consistently whatever may be their speculative opinions.”⁶²

This society model of membership traditionally invited contributions from persons who belonged to no church but who sympathized with missionary aims. All donors were entitled to membership. Confessional subscription was inconsistent with this giving-based principle of membership. Besides, confessions already secured sound doctrine through their pervasive use in churches and associations.⁶³ The Baptist colleges associated with Baptist state conventions had not adopted confessions either.

Baptist churches and associations in America had adopted confessions of faith with few exceptions. The vast majority of Baptists in America were either Particular Baptists, who withdrew from English Puritanism in the seventeenth century, or Separate Baptists, who withdrew from New England Puritanism in the eighteenth century. Both groups used creeds widely, although some

60. The Southern Baptist Convention and the state conventions later revised their constitutions to admit churches only as members.

61. W. H. Stokes, untitled, *Christian Index*, 29 Apr. 1842, 265–266.

62. J. J. Finch, “Our State Convention, No. 3,” *Biblical Recorder*, 5 Sept. 1846, 2.

63. William B. Johnson argued that the state convention needed no confession to assure the orthodoxy of Furman University in part because the professors were members of Baptist churches, and the churches belonged to the association, both of which guarded the professors’ soundness: “They cannot long be immoral or heterodox without detection and removal.” No confession for the convention or university was therefore necessary. Johnson, “No. 1: To the Baptists of South Carolina in General, and to the Constituents and Correspondents of the State Convention of the Denomination in Particular,” *Southern Baptist*, 18 Oct. 1848, 510.

early Separate Baptists were not convinced of their necessity. It was against this uniform practice that Alexander Campbell aimed his efforts to reform Baptist churches. He attacked the Baptists for their use of creeds and for the Calvinist doctrine contained in them. He drew many Baptists to his views until Baptist churches and associations expelled Campbell and his followers in the 1830s. Campbell's followers became known as the Disciples of Christ and the Churches of Christ. Baptists reasserted the scriptural grounds for their adoption of confessions of faith.⁶⁴

When Furman University's professor of theology James Mims came under accusation of heresy in the late 1840s, the role of confessions of faith entered the controversy. William B. Johnson, chairman of Furman's board of trustees and the most respected Baptist leader in South Carolina at the time, defended Mims's orthodoxy and opposed the use of confessions in the school. At the 1849 meeting of the South Carolina Baptist Convention, Johnson successfully vindicated Mims's orthodoxy, in large part by arguing against creeds. A. M. Poindexter asked the convention to state whether it agreed with Johnson's views. It did not. The convention resolved that it was free to adopt a confession if it saw fit.⁶⁵

Poindexter was probably just as concerned about the proposed central seminary as about Furman, especially since many hoped to make Furman the foundation of the seminary. The controversy over Mims's orthodoxy demonstrated the great difficulty the denomination had enforcing orthodoxy among theology professors. Poindexter was undoubtedly concerned that Johnson's anticreedalism might spread. He wanted assurance that South Carolina Baptists approved the adoption of confessions, and especially that they would not oppose adopting a confession of faith for any proposed seminary. William B. Johnson, however, expressed alarm at this prospect. He wrote Mims that "Poindexter is of opinion, I understand, that a creed, and from your knowledge of his views, a pretty hyper creed, must be adopted previous to action."⁶⁶ Poindexter felt that without some creed to protect against theological error, Southern Baptists would not support a central seminary. Johnson felt that the creed would hinder support.

Boyce agreed with Poindexter and the South Carolina Baptist Convention but argued that the Bible effectively commanded the use of creeds. Although scripture did not explicitly authorize their adoption, it taught in many places that the church had an obligation to reject false doctrine and false teachers. To do this, every church must determine what scripture teaches as truth. The

64. See, e.g., Elkhorn Baptist Association, *Minutes*, 1830.

65. South Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1849, 6.

66. William B. Johnson to J. S. Mims, 8 Oct. 1849, William B. Johnson Papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University.

adoption of a summary or “abstract” of scripture teaching, Boyce concluded, “is but the best means taken by the church to meet these obligations.” Boyce argued impressively in support of the common practice of adopting creeds. There could be no objection to adopting one for the new seminary.

A seminary indeed had greater need to require agreement with a creed. Its professors shaped the “conceptions of the doctrines of the Bible” for ministers of the gospel. If its professors were sound and orthodox, it would be a powerful instrument for the “production of a sound ministry.”⁶⁷ If the trustees required conscientious subscription to such an “abstract of doctrine,” they would prevent unsound teachers from spreading corrupt doctrine through the graduates. The creed was necessary to safeguard the orthodoxy of the faculty. It did not apply to students.

It was also a matter of trust with donors. Trustees had a solemn duty to donors to assure that “the ministers that go forth have here learned to distinguish truth from error” and to propagate in the churches “the same precious truths of the Bible” that they held.⁶⁸ Those who founded the school by their exertions and donations by right expected that the school would maintain the principles on which they established it. Those who managed the institution effectively promised to keep those founding principles secure.

Furman’s trustees already required that professors submit a statement of their textbooks and course plans for trustee approval, and that churches recommending scholarship beneficiaries hold to the Charleston Baptist Confession, a version of the 1689 Second London Confession. Boyce argued in “Three Changes” that such provisions were no longer sufficient to protect the orthodoxy of theology instructors. When South Carolina Baptists established Furman thirty years earlier, “the denomination was then fully agreed in its doctrinal sentiments.” But since “unanimity of sentiment does not so extensively prevail” as formerly, and since professors began to rely as much on their own lectures as on textbooks for instruction, trustees needed to require professors to subscribe to a confession of faith. “Let subscription to it on the part of each theological professor be required as an assurance of his entire agreement with its views of doctrine, and of his determination to teach fully the truth which it expresses, and nothing contrary to its declarations.” This was the most effective means of assuring that the school’s professors taught “in agreement with the sentiments of its founders.”⁶⁹

67. Boyce, *Three Changes*, 35, 44.

68. Boyce, *Three Changes*, 44. See also James P. Boyce, “The Two Objections to the Seminary, V,” *Christian Index*, 25 June 1874, 2.

69. Boyce, *Three Changes*, 37–38. Most of this passage was omitted without notice from the edition of *Three Changes* published in *James Petigru Boyce: Selected Writings*,

THE RESPONSE

The audience must have recognized that Boyce had reference to the new denominational seminary that he proposed establishing in Greenville rather than to Furman. William B. Johnson took it as a matter of course that Boyce's address related to the plan of instruction for the "common theological institution now before the community, should it be established."⁷⁰ The Furman trustees would, however, play a crucial role. Without their support, the enterprise could hardly succeed in Greenville. And unless they approved the donation of their endowment for theological education, Boyce could not expect to raise all of South Carolina's \$100,000 pledge. Boyce asked the trustees to sacrifice their ambitions for Furman in order to establish one central theological seminary for all Southern Baptists.

A. M. Poindexter, secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board, called Boyce's address "the ablest thing of the kind he had ever heard." Francis Wayland called it the "first common sense discourse on theological education I have yet seen."⁷¹ J. P. Tustin, editor of South Carolina's *Southern Baptist*, thought Boyce's two-hour address outstanding. He was aware of its wide ramifications and commended it as deserving special attention. He observed also that it made a "marked impression" on the audience. Furman's trustees took immediate steps to secure its publication.⁷²

A few, however, were less impressed. William B. Johnson thought that the first two changes of the address were not changes at all. He believed that Furman had always permitted students to take a partial course in theology if they could not take the full course. Although Furman and some of the other southern colleges taught theology to those whose education fell short, their plan of instruction assumed that students had passed through a college course. Less prepared students were exceptions to be accommodated. Boyce envisioned a curriculum designed to include both kinds of students in the same classes.

Furman University, like most other Baptist colleges, aspired to offer a curriculum, library, and faculty adequate to producing "full and compete theologians,"

ed. Timothy George (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1989), 52. There were several such omissions. Compare Boyce, *Three Changes*, 27–28, 37–38, 40, 44–45, with George, ed., *James Petigru Boyce*, 45, 52, 53, 56.

70. William B. Johnson to James C. Furman, 16 Jan. 1857, William B. Johnson Papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University.

71. Poindexter and Wayland quoted in Timothy George, "Preface," in George, ed., *James Petigru Boyce*, [b].

72. J. P. Tustin, "Prof. Boyce's Address," *Southern Baptist*, 12 Aug. 1856, 3.

Johnson said, “as soon as means could be commanded.”⁷³ But none possessed the means to do so. Johnson knew this and for this reason had long supported the effort to establish a denominational seminary for Southern Baptists. But his natural defensiveness about Furman exemplified the feelings of many state leaders throughout the South. They had labored and sacrificed to sustain the existence of their colleges. Their protectiveness led them to fear that the establishment of a seminary would harm their beloved colleges.

But theological education at the colleges had failed. Few students availed themselves of the theological instruction available in the colleges, and Baptist leaders complained of this state of affairs.⁷⁴ By Boyce’s count, sixty Southern Baptist students were enrolled in theological education in 1857, but only fifteen of them were in the colleges’ theological departments. The other forty-five were attending seminaries in the North, or Presbyterian seminaries in the South.⁷⁵ The colleges were teaching liberal arts and very little theology.

But securing broad cooperation proved as difficult as it had in 1849. Joseph Walker, editor of Georgia’s *Christian Index*, predicted in 1857 that regardless of the desirability of a Southern Baptist seminary, state loyalties would prevent Southern Baptists from uniting behind it. The “colleges that impart a partial course of theological instruction” would not, Walker wrote “relinquish these privileges with the funds created for that purpose.” Even if the seminary gained sufficient support to open its doors, Walker doubted that it would “live” for long, since it would not attract a sufficient number of students. The “noble enterprise,” Walker wrote, lacked feasibility. The state colleges would “plod along with the partial course” in theology.⁷⁶

BOYCE’S PROPOSAL ADOPTED

When the theological educational convention met in Louisville in 1857, the first order of business was whether or not to accept the South Carolina proposal. In the end the South Carolina proposal was so generous that it forestalled alternatives and overwhelmed opposition.⁷⁷ No other state presented a proposal. The

73. William B. Johnson to James C. Furman, 16 Jan. 1857, William B. Johnson Papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University.

74. See, e.g., Georgia Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1857, 9.

75. James P. Boyce, “Address of Rev. J. P. Boyce at Hampton,” *Religious Herald*, 1 July 1858, 1.

76. Joseph Walker, “The Southern Theological Institution,” *Christian Index*, 28 Jan. 1857, 14.

77. The delegation from the Georgia Baptist Convention apparently planned to present a proposal but, in view of the South Carolina proposal, withheld it. See *History of the Establishment*, 12.

delegates unanimously adopted the proposal. South Carolina Baptists carried the day by largesse.

The vote to approve the South Carolina proposal was without opposition, despite that fact that Landmark leader James R. Graves opposed it. Graves was quickly becoming one of the most influential Southern Baptist leaders, and the most notorious among them. Basil Manly Sr. judged that God had answered their prayers in the most wonderful way in bringing the delegates to one mind in support of the South Carolina plan: "God's hand was in it. Graves made every effort in private and made some loud and noisy efforts in public to prevent action, to distract counsels, but at last he was powerless, as limber as a rag—overborne and conquered. When it was done, I said a few words and we all knelt and bowed down and worshiped. I prayed and all wept. And what was my surprise before I could rise erect to find Graves grasping my hand and saying that he wanted to take it once, at least, before we unite in heaven." This display of Graves's goodwill, as much as anything else that occurred, convinced Manly that "the hand of God has been signally manifest."⁷⁸ Most state conventions expressed approval of the plan for the seminary and pledged their cooperation.⁷⁹

The 1857 theological education convention appointed three committees whose work would be critical to the success of the school. The most important was the Committee on the Plan of Organization, consisting of James P. Boyce, John A. Broadus, Basil Manly Jr., E. T. Winkler, and William Williams. The rest were, like Boyce, young, but all had experience in higher education. Basil Manly Sr. appointed these gifted younger men deliberately for this new venture in theological education, explaining: "These young men have got to do the work—and let them draw the plans. We will be there, when they report, to correct them if they are wrong."⁸⁰ Naturally Boyce was chairman. Everyone seemed to agree that the undeniable indications of divine providence pointed to Boyce as the man. As a matter of course the convention turned to Boyce. It pinned its hopes for the new seminary on him.

When the 1858 education convention met in Greenville, it soon became apparent that Boyce had been the right choice. As chairman of the Committee on the Plan of Organization, he presented the committee's report. Its proposals

78. Basil Manly Sr. to Sarah Manly, 9 May 1857, Manly Collection of Manuscripts, reel 1, SBTS.

79. See, e.g., Baptist General Association of Virginia, *Minutes*, 1857, 21; Mississippi Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1857, 6; North Carolina Baptist Convention, *Minutes*, 1857, 14.

80. Basil Manly Sr. to Sarah Manly, 9 May 1857, Manly Collection of Manuscripts, reel 1, SBTS; Broadus, *Memoirs of Boyce*, 148.

received careful attention and extensive discussion. With some amendments, the report met enthusiastic approval.

The report had been a daunting undertaking. The committee had to propose the seminary's curriculum, its confession of faith, and its plan of government. The proposal needed to impress the denomination with its soundness, wisdom, and practicality. Any missteps at the start would undermine denominational support of the seminary. And without highest confidence among Baptists, it would prove impossible to raise the endowment.

The convention made several important changes to the committee's report. The committee named the school the Greenville Theological Seminary. At the recommendation of J. P. Tustin, the convention altered it to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.⁸¹

CURRICULUM

The new curriculum introduced three significant innovations in theological education at that time. The first was the elective system. The second was the mixing of college and noncollege men in the same courses. The third was the reliance on the English Bible, rather than the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, to provide a thorough grounding in exegesis and interpretation of the Bible.

Boyce's vision, as delineated in his inaugural address, advocated one curriculum for all students who had at least a common school education. College graduates and noncollege men would enroll in the same courses, with the same requirements and expectations. Other seminaries did not place noncollege men in the same curriculum with college graduates and did not admit noncollege men to the theological curriculum. John A. Broadus proposed a curriculum that embodied Boyce's vision.

When Boyce gathered his committee members together upon their appointment in Louisville in May 1857, Broadus suggested that the curriculum structure of the University of Virginia could provide for the "apparently difficult matter of uniting all grades of theological students in the same institution."⁸² So Boyce asked Broadus to propose a curriculum for the committee to consider. Boyce sent Broadus a plan of the theological curriculum he had sketched out

81. "Report of the Committee on the Plan of Organization," convention draft, in the container "Charters and Fundamental Articles of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary," SBTS.

82. Broadus, *Memoirs of Boyce*, 150.



John A. Broadus

two years earlier and expressed his confidence in Broadus's ideas: "I think you can gather enough of my ideas here to judge as to our substantial agreement."⁸³ Broadus developed his vision for accomplishing Boyce's aims into an innovative elective system of theological education.

The committee agreed that "the chief object of this seminary is to prepare its students for the most effective service as preachers of the gospel and pastors of the churches." Though they made provision for the most advanced scholarship possible among the most intellectually capable students, the committee members pledged to direct their main efforts to preparing preachers and pastors.⁸⁴ Baptists agreed widely that God called men of different degrees of educational preparation and of widely different intellectual gifts. They believed that a divine call, sound scriptural beliefs, and giftedness in preaching were the fundamental prerequisites. To require also a college or seminary degree was unscriptural.

83. Archibald T. Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901), 142.

84. *History of the Establishment*, 27.

Many Baptists nevertheless valued education for their ministers. Pastors especially felt the importance of education to their task. Baptists therefore established schools primarily to provide education for men whom God had called to the ministry of the gospel. But they had difficulty devising an effective curriculum. God did not seem to call very many college graduates, as there were few enough of them among Southern Baptists. He called many men of more modest education, and not a few whose education was starkly deficient. Although Baptist colleges were committed to training all the preachers who came, they had adopted the same model as the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, who required college education, replete with reading knowledge of Greek and Latin, before admission to a theological course. Those who could not meet this requisite first had to complete a college course. Those unready for college had to complete an “academy” course and a college course in order to begin theological studies. Such “preparatory” students often outnumbered the theological students. Such was the case at Furman in the 1840s, where the professors had theological education as “their primary duty,” Professor James C. Furman wrote, but where the number of students “preparing for the theological course has been greater than the number of those actually engaged in that course.”⁸⁵ If the college prerequisite was relaxed, the theology curriculum had to double, for the theology professors had to teach the same subject to an advanced class of college graduates and to a remedial class without the benefit of college training. This arrangement, Boyce felt, fostered jealousy and alienation among the ministers-in-training.

The committee met the first week of August 1857, though only Boyce, Broadus, and Manly attended. Boyce knew from experience the curriculum at Princeton, and Manly knew that of both Newton and Princeton. Broadus had studied the catalogs of various theological seminaries and proposed adapting the “elective” approach that he had known at the University of Virginia to the needs of theological education. After much discussion and some emendations, the committee approved Broadus’s plan.⁸⁶

Boyce wanted students of every level of preparation to study together in the same classes, and Broadus suggested that the elective system would achieve that end. It was an elective system not in the twentieth-century sense in which students chose from many courses, but in the sense that students could choose which departments of the curriculum they would pursue. It was a plan, Broadus wrote, that was “adapted to the best qualified students,” while at the same time

85. James C. Furman, “To the Baptists of South Carolina,” *Southern Baptist*, 24 Apr. 1850, 1.

86. Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 150–151; Robertson, *Life and Letters of Broadus*, 144.

making provision for “those whose time, preparation, taste, etc.,” induced them to select only certain subjects or pursue them only to a certain extent.⁸⁷

The curriculum was divided into eight departments or “schools.” Five schools offered one course each: Biblical Introduction, Polemic Theology and Apologetics, Preparation and Delivery of Sermons, Church History, and Church Government and Pastoral Duties. Three schools offered two courses each. The school of Interpretation of the Old Testament had a course based on study of the English text of the Bible, and a course based on study of the Hebrew and Aramaic texts. The school of Interpretation of the New Testament similarly had one course based on study of the English text and one based on study of the Greek text. And the school of Systematic Theology had a course in which students read English works in systematic theology and another course in which they read Latin works.

To satisfy the aims of combining college and noncollege men, the curriculum relied on instruction in the English Bible for the principal study of Old and New Testament. Other seminaries taught their courses on the books of the Bible using the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament; they therefore required knowledge of Greek and Hebrew for admission to Bible courses. Since God inspired the authors of the original texts, who wrote in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, Bible teachers were best equipped to interpret the inspired text if they knew those languages. To introduce the study of the Bible in English seemed to threaten the commitment to learn the ancient languages of the Bible. But Boyce, Broadus, and Manly saw that this requirement was impractical and inefficient, at least for Baptists. They required “full graduates” to pass the courses in the original languages, but their core Bible courses for all students relied on the Bible in English.

The seminary’s curriculum in the English Bible became well known in theological education. Other seminaries acknowledged the success of the scheme and adopted it themselves. Students found the courses invaluable. One great advantage of the English courses was that students gained familiarity with the meaning and interpretive issues for the entire Old Testament and New Testament. The Hebrew Old Testament courses and the Greek New Testament courses could not in two years take students through the entire Bible in those languages.⁸⁸

Students of different grades studied the Bible together in English, but students with college training and those with ability and ambition took also the courses in Greek New Testament, Hebrew Old Testament, and Latin theology. Because

87. *History of the Establishment*, 27.

88. Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 158.

of the self-selection in these courses, students accomplished more thorough study than would have been possible if classes comprised also students who took them merely to fill curricular requirements.⁸⁹ This system meant that only the most ambitious students undertook the entire curriculum. Large numbers of students in the early years stayed for only one year and graduated in a few schools only.

The academic year or session was eight months long, with each course extending over the entire session. At the end of each session, students received diplomas in each school in which they received a passing grade. Those who graduated in each of the schools, typically a three-year endeavor, received a “general diploma” and earned the title of full graduate.

The curriculum required that standards for passing each course were generally high. Following the example of the University of Virginia, the seminary held to examination periods each year, lasting two weeks or more. “Intermediate examinations” occurred in December and January, and final examinations in May. The examinations lasted eight to ten hours each, which “usually occupies the students closely from early morning till toward sunset, or after.”⁹⁰ The Senior Greek examination in 1878 went eight hours, David G. Lyon reported, but it was not enough time, as “many of the students did not finish the questions.”⁹¹ Some schools added an oral examination. Only in 1908 did the seminary move to quarterly exams of two hours each, which reduced the examination period to four days.⁹² Many students failed the examinations. In A. T. Robertson’s Junior Greek examination for 1898, more than one-third of the forty-two students failed.⁹³

The faculty felt that the curriculum succeeded remarkably in achieving Boyce’s goals. Men of different qualifications sat side by side in the same lecture hall, had the same recitation requirements, and sat for the same examinations. Those who were less prepared learned that hard work produced results—and that college preparation was a great advantage. The requirement of graduating in every school for a full diploma excited ambition to take advantage of the full curriculum. The rigor of the examinations prevented the better students from trying to undertake too much and stimulated all students to the hard work necessary to graduate.⁹⁴

89. Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 159.

90. Basil Manly Jr., untitled, *Southern Baptist*, 24 Apr. 1868, 2.

91. David G. Lyon, Diary 1878–1879, 10 Jan. 1878, box 6, David Gordon Lyon Papers, Harvard University Archives.

92. W. J. McGlothlin to W. O. Carver, 4 Dec. 1907, W. O. Carver Papers, SBHLA.

93. W. D. Bolton, “Seminary Notes,” *Baptist Argus*, 10 Mar. 1898, 312.

94. Broadus, *Memoir of Boyce*, 160–161.

THE ABSTRACT OF PRINCIPLES

Boyce urged the adoption of a confession of faith to bind the seminary to evangelical Baptist orthodoxy. The seminary would have tremendous influence in shaping the denomination's doctrine. Boyce designed it to serve for the promotion of traditional evangelical orthodoxy and for the "maintenance of Baptist principles."⁹⁵ By adopting a confession, Boyce argued, the faculty would assure Southern Baptists that their teaching was orthodox and Baptist. Boyce was determined to establish a denominational school. He had no interest in establishing a seminary under private control or serving private interests. He felt that integrity and honesty demanded nothing less. He wanted also to afford a guarantee to donors that their money would be spent in accordance with their desires.

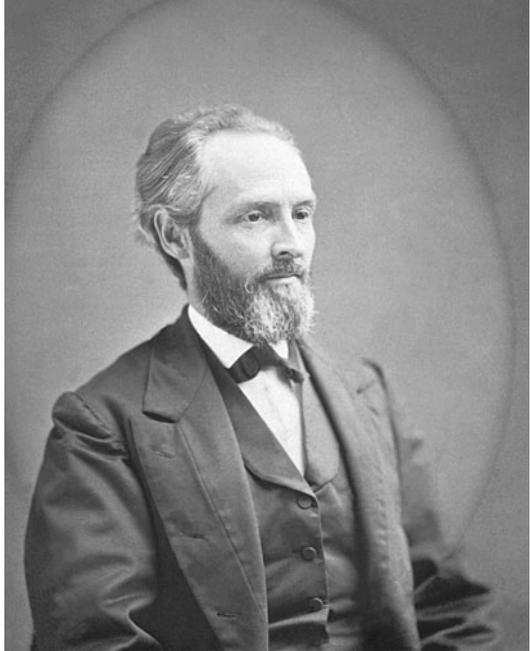
The difficulty was how high to pitch the confession. If it were too broad in its prescriptions, many would refuse to support the seminary because it erected insufficient safeguards against false doctrine. If it were too narrow, it would exclude the views of some Southern Baptists and discourage their support. But it needed to safeguard all essential points of both Christian doctrine and Baptist practice.

In 1874 Boyce described the three principles that had guided both the committee and the convention in drafting the confession:

The abstract of principles must be: 1. A complete exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of grace, so that in no essential particular should they speak dubiously; 2. They should speak out clearly and distinctly as to the practices universally prevalent among us; 3. Upon no point, upon which the denomination is divided, should the convention, and through it the seminary, take any position. . . . The doctrines of grace are therefore distinctly brought out in the abstract of principles. No less true is this of Baptist practices. . . . While, however, it was deemed essential to avow distinctly and unreservedly the sentiments universally prevalent among us, both as to doctrine and practice, it was equally important that upon those questions upon which there was still a difference of opinion among Southern Baptists, the seminary articles should not bind the institution.⁹⁶

95. James P. Boyce, "The Two Objections to the Seminary, II," *Western Recorder*, 18 Apr. 1874, 2.

96. James P. Boyce, "The Two Objections to the Seminary, V," *Christian Index*, 25 June 1874, 2.



Basil Manly Jr.

Manly's task, as the committee reported, involved "extreme delicacy and difficulty."⁹⁷ Manly needed to draft a statement that comprehended the affirmations important to virtually all the regular Baptists. The confession needed to be specific and definite enough to secure the integrity of all the "essential doctrines held among us." It also needed to avoid affirming teachings on which Baptists tolerated differences.

Manly wrote that he had relied primarily on the two earliest confessions of the English Calvinistic Baptists. "My notion is to make a brand new one but with a historical basis, drawing it up as far as is possible in the language of our oldest—which dates from 1643 [1644], and where this will not do, in that of 1689, which is mainly copied from the Westminster, but abridging both, and getting down to an essence."⁹⁸

97. "Report of the Committee on the Plan of Organization," convention draft, 8, in the container "Charters and Fundamental Articles of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary," SBTS.

98. Basil Manly Jr. to [Charles Manly], 1 Mar. 1858, Basil Manly Papers, Southern Historical Collection, no. 486, Manuscripts Dept., Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, microfilm. Joseph P. Cox incorrectly identified the letter as addressed to James P. Boyce ("A Study of the Life and Work of Basil Manly Jr.," Th.D.

The 1689 confession was the more popular of the two in America. Calvinist Baptists in London developed the confession by adapting it from the Westminster Confession of Faith to Baptist views. In the decades after the Great Awakening, Baptists in America grew rapidly, and the vast majority were Calvinistic and evangelical. The Second London Confession expressed well their views. The first two Baptist associations in America adopted it, the Philadelphia Baptist Association no later than 1746 and the Charleston Baptist Association in 1752. Most Baptist associations, and the churches composing them, adopted it or a shorter abstract of it.

Even among the majority Calvinists, some differences were tolerated. A significant minority adopted the distinctive doctrines of the New Divinity, a set of revisions of Calvinism developed by the followers of Jonathan Edwards in New England between about 1750 and 1830. New Divinity teachers rejected the traditional view that Christ's death was a penal substitution in which Jesus bore the penalty required of sinners in their place. They held instead a moral government theory of the atonement in which Jesus suffered as a testimony of the dignity and holiness of God's law, and as a vindication of the righteousness of his moral government of the universe. New Divinity teachers also rejected the traditional Calvinist teaching that God imputed Adam's sin to his posterity and Christ's righteousness to believers. God did not punish anyone for another's sin, they taught, nor did he forgive sinners for someone else's righteousness, for neither act would be just. Several South Carolina Baptist leaders held New Divinity views, most prominently William B. Johnson and Edwin S. Mims. When James Reynolds led an effort to have such views declared heretical, the majority of the state's leaders affirmed their tolerance of such teachings and retained their fellowship with Johnson and Mims. Manly's draft affirmed Calvinist orthodoxy but left room for belief in general atonement and the New Divinity.

The Abstract went through several drafts. Manly hoped to have his first draft by August 1857, but when he, Boyce, and Broadus met in Richmond to submit their preliminary reports to each other, Manly evidently had little to report—he had not found time to do the work. In February 1858 Manly invited Broadus to come down to Richmond to spend a week with him so they could work on their assignments together: “If you will come down, we can have a chat about our work committed to us—that creed, schedule of theological studies, etc. I can't go to work at it, till I feel I have got it to do, because there is nearly always something else pressing. . . . I need the ‘firecoal on my back’ and if you'll come

dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954, 146). See also Manly's preamble to the Abstract of Principles, “Report of the Committee on the Plan of Organization,” convention draft, 8, SBTS.

down, and spend a week with me, we can spend the time pleasantly, and do our work besides.⁹⁹ Broadus apparently did not go. On March 1, 1858, Manly told his brother Charles that he finally found time to work on the confession and had gotten as far as the doctrine of the fall before he had to stop.¹⁰⁰ Nearly two months later he told Boyce that he still needed a few more days to complete the creed.¹⁰¹ Manly submitted his draft to the criticism of three Richmond Baptist leaders, J. B. Jeter, A. M. Poindexter, and Robert Ryland, adopted some of their suggestions, and sent it to Boyce barely ten days before the committee was scheduled to meet in Greenville to make final revisions to their reports.¹⁰²

The committee, Boyce, Broadus, Williams, Winkler, and Manly, met at Boyce's residence at the end of April 1858. They invited A. M. Poindexter to join them in their deliberations. Boyce had prepared and printed galley sheets of the initial drafts of the three subcommittee reports. They discussed and revised the reports for two or three days.¹⁰³ Boyce then took the revised draft to the printer to produce clean working copies of the full committee's final report for distribution to the entire education convention.¹⁰⁴

99. Basil Manly Jr. to John A. Broadus, 15 Feb. 1858, attached to ms. of "Life and Letters of John A. Broadus," box 6, Robertson Papers.

100. Basil Manly Jr. to [Charles Manly], 1 Mar. 1858, Basil Manly Papers, Southern Historical Collection, no. 486, UNC, microfilm.

101. Basil Manly Jr. to James P. Boyce, 13 Apr. 1858, box 1, Boyce Papers.

102. Basil Manly Jr. to Charles Manly, 20 Apr. 1858, Basil Manly Papers, Southern Historical Collection, no. 486, UNC, microfilm; Basil Manly Jr. to John A. Broadus, 20 Apr. 1858, box 1, Broadus Papers.

103. On Thursday, 29 Apr., the committee met until two o'clock in the morning. It may have met also on the morning of 30 Apr. The convention opened at 11:00 A.M. on 30 Apr. See Basil Manly Sr. to [Sarah Manly], 30 Apr. 1858, Manly Collection of Manuscripts, microfilm, reel 1, SBTS.

104. Two drafts survive in proofsheets, the initial "committee draft" that Boyce had printed for the Committee on the Plan of Instruction, and the final "convention draft" that the committee presented to the convention itself. The committee draft included the three subcommittee reports: Boyce on the "general regulations" and "fundamental laws," Broadus on the "plan of organization," and Manly on the "abstract of principles." The changes made by the full Committee on the Plan of Organization can be deduced by comparing the committee draft to the later convention draft. The changes made by the entire convention are reflected in the handwritten editorial marks, often including the name of the person who moved the emendation. The drafts are among the copies of the "Report of the Committee on the Plan of Organization" in the container "Charters and Fundamental Articles of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary," Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, SBTS. There may have been additional drafts that did not survive, between the initial committee draft and the final

The Committee on the Plan of Instruction then presented its report to the education convention's forty-two delegates, who discussed and revised the report for most of four days.¹⁰⁵ Basil Manly Sr. reported that the delegates had a "vast amount" of "earnest and sharp" discussion on the various parts of the constitution and "articles of belief."¹⁰⁶

The committee and the convention made relatively few changes to Manly's draft, but they spent a long time discussing each point and adopted a number of revisions. Some of the revisions reflected a concern to preempt the two most common objections to Calvinist theology: that it made God unjust and that it destroyed human freedom. William Williams, a member of the committee and afterward elected to the faculty, noted in his theology lectures that these were the only objections that Calvinism faced: "It seems inconsistent with free agency and consequently with man's responsibility," and "it seems inconsistent with the goodness and justice of God."¹⁰⁷ The delegates struggled to include statements to address these two objections.

This was an intrinsic difficulty with short statements of doctrine. The confession's individual articles must be brief and compact, but they must be so precise that they are not easily misunderstood. The confession's articles on God's providence and on the fall could easily be misunderstood to deny human responsibility, and thus implicitly to charge God with injustice in condemning sinners to hell. The convention adopted changes to the articles on providence and on the fall in an effort to prevent such misreadings.

Manly's draft of the article on the doctrine of providence asserted God's sovereignty over all things and included the qualifications necessary to maintain God's justice and human responsibility: "God, from eternity, hath willed all things that come to pass, and perpetually upholds, directs, and governs all creatures and all events; and yet so as not in any wise to be the author or approver of sin, nor to destroy the free will and responsibility of intelligent creatures." The committee adopted this wording after dropping the word "hath." But the convention wanted more precision. Some delegates worried apparently that if

convention draft. Three decades afterward, Manly remembered three or four revised drafts. Basil Manly Jr., "The Beginnings of the History of the Seminary [second part]," *Seminary Magazine* 5 (1892): 208–209.

105. For an account of the proceedings of the convention and the full text of the report as adopted by the convention, see "Southern Theological Convention," *Southern Baptist*, 11 May 1858, 2–3.

106. Basil Manly Sr. to [Sarah Manly], 30 Apr. 1858, Manly Collection of Manuscripts, microfilm, reel 1, SBTS.

107. William Williams, quoted in George J. Hobday, *Systematic Theology Notes*, William Williams, 1872–1873, 64–65, George J. Hobday Student Notebooks, 1872–1874, WFU.

God “willed” all things, it could imply that God accomplished even the sinful acts of humans by his direct agency, which would contradict the article’s affirmation of God’s goodness and human freedom. The convention finally adopted Boyce’s suggested phrasing that God “decrees or permits” all things that come to pass. The new phrasing upheld God’s complete sovereignty but suggested the traditional distinction between God’s agency as the final cause and human agency as the efficient cause. John L. Dagg, whose *Manual of Theology* Boyce assigned as a textbook, taught that “God exercises a perfect control over every sinful agent in all his acts,” but he distinguished between “God’s permission of sin” and “his being the efficient cause of it.”¹⁰⁸ William Williams similarly taught students that “God is immediately and directly controlling and governing all events and actions,” including “sinful actions,” yet the Bible taught that God “permits them.”¹⁰⁹

More troublesome in this regard was the article concerning “the fall of man.” The delegates struggled to squeeze all the elements of human depravity into a compact statement. They were agreed on the doctrine of total depravity, that the fall resulted in the guilt and thorough corruption of every human being. But the delegates seemed concerned to affirm that Adam introduced sin, not God, and that even though fallen humans were born with corrupt natures, God was just in condemning them.

Manly’s draft was clear enough on depravity: fallen humans “are now conceived in sin, and by nature children of wrath, opposite to all good, servants of sin, and subjects of death and other miseries in this world, and forever, unless the Lord Jesus set them free.” Manly only alluded to the original goodness of God’s creative act. And his statement on depravity so emphasized the sinner’s helpless corruption that it could imply that God condemned sinners for Adam’s sin only, and not for their own.

The committee was dissatisfied and rewrote the article almost entirely. The new draft introduced a statement that “God originally created man in his own image,” changed “our first parents . . . fell” to “man . . . fell,” and summarized Manly’s longer statement on depravity by explaining that Adam’s posterity were “conceived in sin, and under the condemnation of the law, indisposed to good, and wholly inclined to evil.” The revision made clear that God created humanity good, but it omitted any statement of fallen human’s individual responsibility for their sinful actions.

108. John L. Dagg, *Manual of Theology* (Charleston, SC: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1857), 131–132.

109. William Williams, quoted in George J. Hobday, *Systematic Theology Notes*, William Williams, 1872–1873, 73–75, George J. Hobday Student Notebooks, 1872–1874, WFU.

The convention rejected the committee's revised statement and adopted instead the statement of a seven-person committee appointed to revise it. It rephrased the statement on depravity without weakening it, and notably added a statement of individual responsibility for sin: Adam's posterity "inherit a nature corrupt and wholly opposed to God and his law, are under condemnation, and as soon as they are capable of moral action, become actual transgressors."

Other revisions reflected the convention's concern to accommodate the various hues of Calvinism existing in the southern churches. These differences were confined almost entirely within the doctrine of the atonement. Many held to particular redemption, the traditional view of English-speaking Calvinists that Christ's death on the cross satisfied God's wrath and made propitiation for the sins of the elect only. Others understood the atonement as a "general provision," intrinsically sufficient to make propitiation for the sins of all persons, but intended by Christ for the elect alone and therefore effective for them only. This view had some variations and was associated with the teachings of the English Baptist leader Andrew Fuller. Both of these views had large numbers of adherents among Southern Baptists. Some leaders argued that there was no significant difference between the two views other than the terminology employed to express them. A. M. Poindexter, who had criticized Manly's first draft in Richmond and participated in the revisions of the Committee on the Plan of Organization before the convention met, held to a general atonement.

But there was one other view prevailing among Southern Baptists, the New Divinity notion of a universal atonement based on a "moral government" view of Christ's death. Timothy Dwight's *Theology Explained and Defended* taught the New Divinity view of the atonement and was popular among Baptists. Two prominent Southern Baptists held this view, William B. Johnson and Edwin Mims, Boyce's predecessor at Furman. Johnson was a delegate at the education convention.¹¹⁰

Manly's draft statement attempted to accommodate the moral government view, even though the First and Second London Confessions taught a limited atonement. As presented to the committee, Manly's draft of the article on "the Mediator" made no explicit distinction between the two approaches. It

110. See A. M. Poindexter, "The Imputation of Sin to Christ," *Baptist Preacher* 9 (1850): 179–192; William Williams, quoted in Hobday, *Systematic Theology Notes*, 130 ("There are some who are Calvinists on all other points who hold to this universal atonement, e.g., Dr. A. M. Poindexter"); William B. Johnson, "On Imputation," *Southern Baptist*, 7 Mar. 1849, 590; Johnson, "On Imputation, No. V," *Southern Baptist*, 4 Apr. 1849, 606–607; Johnson, *Love Characteristic of the Deity: A Sermon Preached before the Charleston Baptist Association, Monday, November 4, 1822* (Charleston: W. Riley, 1823), 16–21.

did not define the extent of atonement or distinguish its character between the traditional penal substitution view and the New Divinity moral government view.¹¹¹ It said only that Jesus “suffered and died upon the cross for the salvation of all who believe in him.” But in the context of traditional Baptist views, it rather suggested the doctrine of limited atonement. It seemed to say that Christ’s intention was to die for the elect only. The committee changed “for the salvation of all who believe in him” to “for the salvation of sinners.” The new phrase more effectively included both limited and general atonement views.

The article on election was traditional and went through both the committee and the convention unchanged. It read: “Election is God’s eternal choice of some persons unto everlasting life—not because of foreseen merit in them, but of his mere mercy in Christ—in consequence of which choice they are called, justified, and glorified.” The article on the fall affirmed total depravity. The article on regeneration affirmed effectual calling, or what is now known as “irresistible grace.” In regeneration, the Abstract said, the Holy Spirit gave life to those who were “dead in trespasses and sin” and “enlightened” their minds “savingly” as a “work of God’s free and special grace alone.” And the Abstract affirmed the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. It was a comprehensive statement of Southern Baptist Calvinist doctrine that included the traditional Calvinism, the general provisionist Calvinism, and the New Divinity Calvinism’s moral government view of the atonement. In the terminology of TULIP, an acronym of the five points of Calvinism affirmed by the Dutch Church’s 1619 Synod of Dort, this was four-point Calvinism.

The delegates considered these affirmations important for many reasons, first and foremost because they affirmed the central truths of salvation according to the Bible. These were, moreover, points that Baptists had been forced to defend against the Methodists, Campbellites, and Free Will Baptists. These doctrines separated Southern Baptists from these churches.

111. The article on justification, both in the two drafts and in its final form, spoke of “the satisfaction that Christ has made,” which could comprehend either a penal substitution view or a satisfaction view of the atonement. Proponents of the moral government theory held that the atonement was in some sense a satisfaction rendering sufficient honor to God’s holy law so that he could forgive sins without any punishment. There is no evidence of objection to the term, and it was broad enough to encompass the several theories prevailing among Southern Baptists. Johnson apparently urged some of his New Divinity views at the convention—Basil Manly Sr. noted that Johnson spoke to almost every issue, but that he seemed to carry no “weight” in the convention. In any case, Manly and the rest seemed content to comprehend some New Divinity views in the abstract (Basil Manly Sr. to Sarah Manly, 3 May 1858, Manly Collection of Manuscripts, reel 1, SBTS).

The revisions reflected concern with another critical area, ecclesiology. Baptists believed that the various aspects of ecclesiology had been revealed in scripture and that they were bound as disciples of Christ to implement them. The Abstract thus affirmed such Baptist beliefs as congregational church government, baptism by immersion of those only who professed faith, and the Lord's Supper as "designed to commemorate" Jesus' death, "confirm" the faith of believers, and be a "bond, pledge, and renewal" of communion with Christ and of their church fellowship. Baptists believed that the Bible taught and required these things. These practices were the distinctive Baptist principles that separated Baptists in varying degrees from other evangelical denominations.

The most controversial practice of Baptists, for most other denominations, was known as "close communion." It was a simple doctrine: only baptized persons were eligible to participate in the Lord's Supper. It was controversial because Baptists held that the immersion of professing believers was alone baptism. Because the Greek word *baptizein* meant "to immerse," by definition sprinkling and pouring were not baptism. And because only those who professed repentance and faith in Christ were proper subjects of baptism, applying water by any form to infants was not baptism. Baptists therefore viewed Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Lutheran, and Congregationalist believers as unbaptized. They could not therefore invite them to participate in the Lord's Supper.

Manly's draft stated this principle indirectly by affirming that baptism was "prerequisite to church fellowship," and that the Lord's Supper was, in part, a "renewal" of their "communion" with one another. The committee and the convention opted for a more explicit statement: baptism "is prerequisite to church fellowship and to participation in the Lord's Supper." They also made it more explicit in the article on the Lord's Supper, changing "renewal of their communion . . . with one another" to "renewal . . . of their church fellowship."

But ecclesiology also divided the denomination. James R. Graves's Landmark movement among Southern Baptists would soon insist on the notion that the Bible never taught that there was any such thing as a universal or spiritual or invisible church. The word "church," wherever used in the New Testament, meant a local, organized, visible church. The Abstract in all drafts insisted on the biblical character of the local church's membership, worship, and government—Christ commanded all believers "to associate themselves" into "particular" churches. It also recognized, however, the notion of the universal church: "The Lord Jesus is the head of the Church, which is composed of all his true disciples." The Abstract's recognition of the doctrine of the universal church afterward attracted Landmark opposition to the seminary, an opposition that endured through much of the seminary's history.

The Abstract of Principles exerted influence immediately. Joseph Otis's defense of Baptist doctrine in Kentucky's *Western Recorder* in 1859 made appeal to the Abstract in justification of his contention that Calvinistic tenets were standard Baptist fare. He cited John Broadus's explanation that the Abstract deliberately excluded the beliefs of Campbellites, Arminians, and open communionists.¹¹²

James C. Furman predicted that the adoption of a doctrinal statement would result in division among the seminary's erstwhile supporters.¹¹³ But Southern Baptists were largely united in their convictions concerning doctrine and church practices. Their prevailing differences were on minor issues. The confession became a bond of union.

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS, THE ABSTRACT OF PRINCIPLES, AND DENOMINATIONAL CONTROL

Boyce's report dealt with the seminary's "fundamental laws" or system of governance. It included three critical and troublesome issues. The first related to the manner of the professors' subscription to the seminary's articles of faith and to their enforcement. Boyce's initial draft indicated that the Abstract of Principles "shall be subscribed to by every professor elect, as indicative of his concurrence in its correctness as an epitome of Bible truth, and it shall be the imperative duty of the board to remove any professor of whose violation of this pledge they may feel satisfied." The convention adopted instead a version that did not explicitly require subscription but insisted that all professors conform their teaching to the Abstract: "All persons accepting professorships in this seminary shall be considered by such acceptance as engaging to teach in accordance with, and not contrary to, the Abstract of Principles, hereinafter laid down, any departure from which principles, on his part, shall be considered ground for his resignation or removal by trustees." Although the final statement emphasized the requirement that the teaching conform to the Abstract, it suggested also that "any departure" from the Abstract's "principles" also constituted just ground for dismissal. And because all professors "engaged" to teach in accordance with the Abstract, Boyce and his colleagues thought it best that all professors subscribe their names beneath the Abstract in an official subscription book, a practice that endures to the present.

112. Joseph Otis, "The Atonement," *Western Recorder*, 19 Sept. 1859, 2.

113. James C. Furman to E. T. Winkler, ca. 1856, quoted in Cook, *The Life Work of James Clement Furman*, 164.

The second critical issue related to the relative number of trustees from each southern state. Boyce wanted all the states represented, but he also wanted the greatest share of governance in the hands of those who contributed the most money. Thus he proposed combining both elements. Every state would get one automatic seat on the trustee board and an additional seat for every \$10,000 contributed from that state. The convention made two changes. It made the automatic seat conditional; if any state did not contribute \$5,000 within three years, it would lose its seat until it contributed that amount. It also made eleven the maximum number for each state.

The effect of this arrangement was to give considerable control to South Carolina and Virginia, the states that initially gave the most money, and very little control to the western states, which gave very little. Arkansas and Louisiana lost their automatic seats. When the seminary moved to Kentucky, and Kentucky Baptists gave largely to the new endowment, Kentucky displaced South Carolina as the most important state delegation, but the eastern states continued to dominate. This arrangement continued until 1926, when trustees adopted an amended charter basing trustee representation on geography, granting every state convention in the Southern Baptist Convention two seats on the board and establishing nine at-large seats.¹¹⁴

The third critical issue in the fundamental laws related to the means by which the denomination would control the school. Boyce was committed to denominational control, but he did not want the seminary subject to whiplash changes based on emotional controversies or the accidental majorities they could create in any given meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention. He recommended, and the committee adopted, that the board would ordinarily be “self-perpetuating,” electing its own members whenever vacancies occurred. But he included a provision by which the Southern Baptist Convention could replace the entire board of trustees if the convention concluded that the trustees had neglected the seminary’s constitution or had sustained professors “teaching doctrines contrary to the abstract of principles.”

The convention apparently feared that it would be too easy for the Southern Baptist Convention to replace the whole board, subjecting the seminary to continual threat of disruption and untoward interference. It retained the language that “the Board shall be self-perpetuating,” but instead of giving the Southern Baptist Convention the right to replace the whole board, it gave the Southern Baptist Convention the right to nominate “not less than three persons” to fill any vacancy. The board was in a sense still self-perpetuating—it elected new

114. Minutes, Board of Trustees, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 11–14 May 1926.

trustees from those nominated by the Southern Baptist Convention, or, if the Southern Baptist Convention failed to nominate, the board could elect new trustees on its own authority.

The convention typically did not bother to nominate persons to the seminary's board for a generation. In 1926 the trustees amended the charter to permit the convention to nominate only two persons for each vacancy, a change intended "to protect the interests of the convention" by moving closer to direct election of trustees by the convention, and to preserve "the direct control of the institution through the trustees." The trustees amended it again in 1965, permitting the convention to nominate for each vacancy only one person, whom the trustees then elected.¹¹⁵

THE FACULTY

Boyce and the convention delegates planned to open the seminary in October 1858, but they delayed opening until October 1859 because two professors declined election. The convention voted to elect the four men nominated by the committee on the faculty: James P. Boyce, Basil Manly Jr., John A. Broadus, and E. T. Winkler. Winkler, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, South Carolina, declined election from a sense of duty to his church. He judged that if he resigned his church, "it would be a calamity." And God's blessing of his pastoral labors was sufficient indication, he believed, that his duty was to stay in his place. He feared, moreover, that he would be impatient as a professor and grow restless for the pastorate. He enjoyed the relatively "speedy results" of pastoral work. "I had rather apply truth immediately," Winkler explained, "as a pastor than cast bread upon the water as a professor."¹¹⁶

Broadus, though only thirty years old when elected, had already gained a reputation among Virginia Baptists as an accomplished scholar and a remarkable preacher. He graduated from the University of Virginia with an M.A., reserved for those few students who took all the courses in the curriculum. He was pastor of the Charlottesville Baptist Church, and served also as the University of Virginia's chaplain. He was invited to take the chair of Greek at the university, and later the chair of moral philosophy, but felt that his duty was to preach the gospel rather than to teach.¹¹⁷

115. Minutes, Board of Trustees, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 11 May 1926; *ibid.*, 16–17 Mar. 1965.

116. E. T. Winkler to John A. Broadus, 26 May 1858, attached to Archibald T. Robertson, "Life and Letters of John A. Broadus," ms., box 6, Robertson Papers.

117. Robertson, *Life and Letters of Broadus*, 55–74, 139.

Broadus's church members pressed him hard to remain at the church. They felt that his fruitful ministry in Charlottesville had greater value to the Christian cause than seminary teaching. William P. Farish, a prominent church member, told Broadus that seeking to make ministers by seminary training was wrong-headed. It would injure the cause of Christ, Farish said, "to take valuable ministers from prominent positions to teach twenty or thirty young men to become preachers, many of whom are made worse by it and none benefited."¹¹⁸ A group of church leaders sent Broadus a plea to decline his election to the seminary, arguing that he already had the most extensive influence of any Baptist pastor in the South. His friends across the state agreed that his preaching ministry at Charlottesville, his appeal and influence to students at the University of Virginia, and his leadership in the Albemarle Female Institute would accomplish more for the gospel and for the denomination than a career at the new seminary. Other persons could be found to teach Greek and homiletics to young preachers, but "no other man in the denomination can at all fill" his unique position in Charlottesville.¹¹⁹

Broadus struggled with the decision for about ten days. He took counsel with "leading brethren" and friends in Charlottesville, Richmond, Alexandria, and Fredericksburg. He thought it his duty to remain pastor of the Charlottesville church. "I cannot leave here," he wrote Boyce. "If anything I can conceive could make one feel it right to leave this post, it would be the seminary, but I could not dare to go away."¹²⁰ Broadus refused his election to the faculty of the seminary.

Basil Manly Jr. struggled with similar questions of duty but came to a different conclusion. Manly professed faith in Christ at the age of fifteen and graduated first in his class at the University of Alabama three years later. The Tuscaloosa Baptist Church licensed him to preach, and he enrolled in the Newton Theological Institute in Newton, Massachusetts. When the Baptists in the South formed the Southern Baptist Convention in May 1845, the southern students at Newton withdrew. Manly enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey, the bastion of Old School Presbyterian orthodoxy, to complete his course. After graduation in 1847 he spent three years preaching extensively in Alabama and Mississippi, especially to the slave population, among whom he thought his preaching was "much blessed." He prepared and published at

118. William P. Farish to John A. Broadus, 8 May 1858, attached to Robertson, "Life and Letters of John A. Broadus."

119. Alexander P. Abell, John W. Jones, C. H. Toy, et al., to John A. Broadus, 8 May 1858, attached to Robertson, "Life and Letters of John A. Broadus."

120. John A. Broadus to James P. Boyce, 15 May 1858, in Robertson, *Life and Letters of Broadus*, 152.

this time the *Baptist Psalmsody*, a hymnbook that sold more than 50,000 copies. In 1850 he became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia, the leading Baptist pulpit in the South. In 1854 he resigned and accepted election as the founding president of the Richmond Female Institute, where he remained until joining Southern Seminary's faculty in 1859.¹²¹

In 1856 Furman University elected Manly as professor of theology and ancient languages to work alongside Boyce, but Manly declined. He thought that it was premature: "The cause of theological education is one dearer to me than almost any other and I esteem no sacrifice too great for its promotion. I am not a little in hopes that the Baptists of the South may be induced to concentrate their efforts on that subject, and if they do, Greenville stands an excellent chance of being selected as the location." But the future of Furman's theology department depended in large degree on how Southern Baptists resolved the question of establishing a theological seminary.¹²²

Manly had established himself in the hearts of Richmond Baptists, who were convinced that his leadership was critical to the success of women's education among Baptists in Richmond. Manly himself thought it likely that if he abandoned the school in 1858 it would fail. He told Broadus initially that if Broadus accepted his professorship, and if A. M. Poindexter accepted his election as the seminary's fund-raising agent, he would feel it his duty to leave Richmond and join the seminary faculty. Manly had urged Broadus to accept election because of the critical importance of the seminary to the gospel ministry in the South, but he added that if Broadus declined, he would decline also.¹²³ When Broadus declined, Manly thought that it was a "death blow" to the seminary.¹²⁴ But he changed his mind and accepted, even though both Broadus and Poindexter had declined election.

Boyce pinned his hope not only on the acceptance of the other professors but also on the acceptance of A. M. Poindexter, the man whom the convention elected to raise \$100,000 from the states outside South Carolina, which was the remainder of the endowment. If the seminary failed to obtain pledges for this amount, it would lose its South Carolina endowment funds also and would fail. Boyce and the committee felt that Poindexter was the one man capable of doing

121. See Basil Manly Jr. to Crawford H. Toy, 7 Feb. 1873, Letterbook II, Manly Family Papers no. 4409, Southern Historical Collection, UNC.

122. Basil Manly Jr. to J. B. O'Neal, 13 Sept. 1856, Manly Collection of Manuscripts, microfilm, reel 1, SBTS.

123. Basil Manly Jr. to John A. Broadus, 14 May 1858, attached to Robertson, "Life and Letters of John A. Broadus"; Manly to Broadus, 18 May 1858, *ibid*.

124. Basil Manly Jr. to John A. Broadus, 18 May 1858, attached to Robertson, "Life and Letters of John A. Broadus."