BAPTIST HISTORY & HERITAGE

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CONTROVERSIAL BAPTIST EPISODES IN FOUR DIFFERENT CENTURIES

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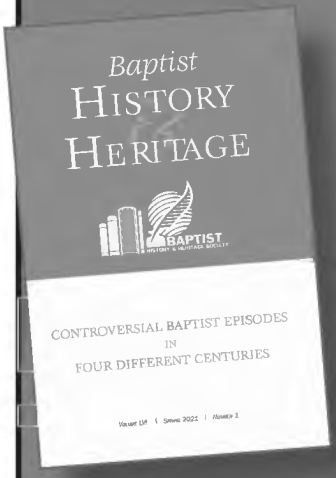

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John Finley
Executive Director

Executive Director's Note

Without question, the dominating concern of the last year has been the COVID-19 pandemic.

As with so many families, churches, and other non-profit organizations, the Baptist History and Heritage Society has been directly affected by this worldwide health emergency, which resulted in the cancellation of our 2020 annual conference, delays in publishing several issues of our journal, and a dramatic reduction in travel for the executive director. In spite of these challenges, the Society has forged ahead with the creation of new resources and social media, in addition to an enhanced online presence.

In late 2020, we released a new video on Baptist identity, featuring Dr. Bill Leonard, founding dean and professor emeritus of the Wake Forest University School of Divinity. Titled "Hopeful Apocalypse: Charting a Baptist Future," this free video examines many of the cultural changes impacting congregations in the twenty-first century, and is designed for individual study, Sunday School and small group discussions, and Wednesday night programs.

With the help of Lee Heidel, owner/design/development lead at Heideldesign, we developed a totally new BHHS website and then later adapted it for conference use as a virtual platform. This new online presence

of the Society offers a more user-friendly experience through additional photographs, graphics, and a "store" offering books, pamphlets, videos, and other resources for individuals, churches, and classrooms.

In recent months I have been invited to consult with a number of individuals and churches about ways to preserve their historical records, celebrate significant church anniversaries, publish their congregational histories, and locate resources for the study and teaching of Baptist history and identity in the local church. I am grateful for all of these opportunities to be of service as the Society remains committed to "helping Baptists discover, conserve, assess, and share their history."

Due to the continuing effects of the COVID-19 health emergency, the Society held its first-ever virtual annual conference. Jackie Riley, Amy Cook, and Lee Heidel proved to be invaluable members of our design staff in preparing for the conference, while Jonathan Boggs, founder and creative director at Parable Media, edited all of the prerecorded video presentations and assembled them for the two-day event.

Our conference theme this year was "Baptists and Public Advocacy," exploring the long and rich history of Baptists who have worked for the common good through their efforts in Christian social work, child welfare, civil and women's rights, justice reform, and racial integration. In addition, a few paper presentations on politics, the American Civil War, and international Baptist missions were included for good measure. And what would any Baptist history conference held at the end of this challenging year of COVID-19 be without at least one paper examining Baptist responses to the Spanish Flu pandemic of 1918?

Our thanks go to all who shared their skills in producing the 20-plus paper presentations and panel discussions that formed the core of our 2021 program. You can look forward to reading several of them in upcoming issues of the *Journal*.

The Society's board of directors announced recently that the next annual conference will be held at Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama, May 26-27, 2022. A conference theme will be announced later this summer, and a formal call for paper proposals will be extended in the early fall of 2021. Please mark your calendars now and plan to join us in Birmingham.

Again this year, the Society is grateful for financial gifts from our members and friends and from ministry partners at the Cooperative Baptist

Fellowship Global, the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of North Carolina, and the Eula Mae and John Baugh Foundation. These gifts made possible the website redesign and the creation of new video and digital resources, and helped to underwrite expenses related to the annual conference. In addition, the Society received a magnificent estate gift from the Dr. Harry P. Clause Marital Trust. During the worst of times, these friends of the Society have enabled us to do the best of things.

During these days marked by countless challenges, I thank the members and friends of the Baptist History and Heritage Society for your continued commitment to the Baptist heritage through the BHHS. Each time you order or download one of our resources, renew your annual membership, or make a monthly or annual financial gift to the Society, you help us to extend our reach to growing audiences and to implement new initiatives. While these are challenging times, our work has never been more important, and so I encourage you to reaffirm your support of the Baptist History and Heritage Society today.

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Editor's Note

The spring 2021 issue of* Baptist History and Heritage *contains four articles that examine Baptists in four different centuries.

While not intended to focus upon a shared theme, this quartet of unique stories is nevertheless tied together by their attention to controversial happenings in Baptist life. Our first two articles focus on unusual and regrettable vignettes from our Baptist past that serve to illuminate our understanding of how Baptists in earlier times struggled in dealing with "the other." The final two articles look at changes and challenges growing out of the resurgence of fundamentalism within Southern Baptist life.

First, Stephen Kent takes us back to an early and stormy era in the life of English Baptists: the mid-seventeenth century. Thomas Tillam, a Baptist minister in northern England during the tumultuous Interregnum period, became embroiled in a convoluted and much-publicized controversy involving a Jesuit who moved to England posing as a Jew interested in converting to Christianity. The "Counterfeit Jew," as he was called at the time, ended up being baptized into Tillam's church, and Kent explores the fallout for Tillam and Northumberland Baptists when the imposter was eventually exposed. A fascinating subplot in the story is the role played by Tillam's millennialist eschatology in his dealings with the undercover Jesuit, and the episode also reveals the tensions between Baptists and other nonconformists in this turbulent era.

Moving to the nineteenth century, Mikeal Parsons' research on Baylor University president Rufus Burleson exposes a deeply unfortunate yet also profoundly important story of Antonia Texiera, a young Baylor student from Brazil. The daughter of the first indigenous Brazilian Baptist minister, Antonia came to America to study at Baylor only to experience sexual assault and a resulting pregnancy. The incident was explosive and controversial when it happened in 1895 and remains so today, and Parsons reveals the racist and gendered attitudes that shaped the way the university and its president dealt with Antonia in this shameful episode. His research also sheds light upon the way in which attitudes about race and gender became institutionalized in America and continue to have ramifications today.

Our third article finds Baptists in America still wrestling with gender issues one century later, as the Southern Baptist Convention undertook a project to revamp its denominational hymnal in the 1990s. Someone once said, "Let me write the hymns of the people, and I care not who makes their creeds," recognizing the powerful influence of hymnody and worship experiences upon Christian believers.[1] Jake Randolph examines how that concept played out in the midst of the fundamentalist takeover of the SBC in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Specifically, he demonstrates that changing views about masculinity were influencing the hymns that Baptists sang a full decade before gendered revisions to the closest thing the SBC has to a creed—*The Baptist Faith and Message*—took place. Hymns that were added to the revised hymnal, with their use of affective language and themes of spiritual vulnerability, prove especially telling about the way in which Baptists were participating in the refashioning of ideas of masculinity in the late twentieth century, Randolph finds.

The final article in this issue brings us to the twenty-first century, looking at how young persons who have grown up in fundamentalist Southern Baptist life feel about the topic of alcohol consumption. For a century and a half, drinking alcohol has been largely *verboten* among Southern Baptists. Since even before its first denominational pronouncement against drinking in 1886, most members of the SBC have seen alcohol consumption as sinful. The denomination has passed more than 50 resolutions concerning alcohol, but the past two decades have seen growing dissent in the fundamentalist ranks. Some Millennials within the SBC have openly rejected teetotalism, stating that an inerrant reading of scripture leads them to the conclusion that Jesus, Paul, and others in the Bible drank alcohol in moderation. This journal

article focuses on Gen Z fundamentalist Baptists and their response to a survey about alcohol consumption, suggesting that this longstanding Baptist tenet is destined to wane. When the most recent anti-drinking SBC resolution passed in 2006, many older messengers were outraged to see almost 20 percent of those present vote against it. Millennial and Gen Z fundamentalists seem poised to make this once-settled issue a source of friction and controversy within the denomination for years to come.

Note

1 The exact origin of this quote attributed to Robert William Dale, Congregationalist minister in Birmingham, England in the late 1800s, is difficult to track down. The quote appeared most recently in Jo W. Harney, "Worthy Is the Lamb: Pastoral Symbols of Salvation in Christian Art and Music" (M.A. thesis, Skidmore College, 2004), 54. Harney does not cite a work by Dale but rather Lionel Adey, *Hymns and the Christian "Myth"* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 1. Adey says that Dale made the statement as part of his introduction of a hymnbook he edited, but likewise cites it not from Dale but as having been quoted in L.E. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era* (Greenwich, CT: Seabury Press, 1946), 374. Elliott-Binns, in turn, cites C. Silvester Horne, *A Popular History of the Free Churches* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1903), 250, as his source. Horne states that Dale spoke this phrase, but his book contains no citations, so the trail ends there. Meanwhile, the preface of R.W. Dale's *The English Hymn Book* (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1874), iii-v, contains no such line about hymns vs. creeds. This same quote has also been attributed to early nineteenth-century French poet Pierre Jean de Béranger by June Hadden Hobbs, *I Sing for I Cannot Be Silent: The Feminization of American Hymnody, 1870–1920* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 1. Again, unfortunately, there is no citation provided. Whether it belongs to Dale or de Béranger, the quote seems to have played upon a line that originated with eighteenth-century Scottish politician Andrew Fletcher, who wrote: "If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." Andrew Fletcher, *The Political Works of Fletcher of Salton: With notes, &c*, edited by R. Watson (London: H.D. Symonds, 1798), 164.

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The Scandal of the "Counterfeit Jew":

Who Benefited from the Dissemination of This Sensational Story?

Stephen Kent

Stephen Kent is a retired surgeon who serves as a lay pastor at Milton Baptist Church in Cheshire, United Kingdom.

The story of Thomas Tillam and the "Counterfeit Jew" stands out as a dramatic occurrence, even in the turbulent times of the mid-seventeenth century in England.

As a lecturer at Hexham Abbey, Tillam had founded a Baptist church that was gathering 30–40 new members per year in 1653–1954. However, Tillam was duped by a Scotsman named Thomas Ramsay into believing that Ramsay was a Jew who had converted to Christianity. Tillam even baptized Ramsay into his church. The deception was uncovered soon afterward and publicized widely. The story can be reconstructed from an amalgamation of the reports printed soon after the event.[1]

Thomas Tillam's character, the political and religious situation at the time, and the motives behind the actions of persons in the drama are considered in this paper, along with a reason for why this strange event became so prominent in the nation's consciousness at this time.

Thomas Tillam's ministry during the English Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell had such an effect upon the Warrington Baptist Church that the congregation prayed that "he of whom the Lord has made such a blessed use, shall shine as a star in glory."[2] However, Tillman also generated intense hatred and opposition. Thomas Weld, rector of St. Mary's, Gateshead wrote of Tillam that "he set the house on fire where ever he comes."[3] And for some men he was "a ball of wild-fire, tossed from

one end of the nation to the other, scattering pestilent error."[4] There is no doubting Tillam's strong charismatic evangelism and the fierce certainty of his beliefs.

The Political and Religious Background

The county of Northumberland has always been a relative backwater with its wild landscape and sparse population. In the mid-seventeenth century, after the chaos of the English Civil War, it was reported that the North of England lacked effective clergy. A petition from the town of Muggleswick had made the point graphically:

> We are a people ... who have been destitute of a preaching minister, yea, even since any of us, that are now breathing, were borne, to our souls griefe and dreadful hazard of destruction; neither is it our case alone, but ten or twelve parishes all adjoining are, in like manner, void of the means of salvation.[5]

In response, a "messenger" was sent from London to take up the post of lecturer at Hexham Abbey in December 1651. This evangelist was Thomas Tillam. Upon arrival he immediately established a Baptist church that flourished until he was forced to leave in 1665.

Following the civil war, the Protestant rulers of England had reason to fear Catholic subversion of their country. They stood against the Catholic countries of France and Spain, and the experiences of the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot still lingered in their memory. It is no surprise that the Jesuit authorities on the Continent should have considered sending an agent to attempt to infiltrate the Northumberland religious community in 1653. This was an area of England where many of the commoners would have held on to the "old religion," despite the English Reformation having started more than 100 years before. It is reported that the county had a growing Catholic population, in which many would have been working-class laborers, whose livelihood was based on agriculture, under the patronage of the ancient Catholic gentry.[6]

Jesuits had started arriving in England in the 1580s. They showed a passion for their mission, which raised the concern of the Protestant majority to a virtual panic.[7] To many educated Protestants of the period, popery

was antireligious and represented "a more serious threat to the true church than the pagans, the Jews or the Turks."[8] The standing of the Church of England was also at its lowest point.

In the late 1640s Parliament had abolished the Church's hierarchy and proscribed traditional Anglican services. This move allowed the appearance of many new, or previously underground, religious groups. *The Directory of Public Worship*, which was intended to displace the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1646, was not universally used. The sacrament of the Eucharist was seldom administered and, because of the scruples of the Calvinists over who should be baptized and the refusal of the Baptists to administer the rite to anyone except believing adults, that sacrament was less frequently performed as a matter of course. Whereas in theory everyone was born into the Church of England, there emerged groups who kept themselves separate in the hope of an eagerly anticipated "Second Coming."[9]

In the early 1650s, although the definition of denominations in a modern sense was blurred, the Baptizing Congregationalists (Baptists) were numerically one of the largest sects. Generally, they believed that formal training was unnecessary for a good pastor, because the Holy Spirit would work directly within the individual and make his calling apparent to the church. In 1644 the Baptists were the first dissenting group in England to publish a confession of faith.[10] Their churches were careful to ascertain the godliness of those who wished to join, and those who failed to match up to their exacting standards were admonished and, as a last resort, expelled. The Baptists also emphasized the element of personal choice in joining a church. New members were always baptized as adult believers, as they saw modeled in the New Testament churches.

The Scandal Unfolds

On April 21, 1653, the *Elizabeth of Newcastle* docked at Shields from Hamburg and and a man claiming to be a Jew disembarked, "announcing" that he wished to convert to Christianity. A very eloquent speaker, the man purported to be a rabbi named Joshua ben Israel who had been born in Mantua. He had been well educated and spoke eight languages, but in the course of his study of philosophy he had come to doubt his own faith. He declared that he was drawn to Christianity, but not finding Catholicism satisfying, he had gone to Germany to investigate Protestantism. This,

too, he found unsatisfactory, so he came to England where, as he put it, "he was seeking Christ without, but also found him within, through the teachings of the Baptists."[11] He presented himself to Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Hobson, who then introduced him to Thomas Tillam. The latter was completely convinced by ben Israel's claim, and on June 5, 1653 Tillam proceeded to baptize the newcomer in the River Tyne in the presence of the congregation of the Hexham church, with members from the Baptist church at Newcastle also in attendance.

Apparently, the baptism attracted several hundred spectators. The only disappointment that marred the event was that the converted Jew did not take Communion with the church, arguing that he still had some scruples to resolve. Tillam's joy was short-lived, however, for within three weeks it was revealed that ben Israel was an imposter and had deceived the citizens of the entire region. An inquiry was held, led by chief investigators: Samuel Hammond, Cuthbert Sydenham, and William Durant of Newcastle and Thomas Weld from Gateshead—all clergymen. They demanded that the man come to Newcastle to answer accusations that his story was untrue. A formal hearing was held at the house of Alderman George Dawson in the presence of Mayor Henry Dawson and other town officials. Thomas Tillam defended the Jew's story and maintained that the conversion was both genuine and a glorious work of God.

The first witness was Christopher Shadforth, captain of the *Elizabeth of Newcastle.* He stated that he had met a destitute man in Hamburg calling himself Thomas Horsley, who told him that he had been in Rome and was trying to get home because he had been appalled by Catholic doctrine. On the journey across the North Sea, Horsley was very seasick and confided in Shadforth that he had been under Catholic instruction at Rome, where many Jesuits were being prepared by the papacy to undermine the Protestant movement in England. It was intended that he himself should try and undermine English Protestantism under cover of working as a tailor. Horsley revealed to Shadforth that he knew of many others who were trained for similar missions and that, when he reached England, he would inform on them to the authorities. Shadforth identified ben Israel as the man he had known as Thomas Horsley even in the absence of his periwig.[12] According to Shadforth, Horsley asked for food and shelter from a local minister in Newcastle.

When the newcomer later visited the house of Ann Horsley, he said that he and his father had previously lived there. He asked about the daughter of the house and reminisced regarding where he used to keep his books. Horsley then left Newcastle to find Colonel Hobson, who was attached to the military garrison and was a leading member of the Newcastle Baptist church. Horsley seems to have spent most of his time the next months with Hobson, who then introduced Horsley to Thomas Tillam. Tillam's church at Hexham had fellowship with other churches and on August 16, 1653, they were visited by "brethren from London and Newcastle churches." The visitors, "hearing of our constitution and condition, lovingly owned us as their brethren; which was far from the rugged and unbrotherly carriage of Mr. Goare [Gower]."[13] This visit occurred less than four months after the Jew arrived, suggesting that Tillam and Gower had had a serious falling out well before "Horsley" appeared on the scene.

The Case Against the Professed Jew

When the clergymen in Newcastle heard the story of the alleged Jew's conversion, they became suspicious of ben Israel's account because of three inconsistencies:

1. Ben Israel spoke perfect English, and therefore they were suspicious of his story of being a Jew born in Italy.
2. Ben Israel's familiarity with the Horsley household seemed very puzzling, as he had supposedly never been to England before.
3. There was the question of why ben Israel had sought out Colonel Hobson, a prominent Baptist, soon after his arrival in Newcastle.

Ben Israel sought to explain each of these inconsistencies. He asserted that the Jews in Italy were so well educated that they could speak perfect English. The accusation that he knew the Horsley house intimately could be explained by meeting a friend of the Horsleys on his travels. The report of Horsley claiming to know the house of Ann Horsley seemed to be one attempt by him to add verisimilitude to his story. There is no evidence that Ann Horsley was involved in the plot herself, but it is possible that this subterfuge was arranged by the Jesuit spymasters with the help of a willing local sympathizer. Horsley dismissed the fact that he sought out Hobson

on his arrival in Newcastle as inconsequential. Tillam tried to support ben Israel's story by stating it was no surprise that the churchmen in Europe knew all the names of the Newcastle clergy. He said that all doubts would be laid to rest "when they shall behold that manifest token in his flesh, the distinguishing character of circumcision which I also saw before I baptized him." Even the fact that ben Israel had used an alias could be explained, said Tillam, because he wanted to avoid being arrested as a Jew.[14]

During the hearing, however, further evidence was produced that undermined ben Israel's story. A letter had arrived in Newcastle from a Mrs. Ramsay, wife of Dr. Alexander Ramsay in Scotland, stating that Dr. Ramsay had received a letter supposedly written by "Horsley" and that he had recognized the handwriting as that of his son. Ben Israel admitted that he had written to Dr. Ramsay using the name Horsley, but tried to explain this by saying that he had met the real son in Florence. At this point in the hearing, a private conference took place between Tillam and Joseph ben Israel, which Tillam later said was because he himself was now suspicious about ben Israel's story.

Following this private conversation, the professed Jew caused a sensation by revealing that he was, in fact, Thomas Ramsay, a Scot born in London. He admitted that after studying at Glasgow and Edinburgh universities he had gone to Germany and then to Rome, where he spent some time with the Dominicans and trained at the Jesuit College. Ramsay stated that he then returned to Germany in the service of the Jesuits and was instructed to come to England "to use his first endeavours there to propagate their ends." His mission was to undermine the Protestant church by allying himself with dissenting congregations, and that is why he approached Colonel Hobson and went through the charade of being baptized by Tillam.[15]

Once Ramsay confessed to being a Catholic infiltrator, Tillam openly acknowledged that he and his congregation had been duped. He agreed that Ramsay had feigned conversion and that he had used "exquisite hypocrisy" in his dealings with the Baptists. Tillam maintained that he had acted honorably in supporting Ramsay's story on the grounds that until the letter from Scotland had been produced, nothing had actually been proven against Ramsay. Tillam recorded the event in the Hexham church records (which still exist in the Angus Library of Regent's Park College, Oxford):

> The 4th month, 4th day, a child of the devil came from Rome to ruin this church, and with great subtlety made a most glorious confession of Christ, pretending that he had been a Jew, and that his name was Joseph ben Israel. After his declaration in the parish house, he was baptized. But the Holy One of Israel, our gracious Protector, brought the hellish impostor to light before he had any church communion. Ever blessed be His glorious name for this great deliverance.[16]

Thomas Tillam's Character

When considering how and why the scandal of the "Counterfeit Jew" occurred, it is important to study a fundamental factor that contributed greatly to the drama: the personality and beliefs of Thomas Tillam. He was undoubtedly a very charismatic evangelist with a strong conviction that his own beliefs were given to him by revelation and were therefore indisputable. Although during his day he was designated as a Baptist, the relatively clear ideas today about denominational differences in practice and beliefs cannot be imposed upon the churches of the Commonwealth period.

Tillam certainly had a wide correspondence and met various influential people of his time, such as Peter Chamberlen and John Tombes, and his beliefs were influenced by Seventh Day Baptists and Fifth Monarchists. He saw the conversion of the Jews as ushering in the millenarian second coming of Christ. Tillam seemed to view opposition and enmity as a sign that he was following the true religion. He had a history of controversy before coming to Hexham. In the 1640s, following his excommunication from Morgan Llwyd's gathered church in Wrexham, he moved to Chester and Duckenfield. This latter attachment did not end well either, with Tillam reporting, "there I incurred Mr. Eaton's displeasure."[17] What is clearly evident from the Hexham church letters is that Tillam was not reluctant to vehemently opposing those who disagreed with him about the contentious issues of his time, especially the "laying on of hands" for newly baptized church members, the blessing of babies, the singing of hymns and psalms in meetings, and the payment of preachers.

Tillam's aggressive enmity was not just directed at leaders of other churches. In 1655 he fell out bitterly with Stephen Anderton, a prominent member of the Hexham church. This is illuminating after all they had been through together on their preaching tour in Cheshire in 1653. Tillam

could pour out poisonous words on his closest supporters if he was crossed. Despite the unfortunate way in which Tillam's time in Hexham ended, his charisma and enthusiasm founded a church that subsequently established Baptist congregations in several locations in the North of England.[18]

The Motives of Other Parties

The Northumberland Non-Baptist Clergy

The local Anglican, Quaker, Unitarian, and other non-Baptist communities probably would have had mixed emotions when the scandal of the "Counterfeit Jew" came to light. They would have seen the Baptists in their county as rivals for religious power and influence. But the reports of the event do not give any reason to criticize Tillam's integrity; as soon as there was written evidence of the fraud, Tillam freely admitted his mistake. However, certain individuals, such as Thomas Weld, took the opportunity of the scandal to launch a personal attack on Tillam. In his rebuttal, Tillam accused Thomas Weld and others of suppressing part of ben Israel's declaration of conversion in order to make his response to it seem dishonest.[19]

Tillam admitted during the inquiry that he had once been a Catholic himself, and suggested that his opponents used this to blacken all Baptists with the accusation that they were papists. They "professeth ... that we are certainly Papists, contriving by baptizing Disciples, to turn all to Popery."[20] However, he argued, the attack seems to have been on Tillam personally, not on the Baptist community generally. There was no attack on Thomas Gower, who led the Newcastle Baptist Church; he remained as pastor until 1674. Rather, it seems that Tillam's aggressive personality was the reason for the attack. Certainly, the authorities who appointed his successor to the lectureship at Hexham Abbey in 1655 chose a very different character: Georg Ritschell was a staunch Anglican academic who was "an enemie to all innovation in the church."[21]

Other Baptist Churches in Communion with Hexham

The other Baptist churches outside Northumberland who were in correspondence with Hexham reacted to the affair in different ways. Some were keen to express solidarity. Various Baptist congregations wrote a joint letter to the Hexham congregation, noting that the "Counterfeit

Jew" had been "likely either to have corrupted you or brought you into obloquy."[22] They congratulated the Hexham congregation on the mercy and grace that God had shown to them in exposing the imposter, and assured Hexham of their readiness to be of assistance in any work of the Lord. They also intimated, however, that the events at Hexham could reflect adversely on the whole Baptist movement. Noting that Hexham had many adversaries who might seek to discredit them either by cunning or violence, they urged the Hexham church to be scrupulous about its own conduct:

> We think it safe for you that you be exhorted by us to look to your garments that they be kept clean, that you may be as the sons of God, without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, amongst whom ye shine as lights in the world.[23]

Although the individual churches maintained their autonomy, this was a time when inchoate Baptist associations were being established. Therefore, "sister" churches were concerned that criticism of Hexham would reflect badly upon them.

Paul Hobson

Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Hobson was deputy governor of Newcastle in 1648 and an elder of Newcastle Baptist Church in 1652.[24] As a powerful local figure, the relationship between Hobson and Tillam was complex, but Tillam showed great respect for Hobson at the time of the scandal.[25] They were both at the forefront of the only two Baptist churches in Northumberland. It is likely that Ramsay sought out Hobson because he was an influential local military governor, and therefore tried to convince him of his story so as to aid his infiltration of local Protestant groups.

Reports do not emphasize, however, that Ramsay spent a whole month as Hobson's guest. This period of time would have allowed Hobson to assess the validity of Ramsay's claims. The episode at Ann Horsley's house seems to have occurred during this period. If Ann was at home, she presumably would have uncovered the fraud immediately. It is also unclear at what point the letters between "Horsley" and Dr. Ramsay in Scotland came to light. The most telling fact about Hobson's possible scheming against Tillam at this time is that he, along with Thomas Gower, did not declare the converted Jew in their own church.

Tillam may have later suspected that Hobson conspired with Gower to embarrass him by introducing him to the faux convert, knowing that Tillam had strong millenarian beliefs and might therefore easily be duped. Tillam did not mention his feelings toward Hobson after the event, but he did exchange acrimonious letters with Gower. In May of 1654 Samuel Hammond told Tillam about some bad behavior of Hobson. Tillam spread Hammond's allegation about Hobson among the congregations. Apparently, however, Hobson committed these "sins" before coming to Christ; therefore, the Newcastle church supported him. Interestingly, Hammond was one of the ministers who wrote such a scathing attack on Tillam after the Counterfeit Jew scandal. It may be that the outcome of Tillam's response might help to get rid of this troublesome pastor at Hexham. Another, later conflict between Hobson and Tillam was over support for offering Oliver Cromwell the crown. Tillam wrote a letter of support for Cromwell, but Hobson said that those supporting Cromwell should be excommunicated.[26]

Therefore, despite Hobson having Tillam's respect at the time of the scandal, he may have suspected Hobson's hand in his embarrassment and therefore taken the opportunity to slander the powerful official and local Baptist leader later. There is no evidence that Hobson's reputation suffered from his part in the scandal.

Thomas Gower

Thomas Gower, the pastor of Newcastle Baptist Church and a friend of Paul Hobson, is likely to have been fully aware of Ramsay's claims. Therefore, it is surprising that Gower remained silent during the scandal and after it came to light. He could have used the occasion to heap derision on Tillam's head. If Gower initially believed Ramsay's claims, then it is an interesting question why he did not receive Ramsay into his church and claim the prize of a Jewish convert. Possibly Gower's lack of millenarian zeal meant that he had no interest in a converted Jew, but alternatively Gower may have seen an opportunity to undermine Tillam's position as leader of the only rival Baptist church in Northumberland without being directly involved in the scandal. Gower certainly detested Tillam; he accused him of twelve "sins," which included dedication of infants to the Lord, taking payment for preaching, consorting with members of non-Baptist churches, and including hymn singing in worship.

The letters surviving in the Hexham church archive show how acrimonious the dispute became. Among other things, the two churches disagreed over Tillam's decision to baptize some people in Stokesley whom the Newcastle church had refused to baptize. Tillam recorded attacks on his ministry of a more personal nature, too. For example, it was claimed that when he baptized a group of twelve persons, he blasphemously referred to them as his apostles. It was also alleged that he had extorted money from people for baptizing them, had been seen drunk on the road, and had robbed a man near Corbridge, and that some of those whom he had baptized had gone mad, contracted the palsy, become blind, drowned, or committed suicide.[27]

Whether these charges were true or false, the correspondence suggests that Thomas Tillam and his main adversary Thomas Gower were strong, unbending churchmen who would not compromise on doctrinal issues. There must also have been a considerable personal animosity between them. Therefore, Gower was likely delighted by, if not complicit in, Tillam's embarrassment over the scandal of the Counterfeit Jew.

Oliver Cromwell and the Factions Within Parliament

Although it is difficult to know how many apparent converts from Judaism successfully infiltrated the religious communities in mid-seventeenth-century England, there was a precedent of a possible, real conversion in the case of Eleazar ben Isaiah. This Polish-born Jewish immigrant arrived at Dover in June 1652 with his companion Abraham ben Samuel. Eleazar ben Isaiah was subsequently baptized and afterward "made a profitable living by denouncing Jewish beliefs as ignorant superstitions and proclaiming Jesus Christ to be the true messiah."[28]

The attitude of Oliver Cromwell to the Catholics, the Baptizing Congregationalists, and his leniency toward Ramsay all suggest that he was a politician trying to balance pragmatic policies with his own religious beliefs.[29] Throughout the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Cromwell and Parliament benefited by creating an atmosphere of threat to justify their policies. Anti-Catholic sentiment allowed anyone who was seen as a political threat to the government or the Protestant religion to be branded as a papist infiltrator.[30] Therefore, at a national level, the popularization of the scandal can be seen to have benefited the anti-Catholic faction within Parliament. Although the factions within Parliament at this time were much less well defined than even the political parties today, the Independents would have

been embarrassed, and the Presbyterians—who were largely quiet or in exile during the Commonwealth and Protectorate—would have been pleased by the widespread reporting of the event.

The sensation that the event caused throughout England only occurred because of the new medium of pamphlets and publications that had become popular in the first half of the seventeenth century. The scandal became a widespread spectacle because the Protestants in England were paranoid about the infiltration of Catholic spies and activists, and therefore bought the sensational pamphlets in large numbers.[31] It is possible that "Thomas Ramsay" was used as an example case and his name attached to many popish subversion plots. The scandal was popularized as an example of how difficult it was to identify Jesuit spies who might even resort to circumcision to further their plots. It also indicated that, even though some people were deceived, it was vital that everyone in a community remain vigilant and voice their suspicions. This identification of a common enemy and the appeal to all elements of society to come together to resist a foe has frequently been a propaganda tool used for the benefit of the regime in power.[32]

Conclusion

It may seem that Thomas Tillam was extremely gullible in believing Ramsay's story, but if his reaction is viewed in the context of the times, and his strong conviction that the conversion of the Jews and the subsequent apocalypse were imminent, then his behavior is understandable. In his defense, he admitted his error immediately when the evidence showed that he was wrong. The scandal may have eliminated any remnant of brotherly love between the leaders of the Baptist churches in Newcastle and Hexham, but Tillam seems to have been able to weather this storm. At the time it is unlikely that Tillam's congregation at Hexham thought worse of him for his zealous naivety in being duped by the Counterfeit Jew. In fact, Tillam thought that this strengthened the church and "added many precious souls to their number."[33] Their fractious division against him and the fact that he was disowned by the Coleman Street church in 1655 were over matters of practice, such as "the laying on of hands." These were the kinds of issues that finally ended his pastorate at Hexham.

After the inquiry, Ramsay asked for forgiveness and even offered to inform on any other Catholic agents that he heard about. On July 13, 1653, a warrant was issued for Ramsay's arrest and he was sent to London. The

Calendar of State Papers record that on August 4 "an order on petition of Thos. Ramsay, that Commissary-Gen. Whalley, Col. Goffe, Col. Tomlinson, Williams, and Broughton be a committee to examine him concerning his coming over to England, and report."[34] There is no record of the outcome of this inquiry. It is suggested that Ramsay was imprisoned in London for six years and in March of 1660 a pass was issued in the name of Thomas Ramsay for free passage to France. Therefore, it appears that Ramsay avoided execution and lived out the rest of his days on the European continent. Thomas Tillam went on to form a church in Colchester, and after the Restoration he spent short periods in prison. Then, as persecution intensified, he encouraged a group of about 200 families to emigrate to the Palatinate area of the Lower Rhine in Germany, where they set up a community of Seventh Day Baptists. His death was reported to have occurred around 1674.[35]

In reviewing the factors that contributed to the notoriety of the story of Thomas Tillam and the Counterfeit Jew, unique local and national conditions set the background to the scandal.

Locally, the main groups that benefited from the scandal were the non-Baptist clergy and Tillam's Baptist enemy, Thomas Gower. The intentions of Paul Hobson remain obscure, but it is possible that he set up the event because, along with all the other Newcastle clergy, he hoped to force Tillam to leave his position in Hexham. On a national level, the Puritan authorities would have benefited by using this plot as anti-Catholic propaganda. Within the Puritan movement, the Presbyterians would have been pleased to see the Independents embarrassed by the Baptists' naivete.[36] Oliver Cromwell used the anti-Catholic sentiment during the Commonwealth as a means of guaranteeing popular support for his political policies. Accusations of popery often appeared at critical moments in an effort to rally support for particular government actions.[37] With Cromwell becoming Protector in December of 1653, it is likely that the greater state control of publications would have allowed the regime to popularize and benefit from the propaganda of this scandal.[38] There would have been an obvious advantage in highlighting the discovery of the attempted subversion by a common enemy in order to unite different factions behind his leadership.

Notes

1 See William H.D. Longstaffe, *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, Late Merchant and Sometime Alderman of Newcastle Upon Tyne* (London: Andrews & Co., 1867); Thomas Tillam, *Banners of Love Displaied over the Church of Christ, Walking in the Order of the Gospel at Hexham: By the Out-Stretched Arm of the King of Saints, Against the Jesuitical Design lately Attempted by the False Iew. OR, An Answer to a Narrative Stuff'd with Untruths, by Four Newcastle Gentlemen.* (Newcastle: 1654); Thomas Weld, *A False Jew or A Wonderful Discovery of a Scot Baptized at London for a Christian, Circumcised at Rome to Act as a Jew, Rebaptized at Hexham as a Believer, but Found Out at Newcastle to be a Cheat* (Newcastle: William London, 1653); and Thomas Weld, *Mr. Tillam's Account Examined. Or, A Brief Reply to His Unchristian Account of Some Passages of Providence: By a Friend to Truth, and to Mr. Tillam's Own Soul, if God has Not Sealed him Down Under Hardness of Heart. Written for the Sake of Such Poor Honest Souls in Colchester, and the Parts Adjacent, as are Misled Through his Incantations* (London: Thomas Weld, 1657).

2 Edward B. Underhill, *Records of the Churches of Christ 1644–1720* (London: Haddon, 1854), 358.

3 Weld, *Mr. Tillam's Account Examined*, (unnumbered page).

4 Robert Eaton, "A Letter," in Ibid., 1.

5 David Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England 1648 to 1845* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1846), 10.

6 The gentry made up less than 20 percent of the Catholic population and only 13 percent of convicted Catholic recusants in Durham were gentry. See B.G. Blackwood, "Plebian Catholics in the 1640s–1650s," *British Catholic History* 18 (May 1986): 42-58; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 182-194; and Edward T. Terrar, "Gentry, Royalists, or Independent Diggers," *Science and Society* 57:5 (1995): 313-348.

7 For a summary of Elizabethan anti-Catholic feeling see Carol E. Wheeler, "'Every Man Crying Out': Elizabethan Anti-Catholic Pamphlets" (Master's thesis, Portland State University, 1989).

8 Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England. Studies in Religion and Politics 1603–1642* (London: Addison-Wesley, 1989), 73

9 Although not all religious "sects" had preparation for the "Second Coming" as their primary goal, this was an important part of many Dissenters' beliefs. See Elizabeth Bouldin, "In Search of 'Fellow Pilgrims': Radical Protestants and Transconfessional Exchanges in Europe and the British Atlantic, c. 1670–1730," *Church History* 83 (September 2014): 590-617.

10 For an analysis of the Confession of Faith 1644 of the Seven Churches of London see James Leo Garrett Jr., *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 53-59. For the text see William J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), 171-189.

11 Roger Howell, "Conflict and Controversy in the Early Baptist Movement in Northumberland: Thomas Tillam, Paul Hobson, and the False Jew of Hexham," *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 14 (1986), 88.

12 Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England,* 23-29

13 Underhill, *Records of the Churches of Christ,* 294.

14 Tillam, *Banners of Love,* 26.

15 Ibid., 12.

16 Underhill, *Records of the Churches of Christ,* 292.

17 Quoted by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, "A New Letter to George Fox," *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 57:3 (1996), 223.

18 "A Brief History of the Hamsterley Baptist Church," http://hamsterley.thenba.org.uk/ (accessed March 23, 2021).

19 Tillam, *Banners of Love*, 5

20 Ibid., 9.

21 For a portrait of Georg Ritschell see Roger Howell, "A Bohemian Exile in Cromwell's England: The Career of George Ritschel, Philosopher, Schoolmaster, and Cleric," in *Czechoslovakia Past and Present: Volume II, Essays on the Arts and Sciences* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968): 1247-1258.

22 Underhill, *Records of the Churches of Christ,* 341.

23 Ibid., 342.

24 Angus Watson, *The Angus Clan (Years 1588 to 1950)* (Printed for Private Circulation, 1955), 72.

25 Tillam, *Banners of Love*, 9. For biographical details of Paul Hobson see W.T. Whitley, "The Rev. Colonel Paul Hobson, Fellow of Eton," *Baptist Quarterly* 9:5 (1939): 307-310 and Richard L. Greaves, "Hobson, Paul (d.1666)," https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37554 (accessed April 19, 2021).

26 Ian Thackeray, "Zion Undermined: The Protestant Belief in a Popish Plot During the English Interregnum," *History Workshop* 18 (Autumn 1984), 33-35.

27 Tillam, *Banners of Love,* (unnumbered page).

28 Ariel Hessayon, "Jews and Crypto-Jews in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England," *Cromohs* 16 (2011): 9.

29 Oliver Cromwell's attitude to the dissenting churches at this time can be inferred from the church settlement he and his council established by ordinance as soon as they were free to do so without parliamentary interference. It provided for a state-supported ministry with self-supporting gathered churches that were allowed to meet freely. Individual congregations were given authority under Christ in all spiritual matters. In effect, the promulgation of the Instrument of Government at the end of 1653 to the adoption of the Humble Petition and Advice in the spring of 1657 gave the congregational independents a temporary ascendency within the Commonwealth. See Sarah G. Cook, "The Congregational Independents and the Cromwellian Constitutions," *Church History* 40 (September 1977): 335-357.

30 John Nicholls, *Letters and Papers of State Addressed to Oliver Cromwell* (London: William Bowyer, 1743), 134. T. Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.* (London, 1741), 138.

31 For the influence of pamphlets in the seventeenth century see Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

32 See Thackray, *Zion Undermined,* 28-52.

33 Tillam, *Banners of Love,* (unnumbered page).

34 "Volume 39: August 1653," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum, 1653–4,* ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1879), 73. For more on the biography of Thomas Ramsay see Michael Mullett, "Ramsay [Ramsay], Thomas," https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23097 (accessed April 24, 2021).

35 David S. Katz, "Tillam, Thomas," https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69134 (accessed April 24, 2021). There is much speculation about Tillam's later years. He was arrested and imprisoned on several occasions and entered and left England repeatedly to encourage his followers to emigrate to his community in the Palatinate area of Germany. For the possible history of his community see Ernest A. Payne, "Thomas Tillam," *Baptist Quarterly* 17 (April, 1957): 61-66. Tillam's character and beliefs and the history of the Tillamites are discussed further in Aidan Francis Cottrell-Boyce, "Judaizing and Singularity in England, 1618–1667" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2019).

36 For the positions of factions within Parliament at this time see the "British Civil War, Commonwealth, and Protectorate 1638–1660," http://bcw-project.org.

37 Albert J. Loomie, *Oliver Cromwell's Policy Toward the English Catholics: The Appraisal by Diplomats, 1654-1658," The Catholic Historical Review* 90 (January 2004): 29-44. For Cromwell's political compromising see Roger Howell, *Images of Oliver Cromwell* (Manchester University Press, 2015).

38 For the control of publication in the Protectorate see Jason Peacey "Cromwellian England: A Propaganda State?" *History: The Journal of the Historical Association* 91 (April 2006): 176-199.

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Rufus Burleson and the "Brazilian Girl":

The Story of Antonia Teixeira[*]

Mikeal Parsons

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In 1892 Z.C. Taylor, a Southern Baptist missionary in Brazil, brought Antonia Teixeira to Waco, Texas, to be educated at Baylor University.

Antonia was the daughter of Antonio Teixeira de Albuquerque (1840–1887). Teixeira had been consecrated as a Catholic priest in 1871, but under the preaching and influence of a Presbyterian minister he left the Catholic church, first affiliating with a Methodist congregation. In 1880 he joined up with the Baptists and was on the same day baptized and ordained as the first indigenous Brazilian Baptist minister.[1] In 1882 Teixeira teamed with Baptist missionaries William Bagby and Z.C. Taylor to organize the first Baptist Church of Bahia. Together, Taylor and Teixeira published the "Rules of Order and Regulations for the church" in 1883.

Antonia was the *primogênita*, the firstborn daughter of Antonio.[2] Five years after her father's death, Taylor brought Antonia to Waco.[3] Rufus and Georgia Burleson, president and first lady of Baylor University, offered to take Antonia in, furnishing her with "board, tuition, books and clothing." Burleson also promised to "teach her housekeeping as requested, on Saturdays, mornings, evenings when not conflicting with her studies."[4] In return for their efforts, all Burleson asked "was that the girl would become ... useful in the cause of religion and education in Brazil."[5]

At the end of her first term at Baylor in 1893 Antonia received passing marks in reading (80) and penmanship (78), but "deficient" grades

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[*]This essay is part of a larger project investigating the story of Antonia Teixeira, tentatively titled, *Antonia's Version: A True Reckoning of Baylor University and the "Brazilian Girl."*

in arithmetic (70) and orthography (70).[6] Her grades were understandably marginal, given that she was a young female adjusting to a foreign land and language without the support of her nuclear family. Still, Antonia's conduct grade was "100"; she received no "Demerits" for that term. At the least, she began to fulfill part of Baylor's goal for female education, which was "to encourage character, piety, and the thirst for education in the female students of Baylor."[7] Antonia's place in the new world, however, soon took a sharp and devastating turn.

Antonia's host, Rufus Burleson, whom she referred to as "Gran'pa," failed in helping her navigate the tragic series of events soon to follow, choosing instead to attempt to protect his own family, reputation, and the Baylor "brand." It is perhaps past time to (re-)tell Antonia's side of the story and to examine more closely Burleson's role in the episode dubbed by him, "The Brazilian Girl and Baylor University."

The Incident

In early 1895 it was discovered that Antonia was pregnant. Burleson wrote: "We immediately wrote to Galveston, Dallas and Ft. Worth to find some safe Reformatory where she could be placed," but they finally settled on entrusting her to the care of a local woman, Mrs. Ollie Jenkins, who "had some skill in reforming 'fallen women.'"[8] Critics would later charge that the Burlesons had "attempted to conceal her condition from the general public; and she was placed in a private house, no steps being taken to discover the responsible man."[9]

Antonia's condition, however, soon drew public attention, first by a "nervy justice of the peace" who "proceeded to investigate the matter."[10] Antonia named Steen Morris as her assailant, accusing him of rape. Morris, age 27, was the brother of Rev. S.L. Morris, publisher of a Baptist monthly, *The Guardian*, who was the son-in-law of Rufus and Georgia Burleson.[11] According to Antonia, Morris, after drugging her, sexually assaulted her in early November, 1894. Morris had also been a boarder in the Burleson home and continued to take his meals with the family. On January 13, 1895, Steen Morris married Amanda Antoinette "Nettie" Tony.[12] Antonia claimed she told Georgia Burleson of the assault, but Morris denied the story and nothing was done. Teixeira reported she was then attacked twice more in late November and early December, 1894.[13]

The story hit the Waco *Morning News* on June 16, 1895, where it was reported that Dr. Halbert, a local physician, confirmed that Antonia was pregnant. Rufus Burleson linked Antonia with an unnamed Baylor student, calling charges of rape against Steen Morris "preposterous" and denying that Antonia had ever complained to Mrs. Burleson. Steen Morris' brother, S.L., had accused Antonia of being sexually involved with a black servant. Two days after the newspaper article, Antonia gave birth prematurely to a white female child, disproving the latter charges.[14] Initially, a local judge Goodrich dismissed the charges as "groundless and without a particle of evidence."[15]

The case did not end there, however. A talented, muckraking journalist, William Cowper Brann, had recently settled in Waco and started a journal called *The Iconoclast*, which eventually reached a circulation of 100,000.[16] Brann was a controversialist who took great pleasure in criticizing what he perceived to be the hypocrisy of the local religious establishment—Methodists, Episcopalians, and especially the Baptists and Baylor University, their educational crown jewel. Brann took a keen interest in Antonia's story, criticizing Baylor and Burleson at every turn. He charged that Burleson had relegated Antonia to a "scullion maid" in the "kitchen curriculum," ignoring her education, a fact supported, Brann claimed, by the preliminary trial in which it was determined her academic progress was "unsatisfactory."[17] Brann was incensed by Judge Goodrich's dismissal of the case, writing:

> Poor Antonia! Miserable little waif, adrift among the Baptist wolves. She can now beg money of the publicans and sinners to carry her to her native land, and there lay her ill-begotten babe on her old mother's breast—as her diploma from Baylor! She can seek sanctuary in the Catholic Church—which her fond parents left to tread a primrose path to Christ—and there find help and human sympathy... but Baylor college will stink forever in the nostrils of Christendom—it is "damned to everlasting fame."[18]

Burleson, however, was losing the battle of public opinion. So he decided in August, 1895 to publish a statement, clarifying his and Baylor's role in the Antonia Teixeira controversy. He was primarily concerned to counter attacks by critics, especially Brann, who charged that "Baylor University is an unsafe place to educate young ladies." Burleson feared the incident could cause Texas Baptists to withdraw their daughters from enrollment in the school.[19] Burleson countered: "I can and do challenge any school in or

out of Texas, Catholic or Protestant, to show purer brighter jewels than the daughters of Baylor University."[20] How Burleson arrived at this conclusion, at the expense of the reputation of Antonia Teixeira, will be considered in a moment.

Brann, for his part, took issue with Burleson's account of the incident, charging that only when Antonia's pregnancy became a matter of public knowledge did Burleson bother to respond.

> It was then that the reverend president of Baylor rushed into print with a screed branding her as little better than a public bawd in short dresses, who to this day refers to him as "Gran'pa!" It was then that all the power of Baylor was exerted, not to ferret out the criminal and bring him to the bar, but to forever blacken the character of the little orphan.[21]

In at least one crucial respect, Brann's essays proved more convincing than Burleson's. In September, 1895, one month after the publication of "The Brazilian Girl and Baylor University" and the district judge's initial ruling, a charge of rape was brought against Steen Morris. The specific charge read:

> On or about the 1st of November, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and ninety four ... one Steen Morris, did then and there, in and upon Antonia Teixeira, a woman, make an assault and did then and there, by force. Threats, and fraud, and without the consent of the said Antonia Teixeira, ravish and have carnal knowledge of the said Antonia Teixeira.[22]

On September 28, 1895, Steen Morris was arrested and placed in jail.[23] A jury pool of 80 persons (all white males, of course) were summoned to appear for jury selection on October 22, 1895.[24] The trial was delayed for several months. During that time, Brann claimed both Burleson and Taylor (who had originally brought Antonia to Waco) attempted to get her to change her testimony.[25] The trial was finally held in May, 1896 and resulted in a hung jury. Seven jurors voted for conviction; five voted for acquittal. The case was carried over to the next term of court.[26]

Before the retrial could take place, however, Antonia signed a sworn affidavit stating that she on her oath said that:

> [T]he statements heretofore made by her on the witness stand in the trial of this cause that the Defendant herein Steen Morris used force in accomplishing his purpose of sexual intercourse with affiant is untrue and false and affiant here now states on her oath that there was no force used by the defendant Steen Morris in any or either of said transactions and that she was not in any way coerced or forced by said defendant to gratify his said desire and that in all of said transactions heretofore charged against the defendant she was a willing party to. The affiant further says that this statement is made of her own free will, without any consideration coming to her from the Defendant or anyone, and without any threat or coercion on the part of anyone. Affiant further says that she was told by other person to testify on the witness stand what she has heretofore testified to relative force having been used by the Defendant Steen Morris in accomplishing sexual intercourse with her, and she at the time of making said statements on the witness stand in the trial of said cause knew them to be false and untrue, Antonio Teixeira.
>
> Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th day of August AD 1896.
> R.L. Allen, Notary Public McLennan County Texas.[27]

Soon after signing this affidavit releasing Steen Morris from all charges, Antonia Teixeira left Waco, presumably returning to her homeland of Brazil.[28] Brann, predictably but also not without cause, raised questions of impropriety: "When Capt. Blair (Morris' attorney) asks the court to dismiss the case... let him be required to state why the drawer of the remarkable document purchased Antonia's ticket, and who furnished the funds."[29]

The Aftermath

Events subsequent to the Teixeira-Morris case garnered as much or more attention than the case itself. Much of the attention centered on the (mis)fortunes of Brann and his adversaries. Brann soon broadened his attack on the university:

> I note with unfeigned pleasure that, according to claims of Baylor University, it opens the present season with a larger contingent of students, male and female, than ever before. This proves that Texas Baptists are determined to support it at any sacrifice—that they believe it better that their daughters should be exposed to its historic dangers and their sons condemned to grow up in ignorance than that this manufactory of ministers and Magdalens should be permitted to perish.[30]

By insulting Baylor's female students as Magdalens, Brann had finally gone too far. In October, 1897, Brann was abducted from his office by Baylor students and taken to campus where he was beaten and threatened with a gun.[31] Only days later, Brann was beaten by Baylor trustee Judge John Scarborough and his son, George. Brann met his demise on April 1, 1898 in a gun duel on South Fourth Street with real estate developer, Tom Davis, in which each man fatally wounded the other.[32]

Stories of kidnappings and duels add to the color and intrigue of Waco as a western frontier town in the late nineteenth century, but they also distract from the case of Antonia Teixeira. And it is here I would like to focus our attention.

It is, of course, impossible to retry the rape case of Steen Morris. But it is possible to retell Antonia's story and to examine the actions and behavior of Rufus Burleson, president of Baylor University, as evidenced in his pamphlet, "The Brazilian Girl and Baylor University." It is difficult not to read Burleson's pamphlet in today's environment of increased sensitivity created by the Me Too Movement on a national level, and, on a local level, informed by the exposure in 2016 of Baylor's institutional and systemic failure to protect its female students against sexual assault.[33]

Specifically, Burleson engaged in what we, today, would call "victim blaming."[34] According to the Harvard Law School website on "Harassment Assault Law Team," victim blaming occurs "when it is assumed that an individual did something to provoke the violence by actions, words, or dress."[35] Some might argue it is anachronistic and unfair to hold Burleson and others to modern standards of understanding the dynamics of sexual assault and victim blaming. I would point out that some of Burleson's own contemporaries came to similar conclusions, albeit without the benefit of such theorizing.

Consider, for example, the "nervy justice of the peace" who began the investigation, or the seven jurors who—despite the power, wealth, and prestige Baylor and its officials wielded in late nineteenth-century Waco (and Texas)—still voted to find Morris guilty of rape. Consider also the fact that this incident is widely held (including, apparently by Burleson himself) to be a central cause of the board of trustees transitioning Burleson from president to emeritus status shortly after the whole affair ended.[36]

Note also that the title of Burleson's pamphlet dehumanizes Antonia. She is not Antonia, or Antonia Teixeira; she is anonymized as "the Brazilian

girl." Even when Burleson does call her by name, on several occasions he misspells her name—using the masculine form, "Antonio." Next, note that Burleson's victim blaming is rooted in racism and xenophobia. Quoting Taylor, Burleson reported that "the three besetting sins of Brazilians are lust, a want of veracity and honesty."[37] Presuming these bigoted stereotypes to be true, Burleson went on to give examples of each of these "three great national besetting sins" in Antonia's behavior, focusing on how her "passion for boys" "caused shameful talk." Burleson is clear in his opinion: Steen Morris was innocent of all charges; Antonia Teixeira brought on herself through her "actions or words" whatever shame and hurt that accompanied her pregnancy by some other unknown male. Twice, Burleson caustically remarks that Antonia was not the "little Missionary Angel" so many thought her to be.

In Antonia's affidavit, she "admits" that the sexual relationship with Morris was consensual (a point Burleson never publicly acknowledged). One has to wonder, with Brann, whether Antonia's retraction of her testimony was sincere or simply her way of extricating herself from the situation (with the promise of a paid ship's fare home?) once she realized it was unlikely a jury would ever convict Morris, with the power and prestige of Baylor behind him. It is not remarkable that Steen was acquitted; it is remarkable that seven white male jurors, at that time, found him guilty. Burleson, however, refused to entertain the possibility of a relationship between Antonia and Morris, consensual or coerced. He claimed: "on her single testimony an honorable young man was thrown into jail, and his young wife, and aged parents and family made inexpressibly miserable."

But Morris was never fully exonerated. In the best-case scenario, he was guilty of an extramarital affair just weeks before his wedding—an affair that he apparently refused ever to acknowledge. At worst, he was guilty of brutal sexual assault. Burleson rather chose to intimate that Antonia was boy crazy, claiming that she had been caught with a note from an unnamed male student, saying "Meet me at the Pecan tree on Waco Creek this evening." By innuendo, Burleson sought to shift blame for Antonia's situation squarely to her. As Brann pointed out, no attempt, so far as we know, was made by Burleson to determine the identity of the man or male student (if not Morris) who had impregnated Antonia. This despite his protest that "there never was a time when I would not have slain any man if I found him outraging

a woman." He further defended himself by claiming, "The Lord himself did not prevent Eve from going astray with the Devil nor will any watch care prevent some student from going astray."

Burleson also attempted to distance Baylor from responsibility for this young woman who was thousands of miles away from her home in a foreign land with strange customs and a different language. Antonia, Burleson claimed, was never an official "ward" of Baylor University. Instead, he and Mrs. Burleson took personal responsibility for Antonia, efforts he attempted to monetize by asserting they spent $320 on her in room, board, and clothing. In return, they received domestic services from Antonia that "would have been dear at $1.00 a month" after deducting "the trouble and annoyance of teaching her what to do, and seeing that she did it."

Burleson's literary efforts in the pamphlet were mostly exerted in defending the Baylor "brand" and reassuring Texas Baptists that their daughters were safe at Baylor. At the least, Burleson was guilty of violating the biblical injunction to treat hospitably the resident alien in our midst (Lev. 19:34), the daughter of a distinguished and lauded national who was the first ordained Brazilian Baptist minister and who helped establish the first Baptist congregation in Brazil.

Finally, there is no doubt that race played a significant role in these events. The racial composition of nineteenth-century Brazil was complex. As Joao Chaves, Assistant Director for Programming for the Hispanic Theological Initiative at Princeton Theological Seminary, explains:

> Brazil is similar to the U.S. in terms of racial taxonomy. Brazilian whites (who the missionaries sometimes called "Portuguese") were the elites, afro-Brazilians (who the missionaries sometimes called "Africans") were still mostly enslaved until 1888, and there were many mixed options in between (what I think you mean by "brown," as I do as well).
>
> Antonio Teixeira was well-received in the confederate colony of Santa Barbara, where he was baptized by a Southern American. It is highly unlikely that that church would welcome someone as they did Teixeira whom they perceived as "black." That said, it does not mean that US missionaries saw white Brazilians as equals—but they certainly didn't see them the way they saw black Brazilians or Brazilians of mixed races. It is highly unlikely that Antonio Teixeira married a black woman, especially because they married before the emancipation of slaves (although there were already free slaves at the time).

> That also does not speak to how Antonia was perceived by Americans in general; it only speaks of her descendancy. That is, even if she was "white" in Brazil, it doesn't mean she was "white" in Texas (the Irish, Italian, etc. had to become "white" in the US too). Neither does it speak of correlated issues of ethno-racism. To frame this in terms of white privilege as a form of white American sense of superiority may be a helpful qualification. Connecting to the long history of xenophobia in the US may also be helpful here.[38]

Before the rape, Antonia occupied a liminal space in terms of racial identity. On the one hand, she was accepted, at least initially, as a student at Baylor, indicating she was, to some degree, counted as white. In support of Chaves' speculation that Antonia was not perceived as "white" is Burleson's comment that Antonia had a seat at the dinner table, but "preferred to wait and talk with the servants, as her pastor, John the Baptist, who baptized her was a negro preacher." Antonia not only worshipped in one of the Black Baptist churches in Waco, but she also was a domestic servant in the Burleson household. From that perspective, she was clearly perceived as "non-white." Can one imagine Burleson relegating the daughter of a prominent *white* Baptist preacher to the role of a domestic servant?[39] Furthermore, Burleson's son-in-law tried, unsuccessfully, to tie Antonia's pregnancy to a tryst with a black servant. After her pregnancy and charges of rape against Morris, Antonia was moved decisively out of the white space she had tenuously occupied (and lost whatever few "white" privileges she had previously enjoyed). Brann recognized that, as a foreigner and now unambiguously reckoned a person of color, Antonia stood little chance of surviving well when challenging the power dynamics of the Baylor machinery.[40]

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the trial, Steen Morris, who got off Scot-free, presumably returned to his life of privilege.[41] One can only speculate regarding the damage inflicted on Antonia, who returned to her homeland to a life shrouded in shadows.[42] Brann, as we learned, was shot down in the streets of Waco in 1898. The year before, on June 10, 1897, Baylor's board of trustees resolved to transition Burleson out of the president's office, designating him president emeritus of the university for life.

Burleson reluctantly accepted the position. The Teixeira affair was not mentioned publicly, but Burleson blamed it on what he considered his premature removal from office.[43]

Soon after his death, efforts were made to rehabilitate Burleson's reputation, which had been stained by Antonia's mistreatment and abuse. His wife, Georgia, published in 1901 *The Life and Writings of Rufus C. Burleson*, which contained a hagiography of his life and numerous articles, speeches, and pamphlets, but nothing about Antonia Teixeira.[44] Four years later, a Baylor committee (which included a young Pat Neff) commissioned a statue of Rufus Burleson to be erected in the quadrangle surrounded by Old Main, Georgia Burleson Hall, Carroll Science Building, and Carroll Library and Chapel.[45]

I am in my 35th year as a Baylor faculty member. I have heartfelt affection and admiration for the faculty, staff, and administration who seek to fulfill Baylor's Christian mission and academic aspirations, and I care deeply for its students, past and present. It surely gives me no pleasure, as it did W.C. Brann, to comment on this lamentable, even reprehensible, chapter in Baylor's history. My purpose here has been to retell Antonia's story, from a different perspective and to give a fuller picture of Rufus Burleson, the man. Rufus Burleson is, not without reason, an admired and revered figure at Baylor and in Texas Baptist life. This episode surely represents the nadir of his career.[46]

It is also imperative that we recognize and acknowledge Antonia's story as paradigmatic of the kind of institutional racism, in this case entangled with sexism, that has too often taken a tremendous toll, albeit in different ways, not only on our Black brothers and sisters, but also on our Brown brothers and sisters.[47] Beyond the grave, Antonia Teixeira still cries out for justice. Who will answer?

Notes

1 Betty Antunes de Oliveira, *Antonio Teixeira de Alburquerque: O Primeiro Batista Brasileiro—1880: Uma Contribuicao para a Historia dos Batista No Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1892), 77, appendix 2.

2 Antonio's family situation is a bit complicated. Antonio and Francisca married on September 7, 1878 in Recife, the capital of Brazil's northeastern state of Permambuco (Antunes de Oliveira, *Antonio Teixeira de Alburquerque*, 10). Antonio fathered six children; one son died in childhood. I am still researching the place of Antonia in the family.

3 Taylor had written to the Foreign Mission Board immediately after Teixeira's death asking that it help financially support Teixeira's *orfaos*, orphans, a plea that might make more

sense if Francisca were not Antonia's biological mother (Antunes de Oliveira, *Antonio Teixeira de Alburquerque*, 67). According to Francisca's granddaughter, Francisca was born c. 1842 and died c. 1910, at the approximate age of 68 (Antunes de Oliveira, *Antonio Teixeira de Alburquerque*, 10). Her other sister, Mada, had decided to remain in (or convert to) the Catholic faith (23), which may explain why she did not accompany her sister to Texas.

4 Rufus Burleson, "The Brazilian Girl and Baylor University." Texas Collection, Baylor University. William Cowper Brann Collection Box 2, Folder 7. There are conflicting reports as to where Antonia lived her first year. Burleson claimed that she lived in his home from the outset ("The Brazilian Girl"). Charles Wellborn (probably drawing on the claims of W.C. Brann—see below) claimed she was a boarding student on campus, only later to be taken to the Burleson home (Charles Wellborn, "Brann vs the Baptist—Violence in Southern Religion," *Christian Ethics Today*, 72.33 [2001]).

5 Burleson, "The Brazilian Girl."

6 Report card for Antonia Teixeira, Baylor University, spring term, 1893. Texas Collection, Brann, Box 2, Folder 7. The report card explains the grading system: "The above grades are upon a basis of 100 for perfection in recitation and deportment, regardless of time. If less than 75, he is Deficient; if less than 60, Bad. A Student who receives 20 Demerits in a term of five months is publicly notified his standing is bad, and when his Demerits amount to 50, he is sent home or otherwise severely punished. Rufus C. Burleson, D.D., L.L.D., President."

7 Quoted from the historical marker, "Georgia Burleson and Early Female Education at Baylor," on Baylor's campus.

8 Burleson, "The Brazilian Girl."

9 John Randolph, "The Apostle of the Devil: A Biography of William Cowper Brann" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1939), 139.

10 *Brann the Iconoclast: A Collection of the Writings of W.C. Brann in Two Volumes, with Biography by J.D. Shaw* (Waco: Herz Brothers, 1911) 1: 323.

11 S.L. Morris was married to Hallie Burleson, the Burlesons' only daughter. While serving as pastor of the Baptist church in Marlin he raised a $60,000 endowment for Waco University (forerunner of Baylor); see James Lafayette Walker and C.P. Lumpkin, *History of the Waco Baptist Association of Texas* (Waco, TX: Byrne-Hill Printing House, 1897), 370.

12 Moses D.A. Steen, *The Steen Family in Europe and America* (Cincinnati: Monfort & Co., 1900), 227.

13 Wellborn, "Brann vs. the Baptist."

14 The child, three pounds at birth, did not survive long.

15 Burleson, "The Brazilian Girl."

16 For more on Brann, see Charles Carver, *Brann and the Iconoclast* (London: T. Nelson, 1958) and, more recently, Eric S. Ames, *Hidden History of Waco* (Arcadia Publishing, 2020).

17 Randolph, "The Apostle of the Devil," 139.

18 "Baylor in Bad Business," *The Complete Works of Brann the Iconoclast*, 12 vols (New York: The Brann Publishers, 1919), 2:32-33. Brann's hyperbolic rhetoric, as evidenced in this quotation, made it easier for Burleson and his Baylor allies to dismiss Brann's critique (some of which is insightful and convincing) as "vile slander."

19 Burleson's fear was not completely unfounded: by some accounts, more than thirty women did withdraw from the university in the immediate aftermath (John Nova Lomax, "The Apostle of the Devil," *Texas Monthly*, June 3, 2016,).

20 Burleson, "The Brazilian Girl."

21 *Brann the Iconoclast*, 2:324.

22 "The State of Texas vs. Steen Morris. Indictment. Filed 28 September 1895." Texas Collection, Brann, Box 2, Folder 7.

23 "Sheriff's Return," Texas Collection, Brann, Box 2 Folder 7.

24 "The State of Texas vs Steen Morris, file no. 1165," Texas Collection, Brann Collection, Box 2, Folder 7.

25 *Bran the Iconoclast*, 2:321.

26 Randolph, "The Apostle of the Devil," 172.

27 Antonia Teixeira, "Sworn Affidavit," Texas Collection, Brann, Box 2, Folder 7.

28 Lomax, "The Apostle of the Devil," claims Antonia left the very same day that she signed the affidavit.

29 *Brann the Iconoclast*, 6:8.

30 Ibid., 10:64.

31 Randolph, "The Apostle of the Devil" 208-209. Randolph states that one of the student assailants was Charles Carroll, son of Baptist luminary, B.H. Carroll.

32 Another earlier gunfight between Brann ally, Judge George "Big Sandy" Gerald and James Harris, editor of the pro-Baylor *Waco Times-Herald* also resulted in fatalities. Gerald shot and killed both James Harris and his brother Bill in November 1897. See Lomax, "The Apostle of the Devil," and Texas Collection, Brann, Box 2, folder 6.

33 In his *Texas Monthly* article, John Lomax draws comparisons between the two events.

34 According to Brann (*Brann the Iconoclast*, 2:321-322), Taylor also participated in this victim blaming, labeling Francisca a "bawd" (whom he baptized on June 5, 1883 according to Teixeira's biography [p. 10]) and calling Antonia a "foul prostitute" who was "bad from babyhood." Remember that her conduct, according to her report card for the first term, was "perfect." I have been able to confirm that Taylor was in the U.S. during part of this period, but I have not yet independently established his role in this affair.

35 https://orgs.law.harvard.edu/halt/how-to-avoid-victim-blaming/.

36 See below.

37 All Burleson quotations in the remainder of the essay are taken from Burleson's pamphlet. That Taylor was entirely capable of slandering the entirety of the Brazilian population is evidenced in his personal correspondence. See for example Taylor's letter to "Misses Wilcox and Stenger," dated May 1, 1895. The Brazilian people are "idolatrous Catholics, the masses ignorant and superstitious" (Z.C. Taylor Correspondence, International Mission Board Archives). Appreciation is expressed to Joao Chaves for sharing pdfs of this correspondence with me.

38 Email correspondence with Dr. Joao Chaves, quoted with permission.

39 It is impossible to know if the existence of only one of Antonia's report cards in the Texas Collection archives is the result of the vagaries of history or evidence that Brann's claim that the Burlesons soon took the academically struggling Antonia out of classes and reduced her to a servant's role.

40 This is not to suggest that W.C. Brann was some liberal progressive ahead of his time in terms of race relations. *The Iconoclast* was filled with venomous anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, and racist rhetoric.

41 Little is known yet about Steen Morris (February 4, 1867–March 3, 1911). He and Nettie Tony migrated to Louisiana; they had two children. He is buried in Nolley Memorial Methodist Cemetery in Jena, La Salle Parrish, Louisiana.

42 Antonio Teixeira's biographer apparently did not even know her name: "*Primogênita: Nome desconhecido. Nasceu em Alagoas. Consta ter-se Casado com um norte-americano, indo residir nos Estados Unidos da Ameréica. Em 1915, houve de sua parte uma tentative de aproximaçao com os familares no Brasil, contudo, sem resultado. Nada mais se soube dela, nem se dela ha descendentes.*" ("First-born daughter. Her name is unknown. She was born in Alagoas. It is said she married a North American, and went to live in the United States of America. In 1915, she tried to get close again to her relatives in Brazil, however unsuccessfully. Nothing else is known of her, or if she has descendants"); Antunes de Oliveira, *Antonio Teixeira de Alburquerque*, 23.

43 Lomax, "The Apostle of the Devil."

44 Georgia J. Burleson, ed., *The Life and Writings of Rufus C. Burleson, containing a biography of Dr. Burleson by Hon. Harry Haynes* (Texas 1901).

45 https://judgejenkinsfamily.weebly.com/rufus-burleson-statue.html. The statue arguably was also a manifestation of the Lost Cause movement, sweeping the South at this time in attempt to rehabilitate the post-bellum reputation of the Confederacy. Burleson, a Confederate veteran, had offered the benediction at a ceremony celebrating what has been labeled the oldest Confederate monument in Texas. On May 3, 1893, a 17-foot obelisk, resting on a six-foot cubicle base in honor of the "brave men and devoted women" of the Confederacy was unveiled in Waco's Oakwood Cemetery (see https://www.kwtx.com/content/news/States-oldest-Confederate-memorial-stands-in-Waco-cemetery-440603653.html).

46 Given the circumstances, then and now, it seems untenable to allow the statue of Rufus Burleson to remain in the Quad without comment, whatever form that comment may be given by Baylor's Board of Regents upon recommendation of the Commission on Historic Representations.

47 Worthy also of consideration is Georgia Burleson's role in this incident. Antonia claimed she went to Georgia Burleson, whom she trusted (and, according to Rufus Burleson, called "Mamie") for protection against a sexual predator, and she did nothing. That makes the claims of the historical marker outside the old Georgia Burleson Hall about her "commitment to encourage character, piety, and the thirst for education in the female students of Baylor" ring hollow, at least in the instance of Antonia Teixeira.

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"Tough and Tender": *Theology and Masculinity in the 1991 Baptist Hymnal*

Jacob Randolph

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In 1985, the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) announced plans for a brand-new denominational hymnal.

The process that was set in place demonstrated an unprecedented effort at representation and reflection of the Convention. Wesley Forbis, director of the Sunday School Board music department and editor of the new hymnal, promised that the songbook would illustrate "a unity in evangelistic message and [a] diversity of worship practices that characterize music in Southern Baptist churches."[1] Plans were drawn up, various committees formed, and surveys sent out to churches across the United States to track hymn usage, musical preferences, and thematic concerns. It was promised that this new hymnal would be a beacon of unification among Southern Baptists.

At the same time that the hymnal was announced, the Convention was walking through the most tumultuous controversy of its existence, a rupture so great that as early as 1987 Southern Baptist historian E. Glenn Hinson said (somewhat prophetically) that the only resolution for the denomination was for the two warring factions to "divorce."[2] Dubbed variously "The Controversy," "The Conservative Resurgence," or "The Fundamentalist Takeover," a strategic push by a small group of like-minded leaders touting biblical inerrancy and patriarchal gender roles had grown into a full-fledged campaign to remake the SBC.

As lines were drawn, the issue of women's ordination and the broader question of gender roles in the church and home became one of the primary fields on which the battle was waged. Historian Elizabeth Flowers suggests that, in fact, the debate over women's ordination was *the* defining factor in the controversy, since—in the minds of the new conservatives—how one answered the question of women's ordination settled one's position in the inerrancy and doctrine debate.[3] Seth Dowland concurs, arguing that gender and scripture became entangled or, perhaps, strategically employed by new conservatives such that "defenders of the new patriarchy placed adherence to biblical gender norms at the heart of theological orthodoxy."

The creation of the hymnal at such a pivotal moment invites questions. If Flowers and Dowland are correct that gender roles played an essential role in the rupture of the SBC, with a "new patriarchy" being the governing principle of the conservative turn, how might that have affected the compilation of the 1991 Baptist hymnal? If there was indeed a concern about feminization or the weakening of gender boundaries and traditional ideals of masculinity and femininity, was this concern reflected in the corpus offered to singing Southern Baptists? Given the emphasis on theological precision, what can the new materials introduced into the hymnal tell us about the rigidity (or permeability) of theological boundaries of gender in the minds of the committee members?

Hymns have long been seen as a way into broader questions of denominational identity and theological controversy. Hymnals, for their part, are useful instruments that church leaders have used both to reflect and to shape theological emphases, for hymnals are both revered as sacred and seen as temporal and functional rather than timeless. Moreover, with the 1991 hymnal in particular, the theological importance was touted as a primary factor in its creation, and immense care was given to ensuring that the songbook was an accurate depiction of Southern Baptist convictions. Hugh McElrath, professor of church music at Southern Seminary and a member of the committee, pointed to doctrine when asked about the hymnal project, stating that "We Baptists say we don't have creeds, but we sing our creeds. Our hymns are our statements of belief. Next to the Bible, our hymnals have been our most formative resource."[4]

Keeping in mind the theological and pedagogical function of the hymnal, I suggest that the composition of *The Baptist Hymnal*, while not acting primarily as an instrument of gender prescriptions, reflects the

complexity of evangelical masculinity as it was shaped in the evangelical subculture of the late 1980s and early 1990s. This complexity, in turn, may have broadened the parameters for "what counted" as legitimate male spiritual expression, allowing language that may otherwise have been deemed "too feminine" to flourish, even in a highly patriarchal context such as the SBC.

The Baptist Hymnal as a Theological Corpus

The creation of the 1991 hymnal was deemed from the outset as a primarily theological project. Upon the announcement of plans for the new hymnal in May of 1987, Wesley Forbis remarked that theology would be "foremost in determining works for inclusion."[5] When Forbis reflected upon the completed task in the introduction to the work, he affirmed his early statement, asserting that "the burden of this enterprise has been to develop a hymnbook that reflects the historic doctrines which Baptists prize and, while illuminating our scriptural convictions, provides hymnic dialogue with the faith common to other Christian groups."[6] The hymnal was to be fashioned around a pillar of "distinctive doctrinal concepts" that would reflect the unified core of Baptist thinking and living. This theological core was designated by four thematic units, as outlined by Lloyd Elder, president of the Sunday School Board of the Convention:

1. the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ
2. salvation by grace
3. the security of the believer
4. a broad category of "other key doctrinal emphases."[7]

The vagueness of these "other key" emphases notwithstanding, the hymnal was publicized as a tool to illustrate and enhance the doctrinal unity of Southern Baptists. Forbis, along with other authoritative voices connected to the hymnal project, consistently appealed to the "unifying heritage" of Southern Baptists.[8] Forbis and Morris Chapman, the 1991 president of the SBC and a member of the theology/doctrine subcommittee for the hymnal—which included no women—assured Baptists that every line of the 4,000-plus hymns submitted was pored over in order to preserve the doctrinal purity of Southern Baptists' new hymnbook.[9]

As the hymnal project gained steam and more state Baptist leaders bought into the idea of a renewed hymnal, rhetoric surrounding Baptist worship began to coalesce in the form of dichotomies between the historic and the novel, wisdom and trend, feeling and substance, Baptist and other. At a 1987 convention of state music leaders in Nashville, Gary Cook, vice president for church program organizations at the Sunday School Board, voiced the need for a distinctively *The Baptist Hymnal* in clear terms: "*The Baptist Hymnal* is the only hymnal published by Southern Baptists specifically for Southern Baptists and responsible to Southern Baptists. *The Baptist Hymnal*'s musical and textual content is controlled by Southern Baptist people." Cook conceded that the use of *The Baptist Hymnal* neither could nor should be used as a litmus test for a church's commitment to the SBC. "However," Cook cautioned, "those who determine which hymnal is placed in Southern Baptist churches should consider if that hymnal has a Baptist heritage of hymnody and doctrinal integrity."[10]

From denominational officials in Nashville to volunteer music ministers in rural Alabama, it was understood that Baptist hymnody was an essential pedagogical tool for introducing and processing Southern Baptist doctrine. Local church musicians immediately recognized the continuity of doctrinal character in the 1991 hymnal. Mervyn Reagin, a volunteer music director at Fourteenth Avenue Baptist Church in Sacramento, California, remained faithful to all iterations of Southern Baptist hymnody throughout his 26-year ministry. Reagin's fidelity to *The Baptist Hymnal* of 1991 was built on decades of trust in the output of Southern Baptists, and his commitment was unqualified: "I know in this book there was a lot of effort put in to stressing the theology. If you are going to be a Southern Baptist, you have to care about that."[11] Baptists recognized in the pages of their hymnals not only true theology *for* Baptists, but also foundational theology *by* Baptists.

Ironically, the rhetoric surrounding the hymnal did not always match the reality of singing Baptists' proclivities. Certainly, there were numerous songs written by Baptists included in the hymnal. Yet, many popular and theologically resonant hymns came from Protestants outside the Baptist fold. Likewise, while SBC leaders may have touted the importance of a broad theological corpus since doctrine was deemed important to Baptists, data suggests that Baptists by and large carried on the well-worn theological paths. One 1986 survey of Southern Baptist churches across Oklahoma found that

churches loved singing the early twentieth-century gospel songs, returning again and again to themes of "Testimony" and "Assurance" from the 1975 and 1956 hymnals, while they largely neglected themes relating to moral instruction such as "Stewardship," "Marriage and Family," or liturgical calendar themes such as "Advent."[12]

When they sought to justify the creation of a new hymnal, Southern Baptists consistently appealed to two things: 1) the changing landscape of denominational church music due to demographics and musical trends and 2) the importance of a distinctively Baptist theological outlook. To address the first concern, the Sunday School Board appointed an Ethnic Hymnody Council chaired by missiologist Bill O'Brien to assess the diverse cultural needs of Southern Baptists and to ensure representation from a breadth of traditions within the Southern Baptist fellowship. Included in the new hymnal were a number of songs written by and reflective of some worship styles of the growing African-American and Asian populations in SBC life.

The second appeal seems to be more complex. The 1991 hymnal stood apart from the 1975 hymnal, the creation of which was spurred on by what then-Sunday School Board president Grady Cothen called in the preface a "dynamic" stream of musical innovation and "an era of unparalleled richness in musicology and hymnology."[13] Cothen identified the need for a new compilation that could be a resource for a diverse body, for "this is a new age of singing in a time that emphasizes participation."[14] Such a statement stands in stark contrast to Lloyd Elder's later preface, emphasizing unity, tradition, and "theological veracity" for "a people of the Book."[15] Underlying the differences in these two approaches was the question of identity. The two prefaces represented two distinct impulses, both common to Baptist life. Cothen, in 1975, was informed more by the denominational diversity in the age of "The Grand Compromise."[16] Elder, on the other hand, was prompted to identify and promote a singular doctrinal identity by which Baptist worship could be named as decidedly Baptist, and a particular kind of Baptist.

The Baptist Hymnal of 1991 boasted of an expansive 666 hymns. Of these, the hymnal held 350 in common with the 1975 edition, and some 275 songs were new additions. These additions to the corpus of Baptist hymnody suggest a few trajectories that the committee deemed important; some of these trajectories are clearly deliberate, as they reflect the concerns of the first three units of the theological core offered by Elder. For instance, the first emphasis, of the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus is clearly evident

in the compilation. About 20 of the 275 new hymns (1:14) were Christmas-themed, while 12 were related to atonement or crucifixion (1:23) and 11 were written for Easter (1:25). Yet, other themes that do not neatly fit into the three categories appear nearly as frequently. If these themes fall under the broad categorization of "other key doctrinal emphases," they suggest that the theological stresses were more *ad hoc* than they were commitments to a pedagogically balanced historical orthodoxy.[17]

Alongside an old favorite by B.B. McKinney, "God, Give Us Christian Homes"—which appeared in the 1956, 1975, and 1991 hymnals—an entire genre of domestic hymns appeared, including titles such as "Would You Bless Our Homes and Families," "O Lord, Make Church and Home Combine," and "Lord, Make Our Homes So Loving." In all, eight of the 275 new hymns made up the "Home and Family" portion of the hymnal. The emphasis on children, the home, and the family went hand-in-glove with the countless resources being expended by the Southern Baptist Convention to promote traditional family values and social norms, including the creation of a Family Ministry Task Force in December of 1991 that was intended to "raise the level of awareness among Southern Baptists about the alarming increase in dysfunctional families in the United States" and "[combat] the erosion of Judeo-Christian family values in America."[18] As part of this expanded emphasis, the SBC even purchased a cable television station, dubbed FamilyNet, as a means of reaching into homes with programming aimed at wholesome children's shows, call-in counseling, and evangelistic services.[19]

Threats to the breakdown of the family came in various forms: pornography, homosexuality, abortion and, at the inception of the breakdown, feminism. The influence of feminism in American Protestantism and the threat that it represented to the social fabric of the SBC led denominational leaders to marshal the troops to defend traditional white suburban masculinity, a far cry from the cautious optimism and curiosity that surrounded evangelical feminism in the early 1970s.[20] Traditional expressions of gender hierarchy were linked overtly to questions of inerrancy and scriptural authority, such that by the 1990s one's conviction concerning women's ordination and gender roles in the church and household were seen as a conservative litmus test for inerrancy.[21] By 1991, the gender debate had spawned a full-fledged campaign in favor of traditional family hierarchy, male headship, female submission, and proactive parenting—all kept in orbit by the strong gravitational pull of biblical inerrancy. The campaign had also become a

cash-crop, as countless books, Bible studies, study Bibles, and manuals were written and conferences were produced, all trying to keep the SBC from what Paige Patterson had deemed the "emasculating" influence of "liberal tendencies."[22]

At the same time the hymnal was in process, plans for a full biblical commentary series published by the Convention were unveiled, with a first volume to be published in 1991. The commentary series, much like its hymnal predecessor, would be beholden both to the *Baptist Faith and Message* for its doctrinal framework and to the 1979 *Chicago Statement on Inerrancy* for its hermeneutical precedent.[23] In the midst of the SBC gender wars, it is difficult to see the announcement of the first two volumes of the series—a commentary on Colossians (with a Pauline household code) and the Pastoral Epistles (containing the most influential texts on male-only ordination)—as coincidental.[24]

Arguments over biblical interpretation were numerous and varied, eventually leading to prolonged discussions about the issue of a gendered deity and inclusive language in translation. The hymnal and its supplemental resources did not escape the questions of gender surrounding both humanity and God, even if they did not champion them. While recognizing that the question was being asked by "some major denominations (most notably the United Methodists)," Forbis and the various committees did little more than pay lip-service to a debate over gendered language, especially as it regarded references to God. Forbis simply asserted unequivocally that the publishers had opted to retain "the traditional terms used in the historical Judeo-Christian tradition," and left it at that.[25] Indeed, it must be noted that the committee not only retained traditional masculine language for God, but it also emphasized the inclusion of such language, revealing a clear concern to push back against feminist incursions. This focus followed on the heels of larger developments in the SBC, including the new emphasis on the conservation of family values.

The 1991 Hymnal and the New Masculinity of Southern Baptists

At the same time the hymnal was being compiled, a new masculinity was beginning to take form as an answer to the weaknesses of the traditional patriarchal caricatures. This new masculinity was the result of two simultaneous movements in the SBC:

1. the blending of Southern Baptist culture and consumption with that of a broader American evangelical identity
2. the influence of evangelical feminism on Southern Baptist gender norms and the conservative response in the form of complementarianism

In the new agenda of complementarianism, men and women practically moved more toward the middle. Specifically, women leaders affirmed the dignity, intelligence, strength, and ability of women. And, male leaders assured Christian men that it was okay to express emotion and tenderness in the right avenues, and also called men to be present in the lives of their families beyond simply providing a roof over their heads.

The new masculinity effectively distanced itself from the more egregious iterations of masculinity that cropped up in post-war suburban evangelicalism, which touted the married man as a breadwinner, an overseer, and a representative of divine authority. In 1965, Southwestern Seminary psychology professor John Drakeford instructed that a father should properly oversee his family, since children tended to "make God in [their] father's image."[26] Southern Baptist ethicist C.W. Scudder wrote in 1962 that the headship of the husband and father meant he "must be accepted as an authority figure by the other members of the family. His prestige in the home must not be undermined; he should be the popular choice of all."[27] Similar sentiments prevailed in circles of churchmen up through the 1960s. A man was to be, as one denominational leader put it in 1952, "the provider, defender, instructor, and example," who would "build the house," as opposed to the mother, who alone could "build the home."[28]

The ideal male of the early-to-mid twentieth century had been characterized by keen insight, the willingness to be assertive when necessary, and mastery—both of his surroundings and his emotions. Convention leaders and professors stressed the importance of education in achieving "mature manhood" (Eph. 4:13). Writing an editorial in *Baptist Press,* retired Southwestern Seminary professor T.B. Maston praised the importance of specialization and training for men in the church, suggesting that "Many of God's big men in the Old Testament and New Testament were men with the very best of training. This was certainly true of Moses who was trained in all the learning of the Egyptians and Saul or Paul who had studied at the feet of Gamaliel."[29] Southern Baptist men were called to marry, have children,

and provide a stable setting in which a mother could nurture and provide a loving feminine aura, a "nurture and glow" that was essential to a fulfilled home life.[30] Moreover, as part of the wholesome and developed home, more proactive emphases on gendered formation of young boys in the mid-twentieth century came through scouting—such as the SBC's Royal Ambassadors program—sports, and, of course, church camps, where boys' imaginations would reawaken to "simple, virile living," and "the gems of nature [could] pierce the innermost recesses of being."[31]

The new masculinity of the late 1970s through the 1990s did not eschew these earlier aspects of Christian masculinity, but rather built upon and nuanced the expression of these prescriptions while addressing as-of-yet devalued attributes of manhood. Men were still expected to lead, guide, and provide both spiritually and physically as the head of the household. However, conservative men in the SBC gradually mounted a response to feminist criticisms about the failures of a dualistic conception of gender, and this response altered key aspects of "biblical masculinity" as it appeared in the pages of books, in sermons, and in Christian counseling. Beginning in earnest in the 1970s, evangelical feminists began to probe assumptions about gendered expressions of divinity in the Bible, pointing out that a substantial amount of typically feminine language was used to describe God in scripture.[32]

New Testament scholar Aída Besançon Spencer, a Ph.D. graduate of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was among the many voices who popularized a moderate evangelical feminist position. In her 1985 book, *Beyond the Curse: Women Called to Ministry*, Besançon Spencer argued for a plethora of divine metaphors found in the Bible, including images of God as Mother. Remarking on Isaiah 46:3-4, she concludes, "God is Super-Mother. While the idols must be borne, the living God bears. The idols cannot produce, but the living God can bear children. But even greater than any woman, the living God makes and delivers children, not for a few hours but for a lifetime."[33] Questions about gendered language for God were accompanied by debates about the boundaries of women in church ministry. Within Southern Baptist circles, seminary professors were often quick to point out the complexity of the gender issue—even if certain leaders tried to mask such complexity. Southwestern Seminary church historian H. Leon McBeth noted in 1987 that competent New Testament scholars came down on both

sides of the women's ministry issue, so that anyone who claimed the biblical view of women in ministry was clear was "either incredibly naive or else [was] not taking the text of the Bible seriously."[34]

Even as many Southern Baptists began to see the complexity surrounding biblical gendered language for God, some conservatives pushed back. Responding to a lecture given at Averett College by Southern Seminary professor Molly Marshall, a conservative activist group dubbed Concerned Baptist Laymen filed a formal motion with the Pittsylvania Baptist Association in Virginia in protest of her explanations for gendered language about God. The motion included a formal request for "corrective action" on the part of Averett for allowing Marshall to "express and expound such views as God having no gender."[35] The issue was clear for Concerned Baptist Laymen and the Pittsylvania Baptist Association, who voted to adopt the motion against Averett: Jesus was God, and he referred to God only ever as his Father. God had a gender—male.[36]

While such attitudes certainly prevailed in conservative circles of the SBC, others saw an opportunity to expand the meaning of masculinity to include forgotten or underemphasized traits of a Christian man. The reality of evangelical feminism opened new avenues for men to interpret their sociality, focusing on what one family specialist called a "men's liberation movement."[37] For Baptist inerrantists, this liberation movement—a new masculinity—was similar to earlier Christian masculine appeals in that it fashioned itself around the person of Jesus in the Gospels. Yet, it was not only the aggressive, Temple-cleansing Jesus, or Jesus the wise sage who expertly discerned men's hearts to which Christian men should aspire. Through the eyes of modern-masculinity purveyors, the Jesus who bounced babies on his lap and wept for his friend Lazarus was lifted up as the perfect male specimen alongside earlier emphases. Wallace Denton, professor of family studies at Purdue University, noted at a SBC-sponsored family seminar that a change in masculine norms was long overdue, for "a two-fisted world has never appreciated the compassionate, gentle, patient, weeping, Jesus ...[s]omehow he comes across as weak and effeminate." "Perhaps," Denton continued, "this new and liberated generation of men will achieve a level of masculinity that Jesus had achieved two thousand years ago."[38]

Such statements point to what Kristin Kobes Du Mez has identified as something of a rebranding, as "male headship" began to be referred to as a form of "servant leadership."[39] This new masculinity focused on male

sensitivity, invigorating with testosterone elements of the human emotion and sociality that had previously been perceived as feminine. In what John Bartkowski references as "expressive masculinity," evangelical marriage manuals such as Dennis Rainey's *Lonely Husbands, Lonely Wives* (1989) and masculine revitalization campaigns like Promise Keepers sought to refashion the societal norms that made up the American evangelical male psyche.

Gary Oliver, an evangelical specialist in gender, sought to downplay the stereotypes that separated men from their feelings, decrying that masculinity was too often "defined in the negative"; that "whatever women are, whatever strengths or attributes they have, whatever characteristics they possess, positive or negative, men aren't."[40] Oliver hoped that by helping men slough off the cultural baggage of machismo, men would get in touch with their emotions, to become "better husbands, fathers, and friends."[41] Many Southern Baptists were not necessarily willing to follow authors akin to Oliver in dissolving gendered traits altogether; rather, in most cases they utilized the discovery of expressive masculinity while maintaining gender roles and male headship.

Thus, a new masculinity embraced traditionally feminine traits—gentleness, empathy, familial intimacy—which feminist theologians had long identified as expressions of strength, not weakness, but it co-opted these feminine traits, transforming them into masculine ones. These were indeed signals of a strong God, conservatives argued, but they were still—through the incarnation and the eternal Father/Son relationship—attitudes of a male Christ. The masculine mastery of emotions was still an operative necessity, but that mastery now looked like total awareness and accurate expression rather than suppression; instead of "boys don't cry," the ideal became "real men can be vulnerable, like Christ, when they need to." As evangelical family guru and frequent SBC guest speaker Joyce Landorf put it, what women wanted—needed—was a man who was tough and tender:

> It was almost ridiculous—how could a man be at once both tough and tender? The two traits sounded as if they were in direct conflict with each other, yet were they? There in my dining room sat Dick, a husband and father who maintains a precision-like balance between his ability to be tough with solid decisiveness on many issues of daily living and his gift of being a gentle, tender, and truly sensitive person who cares and communicates this generously to his family and friends.[42]

Evangelical pastor R. Kent Hughes' beloved *Disciplines of a Godly Man,* published in 1991, asserted that men "are never manlier than when they are tender with their children." Hughes wrote that a man who kissed his grown son was "a man's man himself."[43]

Christian educators and Sunday School Board representatives pressed hard to convince men to serve in preschool ministries, assuring male congregants that nurturing young children was neither inherently male nor female, for each gender addressed different needs in children.[44] Ray Higgins, an ethics professor at Southwestern Seminary in the mid-1990s, identified at least ten models for fatherhood, including father as friend, protector, teacher, and caregiver. The last model, "caregiver," pointed to the reality that fathers needed to "provide emotionally" for their children.[45] In the ongoing battle against the normalization of gay culture, Southern Baptists were quick to utilize modern psychology to identify a lack of familial male intimacy as a possible contributor to homosexual tendencies in men. The conclusion was that men ought to extend their spiritual leadership and provision by actively loving their children through physical displays of affection and by remaining "strong male influences." Such actions, it was posited, would help stem the tide of misplaced same-sex longing.[46]

The new masculinity made allowances for more delicate emotionality almost exclusively in the context of familial relationships. Sensitivity was displayed for the sake of the child and the wife, who benefited from a male portrayal of vulnerability. Paradoxically, to lead well required expressing feeling only as a rational and conscious decision, or as a leadership decision. In fact, the blend of traditional masculinity and the new emphasis on emotional availability was, at times, overt, as in the Texas Baptist Christian Life Commission statewide workshop in February of 1990. There keynote speaker Charles Petty, president of Family Life Unlimited, implored fathers to take emotional initiative in the family. Fathers ought not to be reactive, but proactive in nurturing. Petty took as his example the father in the parable of the Prodigal Son, who was always "looking for ways to 'be family,' valued relationships more than things, said warm words and did loving things."[47] In such instances, what was stressed was not only the requirement that men in the family become in touch with their own emotions and those of their families, but also that they be the driving force, the initiator and the pioneer in nurture and sensitivity.

Strong Voices, Tender Hearts

Seeing that expressive masculinity was a driving force in reinscribing traditional gender roles, did the 1991 hymnal participate in this rebranding? On the surface, it would seem not. The hymnal committee clearly thought it prudent to remind Southern Baptists of the dominion of God over the earth and its inhabitants, and such reminders came in exclusively masculine motifs. New hymns appealing to the kingship of God or Christ accounted for 11 of the 275 (1:25) hymns, while 10 hymns were added that addressed the Fatherhood of God (1:27.5). Pushing back on the neo-charismatic influence within evangelicalism, some pastors and church music gurus decried the emotionalism of modern praise choruses.

Influential Baptist theologian Warren Wiersbe wrote in 1986 that too often songs in the church had "no message," settling for general appeals to emotion. In many songs he was hearing, "[t]he name of Jesus was not used, and God was referred to only obliquely. When Jesus was mentioned in a song, what was said about Him was vague and sentimental, not theological[.]"[48] Other Baptist church musicians were adamant that the hymnal had to prize substance over style, especially in the face of modern evangelical praise and worship's simplified style—sometimes referred to as "vain repetition" in SBC circles—and its propensity to cave to emotionalism. As California church musician John McGuckin voiced in an early hymnal planning meeting, churches too often resorted to hymns that "evoke emotion without theological or doctrinal substance."[49]

In truth, there were opposing approaches regarding how best to shore up Baptist worship. The so-called "seeker movement" operated on the opposite assumption of many evangelical church leaders. By their estimation, the prominence of congregational singing, not its decline, was a major reason people stayed away from church.[50] Some evangelical leaders sought to "rebrand" singing, attempting to make male church attenders feel at ease with public singing by touting the intellectual or spiritual strain necessary to do public worship right. Wiersbe argued that corporate worship was a weekly battle in the spiritual warfare against Satan.[51] Kent Hughes, on the other hand, emphasized the intellectual rigor and self-mastery that was needed for a Christian man to sing in church. In his best-selling book, *The Disciplines of*

a Godly Man, Hughes wrote that "vocal praise to God requires work" and that "you must work at [worship] with all you have, for worship is work. There must be some holy sweat if you are to please and glorify God."[52]

Given the emphasis on robust doctrine, the assertion that singing was primarily didactic and theological, and the desire to retain masculine imagery for God, it is not surprising that many new songs addressed such concerns. Alongside the overt and traditional masculine songs that proclaimed doctrines of power and authority, however, songs that elevated emotional responsiveness were also integrated into the new hymnal. Despite the strong rhetoric of traditional patriarchal masculinity being touted from theological framers of the new SBC, the all-male theology and doctrine committee of the new hymnal approved new texts that called both men and women in the SBC to sing in a way that framed worship in highly vulnerable, relational, and emotional verse. Newly-introduced hymns—many of them written by men—picked up on and, in some cases, increased the affective language of which earlier churchmen had been so critical.

For instance, influential twentieth-century gospel singer Andraé Crouch's "The Blood Will Never Lose Its Power" imagined the worshipper as the recipient of benevolent patriarchal oversight. The hymn sang out that Christ's blood was an agent of comfort for those in moments of high emotional distress:

> It soothes my doubts and calms my fears,
> And it dries all my tears;
> The blood that gives me strength
> From day to day,
> It will never lose its power.

Similarly, the Easter hymn "Christ Is Risen" called worshippers to embody the persona of the weeping Mary Magdalene (John 20:11) and the fearful women at the tomb (Matt. 28:5). Congregations sang to one another, "Christ is risen, Christ is living / dry your tears, be unafraid!"

One notable trend in contemporary hymn-writing was reflecting fondly on Jesus' name. Hymns had long attested to the authority of the name of Jesus, for example, Edward Perronet's 1780 hymn "All Hail the Power of

Jesus' Name." Hymn writers of the twentieth century shifted focus from overt assertions about the *might* of the name of Jesus to penning reflections upon the *beauty* of the name.

Bill and Gloria Gaither's "There's Just Something About That Name," hymn 177, reflected on the name of Jesus, noting that calling Jesus "Master" and "Savior" was as pleasurable as the "fragrance after the rain." Similarly, Lela Long's "Jesus Is the Sweetest Name I Know" suggested that Christ was "just the same as His lovely name / And that's the reason why I love Him so." In the context of the strong yet sensitive modern family man, these songs retained their emotional resonance, but any identification with traditionally feminine aspects of the Christian experience could be explained away in favor of proper masculine attention to a loving relationship with God.

Many newly-included hymns sought to express a degree of intimacy between the worshipping Christian and Jesus Christ, portraying Christ as an object of beauty or placing the singer in a spiritual space of vulnerability—not as a subject before one's king, but as a child before one's father or a lover before one's beloved.

The second stanza of William H. Parker's "Tell Me the Stories of Jesus" imagined the worshipper as one of the children brought before Jesus in the Gospels, singing that the worshipper partook of Christ's blessing to the children. Robert Cull's "Open Our Eyes, Lord," invoked Christ to open eyes and ears so that the Christian could "reach out and touch Him / and say that we love Him," pairing the physical miracles of Jesus with the spiritual intimacy of renewal. Famed nineteenth-century hymnist Horatius Bonar gained a number of new texts in the 1991 hymnal, one of which was "I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say." The first stanza portrayed Christ as calling to the singer, telling him or her to "Lay down, thou weary one / lay down thy head upon My breast."

One new hymn, Laurie Klein's "I Love You, Lord," evoked an intimate prayer that the voice of the worshipper would be "sweet" to Christ: "Take joy my King / In what You hear / Let it be a sweet, sweet sound / In Your ear." Other hymns picked up on older traditions of comparing Christ to the beauty of nature but did so in highly personal and arguably romantic metaphor, such as Rhea Miller's hymn "I'd Rather Have Jesus," which transposed the seventeenth-century awe at the vastness of creation ("Fairest Lord Jesus") onto the canvas of the human heart. Verse 3 of "I'd Rather Have Jesus" sang,

He's fairer than lilies of rarest bloom,
He's sweeter than honey from out the comb;
He's all that my hungering spirit needs,
I'd rather have Jesus and let Him lead.

In spite of their corporate purpose, hymns such as "I'd Rather Have Jesus" and "I Love You, Lord" honed in on the longstanding individualism of evangelical worship, reflecting the urgency of personal decision, the interiority and intimacy of confession, the physical and spiritual beauty of Christ, and the closeness between the Savior and the singer.

Some songs more explicitly expressed the nuanced perspective that accompanied new masculine emphases, that to be a Christlike man was to exhibit a fully-formed emotional and relational self. Karen Lafferty's song, "Jesus' Hands Were Kind Hands," written for children, reveals the pedagogical importance of seeing Jesus as a fully-formed man, teaching boys and girls alike to work with hands that were both "strong and gentle, kind in all I do," just like Jesus's hands. "I Lay My Sins on Jesus," hymn 272, expressed a similar desire to emulate Christ's perfect disposition:

I long to be like Jesus,
Strong, loving, lowly, mild;
I long to be like Jesus,
The Father's holy child...

Gentleness and mildness were stereotypically seen as feminine, the opposite of assertive, but new emphases in SBC teaching enjoined strength and gentleness upon men and women alike—but with important distinctions. Each trait had different permutations, depending upon one's gender. Female expressions of strength were, according to Dorothy Patterson, to be used "in a particular way ... with submission, under authority, lining up under, accepting the boundaries God has given."[53] Conversely, in conservative evangelical masculinity, gentleness became a qualifier meant to mitigate abusive leadership in the home. Men were to lead, guide, govern, and discipline with gentleness, i.e., proper emotional restraint.[54]

Because the new masculinity made fatherhood the focal point of increased emotional depth, songs that characterized the love of God as divine

Father to child could exist side-by-side with militaristic, traditionally manly works. Songs such as "We'll Work Till Jesus Comes" moved back and forth between the divine rest in which Christians take part and the divine work to which they are called. A sense of relief is sighed in the second verse, which sings, "To Jesus Christ I fled for rest; He bade me cease to roam / And lean for comfort on His breast till He conducts me home." However reticent men in the church might have been to sing about resting on the chest of Jesus, Baptist family leaders gave men permission to express such sentiments by pointing them to a child's need for paternal intimacy. If such was the case for children of men, how much more so must it be true for children of God?

Conclusion: A New Precedent for Male-Centric Corporate Worship

Intimate language in worship began to receive strong pushback in the early 2000s from a certain wing of the SBC that had made gender roles their primary preoccupation. These fundamentalist voices, much like their modernist counterparts in the early twentieth century, complained that the church had become too feminized and that music was a leading culprit.

Randy Stinson, a Baptist professor of gender and family studies and the executive director for the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, an SBC-adjacent organization promoting complementarianism, pointed his finger at church music when answering the question, "Why aren't men going to church?" Stinson said, "Loving God is biblical, but falling in love with Jesus is a contemporary, romanticized view of the relationship between people and Christ... Men should not be made to feel that having a relationship with Christ means that you have to check your masculinity at the door."[55] As late as 2015, one music minister at a modern-styled SBC church publicly committed to his congregation that he would "NEVER lead a coed service in feminine, ooey-gooey worship" or "bring to the church songs that depict a romantic relationship between the worshiper and God, BUT RATHER a deep adoration of God's greatness and love."[56]

Contrary to these later iterations, one major approach that was being projected toward Baptist men in the late 1980s and early 1990s was to bolster Baptist masculinity by appealing to paternal care, emotional expressiveness, and the cultivation of close familial bonds. And the SBC's 1991 hymnal

adopted the evangelical norms. A true man could sing a full-throated chorus about the gentle hands of Christ, for love of one's own child, care, patient guidance, and tender affection were expressions of unbridled Christian masculinity, and Jesus was, after all, the Son of Man.

In pointing out the prevalence of intimate and emotional hymns, I am not suggesting that expressive masculinity was the primary reason for their inclusion in the hymnal. Rather, their inclusion only points to the complexity of gendered expression that lay beneath the surface of rigid theological prescriptions. Members of the hymnal committee did not frame their compilation with a specifically "new masculine" agenda in mind. Their aims were theological, liturgical, and musical in nature. Yet, expressive masculinity may have served an accommodating role, offering alternative explanations and justifications for what would have been deemed by some to be "feminine" styled songs, being incorporated into a denominational setting where male intimacy and emotional availability were coming into vogue.

Although the newly-introduced hymns with overt appeals to tenderness, intimacy, or affective language certainly did not overpower the militarized, the triumphant, or the virile hymns so beloved by Southern Baptists, many of the songs introduced either already were or became well-loved standards of worship in 1990s congregations. This points to the reality that, in spite of the patriarchal emphases of the SBC or the theological rigidity of the hymnal, spiritual sensitivity and emotional vulnerability were prevalent in the newly-incorporated songs, being approved by the committee and, in many cases, being sung frequently by congregations across the United States.

Even among those who opted for "traditional" gender roles, the ground, boundaries, and performance of those roles shifted immensely. Masculine theorists responded to feminist theological critiques about God-language and the value of feminine Christian characteristics by affirming the language while simultaneously co-opting the characteristics for inclusion into the new "real man." Men could now be tough and tender, strong and gentle, assertive and quiet while retaining the characteristics of male mastery and male leadership. Emotional availability was for the benefit of those in submission, whether wife or child. In this context, hymns pining for fatherly affection from God, in addition to promoting the meekness of the Savior, stood alongside hymns proclaiming the majesty of the King. Men could sing these songs

as they reflected what was true about fatherhood. Just as they were called to be affectionate fathers, they were called to receive and long for that affection from their Heavenly Father.

Notes

1 Charles Willis, "Unprecedented Input Sought for Baptist Hymnal Content," *Baptist Press,* May 4, 1987.

2 Ed Briggs, "'Divorce' Necessary, Southern Baptist Says," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* April 12, 1987.

3 Elizabeth Hill Flowers, *Into the Pulpit: Southern Baptist Women & Power Since World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 75 ff.

4 Mark Wingfield, "What People Sing May Shape Theology More Than Sermons," *Baptist Press,* October 11, 1991.

5 Charles Willis, "State Leaders Urge Churches to Sing Hymns of Beliefs," *Baptist Press,* December 9, 1987.

6 Wesley L. Forbis, "Introduction," in *The Baptist Hymnal,* ed. Wesley L. Forbis (Nashville: Convention Press, 1991), vi. (Hereafter, 1991 Hymnal)

7 Lloyd Elder, "Preface to Hymnal," 1991 Hymnal, v.

8 See Forbis, "Introduction," vi and Elder, v in 1991 Hymnal.

9 Forbis, "Introduction," 1991 Hymnal, viii; Charles Willis, "New Hymnal for All, SBC President Says," *Baptist Press,* March 15, 1991.

10 Willis, "State Leaders."

11 Charles Willis, "Theology Kept Leader Using Baptist Hymnals," *Baptist Press,* June 26, 1991.

12 Donald Eugene Clark, "A Study of Current Hymn Usage in Cooperating Churches of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1986), 90-91.

13 Grady C. Cothen, "Preface," in *The Baptist Hymnal,* ed. William J. Reynolds (Nashville: Convention Press, 1975), v.

14 Ibid.

15 Elder, "Preface," 1991 Hymnal, v.

16 See Bill Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope: The Fragmentation of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990); Barry Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 4.

17 Curtis Freeman in particular chides Baptists in their imbalanced rhetoric about theological concern, noting that of the 666 hymns present in the 1991 hymnal, only 20 are explicitly devoted to Trinitarian theology (1:32), while 268 display a Christological concern (1:1.5). "Baptist worship," Freeman remarks, "currently tilts toward unitarianism of the Second Person..." Thus, if the hymnal was as truly pedagogically oriented as Baptists wished to posit, it was a characteristically biased lesson. (Curtis W. Freeman, "Back to the Future of Trinitarianism," in *Theology in the Service of the Church: Essays Presented to Fisher H. Humphreys,* ed. Fisher Humphreys, Timothy George, and Eric Farrel Mason [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2008], 36-37.)

18 Louis Moore and Linda Lawson, "Chapman Names Draper, Land to Chair Family Task Force," *Baptist Press,* December 3, 1991.

19 Madge Hammond, "RTVC Begins FamilyNet Operation April 1," *Baptist Press,* July 4, 1991.

20 Seth Dowland, "'Family Values' and the Formation of a Christian Right Agenda," *Church History* 78 (2009): 619.

21 See Flowers, *Into the Pulpit,* 74 ff.; Seth Dowland, "A New Kind of Patriarchy: Inerrancy and Masculinity in the Southern Baptist Convention, 1979–2000," in *Southern Masculinity:*

Perspectives on Manhood in the South Since Reconstruction, ed. Craig Thompson Friend (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 246-268. The battle lines drawn in the 1970s continued into the late twentieth century, as conservative ire at feminism's encroachment upon traditional theological language continued to grow. Writing in 1994, influential pastor James Merritt summarized the issue as he saw it: "This whole matter of feminizing God, feminizing Jesus and scrubbing the Scriptures clean of so-called male bias is not an issue of feminism or chauvinism. The real issue is inspiration and revelation." (Dwayne Hastings, "Merritt: God Is Not Our Heavenly Mother," *Baptist Press,* September 12, 1994.)

22 Toby Druin, "Patterson Group Seeks Long-Range Control of SBC," *Baptist Press,* April 21, 1980. For a survey of complementarian arguments about scripture, see Susanne Scholz, "The Christian Right's Discourse on Gender and the Bible," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 21 (2005): 81-100. For a bibliography of complementarian and egalitarian publications, see William J. Webb, *Slaves, Women & Homosexuals: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 281-285. For a brief survey of early (ca. 1980–1998) complementarian Pauline exegesis see Jamin Hübner, "The Evolution of Complementarian Exegesis," *Priscilla Papers* 29 (2015): 11-13.

23 For the Chicago Statement in context see Barry Hankins, ed., *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism: A Documentary Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 9-26.

24 Jim Lowry, "Sunday School Board Trustees Consider Numerous Business Matters," *Baptist Press,* August 17, 1990.

25 Wesley L. Forbis, "Currents and Cross-Currents Impacting Hymnal Formation: The New Baptist Hymnal, Issues and Answers," in *Handbook to the Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1992), 15-29.

26 John W. Drakeford, *The Home: Laboratory of Life* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1965), 86-87.

27 C.W. Scudder, *The Family in Christian Perspective* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1962), 106.

28 James L. Sullivan, "The Home and the Church," *Baptist Press,* May 17, 1952. Sullivan was introduced in the article as "a leader in denominational life since his graduation from Southern Seminary in Louisville in 1935." Sullivan was president of the Sunday School Board from 1953 to 1975, and president of the SBC in 1976. He was the author of *Your Life and Your Church,* published by Broadman Press in 1950.

29 T.B. Maston, "The Measure of a Man," *Baptist Press,* January 10, 1969.

30 Ibid.

31 Ted Ownby, "Church Camping and White Southern Manhood: Evangelical and Christian Primitivism, 1920–1970," in *White Masculinity in the Recent South*, ed. Trent Brown (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 38, 41.

32 Seth Dowland identifies the publication of Letha Dawson Scanzoni and Nancy A. Hardesty's *All We're Meant to Be* (1974) as a watershed moment in evangelical feminism, a book of "first principles" for the burgeoning movement. (Dowland, "A New Kind of Patriarchy," 256.)

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50 David W. Music and Paul A. Richardson, *I Will Sing the Wondrous Story: A History of Baptist Hymnody in North America* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2008), 479.

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Not Your Grandparents' Fundamentalism:

Fundamentalist Millennial and Gen Z Attitudes Toward Alcohol

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The kids have a new take, a new take on faith;
Pick up the pieces, get carried away.
"Oh My Heart," REM

For almost 200 years white American evangelicals have generally disapproved of alcohol consumption. For a significant portion of that time many even supported the outright prohibition of liquor by the government. Baptists—especially in the southern United States—have consistently numbered among those who condemn strong drink and who, even after the failure of national prohibition, viewed alcohol consumption as incompatible with a true Christian lifestyle.

The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) passed its first anti-drinking resolution in 1886, and for almost 150 years these resolutions opposing alcohol remained a staple on the part of the denomination. More than 50 such resolutions have been passed during that time, most recently in 2006. Since 2006, however, the SBC has not passed another resolution regarding alcohol, making this the longest period of interval between such resolutions since 1886. The passage of that 2006 abstinence resolution was unlike its predecessors because of the surprising resistance it faced from the floor of the Convention.

Throughout the twentieth century, Southern Baptists rejected even moderate use of alcohol, a tenet of the faith that remained consistent both during periods of fundamentalist prevalence (first in the 1910s–1920s and

then again in the 1980s–present) and in times when the denomination was dominated by more mainstream evangelical thinking. But notable rifts within the denomination on this issue have surfaced, beginning with the passage of the 2006 resolution and continuing over the past 15 years. In particular, the attitude toward liquor consumption among Millennial and Gen Z fundamentalist Baptists has shifted drastically from that of their elders, reflecting a significant generational fault line developing within the SBC and suggesting that the denomination's position on alcohol consumption will likely change in the years to come, despite how theologically conservative the Convention remains.

Nineteenth Century: Roots

The temperance movement in America emerged in the aftermath of the War of 1812. Due to a number of factors—including reduced cost and greater availability of whiskey as a result of improvements in transportation—whiskey consumption in the United States increased drastically during that period. Evangelicals in New England cities, where this "veritable whiskey binge"—as historian W.J. Rorabaugh called it—was most prevalent, began to form temperance societies aimed at improving the morals and decreasing the drunkenness of society.[1]

One of the earliest temperance societies was formed in Massachusetts in 1813. By 1826 a national temperance organization, the American Temperance Society, formed in Boston. A decade later a new society, the American Temperance Union, formed and advocated total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages, not just the hard liquor that previous organizations had condemned. Temperance advocates also began to push for legal prohibition of alcohol sales, and 15 years later Maine became the first state to pass such legislation. Throughout this process, northern Baptists were a key constituency supporting this new moral reform effort.

Generally speaking, Baptists in the South were somewhat slower to embrace temperance reform in the antebellum period. Some southern Baptists embraced the movement early on, but others had reservations for various reasons. For one thing, there was an association between the temperance movement and the abolition movement. Baptists in Connecticut saw the two as inseparable, passing a resolution in 1839 declaring that "every man has a right to be sober and a right to be free."[2]

Some Baptists in the South simply liked their liquor and refused to embrace this new-fangled interpretation of scripture. Baptists had a long tradition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of imbibing that continued to resonate. Baptist minister Elijah Craig, for instance, is credited by many with having invented the process of distilling Kentucky bourbon in the 1780s.[3] Georgia Baptist minister Isham Peacock continued the practice of Baptist parsons who partake; Peacock was known for drinking liquor while preaching, taking swigs from a hollowed-out cane he carried.[4]

There were also certain sub-sectors of the Baptist movement in the South that opposed temperance reform on theological grounds. For example, the "Hardshell Baptists" held to a strong premillennialist eschatology that frowned upon any social reform efforts by the church. Primitive Baptists (including bodies such as the Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists) rejected temperance efforts due to their denunciation of extra-ecclesial societies and organizations, including not only temperance societies but also mission societies, Sunday School societies, and so forth. Primitive Baptist sentiment was fairly widespread in the rural South for much of the antebellum period. One illustration is the Tallassahatchee Baptist Association along the Georgia/Alabama border, which split in the 1830s over the issue of supporting societies. Those persons on one side in the conflict stated that they believed "benevolent institutions to be unscriptural, viz: the missionary society, Bible society, tract society, temperance society, Sunday School Union, and the abolition society."[5] And as late as 1849 the Liberty Baptist Association in Alabama refused to admit any church that required its members to abstain from liquor.[6]

Despite such holdouts, however, most mainstream Baptists in the South embraced the temperance movement in the decades leading up to the American Civil War. Southern evangelicals were less keen than their northern counterparts to embrace legal prohibition in the pre-war era, though. While more than a dozen states followed Maine's lead in the 1850s by imposing statewide prohibition, no southern state did so.[7] Baptist leader Jesse Mercer was at first resistant to the movement because he drank brandy (medicinally, he insisted). Yet in the 1830s he renounced that and became an ardent teetotaler, even starting the South's first temperance newspaper, *The Temperance Banner*, in 1834.[8] By the 1840s state Baptist conventions in the South were establishing standing temperance committees, speaking out on the issue of intemperance and passing resolutions calling for prohibition legislation.

After Reconstruction, southern white Baptists became reenergized in their zeal for prohibition. The Alabama Baptist Convention, for instance, had dispensed with temperance reports at its 1870 meeting, but in 1880 reestablished the temperance committee and in 1887 passed a resolution saying that "It is the opinion of this convention that the time has arrived to appeal to the ballot box wherever and whenever the legislature shall authorize the people to vote on the question of prohibition."[9] Over the course of the 1880s and 1890s, support for prohibition and condemnation of alcohol grew steadily within SBC ranks.

White Baptists after the Civil War increasingly found the doctrine of the spirituality of the church—the idea that Christian churches and ministers should speak only on spiritual matters, not political or secular ones—less appealing than they had during the days of slavery. Whereas it had once provided theological justification for white Baptist churches to avoid talking about slavery, the doctrine now hindered the church from purifying southern culture, a process that allowed them to lay claim to a certain level of moral superiority over the North in the aftermath of their support of slavery and rebellion.[10] By the dawn of the twentieth century, teetotalism was almost a ubiquitous element of Baptist doctrine and personal piety.[11]

Twentieth Century: Continuation

By and large, rejection of alcohol remained almost universal among Southern Baptists throughout the twentieth century. Support for national prohibition, which eventually took effect in 1920 and remained in place for 13 years, was essentially a given among Southern Baptists. The fundamentalist movement was emerging over the course of the decade of the 1910s, at the exact time that momentum was building for nationwide prohibition, and the two movements were natural bedfellows melded together perfectly. However, not only fundamentalist Baptists supported the passage of the 19th Amendment. From J. Frank Norris on the far right to Walter Rauschenbusch on the left, Baptists in America almost universally supported national prohibition and it served, in the midst of growing divisiveness within Baptist life and American Protestant life in general, as about the only issue upon which both sides could agree.

Even after the repeal of Prohibition by the 21st Amendment, most Southern Baptists continued to support legal restrictions on alcohol sales at the

state, county, and municipal levels. In 1838 the SBC stated that it remained "unalterable for total abstinence on the part of the individual" and cheered on "what appears to be the rising tide of prohibition sentiment" evidenced by the passage of prohibition laws in several southern states.[12] Many such "blue laws" still exist in the rural South, and many Southern Baptists continue to resist efforts to turn the remaining dry towns and counties wet. It was not until 2020 that Mississippi became the last state to officially repeal its almost century-old statewide prohibition law, which was still on the books even though cities could choose to allow liquor sales.[13]

In the post-WWII era, the SBC continued to hold conservative views on alcohol consumption. A 1980 survey of denominational leaders, conducted by Walter Shurden and Larry McSwain with funding from the Home Mission Board, provides an interesting window into SBC attitudes on the eve of the fundamentalist takeover.

The survey sought to identify "core values for Southern Baptists" and evaluate how important various moral beliefs and practices were—in the estimation of the surveyed denominational leader—to the majority of Southern Baptists. The respondents were to evaluate how important these issues had been prior to 1945, how important they had been between 1945 and 1964, and how important they had been between 1965 and 1979. Within the category of "Importance of Personal Moral Values," "total abstinence from alcoholic beverages" was ranked by respondents as the highest concern in all three time periods. The importance of abstinence was sensed to have declined in each period (from a rating of 4.5 prior to 1945 to 3.9 and then 3.4 in the subsequent periods, on a scale of 1 to 5), but not as much as had the other moral concerns.[14]

The timing of Shurden and McSwain's survey is important; it took place just after Paul Pressler and Paige Patterson had initiated their efforts to bring the SBC into line with their fundamentalist views but well before theological moderates and liberals began to depart the denomination. It was a survey, in essence, of the very SBC agency executives, seminary professors, and others whose drift into theological liberalism the fundamentalist resurgence was designed to thwart. Yet these mainline, pre-fundamentalist Southern Baptists shared the traditional southern Baptist concern about alcohol consumption. As George Kelsey had noted in his 1973 history of Southern Baptist social ethics, concern over the production and consumption of alcohol had

consistently been "the greatest of all social problems in the estimation of Southern Baptists."[15] This was true of both fundamentalist southern Baptists and more mainstream/less rigid Baptists.

Twenty-First Century: Millennials Raising Questions

Beginning at the annual meeting of the SBC in 2006 and continuing ever since, disagreement over the consumption of alcohol has been a flashpoint of generational differences existing within the Convention.

When the SBC met in Greensboro, North Carolina in the summer of 2006 it passed an anti-alcohol resolution urging, among other things, "that no one be elected to serve as a trustee or member of any entity or committee of the Southern Baptist Convention that is a user of alcoholic beverages."[16] Prior to passage, however, the resolution faced more opposition during the floor debate than expected. In the end, one observer reported that about 20 percent of the messengers voted against the resolution.[17] John Sullivan, executive director of the Florida Baptist Convention at the time, stated afterward that he was "embarrassed" by the prolonged debate required to pass the resolution.[18] This reticence on the part of messengers, unprecedented since the first such resolution in 1886, might explain why no such resolution has been brought to the floor of any subsequent SBC annual meeting.

In 2007, Lifeway Research conducted a survey asking SBC pastors and laypersons about their views on alcohol consumption. All respondents had graduated from an SBC seminary between the years 1998 and 2004. A majority of the respondents who were still active in an SBC church were teetotalers—71 percent of the pastors surveyed and 59 percent of the laity. Nevertheless, a majority of both pastors (52 percent) and laypersons (58 percent) rejected the idea that it was a sin for a Christian to drink alcohol in moderation. The survey also revealed that traditional biblical arguments against alcohol consumption were waning. Only 33 percent of the laity and 41 percent of pastors agreed that scripture forbids all alcohol consumption.[19]

It is clear from the 2006 annual meeting vote and subsequent survey that teetotalism has experienced some slippage in its prevalence among Southern Baptists. Teasing out the generational differences, however, is more difficult. Millennials, or those born between the mid-1980s and the late 1990s, within the SBC tend to have more lax attitudes toward alcohol consumption than do their predecessors. This demographic doesn't account

for the 20 percent minority vote against the 2006 resolution, of course, since those born after 1985 would have been too young to have much of a presence among the messengers. Likewise, the 2007 Lifeway survey would have included no Millennials since all respondents had graduated from seminary by 2004, so respondents would have been born prior to 1985. But generational differences on this issue have surfaced in subsequent years.

At Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary (SEBTS) in 2010 a question-and-answer session with president Daniel Akin got testy when a student asked about the school's alcohol policy. The seminarian wanted to know if students were obligated to follow the school's no-drinking policy when they are away from campus between semesters. Akin responded with a resounding "yes," stating that he was "stunned" and "gravely disappointed" to even hear a student ask such a question.[20] He went on to vow that the school's teetotaling policy would never change while he was president. The age of the questioners is unknown, though one can speculate that most students at the seminary in 2010 were born in the mid-1980s and therefore would be classified as Millennials. And it is clear that at least some of the students had a different outlook on this issue than do the older administrators of the school.

It is noteworthy that at the time an adjunct professor at the seminary, J.D. Greear, spoke out in the aftermath of the Q&A session on his personal blog in favor of a somewhat less rigid position on alcohol consumption. Greear—who would later become president of the SBC—was at the time the pastor of an SBC megachurch in North Carolina that attracts a very large Millennial crowd. Also noteworthy is the response of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina (BSCNC) to the whole Q&A incident.

The following November the BSCNC passed a motion calling for study of the use of alcohol by North Carolina Baptist churches. The motion was sponsored by pastor Tim Rogers, who stated that he wanted to let the world know "that we promote the King of Kings, not the King of Beers."[21] Rogers further worried about the growing practice of moderate alcohol consumption by pastors within the fundamentalist SBC, speculating that the use of wine in SBC celebrations of the Lord's Supper could be introduced "within a generation."[22] The motion eventually led the convention to amend its screening process for funding new church startups, adding questions about the church planter's views on alcohol consumption. The new application

form forthrightly informed applicants that "if the potential planter cannot answer these appropriately, there is no need to proceed further if funds are being requested."[23]

Some clear generational cracks are beginning to show within the SBC, and the issue of drinking frequently serves as a key flashpoint of these tensions. In 2009 Southern Baptist professor and author Peter Lumpkins wrote an anti-drinking book, *Alcohol Today: Abstinence in an Age of Indulgence*, defending teetotalism as a biblical teaching for Christians. He also identifies the younger generation of Southern Baptists as the root of division over this issue. Lumpkins told an interviewer that total abstinence has been an issue that Southern Baptists have traditionally had the highest level of unity and agreement about, but that now the "younger Southern Baptist leaders do not appreciate that history and instead view teetotalism as extrabiblical and nothing more than 'pharisaical legalism.'"[24]

In 2011 another Southern Baptist, Texas pastor David Brumbelow, wrote a book advocating teetotalism. Titled *Ancient Wine and the Bible: The Case for Abstinence,* the book contained a foreword by Paige Patterson and revisited the two-wine theory, a popular argument in the nineteenth century used to differentiate between the non-alcoholic wine that Jesus and Paul approved of in the first century and the intoxicating alcohol of today.[25] Brumbelow has also been an outspoken critic of younger SBC pastors who support social drinking or who at least refuse to disallow it for their church members.

An ardent inerrantist, Brumbelow reports that he has found himself attacked, ironically, by some of these younger fundamentalists as "not believing in the inerrancy or sufficiency of the Bible" because he refuses to affirm that moderate consumption is allowed in scripture.[26] Many younger fundamentalists, raised in churches that instilled the core fundamentalist tenet that the Bible contains no errors whatsoever, are finding it increasingly hard to reconcile that high view of scripture with the two-century-old teaching that Jesus did not, in fact, turn water into wine or imbibe wine at the Last Supper.[27]

The insistence upon biblical inerrancy as a core tenet of the faith by fundamentalists who came to control the SBC in the 1980s and 90s has turned out to be a two-edged sword when it comes to the issue of alcohol consumption. Raised to affirm the inerrancy of scripture, it was almost inevitable that Millennial and Gen Z fundamentalists would eventually come to ask why their churches were not literalists when it comes to the celebration

of the Lord's Supper or why the church rejects Paul's advice to Timothy to take a little wine for his stomach, while the rest of that letter (particularly its teachings regarding the role of women in the church) is held as sacrosanct and timeless instruction for the life of the church. Whence come these tiny cups of Welch's grape juice? Whence come these condemnations of having a little wine? These are questions that younger fundamentalist Baptists have begun to ask.

Doubtless, there are a multitude of reasons for the shift in fundamentalist Millennials' attitudes toward alcohol consumption. One cannot discount the impact of the Internet and social media—Millennials growing up in fundamentalist SBC churches have had easy access their entire lives to other fundamentalist and conservative evangelical views from other parts of the country and world, including many who share their biblicism yet hold very different views about alcohol consumption. For many, this has likely contributed to a realization that teetotalism is not a universal fundamentalist interpretation of scripture, but rather one that is more shaped by southern culture. [28]

The fear that the younger generation is less strict and orthodox than their predecessors has been a long-standing feature of evangelical Christianity. This situation, however, is somewhat different. Not only are older Southern Baptists decrying the loosening values of younger Baptist leaders regarding alcohol, but those younger (i.e., Millennial) Southern Baptists are embracing that characterization and pushing back against their elders. An anonymous post on *SBC Today*'s website in 2008 reflects the tendency to decry the lax views on alcohol of younger Southern Baptists. "Why does it keep coming up from some Young Leaders?" the poster asked. "It seems that every two or three years we have another Young Leader to proclaim that alcohol in moderation is something that we need to accept."[29]

One such "young leader" is Dean Inserra, pastor of an SBC church in Tallahassee, Florida. In 2014 the *Florida Baptist Witness* quoted Inserra as saying that teetotalism was not required of members at his church. This ignited a firestorm of angry letters to the editor. Numerous letters were received denouncing Inserra and his church's position, some even questioning the prudency of the paper to run the story in the first place. John Sullivan, executive director of the Florida Baptist Convention at the time, wrote to reaffirm the position that "there is no place for the use of alcohol by followers of Christ."[30] Inserra responded to the criticism of his church's policy,

arguing that the practice of total abstinence from alcohol by Baptists was not a biblical doctrine, but rather "a cultural vestige of the geographic South, ahistorical to Christian tradition."[31] He also noted that the urban context in which his church is situated necessitates that they show some flexibility on this issue. Executive Director Sullivan drew attention to the fact that he came from an earlier generation than Inserra by noting that he had been in the ministry for almost sixty years and never found a place for the consumption of wine in the Christian life.[32]

Another well-known SBC pastor whose ministry is geared largely at Millennials and Gen-Zers is Matt Chandler, pastor of The Village Church, a megachurch in Dallas, and president of the Acts 29 network of churches.[33] At an SBC pastors conference in 2009, Chandler addressed the older generation of Baptist pastors represented there. He thanked them for waging a war in defense of inerrancy, but then went on to strongly critique them for the battles they continue to wage against "secondary issues." One observer noted the steady decline in applause that Chandler received from the pastors gathered there as his talk progressed.[34] Chandler does not appear to have mentioned alcohol consumption specifically, instead citing consternation over attending R-rated movies as an example of the kind of extrabiblical "secondary issues" that SBC elders overemphasize. But elsewhere he has stated that total abstinence from alcohol is "not applicable to all believers."[35]

Chandler's Acts 29 network has found itself embroiled in controversy with fellow Southern Baptists over the issue of alcohol consumption often over the past decade and a half. A key point of conflict is the practice of hosting Bible studies and church outreach events in bars and other alcohol-oriented establishments. Many Acts 29 churches view this as an effective way to evangelize and reach unchurched Millennials who might not be drawn to a church-related setting. But older and more traditional Southern Baptists see it as a dangerous practice that sacrifices a long-held tenet at the altar of secular culture. An early example of this controversy erupted in 2007 when an Acts 29-affiliated church in St. Louis called The Journey began a ministry called "Theology at the Bottleworks," a discussion group hosted by the church at a local brew-pub called Bottleworks.[36] This Bible study in a bar elicited condemnation by many Missouri Baptists, and the Missouri Baptist Convention subsequently cut ties with Acts 29 and refused to financially support any church affiliated with the network.[37]

Looking Ahead: GenZ Attitudes Toward Drinking

Millennials within the SBC tend to be less invested in maintaining traditional prohibitions against alcohol consumption than their elders. This relaxed attitude toward drinking appears to be widely held by their juniors also.

A survey of Gen-Z college students conducted in 2018 sought to ascertain how 18-to-22-year-old Baptist fundamentalists felt about alcohol consumption by Christians. The results are based upon the completion of a survey by 519 students who identified themselves as Christian. Conducted at Baylor University, 60 percent of the survey's respondents were female and 67 percent were from Texas. The response sheds some light on how the views of Gen-Z Southern Baptists differ from their elders when it comes to questions of alcohol consumption. Exactly one third of the respondents identified themselves as Baptist, and of those 174 young Baptists, 56 percent labeled themselves as "evangelical" and 13 percent self-identified as "fundamentalist."

The term fundamentalist, of course, is complicated. Because it has taken on so many negative connotations over the past century, many refuse to embrace the term even if they generally fit the definition of what it means to be a "fundamentalist." The survey instrument therefore also asked respondents whether they affirm the inerrancy of the Bible, to which a significant 71 percent of the Baptist respondents responded "yes." So, while only 13 percent of these GenZ Baptists describe themselves as fundamentalists, more than 70 percent affirm a theological tenet that most fundamentalist Southern Baptists describe as essential to fundamentalist and Christian identity: scriptural inerrancy. Moving forward, this paper will analyze the results both of these subcategories of survey respondents—"Baptist fundamentalists" and "Baptist inerrantists"—as representative of fundamentalist Southern Baptists ages 18 to 22.

When asked to respond to the statement "It is sinful to consume any alcoholic beverage," 95 percent of all respondents said they either slightly disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree. The response of Baptist fundamentalists for that same question was actually slightly higher, at 95.4 percent, and 94.3 percent of Baptist inerrantists likewise disagreed with that statement. A follow-up question, "Drinking alcohol is only sinful if done in excess,"

yielded responses that are typical of most Protestant Christians: 90.0 percent of Baptist fundamentalists and 80.9 of Baptist inerrantists agreed with the sentiment, while only 68.2 percent of all respondents did.[38]

Ideas about alcohol consumption have implications for Christians that go beyond social behavior and leisure-time activity. Since teetotalism emerged within American evangelicalism in the early nineteenth century, advocates of the view have had to reconcile it with the traditional practice of consuming wine when celebrating the Lord's Supper. After the American Civil War, Methodist layman Thomas Welch perfected a method of producing unfermented grape juice that made it easier for Protestant churches to do away with fermented wine in Communion, a practice that continues to this day in many Protestant churches.[39]

Older fundamentalists have expressed concern that more lenient attitudes toward alcohol consumption exhibited by younger Baptists will have consequences for the celebration of the Lord's Supper in Baptist churches. But Gen Z Baptist fundamentalists are entirely comfortable with using wine in Communion: 81.8 percent agreed with the statement "It is OK to use wine in a Christian communion service: the remaining respondents answered "unsure" rather than slightly disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Likewise, 82 percent of Gen Z Baptist inerrantists are also fine with using wine in the Lord's Supper.

Gen Z fundamentalists have not embraced the "two-wine theory" that has been popular with many of their predecessors for the past century and a half. When asked whether "Jesus made wine at the wedding feast of Cana and drank wine with his disciples at the Last Supper," 100 percent of Baptist fundamentalists agreed, and 95.1 percent of Baptist inerrantists did.

Conclusion

The results of this survey suggest that Baptist fundamentalists between the ages of 18 and 22 hold significantly different views toward alcohol consumption than have most Baptist fundamentalists of the past. Taken together with the tensions related to alcohol that have existed within the SBC over the past 15 years between Millennial Southern Baptists and those in the convention who are older, these findings suggest that conflict over this issue is destined to intensify. As these younger Southern Baptists grow older and play a larger role in the workings of their own

congregations, local Baptist associations, state conventions, and in the SBC itself, it seems highly likely that the denomination's position on alcohol will change. At the very least, one can expect the denomination's current 15-year "dry spell"—so to speak—of resolutions on alcohol to continue for some time. The number of messengers under the age of 40 attending the SBC annual meeting has been growing for the last few years, and they now generally make up one quarter of the voters at these meetings.[40]

Teetotalers in the Convention who would like to see the denomination pass yet another resolution on drinking are likely wary of an even more vocal dissent than they experienced in 2006, so it may be many years before the SBC continues its tradition of taking an official stance on alcohol consumption. If and when they do so again, it might even be an unprecedented resolution that makes room for moderate use of alcohol or even the use of wine in Communion! As the opening line of the 2011 song by the band REM goes, "The kids have a new take, a new take on faith. They pick up the pieces, get carried away." The "kids" and inheritors of the fundamentalist takeover of the SBC continue to hold the line on core issues such as inerrancy and women's ordination, but they clearly have a "new take" on the issue of alcohol consumption.

Notes

1 W. Rorabaugh, "Estimated U.S. Alcoholic Beverage Consumption, 1790–1860," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 37 (March 1976): 360-361.

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3 David Swartz, "When Baptists Believed in the Bible—and Bourbon," *The Anxious Bench* (August 26, 2020). Available at https://www.patheos.com/blogs/anxiousbench/2020/08/when-baptists-believed-in-the-bible-and-bourbon/#disqus_thread (accessed December 22, 2020). See also "Elijah Craig," *Completely Kentucky Wiki.* Available at https://completely-kentucky.fandom.com/wiki/Elijah_Craig (accessed January 11, 2021).

4 John G. Crowley, *Primitive Baptists of the Wiregrass South: 1815 to the Present* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1998), 47-48. For more on Primitive Baptist attitudes toward temperance see James R. Mathis, *The Making of the Primitive Baptists: A Cultural and Intellectual History of the Antimission Movement, 1800–1840* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 95-97.

5 Quoted in Hosea Holcombe, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Alabama: With a Miniature History of the Denominations from the Apostolic Age Down to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1840), 344.

6 Wayne Flynt, *Alabama Baptists: Southern Baptists in the Heart of Dixie* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 94.

7 An arguable exception would be Texas, which did not prohibit alcohol sales entirely but did impose restrictions of sales of less than one quart in 1854.

8 Charles Dutton Mallary, *Memoirs of Elder Jesse Mercer* (New York: John Gray, 1844), 225-227.

9 See *Minutes of the Forty-Eighth Anniversary of the Baptist State Convention of Alabama* (Atlanta: J.J. Toon, 1870), 7; *Minutes of the Fifty-Seventh Anniversary of the Baptist State Convention of Alabama* (N.p.: n.d. [1880]), 37; and *Minutes of the Sixty-Fourth Anniversary of the Alabama Baptist State Convention* (N.p.: n.d. [1887]), 48.

10 For more on this process see Joe L. Coker, *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 79-121.

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12 Southern Baptist Convention, "Resolution on the Liquor Situation," *SBN.net* (June 1, 1938). Available at https://www.sbc.net/resource-library/resolutions/resolution-on-the-liquor-situation/ (accessed January 8, 2021).

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15 George D. Kelsey, *Social Ethics Among Southern Baptists, 1917–1969* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1973), 131.

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18 "Florida Baptists Say Alcohol Use Disqualifies Leaders from Service," *Associated Baptist Press* (November 16, 2007). Available at https://baptistnews.com/article/florida-baptists-say-alcohol-use-disqualifies-leaders-from-service/#.X-wo0thTnIU (accessed December 29, 2020). In the aftermath of the 2006 SBC resolution, Sullivan led the Florida Baptist Convention to tighten its own policy towards alcohol by requiring that anyone nominated to serve on a board or agency of the state convention must affirm that they abstain from all alcohol.

19 Lifeway Research, *Perceptions of Alcohol: Protestant Pastors and Laity* (Spring 2007), 3, 19, 22, 26, 45, 49, 54, 67, 72. Available at http://lifewayresearc.wpengine.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Perceptions-of-Alcohol.pdf (accessed January 24, 2020). In 2017 Lifeway repeated this survey, though drawing from a different sample pool; a wide range of Protestant laity who attend church regularly were asked about their views on alcohol. Unlike the first survey, this one made it difficult to isolate Southern Baptist views on the issue. "Baptists" more broadly, however, who believe that the Bible forbids all drinking of alcohol was about the same as the 2007 survey at 32 percent. Lifeway Research, *Churchgoers' Views—Alcohol* (August 2017), 23. Available online at http://lifewayresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/American-Churchgoers-Alcohol-2017.pdf (accessed November 25, 2020).

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21 Quoted in Bob Allen, "Baptists Debate Social Drinking," *The Christian Century* (December 28, 2010). Available at https://www.christiancentury.org/article/2010-12/baptists-debate-social-drinking (accessed February 22, 2020.)

22 Miller, "Pastor Recaps..."

23 "Funding Approval Guide," https://ncbaptist.org/wp-content/uploads/church-planting-funding-approval-guide-1.pdf (accessed February 19, 2020).

24 Lumpkins is paraphrased in Allen, "Baptists Debate Social Drinking."

25 See David Brumbelow, *Ancient Wine and the Bible: The Case for Abstinence* (Free Church Press, 2011).

26 See the comments section of Brumbelow's post "Acts 29, Alcohol, and the Southern Baptist Convention" (7 June 2011) on blog, *Gulf Coast Pastor.* Available at http://gulfcoastpastor.blogspot.com/2011/06/acts-29-alcohol-and-southern-baptist.html (accessed March 11, 2020).

27 Bryan Catherman, for example, is pastor of Redeeming Life Church in Salt Lake City, Utah. A Millennial who affirms inerrancy and was educated at Liberty University and Gateway Seminary (a fundamentalist SBC seminary), Catherman nevertheless home-brews beer and has stated his own belief that a literal reading of the Bible finds there no condemnation of moderate alcohol consumption. See "SBC on Alcohol Use Sounds Tipsy," *Salty Believer* (2010). Available at http://www.saltybeliever.com/blog/ltybeliever.com/2010/08/sbc-on-alcohol-use-sounds-tipsy.html (accessed January 20, 2020).

28 Bill Leonard, "'They Have No Wine': Wet/Dry Baptists and the Alcohol Issues," *Criswell Theological Review* 5 (Spring 2008), 17, makes this case as well, noting that "As Baptists experience the larger Christian culture, nationally and globally... they may realize that the moderate use of alcohol is practiced by many conservative believers without being a litmus test of personal morality or orthodox theology."

29 Anonymous, "Alcohol: Abstinence = Freedom," *SBCToday.com* (May 27, 2008). Was available at http://sbctoday.com/2008/05/27/alcohol-abstinence-freedom/, though the site has since been taken down (accessed January 20, 2011).

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31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Acts 29 is a church-planting network that consists of churches that tend to be Calvinist in theology and innovative and culturally engaged in their outreach ministry.

34 Todd Burus, "We Want Our Goat!" *SBC Voices* (February 11, 2009). Available at https://sbcvoices.com/we-want-our-goat/ (accessed March 26, 2020).

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37 Todd Burus, "Acts 29 vs. the SBC (One Year Later)," *SBC Voices* (January 23, 2009). Available at https://sbcvoices.com/acts-29-vs-the-sbc-one-year-later/ (accessed March 24, 2020).

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39 See Leonard, "They Have No Wind," 14.

40 Messengers aged 18–39 made up 21 percent of the annual meeting crowd in 2017, and 25 percent in 2018. "SBC Messengers 'Getting Younger,' Dallas Report Shows," *Baptist Standard*

(July 11, 2018). Available at https://www.baptiststandard.com/news/baptists/sbc-messengers-getting-younger-dallas-report-shows/ (accessed January 2, 2021). That number remained at 25 percent in 2019. Diana Chandler, "Every State at #SBC19, First Time in 20 Years," *Baptist Press* (June 25, 2019). Available at https://www.baptistpress.com/resource-library/news/every-state-at-sbc19-first-time-in-20-years/ (accessed January 2, 2021). The 2020 annual meeting was cancelled due to the coronavirus pandemic.

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Book Reviews

J. David Holcomb
Book Review Editor

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James Robinson Graves: Staking the Boundaries of Baptist Identity, **2nd ed. By James A. Patterson. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2020. 277 pp.**

James Robinson Graves (1820–1893) was the dominant figure of a developing movement in Baptist life in the American South known as Landmarkism. The "old landmarks" that Graves so vigorously defended rested on a central conviction: Baptist churches were the only genuine Christian churches, and only they had continued in unbroken succession from the New Testament era. Around this major premise, Graves and his colleagues developed a highly nuanced ecclesiology.

James A. Patterson has done a commendable job of exploring the life and work of one of the most influential Baptist leaders of the nineteenth century. Patterson's book is the first published monograph in nearly a century on Graves. From a substantial religious publication business that Graves established in Nashville in the 1840s and continued to maintain in some form in Memphis after the American Civil War, he, perhaps more than any other figure, influenced Baptist faith and practice in the early decades of the Southern Baptist Convention. Patterson argues that Graves' primary relevance lies in staking the boundaries of Baptist identity. However, as great as Graves' influence was in Southern Baptist life, Landmarkism was not popular in all parts of the South. Graves appealed primarily to Baptists in what at the time was called the Southwest—in the upper South (the western

halves of Kentucky and Tennessee) and in the lower South (Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas). As Baptist historian Walter Shurden established in his scholarship of Southern Baptists, regionalism existed within the South. Southern politics and religion were not without internal divisions.

One wishes for a greater exploration of where Graves' Landmarkism, which Shurden identifies as the Tennessee Tradition, fits into the regional issues within the South. The primary difference in Patterson's second edition of the book from the first is his consideration of more recent historiographical issues that arose, connecting religious and political thought. Consideration of these issues makes the book better, but it remains solidly in the field of denominational history.

Graves, as an owner of a substantial publishing business and as editor of *The Tennessee Baptist*, was a collector and purveyor of popular ideas of democracy and primitivism. One must remember that during his days, many Americans got their news and opinions of regional and national affairs from religiously sponsored newspapers. One can see in Graves' life work, and that of others in the business of religious publication in the nineteenth century, a desire to influence popular opinion through religious expressions of a political and social dilemma. As the United States underwent a metamorphosis during the nineteenth century, shifting from the elitism of classical republicanism to the egalitarianism of Jacksonian democracy, Americans faced the dilemma of defending liberty while at the same time maintaining respect for legitimate authority. That dilemma is currently relevant in the United States.—*Reviewed by Marty G. Bell, Professor of Religion, Belmont University*

A Marginal Majority: Women, Gender, and a Reimagining of Southern Baptists. **Edited by Elizabeth H. Flowers and Karen K. Seat. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2020. 254 pp.**

As the fifth volume in the well-received "American Baptists" series, *A Marginal Majority: Women, Gender, and a Reimagining of Southern Baptists* delivers what it promises: a sobering, complicated, multilayered, and reflective new history of the people called Southern Baptists in America. By switching the lens from predominately male-centered to women's narratological perspectives, the authors have demonstrated how SBC

women for more than 175 years, despite their lack of visibility, have profoundly shaped not only their prominent denomination, but also the American story.

Influenced by both Ann Braude's (1997) and Catherine Brekus' (2007) seminal works in women's religious studies, noted scholars Elizabeth Flowers and Karen Seat have furthered the research by inviting a dozen Baptist women historians to think creatively about what a "collective reimagining project" of the SBC's past might reveal, correct, and teach, and how these findings might impact current and future generations (p. xiv).

The comprehensive introduction by Flowers and Seat sets Southern Baptists firmly within their Southern and American cultural contexts and reminds readers of the significant aspects of Baptist polity and unique identifiers that have shaped the denomination's trajectory. The editors clearly note its thesis to provide a corrective to denominational historiography by supplying essential data from women and gender issues in SBC life. They then introduce briefly the ten essays, which are arranged both topically and chronologically, according to themes that have complicated, and often detoured, the SBC journey, such as missions, social reform, race relations, preaching and ordination, politics, and family values.

Starting from the premise that women's narratives may enable a more complete history by asking different sets of questions of denominational life than that of men, *A Marginal Majority* fills in the gaps from many social and cultural arenas, from "gender, race, and sexuality to consumerism and media" (p. xvii). The research relies heavily upon underused primary sources from archives, libraries, diaries, and the Woman's Missionary Union (WMU), analyzed and conflated to shift the telling of the narrative even while maintaining the same historic events and chronology. By using this methodology, and allowing the contributors to report what they found in their own divergent and sometimes contradictory voices, the authors have produced startling new insights and correctives.

Spanning the years from 1845–2020, the articles are complex testimonials of women's influence and power. Delane Tew tells how WMU's efficient centralization model was eventually adopted by the SBC. Laine Scales, Chelsea Cichoki, and Kari Rood share the legacy of Jewell Leggett, missionary to China, who was reduced, like thousands of others, to a statistic in SBC

annals. Joanna Lile explores the participation of white SBC women in the "racial uplift" movement of the progressive Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and Melody Maxwell explores race relations from 1946–1965.

The influence of the WMU upon women's social reform is the work of Carol Holcomb, while T. Laine Scales reveals the changes and decline of the WMU's Missionary Training School in Louisville, Kentucky at the mid-twentieth century. Elizabeth Flowers probes the oft-criticized role of former First Lady Rosalynn Carter as she used her southern strategy to support the ERA. Susan Shaw, Kryn Freehling-Burton, O'Dessa Monnier, and Tisa Lewis revisit Southern Seminary's PhD graduates from 1982–1992 to hear their reflections and to chart where they now serve. The last two articles showcase prominent personalities in examining continued SBC battles over gender. Karen Seat examines the politics of Complementarianism in the lives of Molly Marshall and Sarah Palin, while Courtney Pace explores the preacherly paradox of Beth Moore, from her astounding rise in popularity through the #MeToo movement.

When the final page is turned, one must acknowledge that this is not a "feel-good read." Its findings require pondering, synthesis, and repentance. Yet *Marginal Majority* is essential, for it both exposes the gaps in the historic telling of the SBC story and allows the contributions of women to arise and settle into them. Weighty, balanced, scholarly, and convicting, the authors provide evidence of loss and decline regarding women, race, and denominational identity. Yet they gladly invite inquiry, raise new hope for investigation, and beckon readers to reimagine a different history, for God's people, going forward.—*Reviewed by Karen O'Dell Bullock, Distinguished Professor of Christian Heritage and Director of the Ph.D. Program, B.H. Carroll Theological Institute.*

***Christianity: A Brief History*. By Michael D. Robinson. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2019. 512 pp.**

Many religious educational institutions offer introductory Christian history courses in a one-semester format, creating a demand for more single-volume presentations. Mike Robinson, professor of Christian studies at the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor, fashioned his one-volume history of

Christianity specifically for a single-term, undergraduate entry-level course and for general readers interested in this field of study. Beginning students of Christian history will benefit considerably by examining this work.

Utilizing a chronological approach, Robinson focuses upon the history of Western Christianity. He begins by exploring cultural and historical origins and advances of first-century Christianity, and concludes with an examination of significant developments in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In the eighth chapter, Robinson interrupts his sequential method with a survey of important developments in Eastern Christianity from the medieval period through the Reformation era and period of global expansion.

Robinson's writing is clear, accessible, and straightforward. He approaches difficult issues carefully and impartially, avoiding cynicism on the one hand and sentimentalism on the other. All the while, he demonstrates a familiarity with both older and recent scholarship. In his discussion of the historical Jesus, for example, Robinson surveys two general competing scholarly portrayals and offers a fair critique of both without requiring the reader to accept either interpretation.

With precision and candor, Robinson reviews the often-complex issues of the early medieval period. Yet, in the space of one chapter, he moves swiftly from the fourth to the fifteenth century, touching only briefly on major persons and events. Such is the nature of a one-volume history of Christianity, but perhaps Robinson could have expanded the discussion and formed two separate chapters.

Robinson's coverage of recent developments in European and American Christian history is fast paced but insightful as he travels along the main avenues while avoiding the trails. For instance, he makes only a brief mention of new religious groups associated with Christianity, such as Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Throughout his work, Robinson includes the customary persons and events of a Western-focused Christian history, leading the careful reader to acknowledge the pervasive patriarchy that has shaped this tradition. Nonetheless, an effort to include more women's stories would have been a welcome improvement.

Overall, the book is well organized. Headings throughout each chapter help the reader follow a chapter's most important topics. A conclusion at the end of each chapter offers a brief summary of the chapter's main themes.

In the appendices, Robinson provides a helpful chronological chart of key persons and events in Christian history along with four helpful maps that display the spread of Christianity over the years. There are few footnotes, as Robinson utilizes minimal content footnotes and cites only works from which he quotes directly. The five-page bibliography contains a mixture of significant primary and secondary sources. A general index will assist readers in navigating the book.—*Reviewed by Jerry L. Faught II, Executive Director/Campus Dean, Professor of Religion, Wayland Baptist University*

Howard Thurman & The Disinherited: A Religious Biography. **By Paul Harvey. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020. 244 pp.**

When one considers a mystic, images of the detached theologian abound. The mystical is often popularly understood as divorced from the social and practical, as the mystic is often more focused on union with God than communion with human beings. Such a description does remarkable injustice to the tradition of Christian mysticism, but it especially fails to do justice to the work of Howard Thurman, whose mysticism was never far from his lived experience as a Black man in America. It is this reality that Paul Harvey clearly spotlights in his religious biography of Thurman.

Riffing off of Thurman's well-known work, *Jesus & The Disinherited*, Harvey's *Howard Thurman & The Disinherited* walks the reader through the life and thought of Howard Thurman. Just as the disinherited were central to Jesus' ministry, so the disinherited were central to Thurman's life, ministry, and thought. Harvey embarked on the writing of this biography as an expert on the history of Christianity and race, and his usual care and precision shine through this text. The reader is able to enjoy a glimpse into not only the events of Thurman's life, but also the thought and emotional life of the complicated man through his education, his time in India, his founding of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples, and his influence on the Civil Rights Movement.

There are a few moments, however, that exemplify what makes Harvey's biography particularly compelling. First, Harvey's characterization and definition of Thurman as an affirmation mystic is central: that Thurman was a mystic intimately engaged in social activity because the personal, the

social, and the theological are necessarily intertwined and mutually reinforcing. Harvey is able to shed light on these connections in very clear and helpful ways.

Second, Harvey outlines a particular episode in Thurman's life when he goes to St. Louis to speak at the National Methodist Student Conference and is denied accommodations at a hotel (pp. 97-98). Here, Thurman had to process the rage that is endemic and unavoidable in the experience of being Black in America. Here, Thurman was put to the test, but Harvey's historical expertise and discernment make this struggle and others explicit and clear to the reader.

Lastly, Howard Thurman's wife Sue Bailey Thurman is rarely far from Harvey's consideration, and he is careful to elevate her as a significant historical figure. Frankly, this is the deft work of an expert.

Biography can be a tricky genre, yet Harvey has the advantage of engaging prose and a thoroughly fascinating subject. Thurman in many ways defies categorization, so Harvey does not place him in a box. Rather, Thurman's wide-ranging thoughts, interests, struggles and influence are laid bare. Anyone interested in one of the most influential spiritual figures of the twentieth century can begin with this religious biography.—*Reviewed by Malcolm Foley, Director of Black Church Studies, Truett Seminary*

Home Without Walls: Southern Baptist Women and Social Reform in the Progressive Era. **By Carol Crawford Holcomb. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020. 247 pp.**

Holcomb's meticulous scholarship in *Home Without Walls* traces the way that Southern Baptist women encountered, reinterpreted, and appropriated southern progressivism to "further the cause of missions and bring the entire world to a saving knowledge of Christ" (p. 10). Her social history of Southern Baptist women from the birth of the Woman's Missionary Union (WMU) to encounters with the Social Gospel and the founding of the Missionary Training School and Baptist Good Will Centers utilizes a variety of methods to recount a story of Southern Baptist women who "carved out … space" and "became a powerful lobby for a feminine approach to social ethics within the denomination" (p. 10). The result is a volume poised to make significant amendments to the understanding of Baptist history.

Holcomb's book consists of seven chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. Throughout, she successfully "examines the ways progressivism shaped the social ethics of Baptist women in the South" (p. 1). One of Holcomb's many contributions is her careful analysis of WMU and gender in chapter 2 where she articulates how Southern Baptist women reinterpreted Victorian ideals of womanhood, blurring the lines between the public and private spheres to embrace the concept of a "home without walls." Likewise, her three chapters (5–7) on the influence of the Social Gospel on WMU leadership, publications, membership, education, missionary endeavors, and social work offer thorough, thoughtful consideration of how progressivism impacted Southern Baptist women. "WMU leaders," she argues, "embraced the ideals of southern progressivism including democracy, efficiency, data gathering, and social uplift...they also exhibited the paradoxes of progressivism such as racism and classism" (p. 7).

Chapter 4, "Unreliable Allies: Southern Baptist Women and Race," is particularly insightful and timely. Holcomb's examination of Annie Armstrong's relationship with National Baptist leader Nannie Helen Burroughs offers a revealing picture of the limits of interracial dialogue in the face of widespread cultural racism. Holcomb documents moments of interracial collaboration, particularly on missionary work, even as she highlights Southern Baptist women's staunch commitment to segregation and their denial of systemic racism. Ultimately, she concludes, "Race divided them more profoundly than gender could ever unite them" (p. 104). This historical example provides a useful framework to discuss ongoing complicity in racial tensions both in the Southern Baptist denomination specifically and in American culture more broadly.

While some readers may find the introduction to *Home Without Walls* overly methodical, this straightforward approach should not be taken as indicative of the book's style as a whole. On the contrary, Holcomb engages the reader through her storytelling, drawing on underused primary sources from letters to denominational reports to WMU publications. Indeed, Holcomb's attention to detail is an asset to her narrative account as she uncovers ample evidence to demonstrate that "WMU leaders were southern progressives who developed a distinctly feminine social ethic shaped by the social gospel" (p. 1).

Not only does Holcomb succeed in showing a connection between progressivism and Southern Baptist women, but she also articulates why this relationship is significant. Progressivism birthed Southern Baptist social work

and demonstrated "the social and theological diversity of Southern Baptists in the Progressive Era" (pp. 174-175). *Home Without Walls* should appeal to historians of Baptists, women, and the women's mission movement. In addition, individual chapters, or the book as a whole, could easily be adapted for classroom use with both undergraduate and graduate students. In short, Holcomb's book charts new waters, offering new streams of inquiry into the Progressive Era to novices and experts alike.—*Reviewed by Mandy E. McMichael, Associate Director of Ministry Guidance and Assistant Professor of Religion, Baylor University*

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