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EXPLORING OVERLOOKED FIGURES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN BAPTIST LIFE

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Editor's Note

Joe Coker

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This issue brings together five essays that explore somewhat unfamiliar figures or dimensions of the Baptist story.

For instance, Isaac Backus is a well-known figure amongst historians of the Baptist tradition, and he has been the subject of a significant amount of scholarly investigation over the years. But less well-known and even less studied is his wife Susanna Mason Backus. Our opening article seeks to redress this omission by examining the life, faith, and religious activity of Susanna Backus.

Jordann Allan Heckart looks at the religious activity of Susanna Backus in various stages of her life, finding her participating in the formation of a church and a Baptist association in the mid-1700s. In his diaries, Isaac Backus decreasingly discussed his wife once she began to have children, so Heckart finds little information about developments with Susanna for several decades, but is able to expose some religious dimensions of her death in 1800. This article opens up research into an important yet long overshadowed woman in the American Baptist story.

The second article in this journal issue adds to our knowledge of the oft-overlooked history of Baptist hymnody by assessing the emergence of denomination-specific hymnbooks in the middle of the nineteenth century. Kim Arnold focuses on three new Baptist hymnals first published in the 1840s. The goal in publishing such Baptist hymnals was to find a hymnbook that would unify the fracturing Baptist

denomination in America. But the various hymnals produced prior to 1845 each found its home in a particular region, or disposition toward revivalism, or preferred style of hymn. Arnold's work reminds us of the important—and sometimes divisive—role that hymnody plays in the life of a religious movement.

Our final three articles all focus on events in Baptist life during the twentieth century. Christopher Price looks at a long-serving U.S. senator and active Seventh Day Baptist layman named Jennings Randolph. Price examines the balance of New Deal progressivism and social conservatism that marked the engagement of the West Virginia senator with various political issues in the 1960s and 1970s. Most notable are Jennings' stances on issues of immigration, school prayer, and abortion. Price notes the distinctions between this brand of mid-century Baptist political conservatism, which had a twist of progressivism in it, and the more recent trajectory within politics on the right.

Jack Young digs into a fascinating and little-known chapter in the history of Baptist missions during the Cold War era. In the 1960s, Baptist missionaries working in the country then known as Rhodesia found themselves caught up in political and racial tensions as that country's white minority sought to retain power and subjugate the black majority. The SBC missionaries maintained an awkward balance between neutrality in the political struggle and resistance to the discriminatory policies of the white government. Their support for the black Rhodesians put them at odds with many far-right evangelicals in America who supported the white government, some of whom even volunteered to serve as mercenaries in the Rhodesian government's fight against black rebel forces. This interesting scenario of Foreign Mission Board missionaries offering resistance to the growing far-right movement within American evangelicalism continued throughout the 1970s, until Rhodesia was reborn as Zimbabwe in 1980, and offers a compelling contrast to the direction SBC foreign missions would move in subsequent years.

Our final article adds to an exciting new focus in Baptist studies of late: the engagement of Baptists with the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements. J. Gordon Melton examines how Baptists in Texas interfaced with Charismatics from the 1960s through the 1990s. The presence of Charismatic elements within Texas Baptist life goes back to John Osteen, father of the famous televangelist Joel Osteen. However, throughout the

1960s and beyond, more Baptist ministers began to feel the movement of the Spirit. Melton demonstrates that Charismatic inroads into Texas Baptist churches was not only a white phenomenon, but also one that impacted black churches in the state.

I hope you enjoy these articles, along with the book reviews at the end of the issue, and that they inspire us to continue to explore new avenues and investigate overlooked persons from our Baptist past.

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- Baptist statements and resolutions on science

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Susanna Mason Backus: Daughter of Christ

Jordann A. Heckart

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From 1745 to 1764, Separate Baptist women engaged in a heightened amount of religious action. In contrast to their silent presence in the Congregational Church, these women took on active roles within their respective Separate Baptist congregations.

Their voices were heard and affirmed through the required oral recitation of their conversion experience, and they increasingly participated in church meetings and voted on church matters. In society, women did not have a public voice and were not able to vote, but within Separate Baptist churches women obtained this right. Women played an active role in the election of their ministers and deacons, participated in church meetings during which issues of church discipline were determined, and were involved in the decision-making process concerning church worship.[1] Susanna Mason Backus' life (1725–1800) serves as a case study for the ways in which eighteenth-century Separate Baptist women exercised religious freedom while operating within established social structures.

A pattern emerges surrounding denominational development and the role of women within sects and specifically in Susanna's life. Initially, when a sect is formed, women tend to experience a greater degree of religious freedom; in turn, they can engage publicly in ecclesiastical activities. Once the institutionalization process begins, however, women's roles within the community often become constrained. These

factors will be examined in order to identify the ways in which Separate Baptist women asserted religious freedom and the gendered implications of denominational maturation.

Denominational Origins and Gender Norms

There are two points of origin to consider when evaluating the Baptist tradition in New England. First, the older branch of the Baptist tradition descended from English General Baptists who were referred to as Six Principle Baptists in America. Unique to the Six Principle Baptists was their interpretation of Hebrews 6:1-2, which led them to practice the ritual of laying on of hands.[2] They referred to those who rejected this practice as Five Principle Baptists. The events ofthe Awakenings in the 1740s resulted in further divisions within the Baptist tradition between New Baptists who supported the revivals and Regular Baptists who were opposed to the fervor of revivalism. The second branch of Baptists arose after separating from the Established Congregational Churches of New England. These Separates based their congregations on New Light principles.[3] After almost a decade of substantial growth, by 1754, Separate churches began to fracture due to opposing views concerning the mode of baptism. In 1764 the various factions of Baptists throughout New England began the institutionalization process through the establishment of Rhode Island College and subsequently the Warren Association.[4]

In addition to denominational factors, cultural expectations concerning gender norms also had a direct impact on the lives of women. In the case of Susanna, shifting gender norms—from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century—in tandem with developing religious sects altered the potential for female agency.[5] Until the nineteenth century, gender was mostly perceived according to a one-sex model, in which the male sex was understood to be the true sex: strong and ideal. Women, on the other hand, were viewed as an incomplete and weaker version of the same sex.[6] This perception of gender reinforced the view that women were subordinate to men.

Although the one-sex model would endure throughout the eighteenth century, a transition occurred within the religious climate of New England. Instead of emphasizing women's subordination and weakness, "ministers relied in part upon a conviction that women were

somehow more religious and had an inherent sense of rectitude."[7] This in part was due to the fact that, from 1690–1740, women made up the majority of congregants in Congregational churches.[8] Scholars have identified the impact of a female majority in church membership as a contributing factor to the shift in gender roles, and these gendered changes worked themselves out in Separate Baptist churches.[9] Due to women's cultural subjugation, they could not obtain power in the public domain; however, the onslaught of revivalism in the mid-eighteenth century served as a source of informal power for women. The development of New Light congregations, through Separatism, provided women with a social context in which they could operate as active participants, instead of passive onlookers.[10]

A woman's two main responsibilities in the family system, under the governance of her husband, included child-rearing and maintenance of the home. A woman was expected to be pregnant within the first year of her marriage. During her fertile years, she might give birth nine to twelve times. This emphasis on childbearing came at a cost; eighteenth-century women endured a greater deal of anxiety at childbirth due to the increased risk of miscarriage and maternal death.[11] Beyond the child-rearing expectations, a wife managed most of the household duties. These duties included washing, ironing, baking, sewing, farming, gardening, food preparation, and a host of other responsibilities depending upon the class status of the family. In contrast, the husband maintained the finances of the home and managed the property.[12] No matter the degree of autonomy a woman exercised in her maintenance of the home, she remained subordinate to her husband as the head of the household.[13]

Family Heritage

Susanna's denominational pedigree is an amalgamation of the two branches of Baptists previously outlined. She descended from a line of English Baptists. Her great-great-grandfather, Sampson Mason (d. 1676), was a Six Principle Baptist who fought in Cromwell's army before immigrating to Dorchester, Massachusetts in 1650. Sampson later purchased land in Rehoboth, Massachusetts upon which his children settled, in addition to settling in the adjacent town of Swansea. Sampson's seventh son, Isaac Mason, was appointed as a deacon of the Second Baptist

Church of Swansea upon its founding in 1693. Subsequently, at least four other Mason men were ordained to the pastorate of the Six Principle Baptist church in Swansea, Massachusetts.[14] On January 4, 1725, Susanna was born in Rehoboth to Samuel and Rebeckah Read Mason. Little is known about Susanna's personal upbringing in the faith except for her extended family's prominence in the Baptist tradition. Concerning her childhood, Susanna described herself as living "a careless life for many years."[15] Statements such as this were common among converts during the Awakenings, often fixating on their sinful state before conversion.

By 1745, the fervor of the Awakenings had seized the town of Rehoboth. During this time Susanna experienced her own conversion. Four years after Susanna declared her faith as a Separatist, she married the up-and-coming Separatist preacher, Isaac Backus. The two had previously met while Isaac was itinerating throughout Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Just prior to their marriage, Isaac had been ordained as minister of the Separate Church of Titicut, Massachusetts. Susanna's newly established role as a wife was then complicated by Isaac's professional status. Susanna was not simply a wife, but a minister's wife, which carried additional societal expectations. Therefore, Susanna's engagement in religious actions served as an example for other women in the Separate Baptist community.

Pious Nature

As previously noted, a shift occurred between the seventeenth and eighteenth century within the cultural perception of women. No longer were women viewed as the weaker vessels ruled by their seductive passions, and therefore needing to be subjugated to men; instead, women were viewed as "more pious than men and their superior religious feelings were a natural endowment of the sex."[16] William McLoughlin describes Isaac as portraying Susanna "as a pietist would, primarily in terms of her spiritual character, her dedication to God, her faithfulness in rearing her children in a pious way, and her devotion to the duties of a wife and mother."[17]

Piety was a dominant quality attributed to and sought after by Christian women in the eighteenth century. Piety does not merely concern an individual's actions, but also their demeanor when carrying

out those actions. Susanna's role as a Separate minister's wife necessitated her exemplification of this character trait. Isaac himself praised Susanna as his "greatest temporal blessing which God ever gave me, for nearly fifty-one years, for which I trust I shall praise him to eternity."[18] Additionally, Susanna is described by Isaac's biographer Alvah Hovey as a "devout" woman.[19] While these statements about Susanna's nature were probably true, they also represent the cultural impositions placed upon certain women to conform to broader socioreligious norms.

Sectarian Formation and Religious Actions

Susanna's public involvement in church affairs, as recorded by Isaac, occurred during the early formation of Separatist Baptists, from 1745 to 1756. Susanna's religious actions entailed the participation of other female congregant members; this serves to reinforce the sexual egalitarianism that was characteristic of the early Separate Baptists, and counter-cultural in comparison to the Established Church. The effects of Susanna's religious actions can be observed in her verbal profession of faith before the Separate congregation of Titicut, her attempt to reconcile the Titicut congregation, and her signing of the Middleborough Baptist church covenant.

The first recorded instance of Susanna asserting her religious freedom involves her membership at the Separate Church of Titicut. Individuals who wanted to become members in Separate churches had to share their conversion experience before the congregation. Upon hearing a person's testimony, the congregation would then determine if he or she was spiritually fit to join the church. This custom was replaced among some Congregationalist churches by formal written accounts of one's conversion until the Awakenings, when those associated with New Light inclinations sought a return to the verbal confession, which they found more rigorous and authentic.[20] Individuals who were frustrated with the move to written accounts identified this laxity surrounding church membership as another reason for separating from the Established Churches. In the 1740s, Separatist churches renewed the practice of reciting one's conversion experience due to their support of spontaneous exhortation and a desire to identify true believers. Through this oral recitation of one's conversion experience, women obtained a public

voice in their congregations otherwise unavailable to them.[21] In the case of Susanna, her voice was liberated from the social confines of her sex through the declaration of her faith.

Susanna's declaration of her faith occurred on September 9, 1750, in tandem with her desire for communion with the Separate Church of Titicut. This was the first Sacrament Sunday the church had observed in more than a year.[22] Internal divisions concerning baptism led to the delay in observing the Lord's Supper. Susanna gave her testimony to the church along with another woman, Abigail Pierce. In Isaac's diary entry concerning this day, he stated, "It Seemed it affected the whole Church."[23] In other words, the congregation was greatly moved by Susanna's actions and testimony. In a sense, Susanna was not the only person liberated by this religious action: her faithfulness impacted the entire Separatist congregation. Ministers recognized the sharing of conversion narratives as producing edification among the congregation, in addition to meeting the individual's requirement for membership.[24]

Susanna's conversion narrative is typical of most conversion experiences during the Awakenings. The details that Susanna would have shared with the congregation surrounding her conversion can be surmised from Isaac's "A Short Account of Mrs. Susanna Backus."[25] Susanna was "awakened" at the age of twenty by the revival preaching of Rev. Andrew Croswell in 1745.[26] She then entered an extended period in which she wrestled with her sins and desire for conversion. During this time she attended the Separatist meetings of Mr. Joseph Snow in Providence, Rhode Island.[27] Then, Susanna was able to identify an exact day, April 12, 1746, on which her conversion experience transpired. Two years later, on August 17, 1748, she was baptized by the newly ordained Separatist minister, John Paine in Rehoboth, Massachusetts.[28] Susanna underwent believer's baptism a year before her marriage to Isaac. This suggests that she would later serve to influence his decision to accept believer's baptism.

Susanna's conversion narrative follows a linguistic pattern identified by scholar Catherine Brekus, whose analysis of conversion narratives identifies women as using passive and submissive language to describe their personal sinfulness and salvation. Meanwhile, men used active language to describe their experience.[29] This is evident in the case of Susanna, who described the Lord as letting "me further into my own heart"

through which he showed her the depths of her sin.[30] Similarly, Susanna described herself as being "brought to see" her sinfulness and "led back to view that eternal covenant."[31] Although Susanna expressed feelings of liberation from sin upon her conversion, the passive language she employed demonstrates the sociolinguistic boundaries that constrained her. This instance presents an example of the tension present between the cultural constraints women faced and the freedom of expression present within the Separate communities.

The second example of Susanna's "exemplary walk" in her faith is evidenced in her attempt to renew the Titicut Church Covenant alongside three other women. Following Isaac's rejection of paedobaptism in July 1751, the division within the church was solidified and a series of church councils commenced to reconcile the congregants. Although Isaac rejected infant baptism, he maintained open communion and allowed congregants to bring in other ministers to perform infant baptism. Two of his congregants, Samuel Alden and Robert Washburn, however, rejected Backus' position and demanded he affirm infant baptism. In May 1752, a council ruled that Alden and Washburn "were guilty of setting up a bar which they ought not against the reception of the pastor."[32] In addition, the council required all the church members to submit themselves before God and renew their covenant with one another. Isaac recorded, however, that only four women went forward to renew the covenant—one of whom was Susanna.[33] Susanna's action demonstrates her desire to maintain congregational unity among the members of the Separatist church. This instance also attests to the egalitarianism of the early Separate Baptists, since women, of their own accord, were able to present themselves for covenant renewal without the support of male congregants.

A final religious action by Susanna entails her role as a founding member of the First Baptist Church of Middleborough. In 1756, the Separatist Church of Titicut dissolved and the remaining six members affirmed believer's baptism and organized the First Baptist Church of Middleborough.[34] The egalitarian makeup of the Middleborough Baptist churches' founding members is highlighted when compared to the standard requirements for founding a Congregational church. Early Congregationalists required the presence of seven men to constitute a church, with no mention of women's roles in the process. Instead, these seven men were required to prove to each other their personal

knowledge of Christian doctrine and their own experience of saving grace. Then, upon satisfaction, ministers from the surrounding churches were called upon to affirm the formation of the new congregation.[35] In contrast to this practice, the Middleborough church was founded by three men and three women. Isaac and Susanna were two of these six founding members. Isaac was appointed the minister and wrote the new church's Covenant of Faith. Susanna was one of the three founding women to sign the new church's covenant.

Susanna's signing of the covenant provides the clearest insight into her theological views. No evidence survives that suggests Susanna disagreed with the theological tenets expressed in the document. If anything, Hovey describes Susanna as "sympathizing with him [Isaac] in his religious opinions, and desires, and labors."[36] In addition, Susanna's Baptist family lineage and her personal decision to undergo believer's baptism prior to Isaac support the belief that Susanna and Isaac held similar theological views. These included orthodox Calvinist beliefs regarding the Trinity, the authority of scripture, creation, original sin, providence, election, the person of Christ, the communion of saints, and the Resurrection. In their covenant, these new Baptists set themselves apart from other Christian groups by their affirmation of Sunday as the Sabbath and the role of civil government outside of religious matters.[37] The second part of the covenant concerns church affairs: the affirmation of the visible church, the requirement of believer's baptism to partake in the Lord's Supper, the fencing of the Table, congregational polity, the role of the minister and deacons, and the development of spiritual gifts.[38]

The above three instances concerning Susanna's religious actions serve as examples of the ways in which women were able to engage in public religious activities during the formation of the Separate Baptists. In the case of Susanna, her actions always occurred alongside other female congregant members. Susanna did not perform these acts independently; instead, she was joined by other female congregants who desired to express their own religious authority. At the same time, Susanna's title as the minister's wife would have afforded her a distinct platform for undertaking such actions.

Denominational Development and Subordination

After 1756, Susanna begins to fade from Isaac's religious records. Her role as Isaac's helpmate necessitated her support of his ministry, yet Isaac did not include details in his diary concerning Susanna's contribution to ministerial tasks. Nor is there any indication that Susanna endeavored to engage in her own church ministry. The absence of such records does not mean that Susanna did not participate in church activities; it does suggest, however, that she either did not engage in such activities or more likely, her ministerial labors were viewed as minor by her husband and therefore did not require documentation. Isaac only mentioned her regarding a few trips they took together and in relation to the births of their five other children.

Beginning in 1768, there is a thirty-two-year span in Isaac's diaries during which time he does not mention Susanna until the events surrounding her death. Susanna's invisibility during this period is in alignment with the Baptist denomination's institutionalization. In 1764, Isaac helped to establish Rhode Island College and the Warren Association the following year. It appears that this new stage of formalization within the Baptist tradition did not allow women to participate in the founding of public institutions or denominational organizations.

During the developmental stage of the Baptist denomination there was a lack of ministers in proportion to the number of Baptist churches springing up throughout New England. This situation required the few Baptist ministers to travel to other congregations to fill pulpits. From 1740 to 1770, thirty-two Baptist churches formed in Massachusetts alone.[39] An analysis of the exceptional amount of annual travel recorded in Isaac's travel logs sheds light on an aspect of Susanna's life.

Each year, Isaac traveled an average of fifteen hundred miles and preached two hundred sermons.[40] In his lifetime, Isaac also embarked upon two extended trips for the advancement of the Baptist cause. The first trip occurred in 1774, when Isaac attended the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia for two months.[41] The second trip occurred in 1789, when the Warren Association sent Isaac as an agent to North Carolina and Virginia for five months.[42] During these extended periods of travel, Susanna remained at home. She bore the primary responsibility of sustaining the household by performing daily chores, managing the business of the farm, rearing the children, and attending church in Isaac's

absence. It appears that no Baptist women participated in these trips on behalf of the denomination, which supports the claim that women were not allowed to participate in religious endeavors outside of the church, especially those that involved politics.

A final reason for the decline in Susanna's recorded religious activity likely occurred due to her increasing domestic obligations. Susanna had nine children from 1750 to 1768. Following this season of intensive pregnancy and childbearing, Susanna continued to fade from the historical records. During this time, the only religious events Isaac linked Susanna to were the revivals of the1780s, for which "she most heartily rejoiced, and was much engaged."[43] Instead of serving publicly in a particular church role, Susanna devoted her spiritual services to the raising of her children and supporting Isaac's ministry. This transition mirrors the Backus' settlement into the Baptist church. Susanna was publicly active in her faith when faced with persecution and internal church strife. Once these pressure points were removed, there are no records of her engaging in public religious activity; instead, she focused her attention on the insular ministry of her immediate family. Nonetheless, Susanna's continued absence from church affairs, particularly after 1780 when all her children had reached adulthood, suggests that other factors contributed to her lack of involvement.

Pious Unto Death

A final evaluation of the events surrounding Susanna's death demonstrates the compounding tensions present in the lives of eighteenth-century women. At this time, piety could be expressed through one's actions during the "deathbed scene." Erik R. Seeman describes this event as entailing a "resignation to God's will, a well-grounded (not overly confident) hope that one was saved, and temperately offered final counsels."[44] On the one hand, Susanna's pious death represents liberation from this earthly life into the desired heavenly life. On the other hand, it represents the burdens imparted upon women to adhere to a certain set of cultural standards of piety, even while dying. Isaac concludes his "A Short Account of Mrs. Susanna Backus" with the events surrounding Susanna's death. The information provided suggests that he knew the necessary components of the deathbed scene and that he desired Susanna to be remembered for her pious death.

Susanna died from jaundice and dropsy in her stomach.[45] She suffered enormously in her final days; however, Isaac described her as not complaining. Rather, when Elder Rathbun came to visit the Backuses and pray with Susanna, she stated: "I'm not so much concerned about living or dying, as to have my will swallowed up in the will of God."[46] As outlined above, the coalescing of one's will with God's exemplifies a pious response to death. Susanna proclaimed something similar to Elder Cornell five days later when he came to pray with her. Isaac identified Susanna as not able to eat or drink much for weeks without being sick; however, she endured her pain and did not express any fear of death. The suppression of pain and the shunning of fear at death are two more characteristics that were sought after that distinguished an individual as pious. Susanna died early in the morning of November 24, 1800, at the age of seventy-five, having experienced an appropriately pious death.

In the case of the Separate Baptist tradition, the events of the Awakenings in the 1740s initiated the formation of a new sect. These events correspond with Susanna's religious activism in the first decade of her faith as a Separatist and later as a Baptist, covering the period of 1745 to 1756. During this time, Susanna publicly demonstrated her faith through the acts of testifying about her conversion to the Titicut Separate congregation, seeking to renew the Titicut Church Covenant, and serving as a founding member of the Middleborough Baptist Church. Subsequently, the Separate Baptists organized through the creation of institutions and associations in the 1760s. In the case of Susanna and Isaac, once they settled into the Baptist tradition, the degree to which Susanna publicly engaged in religious acts diminished. One reason for this decrease in her public religious role was likely due to the formalization efforts of the denomination. The formation of institutions and associations required the implementation of leadership and public engagement outside of the denomination. In turn, women were identified as unfit for such tasks and thus were relegated to religious affairs within their local congregation.

Notes

1 Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics & Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 41, 125; Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845*, Gender and American Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 33.

2 Robert G. Gardner, *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History, 1639–1790* (Atlanta: Georgia Baptist Historical Society, 1983), 36-38.

3 New Lights were pro-revivalists who emphasized individual inspiration and enlightenment through the Holy Spirit, Calvinist doctrines, and experiential religion that entailed emotional excitement that often resulted in weeping, holy laughter, ecstatic joy, dancing, and loss of bodily control. Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists,* 3rd ed. (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 2000), 222.

4 Members of the Philadelphia Association, such as James Manning and Morgan Edwards, came alongside the New England Baptists first to partner with them in the founding of Rhode Island College in 1764, and then to establish the Warren Association of New England in 1767. Rhode Island College became Brown University in 1804. Alvah Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times of the Rev. Isaac Backus, A.M.* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1859), 153-155; William G. McLoughlin, *New England Dissent, 1630–1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 503.

5 There is a divide among scholars of women's history concerning the role of women in the mid-18th century. Scholars who hold to the "golden age" theory purport that women became more marginalized. On the other hand, what could be termed the "progressive view" understands these women to have experienced greater degrees of political and legal equality than ever before. See Juster, *Disorderly Women*, 12 n. 22.

6 Thomas Laquer, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), as cited in Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 14.

7 Lonna M. Malmsheimer, "Daughters of Zion: New England Roots of American Feminism," *The New England Quarterly* 50:3 (September 1977), 503. http://www.jstor.org/stable/364280.

8 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 215-216; Juster, *Disorderly Women*, 127; Douglas L. Winiarski, *Darkness Falls on the Land of Light: Experiencing Religious Awakenings in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2017), Table 1, 94-95.

9 Juster, *Disorderly Women*, 41, 127; Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 216; Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 50.

10 Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 27

11 Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 129; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 71; Merril D. Smith, *Women's Roles in Eighteenth-Century America* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2010), 10-11.

12 Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 12-22.

13 Ibid., 5.

14 Joseph Mason was ordained as the church's minister in 1709 and served in this role until his death in 1748. Three of Pelatiah Mason's (1669–1763) sons were ordained as ministers of the church: Job Mason (1695–1775) in 1738; Russell Mason (b. 1714) in 1752; and John Mason (b. 1716) in 1788. Isaac Backus, *A History of New-England: With Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians Called Baptists*, ed. David Weston, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Newton, MA: The Backus Historical Society, 1871), 435.

15 Isaac Backus, *Gospel comfort for mourners: a sermon, delivered at Middleborough, February 5, 1769, upon hearing of the death of a godly mother; to which is added, some memoirs of her life,* 2nd ed. (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1803), 40.

16 Malmsheimer, "Daughters of Zion," 484; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Vertuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature, 1668–1735," *American Quarterly* 28:1 (spring 1976), 20-40.

17 William G. McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus and the American Pietistic Tradition* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), 65.

18 "An Account of the Life of Isaac Backus," Isaac Backus Papers (RG 280), Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library, Box 2.

19 Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times,* 307-308.

20 Francis J. Bremer, "To Tell What God Hath Done for They Soul": Puritan Spiritual Testimonies as Admission Tests and Means of Edification," *The New England Quarterly* 87:4 (December 2014): 625-665, (doi:10.1162/TNEQ a 00416). Bremer attempts to temper the mid-twentieth-century scholarship concerning the requirement of conversion narratives for memberships. He demonstrates how it was not a standard requirement by all Congregational churches; in fact—according to his examination—more churches did not require a public relation for membership than churches that did require this practice. Separatists identified the removal of this practice as a reason for their separation. The disunity among Congregational churches underscores the reason for the Separatists' desire to mandate a public testimony of one's conversion.

21 Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 45-46.

22 Concerning the Congregational church context, Winiarski notes that it was common for individuals seeking church membership to "time their admissions to coincide with the celebration of the Lord's Supper." The example of Susanna and Abigail demonstrates the continuity of this practice over time and between denominations. Winiarski, *Darkness Falls on the Land of Light*, 43.

23 Isaac Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus,* ed. William G. McLoughlin (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1979), 98.

24 Winiarski, *Darkness Falls on the Land of Light*, 397; Bremer, "To Tell What God Hath Done for They Soul," 652 n. 84.

25 Backus, *Gospel Comfort*, 40-43.

26 Andrew Croswell was born in 1709 in Charlestown, Massachusetts; graduated from Harvard in 1728; and was ordained at Groton, Connecticut in 1738. In October 1748, he served as minister of the Congregational Church of School Street, Boston. He held New Light sentiments and had separated from the Standing Order. He is often described as a radical or controversial individual due to his eccentric views and support of James Davenport. *Plymouth Church Records, 1620–1859*, edited by Albert Matthews, vol. 22 (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1920), xxxiv.

27 Joseph Snow Jr. was born in Bridgewater, Massachusetts on March 26, 1715; was converted during the revivals of 1741 alongside his father Joseph Sr., a blacksmith; was ordained in Providence on February 12, 1747; and was appointed the minister of a Congregational Church. Backus, *A History of New-England*, 373.

28 Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, 56 n. 1. McLoughlin does not cite the source of this information.

29 Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 39.

30 Backus, *Gospel Comfort*, 40-41.

31 Ibid.

32 Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times*, 98.

33 Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, 208-211. The church was only able to maintain its present state of mixed communion for another four years.

34 Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times*, 117, 119 n. 1. This follows the pattern identified by McLoughlin concerning the evolution of Separate churches into Baptist churches, as described above. The six members included Isaac Backus, Timothy Bryant, John Hayward, Susanna Backus, Mary Caswell, and Esther Fobes. During Isaac's fifty-year pastorate, the congregation averaged just under one hundred members. Membership peaked in 1788 at 173 members. See Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, 401 n. 1.

35 Edmund S. Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965, c1963.), 88. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.00036.0001.001.

36 Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times*, 307-308.

37 Due to the persecution of churches outside of the establishment, this statement was necessary both to demonstrate the allegiance of Baptists to the civil government and to distinguish them from abuses they faced. The separation of church and state has become an identifier for Baptists, and Isaac served as a founding father in establishing this principle.

38 "The Confession of Faith and Covenant of the Church of Christ in Titicut, signed Jan. 16, 1756," Isaac Backus Papers (RG 280), Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library, Box 6.

39 McLoughlin, *New England Dissent*, 436.

40 Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*. These averages were arrived at by identifying the mean number of miles traveled and sermons preached in 1767, 1772, 1777, 1780, 1781, 1787, and 1797.

41 Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, 912-923; "Account of Journeys Sep. 26–Oct 14, 1774," Isaac Backus Papers (RG 280), Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library, Box 2. This manuscript recounts the events of the Philadelphia trip.

42 Isaac was away from January 10–June 18. During this time he traveled 1,251 miles and preached 117 sermons in North Carolina and Virginia. Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, 1273.

43 Backus, *Gospel Comfort*, 50.

44 Erik R. Seeman, *Pious Persuasions: Laity and Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New England*, Early America (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 44.

45 Lois Backus Allen, "Allen, Lois (Backus) to Backus, Simon: January 31, 1823" (1823). *Brown Archival & Manuscript Collections Online*, Brown Digital Repository,Brown University Library, https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:200573/.

46 Backus, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, 1462.

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In Quest of a Denominationally Unifying Hymnbook:

Three Baptist Hymnbooks Published in America Prior to the Formation of the Southern Baptist Convention

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Nineteenth-century Baptist hymnody in America was filled with strife and conflict, matching the fervor of the denominational skirmishes fought over social reform, nationalism, and church politics.[1]

Hymnic controversies wrestled over singing schools for church leaders, musical structure of hymnals, and how much emotionalism to include in worship practices. More specifically, church musicians waged many battles on stylistic grounds, debating between traditional and revival hymnody, and between sacred and popular tunes. Presbyterian Thomas Hastings wrote heavily on this topic and was extremely critical of sacred texts that used tunes borrowed from popular culture.[2] He and other musicians often encountered these issues in camp meetings, which blurred denominational boundaries with their focus on prayer, preaching, and song. The development of revival hymnody fashioned "a body of songs (texts and music) possessing recognizable commonalities, including association with the oral tradition, simple harmonic structure, secular influences and thematic similarities."[3] Issues arising from revival hymnody set evangelicals on a path of worship wars that continued through the twentieth century.

As hymnody grew in America, various denominations produced their own hymnals that included traditional hymnody combined with compositions from contemporary hymnists. In 1827, the

Protestant Episcopalians developed a collection of 212 hymns that was prepared by William Mühlenberg, titled *Hymns of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America*. This collection was revised and often bound with the Prayer Book, creating the *Prayer Book Collection* published in 1833. Congregationalist Asahel Nettleton compiled *Village Hymns for Social Worship* in 1824, meeting the demand for conservative evangelical churches and revivalists.[4] Thomas Hastings desired a unifying hymnbook for Presbyterian services and revivals, so he published *Spiritual Songs for Social Worship* in 1832. And not to be outdone, Baptists in America created their own hymnals and tune books in the 1830s, beginning with South Carolinian Staunton S. Burdett's *Baptist Harmony* (1834) and South Carolinian William Walker's *The Southern Harmony* (1835).[5]

In this paper we will examine three Baptist hymnals used in America during the *1840s,* specifically highlighting the shared evangelical beliefs among hymn compilers, while also briefly discussing contrasts between musical styles and hymns selected for publication. The paper will begin with a brief description of Baptists in America in the 1840s, then transition to an analysis of three hymnals:

1. *The Virginia Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* (1840), primarily used in the South
2. *The Baptist Hymn Book* (1842), used more heavily in the West
3. *The Psalmist* (1843), greatly used in the North

Following an analysis of these three hymnals, the paper will conclude with a summary of the research findings. This paper will argue that Baptists in America during the 1840s sought unification with a common hymnal, yet cultural and political issues proved too great for a united association.

Baptists in America: Unifications and Divisions in the 1840s

Understanding how Baptist churches functioned in America in the 1840s is important in knowing why hymnody issues arose. At the close of the Revolutionary War, Baptists in the South of the newly

formed America rejected the Enlightenment ideal of individualism, emphasizing instead both democracy and authoritarianism in their church structure, thus creating a "precarious balance between premodern and modern cultural trends."[6] They further adhered to strict church discipline practices, creating a church democracy, which fashioned an exclusivity among their sect. As time progressed, Baptist churches encountered issues such as slavery and political involvement, with churches in the North responding contrarily to those in the South.

Baptists saw America as a Christian nation and realized that personal piety often demanded an interaction in politics and social movements. Broadly, Baptists aimed to serve God and obey Scripture, and they often thought that "promotion of virtue transcended party politics and . . . true religion was worthy of every patriot's support."[7] Because Baptists operated autonomously, they did not direct churches to immediately unify, as they were deeply opposed to ecclesiastical hierarchy. As churches functioned in their autonomy, Baptists in the North and the South maintained their concern with personal piety, and this was never far removed from social action or reform. These Baptists insisted that their personal piety have public effects.[8] Northern and southern Baptists mostly maintained their unification in anti-temperance efforts, believing that the fight for temperance was a sacred and secular mission to change society.[9] Differences occurred, however, in other areas of social reform.

Baptists in America upheld their decision to be active in social reform but divided on their support of individual causes, with those issues revolving around liberty and slavery. While most white Baptists supported the cause of universal liberty, they avoided the implications for slavery.[10] Some Baptists in the South struggled with knowing the importance of personal liberty and conversion of the black person, yet they did not believe in the black person's full liberty in society. Slavery tensions were felt among Baptists before the Civil War, most of which stemmed from the conviction that "God ministered directly to individuals, regardless of class, ethnicity, or gender."[11]

As pressure mounted over slavery in America by the 1840s, black Baptists began their own associations separate from their white counterparts. James Melvin Washington believes that black Baptists desired their own associations because they perceived that white Baptists "had

very little faith in the merits of rational discussion. They emphasized the inward rather than the outward or verbal expression of Christian conscience, conscientiousness, and consciousness."[12] Baptists in the South struggled with joining the antislavery movement wholeheartedly, but they were deeply concerned about the souls of all humans. In southern churches, this concern was reflected in their emphasis on personal piety and the experience of the individual. In the North, however, Baptists became heavily involved in political and abolitionist efforts.

The issue of slavery was also reflected in mission societies through their training and support of black and white missionaries. Northern Baptist churches advocated for the training of black Baptist missionaries while southern Baptist churches held to training white missionaries alone. These training societies sent their missionaries west to Texas and ultimately to California, which propagated northern and southern ideals in missionary efforts.[13] At the same time, northern Baptists began their assault on slavery and tried to persuade their fellow Baptists in the South to join them. Baptist churches in the North, including Fall River Baptist Church in Rhode Island, called for excommunication of slaveholders.[14] Northern Baptists sought to aid black Baptists in the South through the building of their churches and furthering their education. However, many southerners opposed the education of slaves in fear of revolt, creating a schism with their northern counterparts.[15]

One final point of dissimilarity among Baptists in America relates to the topic of revivals. Nathan Hatch states that between "1800 and 1830 a wildly diverse religious culture made both denominational identity and authority fragile creations."[16] Even though revivals blurred denominational lines, there was still a division created between preachers that encouraged a heightened emotional response and those that urged restraint in the response of the sinner to conversion. This disharmony was most often reflected, again, between northern and southern preachers.

Revival preachers in the North at the close of the Second Great Awakening (1830–1840) were typically more educated and mature in controlling emotional responses, with their work marked by "reverence, humility, and stillness rather than noise and excitement."[17] Southern preachers, however, encouraged more emotional responses, choosing to emphasize the dynamic personality of the preacher over education or theology.[18]

Paula Kane defines revival as "a pietistic movement, meaning that personal, subjective experience of religion was emphasized over concern for the intellectual, dogmatic aspects of religion."[19] Thus, the use of emotional tactics in revivals was an area of intense debate, reflecting the shift from Calvinistic tenets of "moral depravity, predestination, and the absolute sovereignty of God" giving way to the Arminian philosophy of "optimistically [asserting] the ability of men and women to repent and convert in order to obtain personal salvation."[20]

Amid these crucial debates, three specific hymnals were compiled for Baptists in America. The hymnals reviewed here were all published within five years before the founding of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845. As the *Trinity Hymnal* states, "It is well known that the character of its song, almost equal with the character of its preaching, controls the theology of a church."[21]

Baptists in America: A Brief Hymnological Account

Initially, Baptists in America utilized English psalters in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but by the late eighteenth century, they transitioned from strict psalm singing to incorporating hymns in their gathered worship services, relying heavily upon Isaac Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1709).[22] Watts, no stranger to dissenters, sent a copy of his hymnal to American Cotton Mather in 1711, which led to nine of Watts' hymns being printed in six books in Boston between 1712 and 1714.[23]

In 1792, John Rippon published his first American hymnal containing his own arrangements of Watts' hymns, titled *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns*. In 1801 Rippon additionally published *An Arrangement of the Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts* in London, which was printed in Philadelphia in 1820 and became known as "Rippon's Watts."[24] This collection "became the most popular collection among the Baptist churches in that area."[25] Other collections were published by various compilers, including "Winchell's Watts," which was preferred by New England Baptists.[26] These collections, especially Rippon's, were used by many Baptist congregations in America, which eventually led to associational hymnal publications for specific Baptist use.

Baptist hymnody historian William Reynolds notes that "while Baptist compilers drew heavily on English sources for the main body of their borrowed material, there was an increasing effort on the part of many to include native materials, marking the beginnings of American folk hymnody."[27] American Baptist hymnals began including not only traditional hymnody from Isaac Watts, Anne Steele, and John Newton, but also incorporated contemporary spiritual songs used in revival services and camp meetings. Most Baptists, especially in the South, lived in rural areas, and "folk hymns were essentially the popular music of rural religion."[28] William Walker's tune book mentioned earlier, *Southern Harmony*, was "based in the idiom of folk music," with music often being "written or copied from oral tradition."[29]

Even though northern and southern Baptists were united in their desire for Baptist hymnals, controversies arose over hymnal publications, specifically what hymns were to be selected for which hymnbooks. Hymnals, like other written works, "document political differences, regional proclivities, interpersonal conflict, and even freakish happenstance."[30]

The Virginia Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs (1840)

Baptist hymnody historian Paul Richardson states that "American Baptist collections proliferated in the first half of the nineteenth century, but none of these prior to 1840 seems to have contributed markedly to the development of hymnody."[31] With the dawning of the 1840s, Baptists in America saw an explosion of hymnals, including books for Sunday services, social worship, private devotions, and revival services. At the start of the decade, Baptist Andrew Broaddus compiled *The Virginia Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* and had it published in both the North (Philadelphia) and the South (Virginia). Broaddus had published *The Virginia Selection of Psalms* in 1836, which he expanded upon in his 1840 publication of the same edition.

Richardson and fellow historian David Music note that *The Virginia Selection* "goes beyond its predecessors not only in size, scope, and title, but also in scholarship by identifying most texts as to author or source."[32] Broaddus was sure to include Baptist hymn writers in his new edition, including texts from Richard Furman, Adoniram Judson, and Samuel

F. Smith.[33] This type of collection had long been desired by southern churches, with many calling for the publication of a standard hymnbook for all Baptists between 1835 and 1840.[34] Broaddus himself hoped that the book would be met with "general acceptance and approbation," remarking that his new book was a "suitable and desirable companion for the devotional exercises of the pulpit—of social meetings, families, and individuals."[35] He attempted to compile a hymnbook that Baptists could use for all occasions, yet he knew the limitations that arose from such an effort. Broaddus wrote that "the book is designed for popular as well as for pulpit use, [therefore] some allowance must be made for popular liking—some sacrifice at the altar of devotional feeling."[36]

Baptists in the South "opted for hymnals compiled by other southerners" because their religious and social preferences were in one accord.[37] Southerners held to a different style of worship than northerners, which is noted in their partiality for "social" worship. Historian Mandy McMichael reveals the differences in the focus of worship between northerners and southerners when she states, "An evaluation of the various hymns reveals that northerners possessed a rigid, centripetal conception of worship that concentrated on worship on Sunday in the church, while southerners held to a more fluid centrifugal model that expanded worship in different contexts."[38] The southern predilection for more "social songs" is revealed in Broaddus' preface to his hymnal, stating that the first edition had "been found defective in regard to the number and variety of hymns for the common occasions of pulpit service."[39]

Although Broaddus included more "social songs," he admitted that they "may not be capable of standing the test of refined criticism."[40] He defined "social songs" as those that were "used in free, social singing, and found scattered about in different publication."[41] An example of a "social song" in *The Virginia Selection* comes from Broaddus' own hand, "Help thy servant, gracious Lord":

> Help thy servant, gracious Lord,
> Who comes in Jesus' name;
> Only thou canst strength afford,
> Thy gospel to proclaim:
> Grant his soul a heavenly ray,

Fill his heart with holy fire;
Help thy servant, Lord, we pray –
Regard our souls' desire.

O, for sanctifying grace!
O, for love's inspiring power!
Lord, we beg, for Jesus' sake,
A sweet refreshing shower.

It was these very "social songs" that the later editors of *The Psalmist* wrote against, stating that their hymnal contained songs "whose decided merit and high spiritual tone eminently [adapted] them to the purposes of worship."[42] Broaddus was correct. The social songs included in his hymnal were unable to withstand northern criticism. The inclusion of "social songs" in his revised hymnal caused northerners to reject his collection, with northern editors stating that the "demand for a new compilation of hymns for the use of the Baptist churches" was "growing more and more imperious."[43]

Northern and southern editors appeared to be unified in their desire to create a hymnbook for all Baptists in America, yet their goals for the hymnals differed. Broaddus preferred a book "designed for popular as well as for pulpit use," while northerners Smith and Stow dedicated their book, *The Psalmist*, "to the purposes of worship," specifically worship "for the sanctuary."[44] With Broaddus diminishing the use of traditional hymnody and Smith and Stow omitting "social songs," the difference emerged that southerners "liked the pleasures of religion, believing worship to be an emotion-filled event in which God was not only present, but spoke to them personally." On the other hand, northerners desired to "control every aspect of worship in the form of the hymns that were sung and to promote conformity with prescribed hymns."[45]

Broaddus' hymnal, then, was not able to bridge the gap between northern and southern Baptists. His emphasis upon "social songs" was unappealing to northerners, so another hymnbook was needed to unite Baptists in America. Many denominational hymnals were compiled over the next few years, but none had the longevity and wide distribution of Broaddus' hymnal.

The Baptist Hymn Book (1842)

Two years after the 1840 publication of *The Virginia Selection*, William Buck attempted again to unify the congregational singing among Baptists in America. Buck published *The Baptist Hymn Book* in 1842 in Louisville, Kentucky, with the aim of giving the "denomination at large" a hymnal for general use.[46] Knowing the battles being waged between northern and southern Baptists in the 1840s led Baptist pastors "to meet the needs of their specific congregations" by compiling their own hymnals.[47] David Music and Paul Richardson note that *The Baptist Hymn Book* was used "over a wide expanse of the West and South," with another author specifically citing its use in Kentucky and Missouri.[48]

William Buck wrote about his hymnal often in the Kentucky paper *Baptist Banner*, of which he was the editor. On one particular occasion, he noted the popularity of his hymnbook among fellow southerners, stating that their opinions are published with pleasure because "the work is worthy [of] their patronage."[49] Buck arranged the hymnal into two sections, one of "hymns" and one of "songs," which generated it "much more appropriate for popular acceptance" in the South.[50] One southern Baptist wrote upon its publication:

> One great evil, under which we have labored in the West, and nowhere more than in Kentucky, has been a want of an adequate supply of hymnbooks, and, where the churches have attempted to supply themselves, their books were very imperfect. One thing especially pleased me in your collection; I could think of no good hymn that you had not selected.[51]

Another author from the same publication noted the use of *The Baptist Hymn Book* in New Albany, Ohio. One reviewer noted that the arrangement and style of Buck's book was "far superior to any hymnbook now in use in the denomination. It exhibits better taste, and more labor in the selection, than usual." This author further stated that he believed it to be "the best Baptist hymnbook now extant." [52]

At the time of the book's publication, Buck was head of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, which reveals the popularity of his book in that state. Buck, having long labored as a pastor, noted that he had a wide "acquaintance with this important part of divine worship," and noted that only those hymns "that possessed superior merit have

been selected."[53] Like Broaddus, he incorporated "social songs" because of their popularity. Yet he prided himself on including Scripture texts for all hymns, a feat that he claimed "[distinguished] it from all the others."[54]

Although Buck included both traditional hymns and social songs in *The Baptist Hymn Book*, he never referenced social worship practices in his preface, instead emphasizing "uniformity in the use of hymns for divine worship" as containing "utmost importance."[55] He appears to strike somewhat of a balance between northerners and southerners, stressing the importance of uniformity in hymns as did northerners, yet including social songs that were important to southerners. Due to his denominational work, Buck's hymnal was used broadly, necessitating the printing of a second edition. After 10,000 copies were sold of the first edition, Buck created a new edition that served two purposes: for use by (1) families and churches and (2) itinerant ministers, "such as are under the necessity of carrying their books in their pockets."[56]

Buck attempted to spread the use of his hymnal out of the South, to the West, and even to the North, often using his position as editor of *The Baptist Banner* to influence others. Through his words and deeds, he desired his book to be a unifying source for all Baptists. According to Music and Richardson, Buck even attempted to negotiate a deal with the American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society to help distribute his hymnal in the North, but leaders of the Society rejected his proposal because they were set to release their own hymnal, *The Psalmist*.[57]

The Psalmist (1843)

In Baptist America during the 1840s, one publication is noted for standing on a different plane completely because it "set new standards for Baptists in America, and [was] equal of those produced in other denominations."[58] That hymnal was *The Psalmist*, published by Massachusetts Baptist ministers Baron Stow and Samuel F. Smith. William J. Reynolds noted that Stow and Smith observed the increasing need for new books to replace Rippon's and Winchell's, thus the "results of their efforts became a unifying force in hymnody."[59]

Stow and Smith state their purpose of compiling a new hymnal in their preface, writing that worship's "object is praise; after this, the

expression of emotions of penitence, joy, humility, hope, love, or dependence, in such a manner as to involve an acknowledgment of God, and thus glorify him. It is the offspring of religious emotion. From whatever feeling it takes its rise, it tends towards God."[60] They acknowledge that worship is more than a "mental mechanism," requiring an engagement of all the singer's faculties.[61] This struggle in understanding how much emotion to apply in worship practices was often a topic of disagreement between hymn editors, with northern ministers preferring little to no emotional responses, and southern ministers seeking emotionalism in their hymn singing. It is clear, though, that Stow and Smith argued for a balanced approach of didactic understanding and heart involvement from the singer.

Due to its inclusion of many traditional hymnists and a resolution to "the elevation of evangelical taste," *The Psalmist* was "recommended by a group of Baptist ministers from widely separated parts of the country in the hope of uniting the Baptists of America in the use of one hymnbook."[62] This hymnal was published for the intent of becoming the only hymnbook used for all Baptists. One reviewer in the *Alabama Baptist* believed that *The Psalmist* should become the denominational hymnbook and declared it "decidedly superior to any collection of Psalms and Hymns ever before issued from the American Press." This author further enthused that he believed "the preparation of this work may be regarded as the act of the entire denomination, and if it be universally adopted, it will greatly tend to produce uniformity of doctrine, and church order and discipline, through all the churches."[63] Unification was intensely desired, with another reviewer of *The Psalmist* stating:

> It is needless to dwell upon the great importance of having a standard work for the whole denomination in the U. States. Great inconvenience and perplexity have been the result of the almost endless variety of Hymn Books that have been used in different sections of the country. If any book is to secure universal patronage, it can be none other than the one whose merits we are urging; if we cannot unite on this, we must still go on as we have been doing with our hymn book jargon, agreed in nothing but to patronize endless confusion, change, and discord.[64]

Northerners and southerners alike desired uniformity in hymnody. Baptists in the South, however, largely did not favor this northern hymnal because "it omitted many hymns popular in the South, making it a less attractive option for the region."[65] Mandy McMichael believes that the omissions "are understandable, since Baptists North and South espoused conflicting views about the composition and function of hymns and denominational structures. They preferred different liturgical contexts, read and interpreted Scripture through different lenses, and held different theologies."[66]

Baptist ministers in the South took to their associational papers to express their displeasure with *The Psalmist*. One author diplomatically expressed praise for *The Psalmist* because of "its purity of style and expression," believing that it had "great and deserved merit." Yet he continued to point out its "defects," namely omission of particular hymns preferred by southerners, "abridgment" of hymns, and finally alteration of hymns.[67] Other critics wrote that *The Psalmist* was not on the level with Watts and Rippon, noting that it can never "supply the place of the hymnbooks now in use, especially for revival and other extraordinary occasions." These authors continued to say that they "doubt whether our brethren would do wisely to throw away all their old hymn books, for the sake of making room for this new candidate for public favor."[68]

Ultimately, the strongest argument from southern Baptist ministers against *The Psalmist* was due to the opinions of the hymnal editors, which seeped into hymns chosen for publication. A group of particularly severe reviewers objected to the "influences on which our Northern brethren" seek to educate southern ministers, seeing them, the authors suppose, as "incapable of discovering the rare merits of this paragon of sacred poetry." These critics explicitly cited their dissatisfaction with *The Psalmist* because of "an entire disregard for the feelings of brethren in slaveholding States." They continued:

> The Board well knew that Mr. Stow, one of the editors of *The Psalmist*, had rendered himself obnoxious to the South, by his favoring the agitation of the Slavery question. By consenting therefore to adopt a hymnbook, which was to be compiled principally by him, or under his supervision, they evinced that they had little or no respect for the feelings of their brethren in the South and Southwest. Whether

> the prejudices against Mr. Stow were well founded or not, they should have been respected by a Society in which the South have [sic] an interest in common with the North.[69]

The Psalmist, although "intended for the entire community of Baptists in America regardless of their geographical location," failed to secure the affections of southern slaveholding states.[70] Ministers at the time knew the purpose of *The Psalmist* was an effort "to establish a uniformity among our churches," yet the "failure of the hymnal to take hold in the South points to a chasm already too wide to be unified."[71] These issues caused one author to discourage use of *The Psalmist* in the South, citing that true southern men "want no books among us that will injure the interests of the slave-holding States."[72]

Additionally, *The Psalmist* was unpopular in the South because "of its lack of an extensive folk-song hymnody."[73] This hymnal textually reflected Rippon's arrangements and musically intimated an influence of Lowell Mason, who utilized higher European customs in church music.[74] These elements made *The Psalmist* appealing to northern churches because "northern Baptists esteemed hymns known for their lyrical excellence."[75] Although Baptists in the South also utilized Rippon's book, "southerners generally preferred folk-song hymnody and gospel songs," which continued in the "musical and theological trends of the earlier revival period."[76] One particularly harsh critic declared that *The Psalmist* had "little more of poetry in it than the multiplication table."[77] It seems no matter how studious the editors were, many southerners found multiple points of contention with Stow and Smith's compilation.

In hopes of endearing *The Psalmist* to Baptists in the South, southern Baptist ministers Richard Fuller and J.B. Jeter compiled a *Supplement* (1850) to "make the hymnal more appealing to southern churches."[78] This supplement utilized a hymn from southern Baptist minister Andrew Broaddus, "Restless Thy Spirit, Poor Wandering Sinner," and incorporated two other hymns from Broaddus' *The Virginia Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs*.[79] These southern inclusions "went some way toward increasing circulation of *The Psalmist* in the South."[80] Reynolds noted that the *Supplement* "was welcomed by the urban churches and the more educated congregations," yet it "was somewhat advanced for the South and West."[81]

Fuller and Jeter directly stated that the *Supplement* was "adapted chiefly to social worship," which they hoped would "contribute greatly to the interest and profit of our prayer and protracted meetings."[82] Their acknowledgement of the inclusion of social songs was directed at southern churches, yet they provided that they knew "no reason why it should not be acceptable to other portions of the country."[83] Ultimately, however, the "chasm in hymnody between northern and southern Baptists proved too wide for a small addendum to bridge."[84] A pair of particularly vocal admonishers of the *Supplement* wrote that they were not "very sanguine about the uniformity in our Baptist churches, in any item of either their faith or practice; nor do we know that uniformity in the use of a hymn book would much advance the interests of our denomination or the cause of Christ."[85] Southerners, it seems, transitioned from a desire for uniformity to a request for their own southern hymnbook.[86]

It should be noted that between the publication of *The Psalmist* and its *Supplement*, the Southern Baptist Convention was officially formed in 1845. The impending split that was occurring in 1843 had come to fruition by 1850. McMichael notes that these two volumes "deepened the divide between northern and southern Baptists by openly acknowledging different liturgical preferences."[87] The simple publication of the *Supplement* recognized the dissimilarities to both parties, with northern and southern Baptists "singing different tunes both literally and ideologically even as they attempted to come together on a common hymnal."[88]

Baptists in America: The Hymnals' Failed Attempts at Unification

This paper has argued that Baptists in America in the 1840s sought unification among all their brethren using a standard hymnal, yet differences proved too great for amalgamation. These hymnals failed to unite Baptists on more grounds than just musical preference. Deep issues such as slavery and liberty revealed regional biases, and Baptists proved their disunity through the support of individual hymnals. The hymnals' failure to unite Baptists across America reflected elements of controversy beyond simple hymnological tastes, or what could be termed "worship wars." Because northern Baptists viewed the function of the hymnal differently than southern Baptists, they subsequently

viewed the purpose of worship dissimilarly. These views of worship organization "reflected the North and South's preferences for society and for convention models of denominational structure, respectively."[89]

After the publication of these three hymnals, yet before the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention, there came calls for a "Southern Hymn Book" that would be "more suited to our wants than any one now in circulation."[90] This author further summarizes the struggles between northern and southern Baptist churches in asking for a strictly southern hymnbook, stating that "the Chants, which are suited to such places as Boston, where their churches are supplied with the 'swelling organ,' are utterly useless in Alabama; and the spiritual songs, which so much enliven our devotions in this section, would not be admitted into the churches in Boston."[91] It appears, then, the failure of *The Psalmist* to unite Baptists created a resolute division whereby Baptists no longer sought unification in hymnody. Instead, they desired hymnals from their regions that expressed their philosophies of worship.[92]

All Baptists in America held a high view of singing in their services, believing that "singing has constituted a very important part of the devotional exercise of the pious."[93] They wrote about struggles to select hymns that "resemble those of the early Christians, [which] must be capable of bearing the soul with all its cares, solicitudes, desires, and affections to the bosom of God."[94] Through their labors, hymn editors desired to follow biblical structures of worship, albeit with varied interpretations. Yet even through their division, it could be argued that each group echoed Andrew Broaddus' comment:

> [W]hile we sing with our voices, may our hearts make melody to the Lord; and...with hearts and voices better tuned, may we join the triumphant strains of the heavenly host, in ascribing all glory to God and our Redeemer for ever and ever![95]

Notes

1 See Aaron Menikoff, *Politics and Piety: Baptist Social Reform in America, 1770–1860* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014) for further information on these specific issues.

2 Mark Rhoads covers Thomas Hastings' and Lowell Mason's approach to nineteenth-century worship practices in "Fixing Majesty: Making Over the Old Songs in America's Early Nineteenth Century Reform Movement," *The Hymn* 57:3 (Summer 2006): 23-32.

3 Paula Marie Kane, "American Revival Songs, 1820–1850: *The Christian Lyre* and *Spiritual Songs for Social Worship*" (PhD diss., College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA, 1980), 69.

4 See Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1940) for further information.

5 Harry Eskew, "Southern Baptist Contributions to Hymnody," *Baptist History and Heritage* 19:1 (January 1984): 27.

6 Gregory A. Wills, *Democratic Religion: Freedom, Authority, and Church Discipline in the Baptist South 1785–1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), ix.

7 Meinkoff, *Politics and Piety*, 10.

8 This is the overall theme of Meinkoff's *Politics and Piety*, which he demonstrates through Baptist efforts in abolition, poverty, and temperance.

9 See Meinkoff, *Politics and Piety*, ch. 7.

10 See Thomas S. Kidd and Barry Hankins, *Baptists in America: A History* (New York: Oxford, 2015), ch. 6, for further information.

11 Ibid., 118.

12 James Melvin Washington, *Frustrated Fellowship: The Black Baptist Quest for Social Power* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004), 19.

13 Refer to Kidd and Hankins, *Baptists in America*, as a further resource.

14 Meinkoff, *Politics and Piety*; see his entire discussion on this topic in ch. 4.

15 Ibid.

16 Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 63.

17 Iain H. Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750–1858* (Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), 211.

18 Ibid., 361.

19 Kane, "American Revival Songs," 10.

20 Ibid., 28, 35.

21 *Trinity Hymnal* (Philadelphia: Great Commission Publications, 1961), vi.

22 For a detailed account of Baptist psalmody and hymnody in America, see William J. Reynolds, "Our Heritage of Baptist Hymnody in America," *Baptist History and Heritage* 11:4 (October 1976): 204-217.

23 David Music, "Isaac Watts in America before 1729," *The Hymn* 50:1 (1999). The nine hymns are: "Now in the heat of youthful blood," "Lo, the young tribes of Adam rise," "Hark! From the tombs a doleful sound," "Hear what the voice from heav'n proclaims," "The gates of the devouring grave," "Thee we adore, eternal name," "Death! 'Tis a melancholy day," "Why do we mourn departing friends," and "When I survey the wondrous cross."

24 Reynolds, "Our Heritage," 210.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., 212.

28 David Music, "The Baptist Influence on Revival Music/The Revival Influence on Baptist Music," *Baptist History and Heritage* 45:3 (Summer/Fall 2010), 42–43.

29 Ibid., 43.

30 Mandy McMichael, "All Out of Tune: The Failures of *The Psalmist* to Keep the Peace," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 47:2 (Summer 2020), 162.

31 Paul Richardson, "Baptist Contributions to Hymnody and Hymnology," *Review and Expositor* 87 (1990), 64.

32 David Music and Paul Richardson, *"I Will Sing the Wondrous Story," A History of Baptist Hymnody in North America* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2008), 184.

33 Ibid., 184.

34 Andrew Broaddus, "Hymn Book," *Biblical Recorder* 4:37 (Sept. 14, 1839), 47; "The New Hymn Book," *Religious Herald* 2:43 (Oct. 30, 1835), 169; "Standard Hymn Book," *Religious Herald* 6:44 (Nov. 8, 1833), 173; all cited in Donald Clark Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings in Southern Baptist Church Music: 1828–1890" (DMA diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1986), 15, 35, 26.

35 Broaddus, "Hymn Book," 47.

36 Andrew Broaddus, "Preface," *The Virginia Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* (Richmond, VA: Smith and Palmer, 1840), vii.

37 McMichael, "The Failures," 165.

38 Ibid., 169.

39 Broaddus, "Preface," vi-vii.

40 Ibid., vii.

41 Andrew Broaddus, "Preface to the New Hymn Book," *Religious Herald* 2:36 (Sept. 11, 1835), 141, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 33.

42 Samuel F. Smith and Baron Stow, "Preface," *Psalmist: A New Collection of Hymns for the Use of Baptist Churches* (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1843), 5.

43 Ibid., 6.

44 Broaddus, "Preface," vii; Smith and Stow, "Preface," 5.

45 McMichael, "The Failures," 170-171.

46 William Buck, "Preface," *The Baptist Hymn Book* (Louisville, KY: J. Eliot and Co, 1842), vi.

47 Irvin Henry Murrell Jr., "An Examination of Southern Ante-Bellum Baptist Hymnals and Tunebooks as Indicators of the Congregational Hymn and Tune Repertories of the Period with an Analysis of Representative Tunes" (DMA diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1984), 35.

48 Quote from Music and Richardson, *"I Will Sing the Wondrous Story,"* 198. Irvine Murrel mentions the use of *The Baptist Hymn Book* in different states in his dissertation, "An Examination," 36.

49 "The Baptist Hymn Book," *Baptist Banner* 9:17 (Apr. 28, 1842), 6, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 17.

50 Reynolds, "Our Heritage," 216.

51 "The Baptist Hymn Book," *Baptist Banner* 9:17 (Apr. 28, 1842), 18.

52 Ibid., 18.

53 Buck, "Preface," vi.

54 Ibid., vi.

55 Ibid., vii.

56 Music and Richardson, *"I Will Sing the Wondrous Story,"* 198.

57 Ibid., 198, footnote.

58 Richardson, "Baptist Contributions," 64.

59 Reynolds, "Our Heritage," 216.

60 Smith and Stow, "Preface," 3.

61 Thomas Hastings states that "music is a species of mental mechanism" in the preface to his hymnal of the same time, *The Christian Psalmist* (New York: Hastings & WM Patton, 1840), 4.

62 Hugh McElrath, "Turning Points in the Story of Baptist Church Music," *Baptist History and Heritage* 19:1 (January 1984), 10.

63 "Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship," *Alabama Baptist* 1:40 (Nov. 4, 1843), 2, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 48.

64 "The Psalmist," *Christian Index* 12:15 (Apr. 12, 1844), 2, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 51.

65 McMichael, "The Failures," 162.

66 Ibid., 162-163.

67 "The Psalmist," *Religious Herald* 10:32 (Aug. 10, 1843), 127, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 38-42.

68 "The Psalmist," *Biblical Recorder* 9:30 (July 27, 1844), 2, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 68.

69 "The Psalmist," *Christian Index* 12:31 (Aug. 2, 1844), 3, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 70-71.

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71 First quote: "Elder Peck and The Psalmist," *Baptist Banner* 11:29 (July 18, 1844), 1, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 52. Second quote: McMichael, "The Failures," 164.

72 "The Psalmist," *Alabama Baptist* 2:27 (Aug. 17, 1844), 2, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 75.

73 McElrath, "Turning Points," 10.

74 Ibid.

75 McMichael, "The Failures," 165.

76 Ibid.

77 "The Psalmist," *Christian Index* 12:15 (Apr. 12, 1844), 2, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 49.

78 McMichael, "The Failures," 166.

79 Harry Eskew, "Southern Baptist Contributions to Hymnody," *Baptist History and Heritage* 19:1 (January 1984), 28.

80 Music and Richardson, *"I Will Sing the Wondrous Story,"* 209.

81 Reynolds, "Our Heritage," 216.

82 Richard Fuller and J.B. Jeter, *The Psalmist: A Supplement* (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1849), 3.

83 Ibid., 4.

84 McMichael, "The Failures," 166.

85 "The Psalmist," *Christian Index* 16:2 (Jan. 13, 1848), 13, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 150.

86 See also "Southern Hymn Book," *Biblical Recorder* 9:47 (Nov. 23, 1844); "Hymn Book," *Christian Index* 13:2 (Jan. 10, 1845); "Hymn Book for Our Southern Churches," *Christian Index* 13:13 (Mar. 28, 1845), as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 22-23.

87 McMichael, "The Failures," 166.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., 172.

90 "Southern Hymn Book," *Alabama Baptist* 2:38 (Nov. 11, 1844), 3, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 22.

91 Ibid.

92 See also "Southern Hymn Book," *Biblical Recorder* 9:47 (Nov. 23, 1844); "Hymn Book," *Christian Index* 13:2 (Jan. 10, 1845); "Hymn Book for Our Southern Churches," *Christian Index* 13:13 (Mar. 28, 1845), as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 22-23.

93 "A New Hymn Book," *Biblical Recorder* 3:12 (Mar. 22, 1837), 2, as cited in Measels, "A Catalog of Source Readings," 1.

94 "A New Hymn Book," *Biblical Recorder*, 3.

95 Broaddus, "Preface," x.

Jennings Randolph: A Politically Liberal and Socially Conservative Seventh Day Baptist Senator

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For much of the period between the inauguration of the New Deal in 1933 and the beginning of the conservative Reagan Revolution in the 1980s, one of the leading public officials in the United States was Jennings Randolph.

Born in Salem, West Virginia in 1902, Randolph served his home state in Washington, D.C. for nearly four decades. First elected to Congress in the 1932 Democratic landslide that swept Franklin Delano Roosevelt into the White House, Randolph served in the House of Representatives until early 1947. Opposition to Harry S. Truman led to a loss of fifty-six seats for the Democrats in the 1946 midterm elections, and Randolph was one of the casualties. The former House member spent a little more than a decade in the private sector, working primarily in the airline industry and as an educator in the Washington, D.C. area. Then, in 1958, he decided to run in a special election to fill an unexpired term that arose with the death of Senator Matthew M. Neely on January 18, 1958. The governor of West Virginia, Republican Cecil H. Underwood, chose to appoint John Hoblitzell Jr. as a temporary replacement until a special election could be held in conjunction with the midterm election in November 1958. Randolph won and held this seat until his retirement in January of 1985.[1]

Jennings Randolph considered himself a New Dealer throughout his political career. As his career came to an end, he named Franklin Delano Roosevelt as his favorite president among those under whom

he had served during more than the fifty-two years that spanned from his first election to the House in 1932 through his retirement from the Senate in 1985.[2]

Randolph was also a devout member of the Seventh Day Baptist denomination. He wrote several articles for the *Sabbath Recorder*, the publishing arm of the Seventh Day Baptists, and was the first vice president of the North American Baptist Fellowship, a regional branch of the Baptist World Alliance.[3]

Senator Randolph was open regarding his faith, and he spoke frequently on religious topics. He viewed humanitarian concern that involved social welfare programs and care for disabled Americans as a proper example of Christian social action.[4] Randolph's desire to help the less fortunate caused him to support many liberal policies; when it came to cultural issues tied to traditional Christian conceptions of morality, however, he took a more conservative stance. While it might seem to contemporary observers that this apparent bifurcation in Randolph's positions was inconsistent, it can also be argued that Randolph's view was actually more consistent from an ideological standpoint than that of many present-day conservatives. Today, conservatives hold to social views that encourage government action to restrict behavior they deem immoral while simultaneously tending toward libertarian economic positions or that of contemporary liberals who simply take the opposite side on these issues.

For much of his career, Jennings Randolph served in an era of liberal consensus. Many Americans who lived through the Great Depression came to believe that government had both the ability and responsibility to solve problems. Historian James T. Patterson titled his book on post-World War II America *Grand Expectations*, emphasizing the optimistic mood that followed the war. Randolph supported this liberal consensus that reached its zenith in the early Lyndon Baines Johnson administration before a conservative pushback began to gain steam.[5] If government could solve economic and social problems, why could it not also solve cultural issues? In this way, Randolph's view was quite different from Ronald Reagan's later argument that "government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem."[6]

Randolph's Liberal Politics

At heart, Jennings Randolph was a democrat, and this involved more than his membership in the Democratic Party. He is perhaps best remembered as the author of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, which granted eighteen-year-old Americans the right to vote. Randolph supported such an amendment during his stint in the House, first proposing it during the height of the Second World War in 1942. He continued to introduce legislation to lower the voting age into the Vietnam era, when his efforts finally succeeded. Randolph understood that young American adults could experience military obligations, and he also cited the fact that the United States was getting younger. He noted statistics from the Census Bureau that estimated the median age in the nation would drop from 26.4 in 1970 to 25.3 in 1985. He admired the civic and political activism of young adults in his calls for extending the franchise.[7]

While there were a few signs of opposition to this amendment in the Vietnam era, Randolph received many accolades for his effort to expand the franchise. The *Charleston Gazette* praised the senator in an article titled "Generation Gap Bridge by Randolph Best Yet."[8] Once the states ratified the amendment, the praise continued. Randolph received many letters from his constituents in West Virginia and others far afield. The vast majority were complimentary of his efforts. A letter from a nineteen-year-old Nebraskan is representative of the positive mail that Randolph received. Bruce Nelson wrote to the West Virginia senator:

> I am 19 years old and I live in the state of Nebraska...This vote is something I have been actively working for, for the last three years. Since you deserve the most credit, I thank you. I will now work so that the people in my age group will greatly appreciate this right and also to use it wisely. We will not disappoint you. Thank you![9]

Randolph was also a strong supporter of civil rights legislation. This stood in clear contrast to his colleague from West Virginia, Robert C. Byrd, a man also tied to the Baptist tradition. Byrd infamously filibustered the 1964 Civil Rights Act for more than fourteen hours.[10] Randolph grew weary of the filibuster, however, and explicitly encouraged its end on the Senate floor, arguing that "the time has come—indeed it is

overdue—when senators should consider this measure strictly on its merits." He supported Lyndon Johnson's program, including the Civil Rights Act.[11] When the time came to vote for cloture to end debate on that bill, Randolph was on board, and he then voted to pass the Civil Rights Act. In keeping with his interest in securing and expanding the franchise, Randolph was a co-sponsor of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that enforced the Fifteenth Amendment against Southern restrictions on African-American voting.[12]

Randolph was neither a xenophobe nor a nativist. In 1965, as the Senate debated immigration quotas that were established via the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, the West Virginia senator complained that the legislation "was established on the false assumption of the superiority of Northern Europeans over the other racial, cultural and national categories of mankind." He continued, "This quota system was neither wise nor equitable when it was established in 1952, and it is completely anachronistic in this year of 1965." In voicing his support for changing the quota system, Randolph noted the recent efforts made to secure equal opportunity for people irrespective of race, color, or national origin.[13]

Indeed, after President Johnson signed the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 into law at the Statue of Liberty, Randolph praised the president, arguing that "one could sense that [Johnson] was helping the famed Lady of Liberty hold the torch and help it burn more brightly." Senator Randolph then told his Senate colleagues of his desire to judge each man "by his own worth, and not what country he or his forefathers have come from."[14] He believed that the removal of immigration quotas was a step in that direction. Randolph's view of race relations was in concert with broader Seventh Day Baptist beliefs. Nearly a decade before the passage of the major civil rights laws in the 1960s, Randolph's denomination passed a resolution confirming that Christian love should supersede any concerns over race or color.[15]

Randolph frequently supported government aid that provided economic relief to both struggling West Virginians and struggling Americans at large. He had no desire to return to "the time-worn doctrines of the age of McKinley," as he noted in a July 1962 campaign speech in Kendallville, Indiana. Furthermore, he let his views of older *laissez-faire*

economics be known: "Just as the Great Depression tested the assumptions of the philosophy of 'let nature take its course,' and found those assumptions insufficient, so has the period since World War II tested the basic principles of the New Deal and found them valid."[16] A couple of examples from 1966 show Randolph's support for legislation that would help poor Americans subsist.

The senator from West Virginia spoke on the floor of the Senate in support of S. 2121, a bill introduced by Democratic Senator Abraham Ribicoff from Connecticut. The intent of this bill was to create a summer lunch program that amended the National School Lunch Act. This goal did not achieve implementation until 1968, but Randolph noted the 191,663 West Virginia children who benefited from school lunches. He also argued that those who could not sit in school without the sustenance from lunches during the school year would not be able to take part in summer recreation programs without a healthy lunch.[17] Senator Randolph also supported providing food stamps for needy Americans. Both he and his West Virginia colleague Robert C. Byrd threw their support behind an amendment that would increase the amount provided for the program in 1967. Randolph viewed increased food stamp spending not as a handout. "It is a helping hand," he opined on the Senate floor.[18]

These are just a few of the liberal political positions that Randolph supported during his congressional career. His desire to improve American society had a religious underpinning. Shortly after his first election to the Senate, he noted his concern that many Protestant churches had left the centers of the big cities for the suburbs, where they could "join the Country Club and the Golf Club, the community shopping center and the drive-in movie." This, he felt, left a vacuum in the "multi-racial and multi-cultural center of the city," where people "most need[ed] an institutional foundation for moral and spiritual guidance." He believed that the Protestant ethic was "softening" and losing its desire to involve itself "with causes of human betterment."[19] However, while Jennings Randolph, the old New Dealer, was quick to support much liberal legislation, he had a conservative streak when it came to other causes that had religious connotations.

Randolph's Conservative Social Positions

School Prayer

Jennings Randolph was a lifelong member of a Seventh Day Baptist church, and he generally had a strong belief in religious liberty. He cited religious liberty as one of the more recent benefits of modern society, noting that not even the Puritans were religious libertarians. He appreciated the fact that the rights of American citizenship were open to those of any religious creed or lack thereof.[20]

After the Supreme Court struck down the New York Regents Prayer in 1962 with the *Engel v. Vitale*[21] decision, Randolph was one of more than thirty senators to co-sponsor a proposed constitutional amendment presented by the minority leader, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, that would permit voluntary prayers in public schools and public buildings. Several Southern conservatives were prominent co-sponsors. In making his proposal, Senator Scott referred to the established practice of beginning each day in Congress with a prayer and argued that his resolution would merely allow schoolchildren to exercise "a privilege" that the legislators took for granted. He continued:

> Mr. President, I believe in the separation of church and state. I do not believe in the separation of children from the opportunity for prayer or meditation. I believe that full public discussion, including attention to the voluntary nature of this amendment, could do much to finally resolve this question, and I offer my resolution for this purpose.[22]

The choice Randolph made to support a school prayer amendment might seem odd for an individual who also supported religious freedom, but the language of providing a voluntary aspect for prayer choice likely allowed Randolph to back the proposed amendment. In one statement of his religious beliefs, the senior senator from West Virginia declared, "My wife and I know that prayers are helpful. The opportunity for prayer is one of God's greatest gifts. I am an advocate of permitting voluntary prayers in public buildings, including schools."[23] When President Jimmy Carter, also a Baptist, stated that he had no desire to have the government

involved in the prayer business, Senator Randolph noted his discomfort at this perceived "error" of Carter's differentiation between prayer in the Senate or the White House and voluntary prayers in schools.[24]

It is also important to contextualize the school prayer issue in light of the Cold War. Randolph was an ardent cold warrior who opposed the oppressive nature of Soviet totalitarianism. In a speech to the American Road Builders' Association annual meeting during his stint with Capital Airlines, he argued, "Americans, regardless of religious creed or political party, must be awakened to the terrible fact that communism threatens Christianity and democracy in practically every part of the world." He believed "Red Russian leaders are determined to achieve, by any means necessary, the domination of the peoples of the world."[25] This perceived threat to his love of democracy and his religion likely led him to support voluntary prayer in schools.

Abortion Policy

Jennings Randolph entered the legislative fray over the issue of abortion in 1973 when he signed on as a co-sponsor of a Senate joint resolution to protect hospitals and health care workers whose "religious or philosophical beliefs" forbade taking part in abortions or sterilizations.[26] In 1979, he signed as one of fourteen co-sponsors of a proposed constitutional amendment submitted by Republican Senator Jake Garn of Utah that would protect "unborn children and other persons."[27] Randolph also co-sponsored a similarly worded constitutional amendment "for the protection of the unborn and other persons."[28]

This proposed amendment from 1983, designated S. J. 4, cited the word "person" as used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments and applied it to any "unborn person." While S. J. 4 prohibited any person from depriving an unborn person of life, it permitted "only those medical procedures required to prevent the death of the mother."[29] Later that year, Randolph came to support S. J. 3 and rose to speak on it.

This proposed amendment argued that the Constitution did not secure a right to abortion and intended to return this decision to the states. Randolph did not believe that the Founding Fathers "envisioned the right to abortion as one of our unalienable rights." He opposed all abortions outside of those performed to save a mother's life or those that terminated a pregnancy resulting from rape or incest. In his support

for returning the issue to the states, he emphatically referred to his legislative record that included support for the Hyde amendment and restrictions on federal funding for abortions. Furthermore, he lamented the 1.5 million abortions performed across the nation in 1979, a number that included 5,490 abortions performed on West Virginia residents.[30] While the exceptions accepted by Randolph are not accepted by many social and religious conservatives today, theologian Joe Early has demonstrated that Randolph's positions were not outside of the mainstream. Even conservative Southern Baptist stalwarts such as Adrian Rogers and W.A. Criswell agreed with Randolph's stance in the late 1970s.[31]

Randolph's opposition to abortion led to one of his more controversial statements as a senator. In 1970, he rose in the Senate to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment that provided women with the constitutional right to vote. In general, he was complementary of the advancements made by women in the intervening years. He remarked: "Today, women seeking equal opportunity hold honored positions in all levels of business and government. Employment officers are abandoning the shop-worn phrase, 'Can you type?' and are asking, 'Can you think?'" He also noted his support for the Equal Rights Amendment, calling the efforts "morally laudable," although he also noted that "it could create a jungle of jurisprudence that might result in such inanities as maternity leave for male employees."[32] However, part of his speech to his senatorial colleagues brought consternation from many women. This was his complaint that progress in terms of gender equality might come to a halt:

> Today, I fear this progress is being retarded by a strange and strident voice that professes to speak for all women—everywhere. It parades under a banner of odd acronyms claiming "oppression" and screams for an ill-defined liberation. It calls for a strike when none is needed.
>
> Even to suggest today that there might—just might—be a physiological difference between women and men draws waves of venomous wrath. The small bands of bra-less bubbleheads who consider free and unlimited abortions an absolute "right" are not the valid voice of the American woman, any more than the fashion designers or makers of slimmer cigarettes and more kissable lipstick.[33]

The reference to "bra-less bubbleheads" drew widespread attention to Randolph's remarks. Newspapers throughout the nation and the world referred to his congressional speech. Close to home, the *Clarksburg Telegram* noted that Randolph's statement offered no flattery for feminists.[34] The *Los Angeles Times* contrasted Randolph's comments with a proclamation issued by President Richard Nixon in support of women's rights.[35] In Dublin, the *Irish Times* reported that Randolph's "bubbleheads taunt" contributed to feminists taking to the street.[36] The *Chicago Tribune* informed its readers that Randolph received more than 300 letters regarding his comments. He planned to respond to each and enclose copies of his Senate speech.[37]

Many of the letters and telegrams Randolph received opposed the "Bra-less Bubblehead" speech. Teresa E. Christy, who held a doctorate from Columbia University, promised to join a "lib group...tomorrow" in light of Randolph's comments.[38] Jane Pollock, a representative from the Eastern Massachusetts National Organization of Women sent a telegram with a short and simple message: "We do not burn brassieres we are not bubbleheads we support women's legal equality [sic]."[39] However, some of Randolph's correspondents agreed with him. One woman from Stamford, Connecticut, wrote to him in terms that might seem familiar to contemporary readers:

> The dupes, dopes, Lesbians and Communists who call themselves the Women's Liberation Front are worse than "bubblehead"; they are dangerous and seditious because they are being led by our country's enemies. Whether they wear bras or not is beside the point; many <u>real</u> women don't wear them. They are a very small minority being given undue prominence by the Press & Television, like so many minorities, simply because they are organized and vociferous. So stick to your guns, Senator.[40]

For his part, Randolph believed that women's equality was important. However, he also believed that "the hysterical reactions of a few should be ignored." In a private letter to Paul Buxton Martin, editor of the *Martinsburg Journal*, he pointed to his position as a co-sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment despite the ire his comments created.[41] Regardless, Randolph took a distinctly conservative stance on the issue of reproduction.

Drugs

Jennings Randolph was also far from a libertarian when it came to the issue of illicit drugs. Countering a call for the decriminalization of marijuana in 1973, he argued that those who wanted to legalize drug abuse were "doing a cruel disservice to their young constituency when they badly state—or even imply—that smoking marijuana is harmless." While making this point, he admitted that lessening the penalties associated with drug use could benefit society by ending the "ofttimes harsh and unfair" enforcement of marijuana laws. However, he feared that states such as Texas and Oregon that lessened or eliminated penalties for possession would harm society. He then asked for permission to read the transcript of an interview carried by NBC on the topic into the *Congressional Record* and pointed out that Dr. Mitchell Rosenthal, one of the experts interviewed, called those who imbibed in various drugs "garbage heads."[42]

When it came to the issue of illicit drugs, the international drug traffic also concerned Randolph. He sponsored a bill with Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, that would have imposed sanctions on any nation that did not do its best to combat the international drug traffic. The proposed legislation also came with a carrot. Randolph wanted to see foreign aid go to nations that assisted "in ridding the world of this insidious menace."[43] These are just a couple of examples that show Senator Randolph's liberalism did not extend to his view of illicit narcotics.

Porn Police

In concert with his other conservative cultural leanings, Jennings Randolph also opposed the dissemination of pornographic material. Early in his Senate career, Randolph signed on as one of the co-sponsors of a bill that would create a Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials. Senator Karl E. Mundt, a Republican from South Dakota, introduced the bill in 1960 with the intent of establishing "a Presidential Commission to deal with the problems of 'smut' in the mail."[44] Randolph was a co-sponsor when Mundt introduced the bill again in 1961 and in future years.[45]

In 1969, Senator James Allen of Alabama sponsored a bill that garnered support from Randolph. This proposed law had the intent of

strengthening laws against obscenity to protect children from pornography that might come through the mail or interstate commerce. Additionally, the bill called for the creation of a Division of Obscenity Control.[46]

The same month that Allen proposed his bill, Randolph rose in the Senate to praise 30,000 young Americans who met in Miami, Florida, "to crusade for decency in entertainment." He noted the common view of the youth of the day as "consist[ing] solely of drug-taking anarchists," while supportively pointing to those who wanted to "protest against the obscene and vulgar" who "believe[d] their lives [could] be meaningful and their leisure entertaining without crude obscenity."[47]

In June 1970, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona submitted an amendment to a bill aimed at reforming the postal service. His amendment had the intent of limiting the amount of sexually suggestive advertisement and pornographic imagery that might go through the mail system. Jennings Randolph spoke in agreement with Goldwater's stance, thanking him for bringing the issue to the attention of the Congress. He then stated his belief that the Congress should act "to curb the use of the U.S. mails for the unsavory profits made by those persons who flood the country with obscene literature." Goldwater's amendment passed by a vote of 83–2.[48]

Randolph, who frequently supported curbs on air and water pollution,[49] complained about what he saw as the moral pollution of American society. He bemoaned the allowance of "almost any form of crudity or nudity as an expression of art" and noted that American homes received images in the mail "which violate good standards of morality, which contain no shred of redeeming social significance; which are, in fact, designed solely and calculatingly to appeal to the prurient interest of the socially sick and the sexually immature."[50] This concern over pornography arose after the decision in the *Stanley v. Georgia* case led to the precedent that adults could view pornographic material within their homes.[51]

In 1970, the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography advocated for further study on the topic while generally arguing for the removal of anti-obscenity laws affecting adults. Randolph's West Virginia Senate colleague Robert C. Byrd recalled "cries of 'outrage' and 'shame'" on the Senate floor upon the arrival of the report, and he went on to call it a sign

of the "general erosion of the American character."[52] Randolph agreed with this sentiment and voted in favor of a successful resolution on the part of the Senate to reject the findings of the commission.[53]

Conclusion

Near the end of his senatorial career, Jennings Randolph spoke at the general conference of the Seventh Day Baptists. Senator Mark Hatfield, a Republican from Oregon, asked to have Randolph's speech, titled "Building Better in the Eighties," preserved in the *Congressional Record*. Randolph saw economic trouble brewing with high inflation and rising gas prices. He also bemoaned "grave moral problems" and the prevalence of crime in American society. However, he saw reason for optimism. He argued that drug addiction was lower in 1980 than it had been in previous years and also noted "an increasing moral sensitivity" on the part of his fellow citizens in keeping statistics on social ills such as child prostitution. He asked the question of how Americans could build a better life, and his answer came back to religious devotion. Prayer and the church were his recommendations. In addressing the influence and power of Jesus Christ, Randolph referred to the adversity of the cross. In reference to building a better society, he then encouraged his listeners to "carry the cross of sacrifice with courage and high hope that we are moving on to a better world here and hereafter."[54]

Jennings Randolph was at heart an optimist. His forward-looking stance led him to support liberal legislation in many areas. However, he also had some concerns over what he saw as the moral decline in some areas of society. His worries over this perceived declension echoed a motif that has been common throughout American history.[55]

Randolph demonstrated a configuration of political liberalism and social conservatism that was a product of a unique time in American history. As noted in his address to the Seventh Day Baptists, he believed that religious principles could benefit society and likewise that government action could benefit the American people. Thus, passing a new welfare program and limiting the number of abortions performed both fell within this ideological framework. His shared commitments to the progressive politics of the New Deal and the social conservatism of his

Seventh Day Baptist faith led Randolph to exemplify a more ideologically consistent viewpoint than many present-day social, political, and theological conservatives.

Notes

1 For a brief overview of the life and political career of Jennings Randolph, see Christopher Price, "Peace and Progress: The Life and Political Contributions of Senator Jennings Randolph," *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies* 14, no. 2 (Fall 2020): 1-27; "Senator Neely Dies; G.O.P May Get Seat," *New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1958. A short religious biography that covered Randolph's life is Nicholas Kersten, "Jennings Randolph: Servant, Statesman, Seventh Day Baptist," *Baptist History & Heritage* 41, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 79-88.

2 "From Roosevelt's Outings to Reagan's Greetings," *New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1984.

3 Price, "Peace and Progress," 2.

4 "Randolph Expresses Religious Belief," *Charleston (WV) Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1974.

5 H.W. Brands, *American Dreams: The United States Since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2010), 16-17, argues that the New Deal shifted the view of Americans toward government intervention; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 524-592; Nancy Beck Young, *Two Suns of the Southwest: Lyndon Johnson, Barry Goldwater, and the 1964 Battle Between Liberalism and Conservatism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019) argues that the campaign of Barry Goldwater was a breaking point in this liberal consensus. Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower wanted a moderate "modern" Republican Party, while Goldwater became the prototypical conservative firebrand.

6 Ronald Reagan, "Inaugural Address," Jan. 20, 1981, https://www.reaganfoundation.org/media/128614/inaguration.pdf (accessed Apr. 26, 2021).

7 "Statement by US Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, Member of Democratic National Convention Platform Committee to His Colleagues of That Committee on the Subject: Constitutional Amendment on 18-Year-Old Voting," press release, Aug. 22, 1968, Jennings Randolph Collection, West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV, Series 7, Box 263, Legislative 12 S.J. Res. 14 Folder.

8 "Generation Gap Bridge by Randolph Best Yet," *Charleston Gazette*, Mar. 26, 1971.

9 Bruce Nelson to Jennings Randolph, undated letter received Apr. 8, 1971, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 7, Box 271, Legislative 20 S.J. Res. 7 Folder.

10 Christopher Price, "Robert C. Byrd and the 1964 Civil Rights Debate," *Baptist History & Heritage* 54, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 56-69.

11 *Congressional Record* 110 (May 14, 1964), 10903.

12 *Congressional Record* 111 (Mar. 18, 1965), 5411.

13 *Congressional Record* 111 (Sept. 22, 1965), 24781.

14 *Congressional Record* 111 (Oct. 5, 1963), 26046.

15 Don Sanford, *A Choosing People: The History of the Seventh Day Baptists*, 2nd ed. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2012), 342-343.

16 Jennings Randolph, "Why I Am a Democrat," political speech, Kendallville, IN, July 15, 1962, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 4.

17 *Congressional Record* 112 (July 12, 1966), 15281.

18 *Congressional Record* 112 (July 15, 1966), 15840-15841.

19 Jennings Randolph, "The Ethical Challenge to American Protestantism," address to the Methodist Men's Club at the Good Shepherd Methodist Church, Washington, DC, Feb. 17, 1959, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 10.

20 Jennings Randolph, "The Development of Religious Liberty: An Address by United States Senator Jennings Randolph," speech, National City Christian Church, Washington, DC, Jan. 21, 1959, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 7. Reprinted in *The Sabbath Recorder*, Apr. 6, 1959. In 1972, Jennings Randolph pushed for an addition to the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 that would protect Sabbath observers from being fired for their beliefs. The provision was struck down in court. See Nicholas J. Kersten, "A Rock and a Hard Place: Seventh Day Baptists, Religious Liberty, Sabbath-Keeping, and Civil Authority," *Baptist History & Heritage* 43, no. 3 (Summer/Fall 2008), 65.

21 *Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421 (1962).

22 *Congressional Record* 117 (Feb. 10, 1971), 2475. Conservative co-sponsors included former Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater from Arizona, James Eastland and John Stennis from Mississippi, and Fritz Hollings and Strom Thurmond from South Carolina. Democratic Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana also signed on as a sponsor of the bill.

23 "Randolph Expresses Religious Belief," *Charleston* (WV) *Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1974.

24 *Congressional Record* 125 (Apr. 9, 1979), 7563.

25 Jennings Randolph, "The Fight for Freedom," speech to the American Road Builders' Association annual meeting, Schroeder Hotel, Milwaukee, WI, Mar. 12-14, 1951, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 9 Box 603, Folder 3.

26 *Congressional Record* 119 (Mar. 9, 1973), 8398.

27 *Congressional Record* 125 (Jan. 23, 1979), 738.

28 *Congressional Record* 129 (Jan. 26, 1983), 413.

29 *Congressional Record* 129 (Jan. 26, 1983), 677.

30 *Congressional Record* 129 (June 27, 1983), 17331.

31 Joe Early Jr., "From Permissible to Intolerable: Southern Baptists and the Abortion Debate in the 1970s," *Baptist History and Heritage* 55, no. 2 (Summer 2020): 73-91. The Seventh Day Baptist denomination holds to a pro-life position. See "What's This Kinship Stuff?" *Sabbath Recorder*, December 1996, https://s3.amazonaws.com/sabbathrecorderscan/SR+Vol+218+(1996)/Sabbath+Recorder_1996_218_12.pdf (accessed May 7, 2021). Additionally, the Seventh Day Baptist congregation in Washington, D.C., notes the denomination's stance on abortion in its statement of beliefs. See "What Do We Believe?" http://www.washingtonsdb.com/statement-of-beliefs.html (accessed May 7, 2021). The statement appears to make a universal claim for Seventh Day Baptists that the churches "believe that life begins at conception" and that "[they] are morally opposed to activities that thwart such life, including abortion and embryonic stem cell research."

32 *Congressional Record* 116 (Aug. 26, 1970), 30098-30099. The Equal Rights Amendment passed both houses of Congress in 1972 and appeared to be on its way to easy ratification in the states until a push by conservative Catholic activist Phyllis Schlafly started to drum up opposition to it. For more on the defeat of the ERA, see Kristin Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2020), 67-71.

33 *Congressional Record* 116 (Aug. 26, 1970), 30098-30099.

34 "Randolph Has No Flattery for Women's Lib Leaders," *Clarksburg (WV) Telegram*, Aug. 27, 1970.

35 "Nation Gets Eyeful, Earful from Women," *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 27, 1970.

36 "Feminist Society Takes to the Streets in Equality Bid," *Irish Times*, Aug. 27, 1970.

37 "'Braless Bubblehead' Speech Creates a Huge Rebuttal," *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 2, 1970.

38 Dr. Teresa E. Christy to Jennings Randolph, telegram, Aug. 27, 1970, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 546.

39 Jane Pollock to Jennings Randolph, telegram, Aug. 27, 1970, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 546.

40 Patricia Deans to Jennings Randolph, letter, Sept. 22, 1970, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 546. (Underline is in the original.)

41 Jennings Randolph to Paul Buxton Martin, letter, Sept. 15, 1970, Jennings Randolph Collection, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 546. Martin's *Martinsburg Journal* had published an editorial titled "Watch Those 'Bubbleheads'" in support of Randolph on Sept. 8, 1970.

42 *Congressional Record* 119 (Sept. 21, 1973), 30935.

43 *Congressional Record* 117 (Oct. 29, 1971), 38242.

44 *Congressional Record* 106 (June 24, 1960), 14144.

45 *Congressional Record* 107 (Jan. 6, 1961), 141; *Congressional Record* 109 (Jan. 14, 1963), 193.

46 *Congressional Record* 115 (Mar. 27, 1969), 7956.

47 *Congressional Record* 115 (Mar. 24, 1969), 7255.

48 *Congressional Record* 116 (June 29, 1970), 22056-22060, 22074.

49 For an example of Randolph's environmental views, see Jennings Randolph, "What's Happening to 'Mother Earth'—A Warning," *Social Science* 46, no. 2 (Apr. 1971): 67-70.

50 *Congressional Record* 116 (Sept. 23, 1970), 33406-33410.

51 *Stanley v. Georgia*, 394 U.S. 557 (1969).

52 Robert C. Byrd, *Robert C. Byrd: Child of the Appalachian Coal Fields* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2005), 291-292.

53 *Congressional Record* 116 (Oct. 13, 1970), 36387.

54 *Congressional Record* 126 (Aug. 25, 1980), 22865-22867.

55 George Marsden has argued that the collapse of the cultural authority of the liberal consensus and the progress it promised during the 1960s led to a conservative cultural reaction against the counterculture and the sexual revolution. See George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 255-257.

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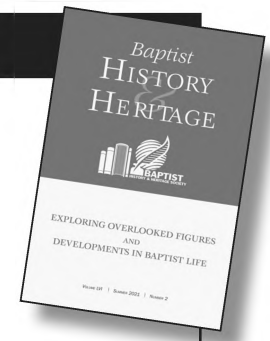

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The Baptist Phase of the Charismatic Movement:
The Case of Texas

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The Charismatic Movement is one of a half dozen large, overlapping movements that appeared within the larger Pentecostal world organizationally independent of the older Pentecostal denominations in the decades following World War II.

Each movement emerged, flowered, and passed its message forward to a second generation as it developed strong organizational (even denominational) structures that have perpetuated its emphases into the present. The first of these independent Pentecostal movements were the Latter Rain Movement and the Healing Revival, both of which began in the late 1940s, flowered in the 1950s, and faded in the 1960s. The Healing Revival, for example, found its more permanent expression in the international outreach of Christ for the Nations even as the ministers and churches brought together by the revival founded the Full Gospel Fellowship of Churches and Ministers International.

Meanwhile a third movement, the Charismatic Renewal, grew slowly through the 1960s, peaked in the 1970s and 1980s, and faded in the 1990s. It was defined by the rapid spread of the Pentecostal experience into the older denominations (Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Baptist). The new Charismatics initially attempted to remain as agents of spiritual renewal within their denominational setting and sought ways to blend their older traditions with the new life in the Holy Spirit. In that effort, they founded denominationally-oriented

Charismatic fellowships such as the Presbyterian Charismatic Communion, the Lutheran Renewal, the Episcopal Charismatic Fellowship, the Aldersgate Renewal Ministries, and the American Baptist Charismatic Fellowship. Theologians from the various churches immediately began to develop a host of diverse Pentecostal theologies. The new Charismatics also differed from older Pentecostals in that they did not demand that the renewed individuals speak in tongues (though many did) and emphasized the empowerment resulting from the baptism rather than the manifest gifts. They also made little effort to adopt conservative behavior patterns still evident in the older Pentecostal churches, such as the scant use of make-up and conservative dress common among females.

This paper focuses upon one slice of the Charismatic movement: its encounter with Baptists in Texas. This state had been the place where Pentecostalism experienced its first real success, following founder Charles Fox Parham's (1873–1929) move to Houston in 1905, and where its largest response was noted as the movement spread nationally. The relative success in attracting members in the Lone Star State by the larger Pentecostal churches continues to the present. Texas was also one of—if not the—founding place(s) of the Charismatic movement and possibly the place it enjoyed its greatest success due in large part to the contribution of Texas Baptists.

This paper draws inspiration from C. Douglas Weaver's recent monumental work, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit*, which provides a sweeping account of the Baptist encounter with twentieth-century Pentecostals and their nineteenth-century predecessors.[1] Drawing in part on his expansive contribution, this essay will spotlight the Pentecostal encounter with Baptists and the changes wrought on the landscape of Texas religion even as one set of Texas Pentecostal Charismatics have made an impact on the national scene.[2] As Weaver amply documents, Baptist opposition to Pentecostal tendencies demonstrated the perennial attraction of Baptists to Pentecostal tendencies, which reached a new height during the years of the Charismatic movement.

The Baptist opposition to Pentecostalism in general and to the Charismatic Movement has been anchored in cessationism, a theological position suggesting that the miracles performed by Jesus and the Apostles, including the activity of the gifts of the Spirit as discussed by Paul, ceased with the ending of the Apostolic Age and therefore are not

operative for the church today.[3] Pentecostals had initially argued that they were reappearing in the twentieth century as a sign of the approaching end times and to mobilize the church and assist it in global evangelism. More recently, they have tended to assert that manifestations of the gifts were a constant possibility for church members seeking the operation of the Holy Spirit in their life.

Though later forced into the same denominational existence as the rest of American Christianity, the Pentecostal movement always had a goal of announcing the arrival of a spiritual awakening to the whole Christian world, a belief that saw other Christians as targets for its message as much as the unbelievers. In the 1960s, Pentecostals found a new tool for reaching their Christian brothers in the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, which sponsored weekly gatherings of laymen across denominational boundaries with programs overwhelmingly featuring Pentecostal testimonies and presentations.

Charismatic Beginnings

The Baptist phase of the Charismatic movement began in Texas, where the stories of Baptist involvement in it would be traced to John Osteen (1921–1999), a Southern Baptist minister from Houston. Since the original burst of Pentecostalism on the scene in Texas, though, numerous Baptist lay people had found their way into Pentecostal churches, many of which were led by former Baptist clergy from the Southern and National Baptist conventions. While most new Pentecostals affiliated with the Assemblies of God, the Church of God in Christ, or one of the several dozen Pentecostal denominations that had formed by the end of World War II, Osteen followed another increasingly popular option—the founding of a new denominationally independent congregation.

Osteen's fruitful early career had come to an abrupt end in 1956 when his marriage collapsed and he resigned his pastoral office.[4] He slowly recovered, accepted the pastor's job at Hibbard Memorial Baptist Church in Houston, and remarried. Health problems with his daughter led him into a concentrated time of prayer and a study of healing in the Bible. Lisa gradually overcame her physical disabilities, which in 1959 occasioned Osteen's intensified personal disciplines in order to enter into God's presence. The resulting confrontation with God produced

his personal renewal. He received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, for him a radically life-changing event, and shortly thereafter his wife Dotie Osteen also received the Spirit.

Osteen shared his experience with his congregation, but was met with mixed responses, and in the face of the congregation's division, he tendered his resignation on May 3, 1959. One week later, with a group of now Spirit-led former Hibbard congregants, he founded the independent Lakewood Baptist Church, where he felt free to witness to his renewed life. Businessman Andy SoRelle introduced Osteen to the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International and to its founder Demos Shakarian (1913–1993), which immediately led to their making common cause. Before the year was out, an account of Osteen's renewal became a cover story in the FGBMFI's *Voice* magazine, and Osteen shared his story personally at the FGBMFI's national convention in Los Angeles. He emerged from the meeting as a star of the Charismatic movement six months before Episcopal minister Dennis Bennett's revelation of his reception of Spirit baptism would make the Charismatic Renewal national news. Osteen would speak at a number of FGBMFI regional events around the county through the next year, including one hosted by the burgeoning chapter in Houston. An article he wrote would take the lead in *Baptists and the Baptism of the Holy Spirits*, part of the series of FGBMFI books highlighting the permeation of the experience through the major Protestant denominational families.[5]

In 1961 Osteen recruited a colleague, Marvin Crow, to assume the primary pastoral duties at the church.[6] Previously the pastor of another Baptist congregation in Houston, Crow had received the Holy Spirit into his life during a visit to Lakewood.[7] With Crow established in Lakewood's pulpit, Osteen was free to follow his desires to become an evangelist, to accept the many invitations to speak both nationally and internationally, and to share the gift of healing that came with his new life in the Spirit. He founded the John H. Osteen Evangelistic Association to facilitate his travels, began to publish a stream of books, and launched the *Faith Conquest* newsletter.

Osteen also nurtured a growing Charismatic network that would come to include both the ever-growing number of ministers from the mainstream Protestant churches coming into the Awakening and the supportive cadre of Pentecostal leaders who encouraged the

Renewal. These leaders included Houston Assemblies of God minister J.R. Goodwin, who introduced Osteen to the older Pentecostal community, and movement superstars such as Oral Roberts (1918–2009) and T.L. Osborn (1923–2013).

Possibly the most important contact Osteen made within the Pentecostal world was former Baptist Kenneth E. Hagin (1917–2003), who introduced Osteen to the Word of Faith movement he was creating out of his home in Garland, Texas.[8] Osteen seems to have initially met Hagin at the 1962 FGBMFI convention, at which both spoke. Through the remainder of the decade, he merged Hagin's Word of Faith teachings, especially its perspective on prosperity and the abundant life, with his larger Charismatic perspective.

After years of exhausting travel and preaching, toward the end of the decade Osteen settled down to resume his pastorate over the Lakewood Church. He immediately began to shape Lakewood as a church that offered people the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the healing miracles and abundant life that come with a Spirit-led and Spirit-infused existence. By 1990, Lakewood had become a phenomenal story of church growth. In 1972, a new church building seating 1,700 was constructed. That building was expanded in 1979 to accommodate 3,000. In 1988 a second new sanctuary was constructed with seating for 8,200. The 1988 building heralded the new wave of mega-churches that now mark the landscape of contemporary, independent Pentecostalism. It would be dedicated just a year before the Faith Dome (seating 10,000) opened by Frederick K.C. Price in Los Angeles.

A Shaking Among the Baptists

From the beginning of Lakewood Church, John Osteen found colleagues showing up at his front door looking for new life in the Spirit. Among the first was Travis La Duce (1925–2012), a Baptist pastor who contacted Osteen prior to his leaving Hibbard and was among the first to receive the baptism under Osteen's ministry. Soon afterward, La Duce moved to Midland, Texas, and founded a new Baptist church there, one of the first to integrate the Charismatic renewal into its life, even as news of the Charismatic Renewal spread across Texas, and Baptists began responding to it.

In Houston, Chinese-American pastor Hong Sit surprised everyone with the announcement of his acceptance of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. After earning his ministerial degree, Sit had attended Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago, where he attained a Ph.D. before settling down at the Chinese Baptist Church in Houston. While recovering from an appendectomy at the beginning of the 1960s, he came into contact with Glenn Ewing, a former Presbyterian minister who had earlier received the baptism of the Holy Spirit and now led the independent Grace Gospel Church in Waco. During his recuperation in Waco, Sit received the Spirit and spoke in tongues. The subsequent transformation would lead him to withdraw from the Southern Baptists and found an independent Pentecostal church modeled on Ewing's congregation.[9]

Another Baptist pastor who sought out renewal was Howard Conatser, who led Beverly Hills Baptist Church, a congregation of some thousand members in the Oak Hills Community of Dallas. While vacationing in the Holy Land in 1969, pains and doubts about his decade leading the congregation surfaced. His ministry seemed to have devolved into meetings, routine, and programs, and he hungered for Jesus' power to operate in the midst of his congregation. In the weeks after Conater's trip, members of his congregation also began to notice that something was wrong. Finally, after months of internal struggle, in the spring of 1970 he experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit, admittedly with some hesitancy, given that most of his Baptist colleagues rejected it and some openly and even angrily opposed it. The power of the Holy Spirit baptism won the day, however, and Conatser soon shared his experience with members of his congregation. It made all the difference. As a few members began to replicate his experience, his sermons took on new life and worship time became exciting. Gradually, most members accepted and then enthusiastically embraced what was happening.

Following years of no growth, and even a few of membership loss, the Beverly Hills church began to grow as word of what was occurring spread. Conaster was able to add an associate pastor, Calvin Grantham (1936–2018), who had accepted the working of the Holy Spirit in his life after receiving a healing. To care for the growing number of children and youth now a part of the church family, Conatser also found another young minister named Larry Lea.

By 1974, the Beverly Hills Church was ranked twelfth among 40,000 Southern Baptist congregations for the number of its baptisms. In January 1975, the congregation's leaders transferred Sunday worship to the nearby Bronco Bowl, a theatre with a 2,500-seating capacity. From the first Sunday, it was filled. The church's success had one negative consequence, however: Some Baptist ministers were ready to shoot the church down for its seeming departure from the faith once delivered to the saints.[10]

Meanwhile, at its annual meeting in the fall of 1974, the Dallas Baptist Association asked the Beverly Hills Church—the only congregation in the association openly adopting Pentecostal-style worship—to withdraw from membership. Conatser resisted the suggestion and reminded his colleagues that the congregation had donated $35,000 to the Association that year. But at its next meeting in October, 1975, the association formally withdrew fellowship from the Beverly Hills Church. In addition, the association also disfellowshipped the Shady Grove Baptist Church, in the Dallas suburb of Grand Prairie, which had in the meantime also been identified as adopting the same practices they viewed as out of harmony with historical Baptist practices. In the wake of the decision, W.A. Criswell (1909–2002), the prominent pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, weighed in on the affair by openly charging Baptist Charismatics with heretical tendencies and condemning their worship experiences as being of the devil.[11] Leaders of the Union Baptist Association based in Houston supported their Dallas brethren and passed a resolution also condemning the Charismatic movement as "of the devil."[12] The Texas convention, however, chose to remain neutral and refused to act on anti-Charismatic proposals.

Though disappointed at the association's action, the Beverly Hills Church pushed forward. It was one of five congregations that co-sponsored and became the host church for the first National Southern Baptist Charismatic Conference held in Dallas in July of 1976, attended by 2,000 people, with the number growing to 3,500 at the 1977 conference (also held in Dallas). Ruth Carter Stapleton keynoted the 1978 meeting and perpetuated the message that Charismatics were Baptists and simply wanted a place to exist within the larger fellowship. The controversy attracted writer Sandra Pratt Martin to document the church's story, as Conatser continued to pack seekers into the Bronco Bowl each Sunday.

Then in 1978, tragedy struck. Conatser was diagnosed with cancer and three months later died. Larry Lea, then 23 years old, was offered the pulpit, but in the end he and the congregation's leadership had a very different vision of the church's future and Lea left.[13]

Spiritual Warfare

Also seeking out Osteen in the 1960s was Frank Hammond (1921–2005), who in 1959 had begun serving a Baptist congregation in Houston. Though the church grew steadily under his care, he became dissatisfied with the lack of what he understood to be God's presence in the church's life. Frustrated, he resigned and took a position with the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board that sent him to Colorado. Shortly after he settled in, he was visited by a friend from Texas who brought him word of the baptism of the Holy spirit. Hammond and his wife Ida Mae began to consider the issue, and it was she who initially experienced the Spirit baptism.

In 1967, Hammond's extended search led him to a regional conference of the FGBMFI in Denver where John Osteen was to speak. After the talk, Hammond pressed Osteen on the matter of receiving the baptism. Discerning that Hammond was ready, Osteen called several of the men standing around them, and they laid hands on him and prayed for him to receive the Holy Spirit. Even as he began to speak in tongues, Osteen had to leave for the airport, but as news of what had happened spread, he was asked to give a testimony the next day to attendees.

During his presentation, Hammond also had an initial encounter with what he understood to be a demon. Though ill-schooled on the gifts of the Spirit, he called out an attendee at the convention as demon-possessed. Even as he exclaimed, "That person has a demon," from her place in the audience, Ida Mae stood and proclaimed, "I rebuke you demon, in the name of Jesus." The young man and two companions immediately collapsed to the floor. From this dramatic encounter, Hammond and his wife developed a specialized interest in spirit discernment and created a deliverance ministry that focused upon the driving of demons from the possession and obsession of people.

As news spread of Hammond receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit, he lost his position with the Home Mission Board and was made aware in no uncertain terms that his speaking in tongues was not

compatible with his continuing as a Southern Baptist minister. The couple subsequently returned to their Texas home and in 1968 began an itinerant ministry as Charismatic Baptists who specialized in spiritual warfare and deliverance from demonic spirits.[14]

In 1973 the Hammonds wrote *Pigs in the Parlor*, a book growing out of the observation that very few followers of the Charismatic movement were ministering in this area and almost no literature existed explaining the phenomena of spirit possession and how to minister to those affected by demonic spirits.[15] The book appeared even as the movie version of Peter Blatty's best-selling novel, *The Exorcist*, hit the theaters. It would become a key text in explaining the deliverance ministry and establishing it in Charismatic circles, and remains to the present a basic resource for those emphasizing deliverance from demons in their ministry.[16]

Into the 1980s

Even as the controversy in the Dallas Baptist Association in the mid-1970s over the presence of Charismatics heated up, the youthful Baptist minister Olen Griffing had started the Shady Grove Baptist Church in Grand Prairie, Texas. Having been affected by the Charismatic Renewal himself, he quietly led his church members into the experience, and by the time the association was ready to vote on the Beverly Hills church it had learned of the Shady Grove church and its pastor and voted them out of fellowship. Pastor Griffing, taking solace that the congregation was still a member of the Texas Baptist Convention and the Southern Baptist Convention, said of himself and his congregants, "We plan to continue preaching as a Southern Baptist church."[17]

In the months following the association's actions, however, Griffing had a more pressing issue, as earlier in 1975 the building housing his church had burned down, and rumors circulated that it might be a case of arson by some disgruntled ex-church members. Even as the association voted, Griffing was regrouping his still loyal members to rebuild. In the wake of the association's actions, however, the congregation dropped the "Baptist" part of its name. Griffing then led the Shady Grove church on a growth trajectory, and by the early 1980s the church was ready for an expanded staff. Griffing added two young associate ministers, Robert Morris[18] and Wayne Wilks.

The independent direction of the congregation became more visible beginning in the early 1980s. One evening Griffing saw a television documentary about the Holocaust, which led to his contacting Rabbi Marty Waldman at Baruch HaShem, a Messianic synagogue in Dallas. Griffing accepted the idea of his congregation hosting the celebration of the approaching Passover meal, with Waldman's congregation joining the event. From that service Griffing developed a deep commitment to Jewish ministries, even as the Charismatic Renewal permeated the burgeoning Messianic Jewish movement. Griffing and Waldman would both come to play an important role in making the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex a prominent center for Messianic Judaism in North America. Meanwhile, Wayne Wilks would go on to earn his doctorate and become president of the Messianic Jewish Bible Institute (now the Gateway Center for Israel).[19]

Simultaneously, through the 1990s the transformation of the Shady Grove Church into a mega-church congregation heralded the continued permeation of the Charismatic message into Texas Baptist churches. Among those who unexpectedly encountered the Charismatic world was Pastor James Hylton of Lake Country Baptist Church in Fort Worth. In May of 1980, Hylton was a guest speaker at the Graceland Baptist Church in Albany, Indiana. During the service a revival broke out, and as he later described it, he and his wife found themselves caught up in "an 18-week move of the Holy Spirit right out of the New Testament." Swept up into the Charismatic Renewal, they brought the movement home with them upon their return to their Fort Worth church in the fall. Also while in New Albany, Hylton had met Milton Green, a Charismatic lay teacher who would return to Texas with him. Hylton introduced Green to a number of his colleagues, including Jack R. Taylor, then the vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention. Hylton also sponsored a seminar at which Green presented his teachings on the role of demons in Christian experience.[20]

At the same time that Hylton was experiencing his awakening, popular Baptist televangelist James Robison began to experience what became a dramatic transformation in his life. A fiery orator, Robison had not been timid about attacking the Charismatics during his many speaking engagements and on his television show through the 1970s. In the early 1980s, however, his colleagues noticed a significant redirection of

his message. The change had begun at a 1980 meeting in Houston where Robison could not miss the fact that his long-time friend and colleague Dudley Hall appeared to possess a new anointing on his life. Just before taking the pulpit, Hall revealed that something had recently happened to him. He said cryptically, "I'm really free, James. I'm free. Man, I mean, I'm free."[21]

As Robison would later learn, Hall had experienced a Charismatic renewal, and he cited Milton Green, the same layman whom Hylton had encountered, as the instrument of that renewal. As it turned out, Robison was at the moment going through a time of extreme personal torment. After a period of hesitation, he also called Green and allowed Green to pray for him and to carry out an act of banishing the evil forces reputedly surrounding the evangelist. Nothing seemed to change immediately, but two days later Robison woke up in the middle of the night with the realization that whatever had been inhibiting him had disappeared. He described it as if a claw in his brain had been removed. He felt free to resist the forces that had been attacking him and had a renewed relationship with Christ and the Bible.[22]

As 1980 turned into 1981, and as Hylton's Lake Country Church absorbed the Charismatic Renewal, Robison found his personal and family life transforming. Slowly his life was being totally revamped. He summarized it thus:

> Well, it didn't take long for the word to get out about ol' James Robison. I'd been delivered. I was into the Holy Spirit. My wife was speaking in tongues. I had seen healings. People at my meetings were being healed and delivered. God had delivered me from denominational bondage and told me to share my message of personal restoration with all Christians. So, I had been preaching to Pentecostals, Charismatics, mainliners, anyone who would listen.[23]

Robison also lost much of the backing for his ministry. Many of his speaking engagements were cancelled, and the income supporting his television show dropped dramatically. His continued relationship with Green, who spoke at multiple events with Robison and whom colleagues branded as an unqualified teacher, became an additional issue. Robison quickly found himself in great financial distress from which it would take several years to recover. While rebuilding his audience, he also had to

construct a new circle of colleagues. That rebuilding began with Dudley and LT Hall, brothers who were old friends of Robison and who had already experienced the Charismatic Awakening.

In 1982 Robison held a small conference in San Antonio, where another friend and colleague Rick Godwin was pastor.[24] For the first time he would share with those who had been among his more faithful supporters over the years a full account of what had happened to him and the changes he had undergone in the last two years. Attending the services were Baptist businessman Terry Moore and his wife, residents of a Dallas suburb. They had heard bits and pieces about the transformation in Robison's life and ministry and were eager to hear the details. Over the weekend they were brought into the Renewal, and as a result, in 1987, the Moores started Sojourn Church in Carrollton, Texas, which has grown to become another independent Charismatic mega-church.[25]

The continuing expansion of the Charismatic movement in the 1980s repeatedly raised concerns for Southern Baptists. Critics persistently repeated that Charismatics were departing from the faith and could no longer consider themselves truly Baptist. Former colleagues regularly targeted Robison and questioned his presence in Baptist settings. Under pressure in 1984, Robison finally withdrew his membership from the local congregation he attended. His action made news as he had been attending the First Baptist Church of Euless, Texas, a congregation led by pastor James T. Draper Jr., a former president of the Southern Baptist Convention. He and his family switched their allegiance to Hylton's Lake Country Church.[26]

In 1986, Florida SBC pastor Don LeMaster estimated that five percent of SBC congregations were openly Charismatic, with many more congregations welcoming individuals who were Charismatic into membership.[27] The needs of the increasing numbers of Charismatic Baptist ministers led the Hall brothers in the founding of the Emmaus Road Ministry School, based in Euless, Texas. They specifically designed the school's curriculum to assist those ministers who were leaving mainline Protestant denominations, including the Southern Baptists, and entering into the Charismatic world. Among the students at Emmaus Road were African-American businessman Will Ford, who went into the ministry and emerged as a prominent leader of the New Apostolic Reformation.

The Emmaus Road Ministry School was in place in 1987 in time to welcome one of its most famous instructors, Jack Deere, a former professor at Dallas Theological Seminary (DTS). As an associate professor of the Old Testament, Deere encountered the Charismatic realities in 1986 through Dr. John White, a British psychologist and popular Christian author. Listening to White launched Deere's transformation into an ardent Charismatic advocate.[28] White subsequently introduced him to prominent Pentecostal pastor John Wimber and the Vineyard Church he led. As Deere entered the Renewal, he withdrew from Dallas Theological Seminary, which remains staunchly cessationist in its curriculum, and through 1987 assisted George Mallone in establishing the Vineyard congregation in Arlington, Texas. He also joined the faculty at the Emmaus Road Ministry School, however briefly, in the fall of 1987 before moving on to California to work closely with Wimber and the Vineyard.[29]

African Americans in the Charismatic Movement

As presently described in the secondary literature, the Charismatic movement appears as an almost totally white movement. However, there were important African-American responses such as the aforementioned Will Ford, especially among ministers in the three larger African-American Methodist churches, and African Americans appeared within the ranks of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. Thus, it should come as no surprise that through the 1970s and 1980s, a steady stream of National Baptists shared in the Charismatic experience. Typical of these ministers was Larry D. Leonard, the pastor of Morning Star Full Gospel Baptist Church in Houston. Some years before his colleagues, he had had a spontaneous experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. He initially kept the experience to himself and only opened up about his secret life in 1983.

By 1985, Leonard was testifying about his transformation to any who would listen, but it was not until the 1990s that a major move to organize Charismatic Black Baptists occurred.[30] By 1990, Paul S. Morton, pastor of Greater St. Stephen Missionary Baptist Church in New Orleans, had emerged as one of the leading lights of the National Baptist Convention in the U.S.A. That year some of his members visited televangelist Frederick K.C. Price's recently opened Faith Dome in Los Angeles and

returned filled with the Spirit. Their presence in the congregation became the catalyst for Morton's own final appropriation of the baptism, a move he had already been considering. Then in 1992 he took the occasion of his congregation's move into new facilities to change its name to Greater St. Steven Full Gospel Baptist Church.[31]

At the time, Morton perceived no immediate obstacle to his talking openly about his new Charismatic life while remaining within the National Baptist fold. When he preached at the denomination's 1992 national convention, he received a very positive response from the attendees at his presentation, but his sermon was rejected by convention president Henry Lyons. He subsequently called together some dozen colleagues whom he knew as either already having experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit or wishing to receive it. Rather than organizing to lobby for a place within the convention, they immediately took steps toward founding what became a new denomination. As Morton looked back on 1992/93, he recalled being "in transition between leaving the National Baptist Convention and starting this 'new thing' God was revealing to me."[32] Morton's colleagues designated him as their presiding bishop, and at a service held on March 19, 1993, with Bishop Charles Blake of the Church of God in Christ participating, Morton was consecrated to lead them. He subsequently consecrated his twelve colleagues to the office of bishop, and together they established the new Full Gospel Baptist Church Fellowship (FGBCF) in July of 1994.[33]

Aware of Baptist strength in the Lone Star State, Morton included Larry D. Leonard among the twelve he consecrated and named Leonard the first Bishop of Texas. To assist Leonard, Morton also recruited fellow Houstonian B. Elehue Livingston, the founder and pastor of True Worship Cathedral, as the District Overseer for the Greater Houston Area and First Assistant to the State Bishop of Texas (1994–1999).[34] Then, early in the new century, Bishop Leonard somewhat unexpectedly withdrew from the FGBCF to pursue a different direction, and he eventually founded a new Charismatic denomination, New Covenant Churches International, also based in Houston.[35] Livingston immediately stepped in to fill the vacuum left by Leonard's departure, and Morton initially designated him the General Overseer of the Southwest and Western Pacific Region of District Overseers (2001–2003). Then two years later, Morton formally consecrated him as the new Bishop of Texas. In 2010, Livingston also

withdrew from his position with the FGBCF and accepted a new position as the 1st Assistant Presiding Bishop of the newly-formed Kingdom Apostolic Fellowship International under Bishop Cedric Kenebrew, then pastor of the Kingdom Life Church in Lubbock.[36]

In spite of the loss of bishops Leonard and Livingston and their role in forming competing denominational associations, the FGBCF continued its expansion in Texas, marked in 2010 by Morton authorizing multiple episcopal districts within the state. A new South Texas District appeared in 2010, and Morton named Dr. Ethan W. Ogletree Sr., pastor of the New Destiny Praise and Worship Center in Houston, as the overseer and then bishop.[37] Work in West Texas was coupled with that in New Mexico under the care of Bishop Harrison B. Johnson, founder/pastor of the Praise Temple Full Gospel Baptist Church in El Paso, Texas.[38] The fellowship's work in North Texas came under the jurisdiction of Kenneth B. Spears, pastor of the First Saint John Cathedral in Fort Worth. Spears had been consecrated as a bishop in 2005.[39]

The appearance of the FGBCF highlights a continuing difference between African-American Pentecostals/Charismatics and their white counterparts. African Americans, beginning with the formation of the Church of God in Christ in 1907, have shown little reluctance to form new denominations or to opine over the evils of denominationalism, while white Charismatics have repeatedly made protestations against such associations. Jim Robison, for example, celebrated that as a consequence of his awakening he became free of denominationalism and found all obstacles taken away as he moved among Charismatics from all denominational backgrounds, a position for which he was roundly criticized among more conservative anti-ecumenical Southern Baptists.

In the New Century

The Charismatic movement would peak through the 1980s and gradually fade through the 1990s. Though the movement failed to realize its goal of changing the older denominations, its people and structures did not go away, and most continued to grow as ministers and lay people from the various denominations continued to affiliate with the continuing Charismatic groups. Likewise, Charismatic leadership did not go away. All of the faculty members of the Emmaus Road Ministry School, for example,

went on to become the leaders of full-time, successful, post-Charismatic ministries. Welcoming many of the full-time, successful, post-Charismatic movements, the first to appear being the Word of Faith Movement (often belittled by critics as the Prosperity Gospel movement) launched by Texas minister Kenneth E. Hagin. During its formative stages, the Word of Faith movement was largely accepted in Charismatic circles, but through the 1980s was hit with intense criticism and pushed to the fringes even as it expanded nationally.[40] In the new century, leadership was assumed by Kenneth and Gloria Copeland, who were primarily responsible for building the Word of Faith into an international phenomenon.

Among the noteworthy people attracted to the Word of Faith was San Antonio pastor Jack R. Taylor (1934–2021).[41] During his pre-Charismatic years, Taylor had already begun to make a name for himself in Southern Baptist circles. As his attraction to the Charismatic experience took hold in the early 1970s, he led the Castle Hills First Baptist Church in San Antonio into mega-church status with more than 4,000 weekly attendees. He did so with little fanfare, emphasizing the empowerment of the Spirit-filled life rather than the outward manifestations of speaking in tongues, healings, and prophecy.[42] At the same time he was attracted to the Word of Faith and began to integrate key teachings—the authority of the believer, activating and confessing faith, spiritual warfare—culminating in a book on the most prominent Word of Faith theme, *God's Miraculous Plan of Economy*.[43]

Then in 1974, even as the controversy over the Beverly Hills Church in Dallas was emerging, Taylor left the pastorate, founded Dimension Ministries, and became an itinerant evangelist. His continued respect among Southern Baptists manifested in 1980 when he was elected vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention, just as the storm over Jim Robison's Charismatic awakening was beginning. Through the 1980s, while keeping his message of the Spirit-filled life as acceptable as possible to his largely Baptist audiences, Taylor kept fellowship with his Texas friends who followed him into the Charismatic life.

The Charismatic emphasis in Taylor's ministry was significantly magnified in 1994 when he visited the Toronto Airport Fellowship. There he experienced a personal healing and witnessed the many manifestation of the spiritual gifts that further invigorated his ministry. In the last years of his ministry he teamed with two prominent Charismatic colleagues,

R.T. Kendall (the former senior minister of Westminster Chapel in London) and Charles Carrin (a Presbyterian minister) to present what they termed the Word-Spirit-Power Conferences at locations across North America. Even before Taylor, John Osteen had drifted into the Word of Faith camp and at his death passed them and the Lakewood Church to his son Joel, under whose leadership it would enjoy spectacular growth to become the largest Protestant congregation in America.

The second movement to emerge as the Charismatic movement faded was the New Apostolic Reformation (NAR). Recalling the Latter Rain movement of the 1950s, the NAR was primarily distinguished by its call for a reformation of the church under the leadership of a modern contingent of apostles and prophets, a call integrated with a stringent critique of denominationalism. The movement emerged gradually in the 1980s, beginning with the appearance of a new generation of prophets in multiple Charismatic settings, and took further shape in the 1990s around a set of contemporary apostles. One of the first was Olen Griffing, commissioned in 1990. C. Peter Wagner held a notable conference about the movement in 1995 at Fuller Theological Seminary and later gave it the name by which it is commonly known.[44]

In 2001, Apostle Griffing and his Shady Grove Church hosted an international gathering at which the primary structure of the movement, the International Coalition of Apostles (ICA), was formed.[45] Griffing's Fort Worth colleague, John P. Kelly, who had founded an early Apostolic denomination called the Antioch Churches and Ministries, was named the convening apostle. Shortly thereafter, two Texas-based prophets, Cindy Jacobs and Church Pierce (both former Baptists), took the lead in forming the Apostolic Council of Prophetic Elders (ACPE). The ICA and ACPE remain the primary guiding organizations of the NAR.

Even as the Shady Grove Church was aligning with the NAR, associate pastor Robert Morris left to found the Gateway Church in Southlake, Texas. Gateway now approaches Lakewood Church in weekly attendance while simultaneously becoming the center of a network of congregations. Following his own commissioning as an apostle, Morris welcomed several additional apostles, most notably Jim Robison and Olen Griffing, to assist in his expanding ministry.

The Charismatic movement punctuated the steady drain of ministers and members from the Southern Baptist Convention who

experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit and who, through the twentieth century to the present, manifested the array of gifts of the Spirit in their life. The Charismatic impulse continues to make its presence felt. For example, during a 2006 presentation at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, where he served as a trustee, Dwight McKissic, a prominent SBC pastor in Arlington, Texas, revealed his integration of speaking in tongues into his private prayer time.[46] The resulting controversy punctuated the continuing disagreements among Baptists toward the contemporary manifestation of Charismatic gifts within Baptist circles, and possibly calls for the exploration of additional options by non-Charismatic Baptists in approaching church members experiencing the renewal. These additional options have been heralded by the 2015 action of the SBC's International Mission Board in removing restrictions on speaking in tongues for the missionaries it supports, and the words of leaders such as former SBC president J.D. Greear advocating the removal of any remaining restrictions on speaking in tongues within the church.[47]

Notes

1 C. Douglas Weaver, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit: The Contested History with Holiness-Pentecostal-Charismatic Movements* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019).

2 Robert Wuthnow has found a similar uniqueness with Texas Baptists in his *Rough Country: How Texas Became America's Most Powerful Bible Belt State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

3 The cessationist position has an authoritative presentation in Benjamin B. Warfield's *Counterfeit Miracles* (New York: Counterfeit Miracles, 1918) and more recently in John MacArthur's *Strange Fire: The Danger of Offending the Holy Spirit with Counterfeit Worship* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2013). A counter position to Warfield and MacArthur is found in Jack Deere's, *Surprised by the Power of the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993).

4 Phillip Luke Sinitiere, "From the Oasis of Love to Your Best Life Now: A Brief History of Lakewood Church," *Houston History* 8: 3 (Summer 2011): 2-19; Phillip Luke Sinitiere, *Salvation with a Smile: Joel Osteen, Lakewood Church, and American Christianity* (New York: NYU Press, 2015); Richard Young, *The Rise of Lakewood Church and Joel Osteen* (New Kensington, PA: Whitaker House, 2012).

5 John Osteen, "He Heard God Speak," in Jerry Jensen, comp., *Baptists and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit* (Los Angeles: Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International, 1963): 6-10, 32.

6 Marvin Crow, "Baptist Pastor Came to See...and Stayed to Receive...Now Pastor at Lakewood," *Faith Conquest* (January 1962): 5, 7.

7 Marvin Crow, "Revival Fires Began to Burn," in Jensen, *Baptists and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, 19-21, 32.

8 Following his publication of the basic texts of the Word of Faith movement through the mid-1960s and launching his broadcast ministry on a Dallas radio station, Hagin accepted the offer of a new headquarters complex and moved his operation to Tulsa, where

it continues to flourish under his son's leadership. Meanwhile, multiple Hagin students developed equally expansive Word of Faith-based ministries headquartered in Texas including Joel Osteen, Kenneth and Gloria Copeland, Mike Murdock, John Avanzini, I.V. Hilliard, and Nate Holcomb.

9 Hong Sit, "Southern Baptist Chinese Pastor Receives Baptism of Holy Ghost," *Faith Conquest* 1:2 (January, 1962): 6; "Local Church Notes," *The Texas Grace Counselor* 13:12 (January 1962): 3.

10 Sandra Pratt Martin, *Bite Your Tongues: A Story About Beverly Hills Baptist Church and Its Pastor Howard Conatser* (Fort Worth: Harvest Press, 1976); Bill Porterfield, "The Faith Healers." *D Magazine* (October 1977), https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/1977/october/the-faith-healers/.

11 Quoted in *The Courier-Journal* [Louisville, KY] (Dec. 30, 1975): A6.

12 Quoted in Weaver, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit*, 243.

13 Larry Lea, *Could You Not Tarry One Hour?* (Altamonte Springs, FL: Creation House, Strang Communications Co., 1987): 25-30; and Larry Lea, *Highest Calling: Serving in the Royal Priesthood.* (Lake Mary, FL: Creation House, 1991): 9-10. Lea eventually settled in a Dallas suburb and built his own Charismatic mega-congregation, the Church on the Rock.

14 The story of the Hammons' Charismatic awakening is told in Frank Hammond, *Promoted by God* (Kirkwood, MO: Impact Christian Books, 1989).

15 Frank and Ida Mae Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlor: A Practical Guide to Deliverance* (Kirkwood, MO: Impact Christian Books, 1973). Hammond appears to have been unaware of the deliverance literature written by Dallas minister W.V. Grant Sr. in the 1960s and his attempt to build a deliverance movement among independent Pentecostals from his Dallas-based Soul's Harbor Church. Hammond also was unaware of *Victory Over the Devil*, the contemporaneous book being written by Jack R. Taylor.

16 During the 1970s, the Charismatic movement spawned a variety of submovements such as the Convergence movement (primarily among Episcopalians), the Roman Catholic renewal, and the disastrous Shepherding movement, the discussion of which is far beyond the scope of this essay.

17 "Rod Saunders, Why Apologetics," *Jew & Greek: Theology, Philosophy, Apologetics*, http://jewandgreek.com/why-apologetics/.

18 Robert Morris, *The Blessed Church: The Simple Secret to Growing the Church You Love* (Colorado Springs, CO: WaterBrook, 2012): 8-16.

19 Nic Lesmeister, "Gateway Center for Israel: The New Future for MJBI," https://mjbi.org/2019/08/11/gateway-center-for-israel/.

20 Tony Druin, "Robison Green Ministry Causes SBC Controversy," *Baptist Standard* (April 11, 1984), http://media.sbhla.org.s3.amazonaws.com/5826,12-Apr-1984.pdf.

21 James Robison, *Thank God, I'm Free: The James Robison Story* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1988): 136-37.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., 150.

24 A few years later, Godwin would leave the Baptists and found the Eagle's Nest Christian Fellowship (now Summit Christian Center), which would grow into a megachurch.

25 Robison, *Thank God, I'm Free*, 185 ff.

26 "James Robison Leaves Church of Former Baptist President," *Christianity Today* (Nov. 9, 1984), https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1984/november-9/james-robison-leaves-church-of-former-baptist-president.html.

27 From an article in *Christianity Today* (May 16, 1986), cited in David Cloud, "Charismatic Southern Baptists" (April 3, 1999), https://www.wayoflife.org/database/Charismatic_southern_baptists.html.

28 John White, *When the Spirit Comes with Power: Signs and Wonders among God's People* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988).

29 Deere's story is detailed in his books, *Surprised by the Power of the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993) and *Surprised by the Voice of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998).

30 Richard Vara, "Neo-pentecostalism blends exuberance with tradition," *Houston Chronicle* (Sept. 21, 2002), https://www.chron.com/life/houston-belief/article/Neo-pentecostalism-blends-exuberance-with-2118379.php.

31 Though he only received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in 1990, Morton had been raised in the Church of God in Christ and actually began his ministerial career in COGIC before becoming a Baptist.

32 Paul S. Morton, *Changing Forward: Experiencing God's Unlimited Power* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2012): 91.

33 Weaver, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit*, 385 ff.

34 Biographical data on Bishop Livingston is found at https://trueworshipcathedral.weebly.com/founder-and-pastor.html.

35 See https://www.facebook.com/newcovenantchurches.

36 Bishop Kenebrew has more recently moved to Fort Worth and become pastor of the Dimensions of Grace Church. (https://www.facebook.com/dimensionsofgracechurch/).

37 Almost nothing has been written about the history and development of the Full Gospel Baptist Church Fellowship since Bishop Morton's autobiography that carried an account of the fellowship's founding. The narrative of its development in Texas has been assembled from reference to a host of websites representing affiliated congregations and leaders. On Bishop Ogletree, for example, see https://newdestinypwc.org/new/leadership/.

38 Unfortunately, Bishop Johnson became a victim of the Covid-19 pandemic. He passed away in October, 2020, and to date no successor has been named. Cf. https://www.destiny4me.com/about.

39 First Saint John Cathedral. (http://www.firstsaintjohn.org/our-pastor/).

40 The barrage of attacks on Hagin began with Oral Roberts University professor Charles Farah, *From the Pinnacle to the Temple* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1979).

41 Weaver, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit*, 268-72.

42 Weaver's lengthy discussion of Taylor calls attention to the continuing effects of the Keswick movement and the appeal of its approach to the Charismatic experience. Keswick (or Higher Life) teachings emphasized the empowerment element of the infilling of the Spirit as opposed to the perfectionism of the Holiness movement or the manifestation of the gifts among Pentecostals. Weaver, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit*, 268-72.

43 These themes were all evident in Taylor's book of sermons, *Much More: Classic Messages of the Believer's Resources in Christ* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1972). See also his *Victory Over the Devil; an adventure into the world of spiritual warfare* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1973) and *God's Miraculous Plan of Economy* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1975).

44 Peter Wagner, *The New Apostolic Churches* (Ventura, CA: Regal/Gospel Light, 1998).

45 The name was recently changed to International Coalition of Apostolic Leaders.

46 Danny Burk, "SBC Controversy over Speaking in Tongues," https://www.dennyburk.com/mckissic-gate-and-sbc-controversy-over-speaking-in-tongues.

47 J.D. Greear, "Can Christians Speak in Tongues?" https://jdgreear.com/podcasts/can-christians-speak-in-tongues.

"Our Missionaries Are Not Revolutionaries": Race, Southern Baptists, and the Protestant Far Right in the Rhodesian Bush War, 1965–1980

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After Rhodesia's white minority unilaterally declared independence from British colonial oversight in 1965, the nation weathered a brutal civil war that pitted prime minister Ian Smith's segregationist regime against Soviet- and Chinese-backed indigenous rebel groups.

This conflict, which came to be known as the Rhodesian Bush War, persisted until 1980, when white Rhodesians fully acceded to black majority rule and the country was rebirthed as Zimbabwe. Rhodesia's fifteen years of turmoil reverberated not only through southern Africa but also in the United States, where the turmoil coincided with a transitional period in American history. From 1965 to 1980, as Rhodesia waged literal war on itself over intertwined issues of race, civil rights, and communism, the United States weathered similar skirmishes in its cultural, legal, and religious spheres.[1]

Caught in the crossfire on both continents was a considerable contingent of Southern Baptist missionaries serving in Rhodesia. As Southern Baptists and other American evangelicals took varying positions on the Rhodesian Bush War—ranging from quietist neutrality to full-throated support for Ian Smith's white regime—they revealed the varying ways in which they were grappling with America's changing racial and political landscape and were forming the public postures that would characterize the resurgence of the Christian Right in the late 1970s.

In addressing the roles of American Baptists and other evangelicals in the Rhodesian Bush War, this essay has three historiographical aims. The first is to put forth a comprehensive narrative of American evangelical engagement with the Rhodesian Bush War, which has not hitherto been attempted.[2]

Beyond providing a baseline narrative, this essay also treats the Rhodesian Bush War as a case study for examining how the resurgence of the Christian Right in the 1970s stemmed from the conflicting and complementary roles of race and the Cold War—both of which have featured prominently in recent historiography on the topic. For example, Randall Balmer has argued that a resurgent Christian Right organized initially around the defense of faith-based "segregation academies" in the American South, while Kevin Kruse has located the movement's roots in the postwar constructions of religiously inflected civic symbolism that political and industry elites aimed at forging a cohesive American identity against "godless" communism. By focusing on American evangelical involvement in Rhodesia, this study does not dispute either of these narratives of the Christian Right's formation, but rather contends that the guiding influence of race and anti-communism in shaping the Christian Right cannot be fully understood in a domestic frame, but rather is more fully appreciated through a transnational perspective.[3]

Third, because the Rhodesian conflict spans the 1960s and 1970s, it offers an opportunity to measure the extent to which the coalescing Christian Right of the late 1970s had genealogical links with the motley crew of conspiratorial anti-communists, white supremacists, and anti-Semites who participated in American far-right politics in the 1960s and sympathetically allied themselves with Rhodesia.

Across the landscape of American Christianity, mainline Protestants and Roman Catholics were among the most strongly opposed to Rhodesia's segregationist regime and at times were enthusiastically supportive of the Marxist revolutionaries.[4] This essay, however, will adopt a narrower, comparative framework, juxtaposing Southern Baptist missionaries serving in Rhodesia with a shadowy network of hardline conservative Protestants with ties to Ian Smith's regime, which included Carl McIntire, Billy James Hargis, and later, Jerry Falwell. The Rhodesian

context revealed from afar the varying ways in which these two strands of American evangelicalism were adjusting to the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement in their own country.

In the case of Southern Baptist missionaries, their growing distaste for Rhodesia's rigidly segregationist society—which persisted as the American South's own iteration gave way—rivaled but never outweighed their distaste for the regime's communist-aligned challengers, and thus they refused to take sides in the conflict. In the case of the American evangelical allies of Ian Smith's regime, their support revealed how their theologized backing for racial hierarchies both shifted geographically toward Africa and rhetorically toward anti-communism after their sustained domestic losses against the Civil Rights Movement.

The Road to Rhodesian Independence

The destabilizing effects of World War II had nearly erased the presence of SBC missionaries from Africa, but in the 1950s the British colony of Southern Rhodesia became a critical beachhead in the denomination's renewed efforts to evangelize the continent.[5]

In 1952, American missionaries established the Rhodesian Baptist Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention, focusing their attention on the colony's urban neighborhoods and its Sanyati River Valley. After Great Britain's government began expressing its desire in 1960 for Rhodesian independence under black majority rule, the reactionary, white-identitarian Rhodesian Front, led by Ian Smith, took electoral control of the colonial parliament. Smith and his legislative allies began to codify segregationist statutes that prevented white SBC missionaries from interacting with black Africans, to which the missionaries responded by chartering the Baptist Convention of Central Africa to allow indigenous Baptists more ecclesial and operational autonomy.[6]

These missionaries also developed prophetic voices, calling for Southern Baptists in the United States to recognize racial equality. "The Montgomery trouble and others like it made big headlines in our paper," wrote missionary Gene D. Phillips in reference to the Montgomery bus boycotts in the SBC's missions magazine, *The Commission,* in 1961. "This does not help our mission work at all. ...[W]e Southern Baptists must search out hearts and ask God to give us attitudes and actions consistent

with our professions."[7] Clyde Dotson, a Southern Baptist missionary from Alabama who was the founder and stalwart of the SBC's Rhodesian mission, was more forthright. "The day is past when the white man can rule and keep down with force the overwhelming majority of Africans," he wrote to Southern Baptists in 1962, adding that "if our Christian friends [in America] could realize the great damage being done to missions over the world by their racial attitudes, they would try to show more love."[8] As Rhodesia's racial situation deteriorated in the early 1960s, SBC missionaries criticized how Rhodesia's white minority was clinging unjustly to power. They also used their fraught racial context to exhort their denomination to reckon with America's racial strife.

Missionaries aligned with Carl McIntire (1906–2002), a Presbyterian and mid-century American arch-fundamentalist, constituted the other major white evangelical presence in colonial Rhodesia in the 1960s. They took a very different approach from Southern Baptist missionaries to the racial conflict in Rhodesia. Historians have examined McIntire's role in the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversies of the 1920s and their aftermath, but they have largely glossed over McIntire's global connections with what historian Richard Jordan has called "a new militant and fundamentalist fellowship" that emerged in the 1950s.[9] This global network of communication and collaboration linked Protestant elements of American far-right politics, militant Presbyterian unionists waging war in Northern Ireland, and Reformed advocates for segregation in South Africa and Rhodesia.

McIntire exchanged frequent letters with Ian Smith and with segregationist politicians in the United States such as South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond and Georgia Governor Lester Maddox. When corresponding or interacting with Africans on the mission field, however, McIntire never disclosed his belief in black inferiority for fear that it would dampen evangelistic efforts. Nevertheless, McIntire's relationships with Rhodesia's white leaders provided an avenue for more outspokenly racist ministers who were active in American far-right circles to enter the fray in the 1960s. Utilizing McIntire's connections in Rhodesia, Tulsa-based minister Billy James Hargis (1925–2004) established the All-Africa Christian Crusade in the mid-1960s to prop up Rhodesia's ascendant white minority regime, which he positively likened to contemporary defenders of the Jim Crow-era South.[10]

Southern Baptist Missions in an Independent Rhodesia

Matters came to a head for both McIntire's associates and SBC missionaries on November 11, 1965, when Ian Smith, now Rhodesia's prime minister, signed a Unilateral Declaration of Independence from British colonial oversight. Smith's new political system stiffened segregationist housing policies and severely restricted the voting rights of Rhodesia's 4.5 million non-whites, leaving the country in the hands of its 300,000 whites. Independent Rhodesia received withering international contempt from its start. Not a single country recognized Rhodesia's independence, and the United Nations imposed crippling economic sanctions beginning in 1968. Among Rhodesia's indigenous populations, opposition to white rule quickly coalesced behind Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which was backed by the Soviet Union, and Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which was backed by the People's Republic of China.[11] Rhodesia's racial tensions remained mostly nonviolent through the 1960s, but the threat of escalation loomed.

Southern Baptist missionaries struggled to find their footing on Rhodesia's new political terrain. Immediately after Rhodesian independence, H. Cornell Goerner, area secretary for Africa at the SBC Foreign Missions Board, briefed denominational officials on how he had ordered missionaries there to respond. "Our missionaries are not revolutionaries," Goerner declared. "As long as the present government is in control and is able to maintain law and order, the missionaries will respect it and live under its laws." Although he acknowledged the injustice of Rhodesia's white minority regime, he reasoned that SBC missionaries in Rhodesia "must maintain our neutral position on political issues" or risk expulsion from the country, "even though it might at times involve silence on what some would regard as basic human rights."[12]

In the meantime, Goerner stressed that African converts, although denied democratic rights in Rhodesia's political realm, could nevertheless fully exercise these rights in Baptists' unsegregated congregational polity, which he called "the framework of a Baptist democracy."[13] Goerner hoped that white Baptist missionaries and their largely black congregations could bring resolution to Rhodesia's racial tensions by being a model of interracial harmony, but such a strategy would only work if the SBC's missionaries evaded the Smith regime's suspicions of disloyalty and thereby avoided deportation.

Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, SBC missionaries in Rhodesia would abide by Goerner's strategy of silence, but they punctuated their general neutrality with isolated acts of resistance to Smith's regime. When the Rhodesian government passed the Manpower Registration Act, which mandated that all white males in the country register for the draft, SBC missionaries debated heatedly over whether to comply. Some reluctantly signed their draft cards while others abstained, but their debate proved to be immaterial when the Rhodesian government granted a missionary exemption to the law. In 1970, when Rhodesia instituted the Land Tenure Act that prevented interracial gatherings without governmental permission, Southern Baptists in Rhodesia decried it as a threat to missions and joined an ecumenical protest movement that Rhodesia's Catholic bishops organized against the measure. Their collective lobbying paid off. The Rhodesian government passed another missionary exemption to this law.[14] Yet if SBC missionaries resisted the most onerous measures of Rhodesia's white minority government, they never collaborated with its African Marxist opponents. Their strategy, as Goerner had urged in 1965, continued to be one of neutrality.

Yet, white Southern Baptist missionaries struggled to discern what neutrality should look like in Rhodesia's fraught racial context. Frances Greenway, a female surgeon serving with the SBC Foreign Mission Board in the rural Sanyeti Preserve, sought to be racially sensitive when she produced a film in 1970 aimed at educating Africans across the continent about infant malnutrition. She ensured that the film featured only black Africans in on-screen roles and contained no context clues that would link it to Rhodesia, which she anticipated would have hindered its reception by black audiences.[15]

Another aspect of Greenway's racial attitudes emerged in her mail correspondence with relatives in Fort Worth, which revealed a missionary who was exhaustively devoted to the impoverished black Africans she served. Yet she almost never discussed Rhodesia's racialized political upheaval in her letters, except to complain to her relatives about how the international embargoes made it difficult to transfer money to and from the United States. "Maybe England and Rhodesia will get things settled between them adequately for everybody to quit snubbing us," she mused. "If so, it will not be such a problem getting money into Rhodesia."[16]

Greenway evinced a desire to serve and evangelize Rhodesia's indigenous population in a racially sensitive manner, but she appeared reluctant to directly attack Rhodesia's racially unequal political system.

Amid the ongoing quiescence of SBC missionaries, visitors to Rhodesia's mission churches perceived that a friction was developing under the surface between whites and blacks. F.M. Lockridge, an African-American minister who visited Rhodesia in 1968, noted that indigenous Baptists were respectful but wary of SBC missionaries. He observed that "there is no superior air at all" among the SBC's white mission personnel, but also noticed that black Baptists spoke to him with unusual frankness only when white missionaries were not present.[17] Lockridge also reported that one group of indigenous Baptists had specifically asked whether the SBC could send a black missionary to their community. "We are glad to receive you," Lockridge remembered the group saying, "because you are one of us."[18] In Rhodesia, the SBC's policy of silent neutrality created complex relationships between the denomination's missionaries and indigenous Baptists.

American Protestant Support for Rhodesia and the Christian Mercenary Movement

Although the SBC's neutrality in Rhodesia generated some tensions, it nevertheless contrasted starkly with the full backing that other American evangelicals offered to Ian Smith's segregationist regime. As the international community turned its back on Rhodesia, Ian Smith methodically cultivated ties with hardline, anti-communist American evangelicals. Among them was Carl McIntire, who was, admittedly, more reserved in his support for Rhodesia's white government, expressing his sympathies only in private letters to Ian Smith. Billy James Hargis, by contrast, was unabashedly public in his backing of Rhodesia's segregationist regime. At Smith's invitation, Hargis held an "evangelistic" rally in the predominantly white Rhodesian capital of Salisbury in 1969, where he lauded Smith's suppression of the country's black Marxist-aligned dissidents. Taylor Caldwell, a British-born American female novelist serving on the advisory board for Hargis' ministry, organized the pro-Rhodesia movement in America, leading a group called Friends of Rhodesian Independence in the early 1970s. Rhodesia's white legislators catered to their international evangelical support when they revised their

constitution in 1969 by inserting a preamble that declared "the peoples of Rhodesia humbly acclaim the supremacy and omnipotence of Almighty God and acknowledge the ultimate direction by Him of the affairs of Man."[19] Smith saw the advantages of wrapping a Christian banner around Rhodesia's white supremacist, anti-communist identity.

In retrospect, observers of the Rhodesian Bush War recognized 1974 as the pivotal year in the conflict and the beginning of the decline of Smith's regime. That year, Rhodesia's eastern neighbor Mozambique fell out of Portuguese control and into a black government sympathetic to Rhodesia's Marxist dissidents. Under increasing pressure from his only tacit ally, South Africa, Ian Smith released both Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo from prison in 1974. Whisked out of the country by supportive Catholic nuns, Mugabe began training a guerrilla army in Mozambique to invade Rhodesia. As armed conflicts intensified in the mid-1970s, white Rhodesians fled the country, contributing to a troop shortage. In response, Rhodesia released a call for foreign mercenaries, waiving its visa requirements for Americans and offering housing credits to those who took up guns for Smith's government. An estimated two thousand Americans answered the call.[20]

Many of these expatriates gravitated toward Robin Moore, the self-proclaimed "American Ambassador" to Rhodesia who started his own "embassy" in Salisbury. Moore insisted that Rhodesia's white minority regime was a democratic, non-racist government. Paradoxically, however, he also dismissed calls to extend full voting rights to black Rhodesians, for they had not yet "earned the right to it."[21] As Rhodesia teetered on the brink of meltdown in the mid-1970s, thousands of Americans rushed to its defense, coalescing around mercurial figures such as Moore.

Some among the American mercenaries who traveled to Rhodesia were inspired by their evangelical faith, which they blended seamlessly with their anti-communist and racist views. The day after graduating from Ohio State University in 1972, John Alan Coey hopped on a plane for Rhodesia. Believing that Marxism posed a threat to Christianity and that only "when all European peoples are unified, can communism...be smashed," Coey enlisted in the Rhodesian armed forces, where he served as a drill instructor and medic.[22]

In Rhodesia, Coey visited churches operated by Southern Baptists, but eventually stopped attending because he felt their Dispensational

theology clashed with his own anti-Semitic views. He also took umbrage with their reluctance to oppose Rhodesia's indigenous rebels more forcefully. "Some of my Baptist friends...refuse to come to grips with the problems of our civilization," he wrote in his diary, "and content themselves by waiting for Christ to come again to save them."[23] After dying on the battlefield in July 1975, Coey came to be viewed as a martyr in extreme sectors of the American Right.

Influenced by similar motives, Jeffrey Wasserman emigrated from Houston to Rhodesia with his wife and served as a chaplain in the Rhodesian armed forces. "There are other Anglo-Saxons over [in Rhodesia] trying to fight for their freedom and trying to determine their own destiny," Wasserman explained. "I just couldn't stay in the United States any longer, on the other side of the world and not do something about it."[24] Affinities for Christian identity and white identity intersected among the American mercenaries who ventured to Rhodesia.

As Rhodesia's conditions worsened after 1974, Southern Baptist missionaries remained publicly neutral as Christian mercenaries flocked to Ian Smith's regime. In a 1977 edition of *Baptist Press*, SBC missionaries called for "Southern Baptists in the United States to join them in special prayer for Rhodesia," but emphasized that they took "no political stand" in Rhodesia "according to SBC Foreign Missionary Board policy."[25] They also made adjustments to protect staff from violence by restricting them to well-defended cities and banning overnight travel in rural areas. Even after SBC missionary Archie Dunaway was macheted to death by an African guerrilla on June 15, 1978, his colleagues refused to allow his murder to become a propaganda boon to the Smith regime and ensured that his funeral in Rhodesia was unsegregated.[26]

Dunaway's death in 1978 was part of a brutal trend of missionary murders in Rhodesia undertaken by the Patriotic Front—the newly formed alliance of Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. Whereas Southern Baptists in Rhodesia pressed on in their neutrality, other American evangelicals responded quite differently to the increasing violence. One such figure was Paul Lindstrom, who was a friend of Ian Smith, a Trinity Evangelical Divinity School graduate, and pastor of the Church of Christian Liberty, an independent congregation located in the Chicago suburbs. After the massacre of eight British Pentecostal missionaries and their children at their compound in rural Rhodesia, Lindstrom tapped his

connections with Smith and American paramilitary groups to organize a strike force of "Christian young men with military experience in Viet Nam." He selected Giles Pace, a former staff member in Carl McIntire's ministry and a Vietnam veteran, to lead this regiment, tasking him with recapturing the British Pentecostals' compound and repurposing it for missions again. Pace did not mince his words, boasting that he was "not interested in dialogue or détente. We will shoot the bastards [African guerrillas] on sight."[27] In a newsletter to supporters after the mercenaries arrived in Rhodesia, Lindstrom praised how "like the ministers in the days of the old Wild West," they were "armed with both Bibles and guns." The newsletter triumphantly displayed an image of a white man in combat fatigues hoisting the Christian flag atop an anti-mine vehicle at the recovered British Pentecostal compound.[28]

Endgame: Rhodesian Propaganda and the Christian Right

By 1978, the racial dynamics of the Rhodesian Bush War were shifting as Ian Smith recognized that the white minority's hold on power was crumbling. In a crushing blow to morale, the Patriotic Front briefly breached Salisbury's suburbs in 1978, setting fire to Rhodesia's strategic oil reserves. White Rhodesians continued their mass exodus. Smith reached out to African moderates led by Abel Muzorewa, a Methodist bishop. That year they struck an "Internal Settlement" that renamed the country Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and would gradually extend full civil rights to black Rhodesians, but excluded both Mugabe and Nkomo from any future political leadership. Because neither Mugabe nor Nkomo participated in the settlement, the Carter Administration and its British allies refused to recognize it as the legitimate end to the conflict. War continued.[29]

Now with a patina of interracial cooperation, Ian Smith's regime circulated propaganda to gain the sympathies of more mainstream American evangelicals. Commissioned by defense minister P.K. Van de Byl as part of Rhodesia's Operation Springboard propaganda campaign, military chaplain Stan Hannan produced a twenty-minute film titled *Rhodesia Unafraid*, which reframed the war as a nonracial, holy conflict against Communism. (Hannan would later emigrate to the United States and serve as a Southern Baptist pastor in Florida).[30]

Fittingly, Hannan chose Norman Wood, Chaplain General of the Rhodesian Armed Forces, as lead spokesperson in the film. "We fight against international communism, Marxism at its worst," Wood assured viewers while wearing combat fatigues emblazoned with a cross pin. "And as a result of this we do not have a black-white confrontation, but rather a confrontation of black, white, colored, and Asian against Marxist terrorism, who [sic] seek to come into our country and destroy all that is Christian." Hannan interviewed others, including "ambassador" Robin Moore and "Col. The Rev." Robert Slimp, a retired U.S. Army chaplain living in Rhodesia. Slimp fervently claimed "this isn't a case of black against white, it's a case of black and white together against Communism." The film closed with shots of a Rhodesian military cemetery, soaring orchestral music, and Norman Wood intoning "more than ever, we need to turn to God."[31] In its gratuitous religious imagery, *Rhodesia Unafraid* revealed how Ian Smith's regime in its waning years continued to target American evangelicals for support.

Rhodesia's courting of American evangelicals extended beyond *Rhodesia Unafraid* as they sought to broaden their support outside the racially tinged far right. In 1979 Norman Wood traveled to the United States where, in a sly lobbying tactic, he attended Sunday services and led congregational prayer at the church President Jimmy Carter attended, the First Baptist Church of the City of Washington, D.C. He then gave an interview where he highlighted the murder of Archie Dunaway (claiming that he was once Dunaway's pastor) and insisted that the Rhodesian War had pivoted from its racial origins into a religious war. Nevertheless, coded racializations still abounded in Wood's defense of Rhodesians' "right to their freedom, to their lives, to their worship, to their own racial culture."[32]

Similarly to Norman Wood, Francis Grim, a white Rhodesian medical missionary, took his nation's cause to evangelical colleges in 1978. Rhodesia's real war, Grim claimed, was spiritual, not racial, and he called upon students at Oral Roberts University "to earnestly intercede for Rhodesia, to pray, to give, to go!"[33] That same year, Grim visited Jerry Falwell's Liberty Baptist College, where he delivered a similar message. Twenty-five Liberty students signed on to travel to Rhodesia with Grim

and distribute Bibles.[34] Jerry Falwell himself traveled to Rhodesia in November 1979, signifying how the Rhodesian conflict had found its way into the concerns of the ascendant Christian Right.

Led by Norman Wood on a grand tour of the country, Falwell preached to Rhodesian soldiers and, donning army fatigues, visited the mission that the Church of Christian Liberty had retaken. Falwell alleged to the one million subscribers to his ministry magazine that Rhodesia no longer had any racial strife and eviscerated the Carter Administration for refusing to accept Rhodesia's Internal Settlement.[35]

Securing a non-Marxist future for Rhodesia increasingly found itself on Christian Right activists' laundry list of policy goals. In 1980 William Reed, a Christian Right organizer, wrote to supporters that the Rhodesian conflict was the latest example of how "in our nation and worldwide the forces of evil are arrayed against the godly and the righteous...In America our first duty must be to unite. We then must get believers to run for office and vote them in."[36] Support for Rhodesia, which had started as the pet cause of far-right Protestant segregationists in the 1960s, had migrated into the mainstream consciousness of the Christian Right by the end of the 1970s.

At War's End

The belligerents of the Rhodesian Bush War reached an enduring compromise on December 21, 1979 with the Lancaster House Agreement, which, unlike the Internal Settlement, included Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo and therefore received backing from the United States. Three months later, Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union swept parliamentary elections. Zimbabwe-Rhodesia became an internationally recognized country on April 18, 1980 under the shortened name of Zimbabwe, with Mugabe as the nation's inaugural prime minister. Southern Baptist missionaries expressed relief that the brutal civil war had reached its conclusion. Keith Parks, head of the SBC Foreign Mission Board, met with Mugabe in Washington D.C. and had high praise for the prime minister's "emphasis on reconciliation, peace, and democracy."[37] Other American evangelicals were far less sanguine, however.

In the years after Zimbabwean independence, Paul Lindstrom and Francis Grim coordinated with Peter Hammond, a Rhodesian white, to

found Frontline Fellowship, which deployed armed missionaries with special forces training to aid right-wing resistance movements in southern African countries such as Mozambique. Similar to his prior ventures in Rhodesia, Jerry Falwell publicized "fact-finding" trips to South Africa during the 1980s, where he hoped for "constructive engagement" sympathetic to its white government.[38] At war's end, SBC missionaries felt liberated from the fraught neutrality they had affected for a decade and a half, while Christian Right activists simply shifted to the new frontlines of "anti-communist" conflict in neighboring countries.

The Rhodesian Bush War provides a window into a remarkable fifteen-year transition period in American evangelicalism. To avoid expulsion by Ian Smith's regime and to continue serving on the mission field, SBC missionaries based in Rhodesia adopted a posture of quietist neutrality. In doing so, they communicated that despite their strong distaste for Rhodesia's segregated society, they perceived that the country's communist-aligned dissident groups were not acceptable alternatives.

By contrast, far-right Protestants such as Billy James Hargis and John Alan Coey saw in Rhodesia not lost African souls but a battlefield in which to defend principles of white supremacy that were slipping away in a post-Jim Crow America. In the words of historian Luise White, "Rhodesia was as much a fantasy as it was a state" for them—a "right-wing social imaginary" under religious siege by black communists.[39] For Hargis and Coey and others, the Rhodesian Bush War illuminated how their Christian faith undergirded their racist attitudes and anti-communist views. Ian Smith's Rhodesian regime eagerly cultivated their support, and as the war neared its end in the late 1970s, the prime minister successively piloted his cause into the concerns of the resurgent Christian Right.

Notwithstanding the reluctant nonalignment of Southern Baptist missionaries, the Rhodesian Bush War demonstrates that the Christian Right of the late 1970s had substantive links to the segregationist, anti-Communist strands of Protestantism that populated America's far-right fringes in the 1960s.

Notes

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18 Ibid.

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Book Reviews

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Mainstreaming Fundamentalism: John R. Rice and Fundamentalism's Public Reemergence. **By Keith Bates. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2021. 226 pp.**

The study of fundamentalism has long needed a scholarly biography of John R. Rice, and Keith Bates has filled that need admirably with this book, which is part of a relatively new series, America's Baptists, edited by Keith Harper and published by the University of Tennessee Press. (Full disclosure, the revised edition of my book, *God's Rascal: J. Frank Norris and the Beginnings of Southern Fundamentalism,* is slated to be published in this series in 2022, which is fitting since Rice got his start as a Baptist fundamentalist under Norris' tutelage in the 1920s.)

Most anyone familiar with American fundamentalism will know the name John R. Rice. What they probably know is that he edited a highly popular fundamentalist newspaper called *The Sword of the Lord*, or that he wrote a memorably titled book, *Bobbed Hair, Bossy Wives, and Women Preachers* (1941). These titles might lead one to believe that Rice was among the most militant fundamentalists in America during the middle third of the twentieth century, and that is the case in many ways. But what Bates does in this book is situate Rice more precisely within fundamentalism.

As the title suggests, Bates positions Rice as a "mainstream fundamentalist," and in so doing creates a new category, or at least names one that has been around for a while. Having been raised in Texas and

graduated from Baylor, Rice was then mentored by Norris in the 1920s and early 1930s before the two had a bitter break, much of which played out publicly in Norris' newspaper, *The Fundamentalist*. Moving on from Norris, Rice became a popular tent revivalist even as he established his famous newspaper in 1934, headquartering it in Wheaton, Illinois, where it would remain for nearly thirty years before moving to Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

The key issues Bates uses to create "mainstream fundamentalism" are separatism and cultural engagement. Separating from liberal Christians has been a key marker of fundamentalism throughout its history. Fundamentalists, however, disagree on "secondary separation"—whether one must also separate from orthodox, evangelical believers who do not separate from liberals. Rice did not adhere to secondary separation, and so while he left the Southern Baptist Convention because he believed it had compromised with theological liberalism, he tried to stay in fellowship with Southern Baptists such as W.A. Criswell, Lee Robertson, and others. On cultural engagement, Rice believed that those touting secondary separation—Bob Jones Jr. and Bob Jones III, chief among them—cut themselves off from any influence in the culture. They were in "isolation" rather than proper fundamentalist separatism. Bates makes a compelling argument that Rice helped create and was the most influential leader of mainstream fundamentalism.

Readers of this journal interested in learning about the variations within fundamentalism and its relationship to Southern Baptists will find Bates' book of interest. It is a good read based on sound scholarship—of value, not only to scholars, but also to anyone interested in the history of Baptists, fundamentalists, and evangelicals.—*Reviewed by Barry Hankins, Professor of History, Baylor University, Waco, Texas*

Saving History: How White Evangelicals Tour the Nation's Capital and Redeem a Christian America. **By Lauren R. Kerby. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020. 196 pp.**

From school field trips to professional conferences to protest rallies, tourists consistently flood into Washington, D.C. Many come to the nation's capital to learn America's stories, but Christian heritage tours seek to provide confirmation of a story the tourists already "know": that America was founded as a "Christian nation."

Lauren Kerby's *Saving History* is an insider's look at these tours and how they are shaping part of the electorate. The book gives glimpses of the content in these tours and offers insight on why they are resonating with mainly white, conservative Christians.

In studying Christian tourism as an intersection of Christianity and politics, Kerby considers both the presentation by the tour guides and the reception of the participants. She climbed aboard nine buses to study Christian heritage tours, being upfront with the tour companies who often introduced her to the group as a researcher and "not a terrorist." (p. 3).

Kerby identifies four themes that are helpful for understanding the appeal of Christian heritage tours. The tours present Christians in American history in the roles of founders, exiles, victims, and saviors. While at first glance these roles seem contradictory, Kerby shows how the themes are woven together by picking them up as needed and discarding them when they are no longer helpful.

The tour participants were largely homogeneous. The vast majority of the more than 400 participants were white, traveled as a couple or family, and fit within David Bebbington's four-part definition of evangelicalism (biblicism, conversionism, crucicentrism, and activism). All had the discretionary income to afford a multi-day tour of D.C. According to Kerby, the guides and participants narrowly used the broad term "Christian" to "denote a specific brand of white conservative evangelical Protestantism that matched the demographics of this audience" (pp. 10-11).

While the Christian heritage tours went out of their way to highlight the monuments, statues, and other references to white male Protestants, they largely obscured the references to other Christians. Nowhere was this more prominent than in Kerby's description of the tour guides' selection of important statues to see inside the Capitol. Despite their personal association with the Christian faith, neither the bust of Sojourner Truth nor the statue of Rosa Parks were included in the list of notable historical figures. This dichotomy of engaging some objects as "Christian" and ignoring others "...rendered invisible the countless ways that Christians who are women, people of color, mainline Protestants, non-Protestants, and advocates for progressive causes have mattered in American history" (p. 144).

Approximately one-third of *Saving History* is reference material, making the well-written and easy-to-read text useful for those looking to do their own deep dive into Christian tourism and how it reflects an intersection of Christianity and politics.

Saving History is an important study of Christian heritage tours, which celebrate a whitewashed version of American history. The book sheds light on the molding and reimagining of history that is influencing how white evangelicals see themselves and how they respond to the current culture and political environment.—*Reviewed by Jennifer L. Hawks, Associate General Counsel, Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty*

Baptists, Gospel, and Culture: Papers from the Eighth International Conference of Baptist Studies **Edited by William L. Pitts Jr. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2021. 439 pp.**

Baptists, Gospel, and Culture is a massive collection of twenty-three essays, presented at the International Conference on Baptist Studies in 2018. The book features new takes on Roger Williams, Andrew Fuller, and John Gill and on education and the roles of women. Essays show Baptists' early interest in using media to spread the gospel, including W.A. Criswell's use of a metal salad bowl to amplify his voice for one of the first radio broadcasts of an entire worship service in 1921.

In his foreword on the conference theme, David Bebbington notes: "Culture...has molded the gospel at least as much as the gospel has molded culture" (p. xiv). Readers should refer to editor Pitts' summaries of the essays in his introduction. An extensive index will help readers find specific topics of interest.

John Tucker in "Baptists Among Maori in New Zealand, 1840–1990" analyzes relations between white settlers and the indigenous Maori people. In "cultural insensitivity" (p. 110), whites had almost no contact with Maori, and only considered them worthy of hearing the gospel in 1892. The appointment of Alfred Fairbrother proved an especially unfortunate example in phase two, "patient contextualization" (p. 110). For example, Fairbrother saw the Maori tradition of facial tattoos as a "'hideous' mark of heathenism" (p. 112) and once threw his cane at some Maori women in a meeting. Whites did seek to build indigenous Maori

churches, but only in 1969 did a single church have Maori leadership. Phase three, "covenantal biculturalism" (p. 110), began in 1970 when Baptists stated they appreciated and honored Maori culture and language and called on churches to acknowledge past infractions, without going as far as other denominations that agreed to help preserve Maori lands and traditions. Today some Baptist churches have incorporated a Maori "flavor" (p. 125), though contexts where white Baptists and Maori mingle are rare.

Tucker's essay provides a framework to analyze missions in other "settler societies" such as Australia and the United States where there is little interaction between whites and indigenous peoples, and large minorities. How much assimilation do whites expect from the indigenous peoples (and vice versa), and what would churches look like if they truly reflected "covenantal biculturalism"? The essay provides a warning against cultural appropriation and tokenism in white churches.

In a different approach and context, halfway around the world, in the Republic of Georgia, Malkhaz Songuvashlili, pastor of the Baptist Cathedral in Tbilisi, has led his congregation to incorporate the rich heritage of Georgian and Orthodox culture into its worship and practice including literature, music, liturgy, and icons. All offices, including deacons, presbyters, and bishops are open to women. In the essay, "Baptists in Georgia and Orthodox Culture 1944–2008," Songulashvili states: "Baptists affirm the Orthodox legacy (p. 350) but distinguish themselves by rejecting some of its characteristics such as 'Islamophobia, xenophobia, and homophobia'" (p. 351), though he gives no examples.

The aforementioned article raises the question of how a non-Georgian—of which there are many in the country—would feel in such a church. The author recognizes the dangers of religious nationalism, though not strongly enough. Not all Baptists in Georgia would agree with the strong role of women, the acceptance of homosexuality, the prominent use of Orthodox traditions, and a church hierarchy that includes bishops. While one can applaud much of the use of the Georgian heritage, the question remains: How much can a church adopt elements from the surrounding culture and another Christian tradition and still remain Baptist?—*Reviewed by Carol Woodfin, Hardin-Simmons University, retired.*

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