

# Citizen Campbell: Alexander Campbell and Early American Politics

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*Alexander Campbell was a patriotic, naturalized U.S. citizen who encouraged exercising the right to vote to bring social change and promote Christian values. At the same time, he argued against any attempt to legislate Christian practice or establish a theocracy, insisting Christianity cannot be imposed on those who have not subjected themselves to Christ. This essay explores Campbell's philosophy of government and demonstrates his overarching concern was the freedom of and from religion as he awaited the reign of King Jesus.*

As a U. S. citizen, Alexander Campbell showed little interest in pursuing public office. Only once, when the Commonwealth of Virginia revised its state constitution in 1829–1830, did he reluctantly agree to serve as a delegate to its constitutional convention.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, he was fascinated by American politics and wrote extensively about it. The aim of this paper is not to examine Campbell's position on the various political topics of his day—although some of these positions will undoubtedly become apparent—but to explore his thought regarding the relationship between American citizenship and the American government.

## VOYAGE TO A NEW WORLD

On September 28, 1808, Campbell, his mother, and six siblings boarded a seafaring vessel in Londonderry, Ireland, they hoped would take them safely across the Atlantic to a new life in the United States. The Campbell-family patriarch, Thomas Campbell, had immigrated in the spring of 1807. Shortly thereafter, he asked his

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (1868; repr., Indianapolis: Religious Book Service, 1897) 2:304-312. See also 2:319-320, where in a letter to William Tener of Londonderry, Campbell states he has “no taste or longings for political matters or honors,” but agreed to be elected to the Virginia Convention “because I was desirous of laying a foundation for the abolition of slavery (in which, however, I was not successful), and of gaining an influence in public estimation to give currency to my writings, and to put down some calumnies afar off that I was not in good standing in my own State.”

family to divest themselves of most of their belongings and embark on the long journey to join him.

The journey was fraught with difficulties from the outset. Unfavorable winds delayed them for nearly a week in Lough Foyle. Once they were underway, winds drove the ship some thirty miles off course, crashing it against rocks off the Scottish coast and forcing the Campbells to spend ten months in Glasgow. Even after they resumed their journey on August 5, 1809, violent storms tossed the ship about, forcing passengers to regularly pump out the water during the fifty-five-day voyage.

Sailing past Long Island, the ship entered a quarantine ground near Sandy Hook, New Jersey, where passengers were examined by a health officer and “required to remain” in isolation “but one day,” Robert Richardson wrote with apparent surprise. Afterward, the ship continued on to New York City harbor, where passengers disembarked, and the Campbells finally launched their new life in America.<sup>2</sup>

The family enjoyed a brief excursion in New York City and Philadelphia before setting out on a 350-mile journey to Washington, Pennsylvania, where Thomas Campbell had lived since arriving. Alexander Campbell, who was in his early twenties, quickly developed an appreciation for the country he was seeing for the first time. Richardson notes he was impressed by the cities he visited and forests he traversed, as well as by the country’s moral climate.<sup>3</sup>

While no evidence suggests Campbell ever considered returning to live in Ireland, Scotland, or elsewhere in Europe, two actions indicate his intentions were to remain in the United States. The first was his March 12, 1811, marriage to Margaret Brown. Brown’s father, John Brown, eventually gave his farm to Campbell to prevent him from taking her to Zanesville, Ohio.<sup>4</sup> Thus it seems unlikely he would have approved Campbell’s taking her to Europe.

The second was Campbell’s application soon after marriage to become a naturalized U. S. citizen. After completing the paperwork and fulfilling the required two years of residency, Campbell traveled to Philadelphia for his naturalization ceremony. He became a citizen in December 1815.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 1:204. American evangelist Lorenzo Dow, *History of Cosmopolite: Or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow* (1814; 6th ed., Cincinnati: Joshua Martin and Alex. S. Robertson, 1849) 116, states that on returning in 1801 after a preaching tour in Ireland, he and his fellow travelers were quarantined for thirteen days near Staten Island.

<sup>3</sup> Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:205-210. Campbell seemed particularly impressed by the fact that houses did not have “bolts and bars” for security.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 1:461. Zanesville is located approximately 90 miles west of Bethany.

<sup>5</sup> Eva Jean Wrather, *Alexander Campbell: Adventurer in Freedom: A Literary Biography* (ed. D. Duane Cummins; Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 2005) 1:201, 3:280. Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:465.

## AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

Campbell's relocation to the United States was more than crossing an ocean and taking up residence on another continent. Like Puritan leader John Winthrop more than two hundred years earlier, Campbell saw America as something of a "city upon a hill."

"I cannot speak too highly of the advantages that the people in this country enjoy in being delivered from the proud and lordly aristocracy," Campbell wrote in an 1815 letter to his uncle, Archibald Campbell, in Newry, Ireland. To illustrate this, he explained, "I have had my horse shod by a legislator, my horse saddled, my boots cleaned, [and] my stirrup held by a senator." In his newly adopted country, he contended, "genius, virtue and knowledge" have replaced the ascendancy of Old World nobility. As a result, he said:

No consideration that I can conceive of, would induce me to exchange all that I enjoy in this country, climate, soil and government, for any situation which your country can afford. I would not exchange the honor and privilege of being an American citizen for the position of your king.<sup>6</sup>

One might assume Campbell's excitement about becoming an American citizen gave rise to his exuberance. After all, he sent the letter from Philadelphia soon after his naturalization ceremony. Yet Campbell repeatedly praised the nation of his new citizenship throughout the remainder of his life.

In "An Oration in Honor of the Fourth of July," delivered in 1830, Campbell referred to America as the "most favored of all lands." He went on to say "the *fourth of July, 1776*, was a memorable day, a day to be remembered as was the Jewish Passover—a day to be regarded with grateful acknowledgements by every American citizen, [and] by every philanthropist in all the nations of the world."<sup>7</sup> Again, in his Baccalaureate Address of 1847, which Bethany College's vice president, W. K. Pendleton, read for Campbell in his absence, he described the United States as "the greatest nation and the happiest community on the earth."<sup>8</sup>

Having spent the initial two decades of his life in Europe, Campbell quickly noticed the political differences in his new home that engendered his perception of America's greatness. The United States, he declared, is "a country happily exempted from the baneful influence of a civil establishment of any peculiar form of Christianity, and from under the direct influence of an anti-Christian hierarchy."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 1:465-466.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Campbell, "An Oration in Honor of the Fourth of July," *Millennial Harbinger* (1830) 301-310.

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, "Baccalaureate Address," *Millennial Harbinger* (1847) 421.

<sup>9</sup> Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:253.

Campbell's unique situation as an American citizen led him to believe the government of this new land was far superior to that of the Old World European governments. In a series of letters to his daughter, written while traveling through Europe in 1847, Campbell repeatedly described Europe's "squalid poverty and wretchedness," generally blaming the European political system. "The machinery of British society all works in one direction," he wrote. "It creates Peers, Lords, Nobles, Prelates, Archbishops, and Kings; and it creates for every one of these myriads of paupers—poor, starved, uneducated wretches."<sup>10</sup>

In another letter to his daughter, he exclaimed, "May the Lord in his mercy watch over the destiny of your native country, and long preserve it from the vices and follies which have entailed on France, on England, and Europe, an inheritance of miseries and misfortunes from which neither the wisdom of politicians nor the benevolence of Christians can rescue them for generations to come."<sup>11</sup>

### CHURCH, STATE, AND CAMPBELL

Campbell produced no essay or book that provides a comprehensive explanation of his political views, though his interest in the Antebellum American political landscape is undeniable. He repeatedly took up his pen to address the prevalent topics of his day. And while many historians have provided some insight into Campbell's political thought,<sup>12</sup> they have largely overlooked the single essay that may provide the most unequivocal expression of his political philosophy.

In 1833, Campbell received a letter from Charles Cassedy, a little-known writer who was something of a drifter and an alcoholic. Cassedy wanted his opinion on the relationship between the church and politics in the United States, arguing that "sectarian theological journals" suggested society's Christian elements were seeking to impose their will on the country.

Claiming to possess "the *wealth* and *numbers*," these elements would soon have the power "to compel Congress to do as they pleased!" Cassedy wrote. Did they wish to "establish a NATIONAL CHURCH and enforce the collection of taxes (*tithes*) for this LEVIATHAN of their holy and misdirected zeal?" he asked. Moreover, he inquired:

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<sup>10</sup> Campbell, "Letters from Europe—No. V," *Millennial Harbinger* (1847) 526.

<sup>11</sup> Campbell, "Letters from Europe—No. VIII," *Millennial Harbinger* (1847) 552.

<sup>12</sup> See Harold L. Lunger, *The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell* (St. Louis: Bethany, 1954) and "Alexander Campbell's Political Activity and Views," *The Sage of Bethany: A Pioneer in Broadcloth* (ed. Perry E. Gresham; repr., Joplin, MO: College, 1988); S. Morris Eames, *The Philosophy of Alexander Campbell* (Bethany, WV: Bethany College, 1966); and Robert O. Fifé, "In the Spirit of the Prophets: Alexander Campbell as a Social Thinker," in *Lectures in Honor of the Alexander Campbell Bicentennial, 1788–1988* (ed. James M. Seale; Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1988).

Would they trammel the consciences of our citizens, and as far as *legislative influence* might be made to extend, compel them to attend their popular congregations, and conform to their external rites and ceremonies? Can they possibly conceive, that the *human mind* may be *forced* into the belief and adoption of any theological creed, and compelled to direct itself heavenward by the anathemas of the church, or the energies of municipal law?

In answering his own question, Cassedy observed, “they have yet to learn, that although man may sometimes be made a hypocrite, he can never be made a true believer, by compulsory or even painful and cruel measures.”<sup>13</sup>

Campbell responded to Cassedy’s letter by noting Jesus “explicitly avowed” to Pontius Pilate “that his kingdom was not *of* this world, though he has a kingdom *in* it.” “In the blinded zeal of many of [Jesus’] professed adherents,” Campbell wrote, “numerous and daring attempts have been made to falsify, or at best nullify, this unequivocal declaration.” The Roman Catholic Church, he continued, tried for “a thousand years” to turn Christianity into “a kingdom *of this world*.” They were only stopped, he argued, when the leaders of the Protestant Reformation “laid with great violence the axe to the root of the Papal tree.”

Yet, Campbell explained, the very Protestants who stopped the Roman Church failed to flee from her carnality and “soon dressed up their bastard Christianity in all the attire of worldly glory.” Moreover, when assent was not given to their demands for temporal adoration, “they grasped the sword, after the manner of their old mother, and filled the incredulous with fear and trembling.”<sup>14</sup>

This misguided notion of establishing a “kingdom of this world,” according to Campbell, has plagued both Christianity—specifically the medieval Roman Catholic Church and the state-sponsored churches of Protestantism—and civil governments down through the centuries. But it did not escape the attention of the United States’ founding fathers as they sought to form the government. “The sages of the Revolution,” he told Cassedy, wisely chose “to keep the civil government out of the church, and thus to remind the preachers that their Master’s kingdom was not of this world.”<sup>15</sup>

In another essay, Campbell noted that “*the best government of this world*, (our own,) may be in the hands of a Turk, a Jew, or an Atheist, for aught our Constitution cares. And this very government is indebted for its comparative excellency to the follies of all other governments in making a court religion, and in causing all, both small and great, to bow to the idol or creed which those in power prefer.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Charles Cassedy, “Letter from Charles Cassedy, Esq., No. III,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1833) 464-467.

<sup>14</sup> Campbell, “Reply to Charles Cassedy, Esq.—No. III,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1833) 467-470.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Campbell, “Everlasting Gospel, No. II,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1833) 119-122.

He stated, “The wisdom of our institution is, that, irrespective of sectarian *opinions*, men of moral worth are eligible to every office, and that our government knows no man according to his faith.” And so, Campbell concluded, “This is all we can expect or wish in the present state of the world.”<sup>17</sup>

Campbell had a greater appreciation for America’s government than for the political systems of Europe. Yet it would be a mistake to assume he had an uncritical love for his new country. While he was certainly patriotic and respectfully referred to some of the nation’s founders and leaders with laudatory accolades, his greater concern revolved around the Kingdom of God.

S. Morris Eames correctly asserts Campbell’s perception of government closely aligned with Augustine’s conception of the “City of Man,” thus placing it well below the more essential concerns for Christ and the eternal kingdom, which Augustine designated the “City of God.”<sup>18</sup> As such, he could both praise the patriotic, early American figures who established the U. S. government (the “City of Man”),<sup>19</sup> and contend “patriotism . . . has no place in the Christian religion” (the “City of God”)<sup>20</sup> because a selfish love of culture and country precludes the idea of reaching the world for Christ.<sup>21</sup>

With his concern for the “City of God,” specifically his desire to restore NT Christianity and see the onset of the millennial age, Campbell preferred a government that asserts freedom *of* religion and *from* religion. Morris Eames describes this as a government that “supports certain principles of ‘stay out’ and ‘leave alone’” as pivotal to its proper function.<sup>22</sup>

Campbell did not want a government that interfered with religious belief and practice or promoted any specific religious group. He advocated for the separation of church and state but believed the church could and should influence the government and its policies without being a state-sponsored church.

In their explorations of Campbell’s thoughts on government, Morris Eames, Harold L. Lunger, and Robert O. Fife all suggest his ideas derived from the political theories of the Enlightenment, especially those of John Locke.<sup>23</sup> However, Eames contends the religious turmoil of Europe, specifically struggles to rid the British

<sup>17</sup> Campbell, “Reply to Charles Cassedy, Esq.—No. III,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1833) 467-470.

<sup>18</sup> Eames, *Philosophy of Alexander Campbell*, 73.

<sup>19</sup> Campbell, “An Oration in Honor of the Fourth of July,” 309.

<sup>20</sup> Campbell, “The Destiny of Our Country,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1852) 486.

<sup>21</sup> See Campbell, “The Christian Preacher—No. II,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1832) 114-118.

<sup>22</sup> Eames, *Philosophy of Alexander Campbell*, 75.

<sup>23</sup> Lunger, *Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell*, 51-52 and 66-74; Eames, *Philosophy of Alexander Campbell*, 74-75; and Fife, “In the Spirit of the Prophets,” 20.

Isles of Roman Catholic influences and to separate the church from political entanglements, also figured into his moderately laissez-faire philosophy.<sup>24</sup>

Another rarely mentioned contribution to Campbell's political theory is the frontier egalitarianism he encountered in the United States. One can readily see how rugged, self-made individualism—especially in light of the church-and-state skirmishes he observed in Ireland—would lead him to value a government that refrained from interfering in the religious affairs of its citizens.

### RESPONSIBILITIES OF AMERICA'S CHRISTIAN CITIZENS

As noted above, Campbell often stated the American system of government was the best in the world. However, he also believed God has “prescribed no one form of political government, [but] has equally sanctioned every form which society chooses to assume.”<sup>25</sup> He wrote, “The Bible prescribes no form of human government, because no one form of government would suit all the countries, climes, and people of the earth.”<sup>26</sup>

Yet Campbell noted every governmental system is divinely appointed and “*by the grace of God*, bestowed upon the world.” He even described those who hold governmental authority as “God’s ministers,” ultimately accountable to Him for their actions as political leaders.<sup>27</sup> “The object of government,” he further stated, is “to protect the life, liberty, reputation, and property of every citizen,” and to provide for “the education of youth in literature and morals.”<sup>28</sup>

Because God ordains governments and puts them in place for the benefit of a nation’s citizens, Campbell believed Christians are obligated to obey the laws of the land, unless a law explicitly opposes the Word of God. He explained in an 1845

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<sup>24</sup> Eames, *Philosophy of Alexander Campbell*, 75. It should be noted that Campbell was not an extremist in his advocacy of laissez-faire principles. In at least two essays, he insists the government has the responsibility of educating the youth of the country. See Campbell, “Incidents on a Tour to Nashville, Tennessee, No. I,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1830) 553, and Campbell, “An Address,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1841) 440.

<sup>25</sup> Campbell, “The Fugitive Slave Law,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1851) 29.

<sup>26</sup> Campbell, “Tracts for the People—No. XV,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1846) 124.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>28</sup> Campbell, “Incidents on a Tour to Nashville, Tennessee, No. I,” 553. See also, Campbell, “An Address,” 440, in which he claims “the chief end of government is not to preserve itself, build up its own fortunes, and aggrandize itself; but to develop [sic] a nation’s resources, direct its energies, provide for its exigencies, and protect it from intestine rivalries and animosities, as well as from extrinsic encroachments from foreign power; or, in one sentence, to protect the people in the full enjoyment of all their rights whether denominated natural or conventional.” Also, in his “Tracts for the People—No. XV,” 124, Campbell says “the Bible . . . demands of all persons in [governmental] authority that they protect the innocent, that they punish the guilty, and that they dispense justice to all.”

essay: “Any political arrangement, institution, or law [that does not contravene] any precept or consecrated usage in the apostolic writings [should] not be violently assaulted or resisted by any law-abiding Christian.”<sup>29</sup>

Campbell’s instruction proved controversial after Congress passed the Compromise of 1850 in an effort to preserve national unity. It contained a new Fugitive Slave Law that anti-slavery advocates detested because it obligated northerners to return runaway slaves to their southern owners. Many Christians opposed to slavery declared they would not observe the new law’s demands but would obey a “higher law” and assist runaway slaves on their journeys to freedom.<sup>30</sup>

Campbell disagreed with the law but implored Christian citizens to comply. “When . . . our representatives have made laws,” he exclaimed, “we cannot ourselves, individually annul them.” Moreover, he said, “We, the citizens and people of the United States, owe allegiance to the laws of the United States.”<sup>31</sup> Campbell repeatedly reminded his readers “they have at the polls” a means to amend or abrogate those laws with which they disagree.<sup>32</sup>

Campbell objected to Christians’ efforts to create social change by holding public office. “I know of nothing more antipodal to the gospel than politics,” he wrote, and “it is about as hard for a Christian man to please unchristian constituents, as it is for any one to serve God and Mammon.”<sup>33</sup> As such, he later argued, “We have, as Christians, little to do with such matters. Political governments, in their best form, are but mere tents for pilgrims to lodge under while on their journey to the King and Lord of all.”<sup>34</sup>

He also opposed Christian endeavors to bring social change through participation in the prevalent antebellum reform movements<sup>35</sup> (somewhat ironic since his own “reformation of the nineteenth century” was itself something of a reform movement). He described those who gravitated to such movements as the “*one idea*

<sup>29</sup> Campbell, “Our Position to American Slavery—No. VI,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1845) 240.

<sup>30</sup> See Campbell, “Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1851) 171-172.

<sup>31</sup> Campbell, “The Fugitive Slave Law,” 29.

<sup>32</sup> Campbell, “Morality of Christians—No. XVIII,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1840) 102-103.

<sup>33</sup> Campbell, “Incidents on a Tour to the South—No. I,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1839) 8.

<sup>34</sup> Campbell, “Letters from Europe—No. XXXV,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1848) 668. See also Campbell, “Morality of Christians—No. XXI,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1840) 414, in which Campbell asks, “Ought Christians to take an active part in politics—in the present politics of this country? This is a question of as easy decision as it is of great moral importance. I am decidedly of opinion that they ought not.”

<sup>35</sup> See Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom’s Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944); Steven M. Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America’s Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); and Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers: 1815–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

class of good men.”<sup>36</sup> He believed their commitment to reform activities detracted from the work of the church. “Every shilling you give to a Temperance Society,” he wrote, you “abstract from the church.” And, “every hour you spend . . . in said society,” you “give that time away forever from your Christian and church duties.”<sup>37</sup>

However, Campbell held the right of suffrage as a special, if not sacred, responsibility and the means by which Christian citizens should respond to those aspects of society disagreeable to their moral sensitivities or ideas of propriety. In a brief response to a letter he received in 1857, Campbell wrote,

In our country and government, every man is responsible for his vote. When, therefore, in his horizon, there is a question or a crisis involving, as he judges, any good, or the prevention of any evil, it is his duty to God, who gives him a vote, and it is his duty to man, to use, or to give that vote, to that person, or to that measure, which will, in his judgment, insure to the most good, or of two evils to prevent the greater, by voting for the less.<sup>38</sup>

Campbell never naively suggested Christians would rectify all social ills using the ballot, but he preferred the vote to most other activities to bring social change. He wrote: “The church has no *direct* power or authority to unite with any worldly or political party to effect a revolution, or a change, in its institutions.” But he added that “it has immense indirect power upon every community by the reflex light of the gospel through its example.”<sup>39</sup>

He noted, “Till the King of kings comes, we Christians ought to be good republicans, under the conviction that human governments seldom grow better, and that the popular doctrine of our country is true—that political authority generally makes a man worse, and public favors almost invariably corrupt the heart.”<sup>40</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Campbell’s biographer, Robert Richardson observes, “No one could be more attached than [Campbell] to the government and its institutions, though he was not at all a politician in the ordinary sense of the word.” Though Campbell, he said, “always avoided taking any active part in politics, on all proper occasions, he frankly expressed his views on all public measures,” taking care “to maintain the reserve and dignity belonging to his ministerial office.”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Campbell, “Abolitionism,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1845) 505.

<sup>37</sup> Campbell, “Moral Societies,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1848) 352.

<sup>38</sup> Campbell, “Christian Politics,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1857) 174.

<sup>39</sup> Campbell, “Our Position to American Slavery—No. VI,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1845) 240.

<sup>40</sup> Campbell, “The Kingdom of Heaven,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1834) 401.

<sup>41</sup> Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:465.

Though Campbell frequently promoted his personal political thoughts and sought a government that would promote Christian morals and ideals, he was never convinced the governments of this world—not even the American government he so dearly loved—could be the ultimate hope for human freedom and happiness or the source for creating a Christian world. “Politics are a moral pestilence,” Campbell wrote in an 1838 letter, and he warned Christians to protect themselves from the idolatry of loving political power.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, according to Harold Lunger, he frequently viewed government “as more of a threat to freedom than as a means of preserving it.”<sup>43</sup>

Ultimately, Campbell saw politics as provisional to the Christian’s existential experience. He wrote, “The great capitals of earth—the centres of nations and empires—with all their thrones, their halls legislative, judiciary and executive are but for the present scaffolding of humanity; while the Christian temple—that building of God’s own Son—is in progress of erection.”<sup>44</sup>

Additionally, he noted, “no parchments, constitutions, or forms of government can throw efficient barriers in the way of the cupidity, ambition, and pride of man.” As such, he went on to state, God will ultimately “overturn all the kingdoms of this world—all authorities and powers on earth, called by whatever name, which in anywise contravene the justice, peace, and good will among men which he always inculcated, and which he has made the paramount law in the constitution of human society.”<sup>45</sup>

Campbell walked a thin line in his views on politics and government. While he encouraged Christians to refrain from getting too involved with governmental affairs, he also encouraged them to use their political means to promulgate Christian values. Even so, he believed it futile to legislate Christian practices or attempt to establish some theocratic governmental system.

Human governments cannot be expected to be Christian governments, he insisted, nor can Christian laws and precepts be imposed on those who have not subjected themselves to Christ.<sup>46</sup> Overall, Campbell simply wanted a government that granted him the freedom to worship as he pleased, while he awaited the greater reign of King Jesus to commence. **SCJ**

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<sup>42</sup> Campbell, “Letters to England—No. X,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1838) 474.

<sup>43</sup> Lunger, *Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell*, 107.

<sup>44</sup> Campbell, “An Address,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1853) 606.

<sup>45</sup> Campbell, “The Prophecies,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1833) 12.

<sup>46</sup> Campbell, “Everlasting Gospel,” *Millennial Harbinger* (1833) 120. Campbell frequently expressed this idea in a number of his essays in the *Millennial Harbinger*.