

St. Amant Calls for Unity Within Diversity

By Stan L. Haste

WASHINGTON—A prominent American church historian urged fellow Baptists here to seek "a spirit that magnifies our agreements and seeks to learn from our differences."

C. Penrose St. Amant, president of the Baptist Theological Seminary, Ruschlikon, Switzerland, delivered the final address at the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation, which drew over 200 participants from nine Baptist bodies in the U.S. and Canada.

St. Amant, who spoke on the subject of Baptist diversity and unity, said the two "are not merely compatible but can be mutually supportive and even mutually enriching."

Shortly before this issue of *Report from the Capital* went to press, word was received of the sudden death of Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson, who served as executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs from 1954 to 1971.

Our next issue will focus on Dr. Carlson's life and contributions to what he often called "our Baptist movement."

The former professor of church history and dean at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky., noted that Baptists have three alternatives in dealing with their diversity and unity. They can magnify either of the two at the expense of the other, or they can seek to make the two "mutually supportive."

St. Amant warned that to choose either diversity or unity would be a mistake for Baptists. "Unity without diversity means tyranny," he elaborated, while "diversity without unity means anarchy."

"There is a unity forged from the top down that provides great rewards for conformity and severe punishment for independence," he said. On the other hand, "there is a diversity that recognizes no loyalties beyond the passing whims of individuals who make an idol of nonconformity as if freedom were an absolute value."

St. Amant also took note of the development of pluralism in the United States. During the constitutional period, he said, "it became clear that the stability of American society could be sustained without the sacral conception of society and State and,

(See ST. AMANT, p. 11)

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Taylor Challenges Baptists To Fight for Human Rights

By W. Barry Garrett

WASHINGTON—An internationally prominent black Baptist leader praised Baptists for their role in religious liberty in America but deplored their limited action in the total area of human rights in an address to the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation here.

Gardner Taylor, pastor of the Concord Baptist Church of Christ, Brooklyn, N.Y., said, "it must be sadly recorded that apparently many Baptists north and south, (during the period of the American Revolution) did not see the need to view religious liberty as only a part of mankind's human rights, all of which needed the support of Christian people."

Specifically, Taylor said, "It is an irony of American history that this nation has dealt most shabbily with those who oc-

cupied the nation before the colonists came, the American Indians, and with those whom the colonists brought here by force, the black Americans."

Taylor, a black man who has just completed a term as chairman of the Baptist World Alliance's Commission on Religious Liberty and Human Rights, was praised by James E. Wood, Jr., executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, as one of the world's leading spokesmen for human rights.

During a question and answer period following his speech, Taylor was asked how Baptists today could implement their concerns for religious liberty and human rights effectively in view of the fragmented and divided Baptist organizations in America.

In addition to the corporate efforts for human rights, Taylor said that small cells of deeply committed people need to be active throughout the nation. Such small groups are effective far beyond their numerical strength, he pointed out.

As Baptists enter the third century of the nation's life Taylor cautioned that they could make their greatest contribution by implementing their prophetic insights. He warned against being "lionized and courted and praised and patronized by political people."

"What is so sick about our country is that those seeking political advantage," he continued, "appeal to the lowest in us rather than the highest in us."

Rather than responding to the overtures of political powers and to those seeking political advantage, Baptists need to give expression to their own heritage and mission, he said. "Baptist people have the



Taylor

(See TAYLOR, p. 11)

From the Desk of the Executive Director

Baptist Convocation on the Bicentennial

By James E. Wood, Jr.

During the week of January 12-15, 1976, participants from across the nation, representing eight national Baptist bodies of the United States, along with representation from the Baptist Federation of Canada, convened in Washington, D.C. for A National Bicentennial Convocation: Baptists and the American Experience.

I

The Convocation was planned on behalf of eight national Baptist bodies of the United States. The event was termed "convocation" because it was a calling together of Baptists to a deeper awareness of the commitments and realities of the American experience. Centuries ago, the Prophet Isaiah echoed a similar call to Israel when he declared, "Know whence you have come and whither you are going."

Behind the planning for the Convocation was the conviction that the Bicentennial has profound implications for the community of faith in America as well as the nation as a whole. It provided an appropriate and practical means whereby eight national Baptist bodies of the United States could join hands to review and reevaluate Baptists and the American experience. In both its breadth and focus the event was unprecedented for Baptists of America.

The Convocation was held at the beginning of the year with the hope that critical questions would be raised and fresh insights would be gained regarding America's Bicentennial so as to challenge and enrich Baptist participation in the Bicentennial throughout the year. Of even greater importance was that the Convocation would speak prophetically, within the context of biblical faith, of the unfinished American Revolution, i.e., needs to be met in America's third century.

The Convocation was planned independent of official civil observances of the Bicentennial in order that special focus could be given to the prophetic role of religion in the life of the nation. Particular attention was given throughout the Convocation to the role Baptists have played and/or not played in America and the influence, both good and bad, of the American experience on Baptists. The role of Baptists in the American experience was viewed critically, both positively and negatively. A conscious effort was made to be both appreciative and critical of "Baptists and the American Experience."

II

The Convocation was perceived not in terms of celebration but of observance by Baptists of the Bicentennial. The Bicentennial is far more than a celebration of two hundred years of America's nationhood. To be sure, there is much to celebrate in the American experience, but there is also much to lament in that experi-

ence. Like Israel of old, America has often failed to be the nation that it has professed to be. Any honest examination of the American past, or present for that matter, should serve as a reminder of the disparity between the professed ideals of the nation's commitments and the manifest realities of the nation's history. Therein lies much of the irony of, and much of the struggle within, the American experience.

One of the real dangers of "celebrating the Bicentennial" is the tendency to sanctify the American experience and to mythologize the past so as to obscure the blemishes of our national history. Disparities and inconsistencies in the American experience are thereby largely ignored. Such Bicentennial celebration easily takes the form of self-congratulation and self-justification. A creative tension between the ideals and realities of the American experience needs to be an integral part of the observance of the Bicentennial.

The Baptist Convocation on the Bicentennial sought to examine the real meaning for today of the American Revolution and the basic truths embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, especially the Bill of Rights. While the program was marked by a sense of history, the purpose of the Convocation was to provide a basis upon which to perceive the present and to meet the challenges of the future, not to dwell on the past. The American Revolution was more than a beginning. Certainly, it does not symbolize an end, but a commitment of the nation to the future. As Benjamin Rush wrote in 1786, "A belief has arisen that the American Revolution is over. This is so far from being the case that we have only finished the first act of the great drama." Almost two hundred years later, we, too, must declare that the American Revolution is not over—its agenda is still not complete. Thus, the Convocation sought to underscore in more meaningful ways for today that the American Revolution remains unfinished so long as the promise of the American dream of "liberty and justice for all" remains unfulfilled. Indeed, the dynamics of the American Revolution belong to each generation of Americans.

Themes of plenary sessions included: "Baptists, Liberty, and the American Revolution," "Baptists and Human Rights in the American Experience," "The Interaction of Church and Nation at Home and Abroad," "Religious Liberty and Public Policy," and "Out of Many One: Baptist Pluralism and Unity." Twelve seminars were held, each assigned its own specific topic under the three general seminar themes: "Baptists and American Motifs," "Baptists and the American Tradition of Church and State," and "Baptist Unity Amidst Baptist Diversity."

III

There is much ambivalence in America toward the Bicentennial. There are those Americans who seriously ask the question: Why celebrate a Bicentennial? The Baptist Convocation on the Bicentennial examined this question with candor and concern from the vantage point of 1976. Hopefully, the Convocation will provide an important resource for all national Baptist bodies of the United States and the local churches which make up these Baptist bodies. All papers presented at the Convocation are to be published September 30, 1976 by Judson Press in a volume titled, *Baptists and the American Experience*.

As already indicated, the Convocation was consciously planned so as to come at the beginning of the Bicentennial. But the dates of the Convocation, January 12-15, hold a special significance in American Baptist history because they come between the birthdays of two of the most influential figures Baptists have (See CONVOCATION, p. 10)



Wood

Political Action Not Optional: Scales

By Stan L. Haste

WASHINGTON—The president of Wake Forest University said here that the church must make its presence felt in the political arena.

He also said that the U.S. Supreme Court went too far in its landmark 1962 and 1963 decisions forbidding required prayer and Bible reading in the public schools.

James Ralph Scales, head of one of Baptists' most prestigious universities, told a plenary session at the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation that "it is the minorities, the nonconformists, the extremists in belief and practice who need the protection of the Bill of Rights."

Speaking to the subject, "Religious Liberty and Public Policy," Scales said that there is "an urgency to put our own welfare in jeopardy for the sake of those who have no advocates." American history is filled with examples of groups of citizens who have been and are being denied the right to absolute liberty Baptists have claimed for all, he said.

Scales, a political scientist, said further that the urgent needs of present-day American society require the involvement in politics of churchmen. "Too long have we headed off discussion in our churches and in our official deliberative bodies out of fear of the irascible element among us," he said.

He also said that in his view the Supreme Court decisions on prayer and Bible reading went "beyond the intentions of the founding fathers." Such actions have the tendency to "enshrine secularism in the name of protecting religion from the State."

He emphasized, however, that he "would not give aid and comfort to the mindless critics of the Supreme Court" who have exploited the subject.

"Public opinion," he said, "and particularly Bible-belt opinion of an alarmist nature, has transcended the actual decision of courts on the emotional subject of prayer in the public schools, with mischievous political effect."

While acknowledging what he called the "menace of big government," Scales went on to declare that "much of the criticism of government is truly absurd." He warned that unwarranted criticism "may generate such hatred of government" as to result in the threat to its violent overthrow.

(See SCALES, p. 10)



Harold E. Stassen, who keynoted the Convocation, acknowledges applause of participants during opening session. Stassen is a former president of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. and was one of the signers of the U.N. Charter in 1945.

Stassen Urges Changes In Foreign, Domestic Policy

By Stan L. Haste

WASHINGTON—A prominent Baptist statesman said here that the United States must change both its foreign and domestic policy as it begins its third century.

Harold E. Stassen, a former president of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. and one of the signers of the United Nations Charter, told 200 Baptists attending the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation that the nation "has somewhat lost its way, misplaced its compass, confused its course."

Stassen, who made his remarks in the keynote address to the Convocation, accused the U.S. of exercising "self interest" in its current foreign policy, "especially with superpower governments." He urged in its place what he termed the "priority principle" of "a manifest concern for all humanity on this earth under God."

Such a policy, he said, "would change our actions in Angola." He drew applause from the audience when he said, "It is incredible to me that the United States should covertly support white South African troops to enter Angola." He urged instead that the United Nations Security Council immediately consider "the threat to world

peace" posed by the intervention in that conflict of Cuban troops.

On the volatile domestic question of school busing, Stassen reiterated a long-held view that "compulsory busing is a tragic mistake." He first expressed his opposition to busing in 1964 at the annual meeting of the American Baptist Churches over which he presided.

In its place, he suggested that school districts be required to provide equal funding, quality teachers, and equal facilities for all school children regardless of where they live. He also urged the provision of voluntary transfers for students to improve racial balance in the schools.

On another domestic problem, Stassen said that current American economic policy, characterized by high interest rates and tight money, should be reversed. He attributed inflation and unemployment to those factors.

The former governor of Minnesota and university president spoke also to the historic Baptist principle of separation of church and state, saying that it must not mean the "separation of the moral princi-

(See STASSEN, p. 10)

Winthrop S. Hudson

Historian Explains Baptist Rise During Revolution

By W. Barry Garrett

WASHINGTON—A noted church historian explained to a national gathering here how the obscure Baptists of 1770 became the largest denomination in America by 1800.

Winthrop S. Hudson, professor of history at the University of Rochester and professor of American Christianity at Colgate Rochester/Bexley Hall/Crozer Divinity School at Rochester, N.Y., addressed the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation meeting in the nation's capital.

How does one account for the phenomenal growth of the Baptists during the period of the American Revolution, Hudson asked, while other denominations suffered losses, setbacks and decline?

Hudson gave a five-fold summary of the reasons for this phenomenal Baptist growth: (1) they had given support to the Revolution; (2) competition had been reduced; (3) they had an ample supply of aggressive leadership; (4) they were closely in

tune with the popular mood; and (5) they had developed a sense of mission and destiny that was related, not only to the gospel, but also to the emerging nation.

During the 30 years of the Revolutionary period, Hudson pointed out, most American churches, including Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Quakers, complained grievously about their losses. On the other hand, Baptists during this same period were experiencing "a sweeping surge of growth" and emerged "with twice as many adherents as the next largest denomination."

The Baptist approach to religion, the historian pointed out, their passion for freedom, their emphasis on individual responsibility to God, their insistence on a regenerate church membership, and their form of church government (local church autonomy) put them into a most favorable position at this period of history.

The American Revolution was waged

against oppressive political power from abroad. At the same time Baptists were in the midst of protesting oppressive ecclesiastical powers that developed during the colonial period. Baptists thus combined their drive for religious freedom with the colonists' battle for political freedom, and they became ardent supporters of the Revolution, Hudson observed.

At the same time, he said, the other major religious bodies sought to hold on to their position of established power and thereby lost their hold on the populace. Combining this stance of the established religious order with the force of the Great Awakening, Hudson pointed out that large numbers of laity and religious leaders from other denominations flocked into the Baptist fold.

This new surge of membership gave the Baptists a new and competent supply of leadership that was dedicated to religious freedom and was in tune with the popular mood to throw off the shackles of oppression, Hudson observed.

It was into this historical context that Isaac Backus moved to become one of the most influential persons to formulate Baptist views and influence in the emerging nation. "It was Backus more than anyone else," Hudson said, "who infused the Baptists of New England with a new sense of mission, purpose, and destiny."

"During the decade prior to 1770 Backus was busy fashioning what can only be described as a propagandist coup," he continued. "In doctrine, church government, and especially in their defense of religious liberty, Baptists were the faithful children, the loyal descendents, of those who had fled oppression in their native land to establish a haven of liberty in the American wilderness."

The clear inference of the emphasis given by Backus was that Baptists provided the central thread, the continuing witness, the true succession in the story of New England, Hudson concluded.

The Baptists of New England during this revolutionary period combined their evangelistic fervor with a larger sense of mission to influence the political order of the emerging nation, Hudson pointed out. In this way, they emerged from relative obscurity in 1770 to become the largest religious group in America by 1800, he said.



Executive Director James E. Wood, Jr., receives certificate of appreciation from American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA) representative Daniel McKenzie. Baptist Joint Committee Chairman Arthur B. Rutledge looks on.

Edwin S. Gaustad

Religious Liberty, Black Growth Cited

By James Lee Young

WASHINGTON—An uncompromising search for truth as religious liberty and the rapid entry of blacks into the Baptist denomination were among major factors affecting the Baptist contributions and influence in United States culture and history, an American historian said here.

Noting there are some 28 million Baptists in this country, Edwin S. Gaustad, professor of history at the University of California, Riverside, commended the stances of early Baptists, Roger Williams and John Clarke in Rhode Island, as "preeminently pursuers of truth."

They "provided a breaking ground . . . for Baptists (and other Christians) that made them champions of religious liberty," Gaustad said.

Among several factors affecting Baptists and their effect, in turn, on the formation of this country, Gaustad said:

"The rapid entry of blacks into the Baptist fold enhanced, though it did not perfect, the active partnership between this still-being-freed people and this still-being-molded-nation.

"Despite all the drama and sacrifice of the (Baptist) foreign mission effort no story can match the Baptist progress among America's black population," Gaustad said.

In the making of the nation and Baptists' role, the UCR educator and religious history expert noted: "The first was in the category of unfinished business—a federal constitution adopted in 1789, a Bill of Rights in 1791, disestablishment state-by-state either shortly before or shortly after those dates." Yet in Connecticut and Massachusetts the church-state alliance seemed to go on and on, which Baptists fought vigorously. A petition technique used successfully in Virginia was applied in New England finally with success, Gaustad cited.

Secondly, Gaustad noted the grouping and solidifying of Baptist forces to meet threats of imported French radicalism and home-grown rationalism, as well as challenges of world-wide evangelism.

"In 1814, the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Mis-



Choir and orchestra from Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., present conductor Phillip Landgrave's bicentennial work, "Let Christ's Freedom Ring" at Convocation worship service held at Washington's National Baptist Memorial Church.

sions was formed in Philadelphia—the Triennial Convention. . . . This new convention, so named since it was to meet every three years, responded to the unplanned presence of Baptist missionaries—the Adoniram Judsons in Burma."

But, Gaustad continued, the sudden responsibilities abroad did not distract Baptists from the evangelical opportunities and obligations at home. "If anything, the missionary impulse, once stimulated, seemed to recognize no bounds of race or of nation."

Among black Baptists, some of their progress was "through conscious missionary effort, some through gradual extension of southern 'culture religion' from whites to blacks, and some through clear choice of a church free from white bishops, white superintendents and white ruling elders.

"For a time, these agencies cooperated with the corresponding societies of the white Baptists. But by 1895, it became necessary to create a convention that was safe from a condescension and a bias too readily seen in the white dominated conventions," Gaustad said.

In 1915, another National Baptist Convention, this one unincorporated, came into being. In succeeding decades came the

American Baptist Association, the Conservative Baptist Association, the National Primitive Baptist Convention, the General Association of Regular Baptists, the North American Baptist Association, and the Progressive National Baptists.

"These aren't tiny splinter groups or lingering survivals of an earlier age; together they total more than 6 million members," Gaustad emphasized.

"What is the cultural thrust of 28 million Baptists in America compared with, say, that of 6 million Jews in America, . . . with 3 million Episcopalians, . . . with a half million Jehovah's Witnesses, with 100,000 Quakers, or 14,000 Amish?" Gaustad asked.

The rebuttal is that it "isn't the Baptists' duty or purpose to be the 'dynamic social force,' to have a cultural impact. Their duty is to serve and fear a God who is above men and nations.

"True," said Gaustad, "but that was the duty of Rhode Island and other Baptists in American history, who . . . in the course of doing their duty to God, secured liberal charters and cast off improper ecclesiastical privileges."

"A new nation was born and a young denomination strode boldly across a continent and the world," Gaustad concluded.

W. Morgan Patterson: 'Baptists, Nation Grew Up Together'

By C. E. Bryant

WASHINGTON—"Baptists and the American nation have grown up together," with both the church and state having "reciprocal influence" on the other, declared a Baptist church historian here.

Speaking on "The Americanization of Baptists," at the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation here, W. Morgan Patterson of Louisville, Ky., said, "Baptists might be considered as indigenous to the American scene as any other denominational group."

The professor of church history at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville said Baptists—now numbering some 28 million in the United States—were in colonial America as early as the 1640's and that they since have immigrated from more than a dozen national backgrounds.

"Liberty of conscience had been at the center of their (Baptist) witness and doctrine from their beginnings. And the goal of separation of church and state was part of their heritage," Patterson said.

Baptists did, in fact, he said, contribute to the content of what is called Americanism, "through their agitation for

religious liberty to be safeguarded by effective constitutional guarantees.

"The fabric of Americanism in its earliest stage was woven in part with the threads of religious conviction, personal determination and courage, a desire to innovate, and freedom from oppressive church authority," Patterson noted.

America's expansion to the western frontier stimulated new efforts and new hopes among Baptists. It served, Patterson said, to accent the Baptist sense of independence and democracy found in their church polity. The churches in turn served as moral courts on the frontier, "seeking to inculcate the ethical conscience in those communities where they were located."

"The frontier was the symbol of American expansion, vitality, and growth," he said. "It encouraged new visions, new ventures, and a new optimism. For Baptists, new churches were founded, new converts were made, new associations and societies were established, and new beginnings were launched. The frontier thus stimulated new efforts and new hopes among Baptists."

Patterson also noted the turmoil brought

to Baptists as well as the nation on the slavery issue. Baptist attitudes went through several stages of development, with some Baptists on record as opposed to slavery in the 18th century, with some seeking a position of neutrality in the early 19th century, and then some seeking to rationalize and defend slavery in the 1830's and 1840's.

The oldest national organization of Baptists established in 1814 split in 1845 over the slavery question. "When the Home Mission Society declined to appoint as a missionary one who was known to be a slaveholder, Baptists in the south decided further cooperation was impossible.

"... Thus the division of Baptists foreshadowed the national calamity which occurred 16 years later (Civil War)," Patterson said.

Black Baptists played a dominant role in civil rights in the epochal years of the 1950's and 1960's, Patterson said. It was a Baptist preacher, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who focused national attention on the need for civil rights legislation.

(See PATTERSON, p. 11)

Evangelism, Nationalism Paired in Missions: Miller

By Debbie Stewart

WASHINGTON—Throughout American history missions has been the major arena of influence for the Baptist denomination upon United States relations with other countries and upon fellow Americans a Baptist historian told the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation here.

Glenn T. Miller, visiting assistant professor of religion at Hamilton College, Clinton, N.Y., delivered an address on "Baptist World Outreach and American International Affairs."

"Missionaries, no matter how sensitive they were to the native cultures in which they worked, often saw their work as twofold: to preach the message of Christ and to bring the blessings of civilization and American idealism," Miller said.

Miller attributed this "imperialism of righteousness," as it has been called, to the dualistic concerns dominant in the emerging American nation. He said the viewpoint of internationalism that stressed equality and freedom for all nations then mixed with the nationalism that exalted the United States.

Besides foreign missions, Miller said Baptist churches were affected by "revivalistic pietism" and the enlightenment.

"The missionary movement helped to cement relationships with other nations, especially Britain, which were also involved in the task," Miller said. "It helped to create a worldwide Baptist fellowship of free and autonomous churches. At times it was directly involved in the making or interpretation of American foreign policy; and it stimulated thought about the wider world situation among Baptists."

Miller said that Baptists have historically responded to major world events, sometimes with perception, and sometimes by being caught "off guard" and making wrong evaluations and reactions.

He said Baptists "tended to view World War I as a struggle for righteousness and democracy" with "little real analysis of the underlying causes of the conflict... yet, in the midst of all the patriotic rhetoric, there was some uneasiness about the situation."

Miller said the millennial tradition, influential in the missionary movement, also shaped attitudes on other world events,

such as the emergence of the Jewish state of Israel.

"Baptist fascination with the return of the Jews was part of a larger pattern of American interest in the Holy Land," Miller said. "The return of the Jews to Israel was widely believed by both pre and post millennialists to be a sign of the coming of the Kingdom."

In recent United States history the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Convocation sponsor which headquarters in Washington, has represented Baptist opinion and concerns in public affairs.

Miller warned that no one agency speaks for all Baptists, a denomination he said has "agreed to disagree." The committee and the denomination in general, Miller said, have abandoned much of the blind crusading for unrealistic ideals in favor of "realistic means to obtain realistic goals."

While Miller criticized Baptists for often expecting the Baptist Joint Committee to represent them on domestic and foreign issues with a limited committee staff, he endorsed the idea of the Baptist agency.

(See MILLER, p. 11)

Some Civil Religion Inevitable: Gaddy

WASHINGTON—Positive results from civil religion in the United States are more evident in American life today than they were two years ago, both in the political-social and religious areas, said a Southern Baptist executive here.

But "my major fear is that civil religion be made synonymous with Christianity," said C. Welton Gaddy, director of Christian Citizenship Development for the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Gaddy noted that "each time a citizen recites the pledge of allegiance to the American flag a theistic confession of personal faith is uttered and a religious understanding of the national state is propagated."

Addressing one of the Baptist Bicentennial Convocation's four seminars, Gaddy offered his own definition of civil religion: "Civil religion represents a fusion of religious principles, cultural mores, and democratic ideals. American civil religion has skillfully and selectively borrowed from the

(See GADDY, p. 10)

Peterson: Baptists Have Not Kept Faith

WASHINGTON—"From the time of the state disestablishment battles ending in 1833 until the 1940's, the name of Baptist is all but lost in commonly available reference works on religious liberty," declared a Washington state political scientist here.

The observation came from Walfred H. Peterson in an address to the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation meeting in the nation's capital. A former director of research services for the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, he is now professor of political science at Washington State University.

Noting that his statement caused some startled looks among the Convocation participants, Peterson commented, "Perhaps we Baptists rested too much on the great victories of the past which insured our own particular freedom."

"I have been able to find no effort by Baptists who accepted slavery to alter, for example, the rule that forbade preaching by a slave," Peterson said. "Nor can I locate data showing that Baptists tried to seek

(See PETERSON, p. 10)



Seminar speaker William F. Keucher, senior minister of Detroit's Covenant Baptist Church, makes a point during his presentation. To his right are Lynn E. May, Jr., executive secretary of the Historical Commission, S.B.C., and Violet Ankrum, past president of the Women's Auxiliary, Progressive National Baptist Convention.

American Liberties Eroding, Pastor Says

WASHINGTON—An American Baptist pastor from Detroit told a Baptist Bicentennial Convocation seminar here that a number of liberties guaranteed Americans in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution "have suffered erosion by the passing of time."

William F. Keucher, senior minister of the Covenant Baptist Church in Detroit and a member of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, specifically attacked the "substantiality" test used by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) since 1934 in seeking to control the degree to which churches may seek to influence legislation without sacrificing their tax-exempt status.

Specifically, the IRS has held that no church which devotes a "substantial part" of its activities to "carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legis-

(See KEUCHER, p. 12)

Adams Laments Conservative Trend

WASHINGTON—A prominent black pastor from Detroit said here that equality under the law must include equal educational opportunity for all American children and affirmative action on behalf of blacks and other minorities.

Charles G. Adams, pastor of the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church in Detroit and editor of the official publication of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, charged that "America has never lived up to the principle of human equality declared in and by her birth." He addressed the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation in Washington, D.C.

Despite the fact that the principles of liberty and equality are written into the founding documents of the nation, Adams said, "that strong social system . . . had at its

(See ADAMS, p. 12)



Former executive director C. Emanuel Carlson with portrait painted for Baptist Joint Committee. The artist, Carmen Sherbeck, is at right. In the center is Lucille Carlson, his wife. Dr. Carlson died unexpectedly in Florida on February 23.

Carlson Lists Rights of Conscience

By Donald E. Anderson

WASHINGTON—The retired executive director of a Washington, D.C.-based committee on religious liberty said that "authoritarian religious movements have floundered most often on the rock called 'conscience.'" He then listed 12 rights any person must have in order to enjoy freedom of conscience.

C. Emanuel Carlson, who directed the work of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs here for 17 years before his retirement in 1971, delivered an address on "The Meaning of Religious Liberty" at the National Bicentennial Convocation, meeting at the Shoreham-Americana Hotel.

Without claiming the list is exhaustive, Carlson said the following freedoms "rank very high" in the "concept of freedom of conscience:" 1) decide whether to worship or not to worship; 2) join the church of his own choice, choosing his own creed and tenets; 3) change his ecclesiastical allegiance without hindrance; 4) nurture the faith of the children for whom he carries responsibility; 5) choose other religious instruction for his children; 6) express his faith and convictions personally and in group activities; 7) travel for the advancement of his faith; 8) associate himself with others for corporate religious interests; 9) use his home and his property for religious purposes; 10) determine the causes and the amounts of his religious stewardship; 11) make his own best judgments on moral and

public issues, and express them; 12) have free access to information from various sources."

Carlson said the task of defining and applying the principle of religious liberty and free conscience becomes more complex every year. The former college professor and dean said the Karen Quinlan matter was a case in point, stating that the decision of the parents to pull the plug or not pull the plug is "a difficult choice to make."

Carlson warned that churches' insistence on freedom from governmental interference could be pushed too far. Conformity to sanitation laws, civic standards for education, zoning laws, and "scores of other actions by political authority" were named by Carlson as cases in which churches cannot compromise their Christian witness.

"Any talk about absolute separation of church and state is pure nonsense," he said. Laws regarding operation of business on Sunday comprise another example of government taking over an area of decision-making that used to belong to the churches.

Carlson said it was his "personal opinion that the only limitation placed on government that stands up through national crises are the limitations that are rooted in personal religious experiences which have a more dominant control of our behavior than the pressures of convenience, of conformity or of political alignments."

Pinson Decries Decline In Christian Allegiance

WASHINGTON—A Southern Baptist pastor who formerly taught Christian ethics at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Tex., said here that nationalism is a stronger force in the United States than is Christian allegiance.

William M. Pinson, Jr., pastor of the First Baptist Church of Wichita Falls, Tex., told a seminar at the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation that some form of civil religion in this country is unavoidable but that the Christian's primary allegiance must be to Christ and not the state.

The seminar group heard Pinson define nationalism as a view which "exalts one nation over all others. . . . Nationalism in its extreme form calls on citizens to advance the cause of the nation at personal sacrifice, renouncing primary loyalty to any other person or group."

The danger of such extreme nationalism, the Texas pastor continued, is that "the nation assumes an exalted position, sometimes approaching deity."

Standing over against such nationalism, Pinson said, is the demand that Christians

See PINSON, p. 10)

Private Faith, Public Policy Related: Hill

WASHINGTON—To translate Christian faith into effective public policy "is an indispensable act of obedience on the part of the Church that would live out the moral commitments of its Lord," according to the pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church here.

George W. Hill, in a paper read to the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation, deplored a narrow view of "the true and proper role of the Church in the world" that limits Christian faith to "the interior 'spiritual' life of the believer and the pious practices associated with the Church."

"Either the whole world is under the judgment and grace of God, and the church is to proclaim that universal sovereignty, or by some imperious edict the whole creation has been neatly separated into two mutually exclusive domains, the sacred and the secular, and the Church is to proclaim the limited Lordship of Christ over the sacred," Hill declared.

Failure to translate private faith into public policy and corporate behavior provides "all the basic raw materials for a melan-

(See HILL, p. 11)

Black Churches Key to Freedom Movement

WASHINGTON — Black Baptist churches played a key role in the Freedom Movement of black people that came to a climax in the decade of the 1960's, a leading black clergyman declared here.

Henry C. Gregory III, senior minister of the Shiloh Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., declared that wherever the presence of the black church is felt "there is a message for America."

"That message must be understood to be prophetic, he said, like the message of Amos—"Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream."

Gregory delivered a paper on "The Role of Black Baptists in the American Experience" at the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation here. A key emphasis of the paper can be summed up in his words, "Black churches which were of, by, and for the Black population produced the natural strategies for the Freedom Movement."

In fact, Gregory pointed out, it was a (See GREGORY, p. 10)

Both Religion Clauses Needed, Arnold Says

WASHINGTON—An American Baptist pastor told the Baptist Bicentennial Convocation here that Baptists should give equal weight to both the establishment clause and the free exercise clause of the First Amendment.

O. Carroll Arnold, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Ann Arbor, Mich., lectured on "The Exercise of Religious Liberty." His remarks dealt with modern threats to religious freedom and the dilemma of a "captive church."

Citing a number of cases when the state has limited the practice of religious freedom, Arnold observed, "Our preoccupation in recent years has been with the establishment clause of the First Amendment. We have been chiefly concerned with the disestablishment of religion. And the concern with establishment or disestablishment has tended to overshadow concerns about the free-exercise clause."

Based on an unpleasant personal experience Arnold questioned the de facto validity of the First Amendment's assurance of the free exercise of religion. "I can remember

(See ARNOLD, p. 11)

Torbet Assesses Role of American Baptists

WASHINGTON—An eminent Baptist historian, examining the unity of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., said the denomination, after going through many organizational changes, still faces challenges in its conduct of church life and mission in a pluralistic society.

Robert G. Torbet, Assistant General Secretary for Ecumenical Relations, American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., said here that the first of the problems facing his denomination "is the continuance of disunity among Baptist bodies within the United States which embarrasses and thwarts a strong free church witness."

Alluding to the fundamentalist controversies that stripped his denomination of thousands of members and many churches in the 1920's and 1940's, Torbet said the second problem "is the lack of agreement concerning the degree to which American Baptists should become more involved in the widening ecumenical movement."

In comments following reading of his paper (See TORBET, p. 11)

Russian-Born Baptist Notes Ethnic Variety

WASHINGTON—Examining how the ethnic groups have participated in the American experience in the past 200 years, participants in a seminar at the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation discovered there is presently a shift from the concept of the "melting pot" to the idea of ethnic variety.

The old "melting pot" idea is giving way to a new appreciation of the contribution that each minority group can make, a Russian-born Baptist leader said here.

Speaking on "Baptist Unity Amidst Baptist Diversity," Frank H. Woyke, former executive secretary of the North American Baptist Conference and recently retired associate secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, analyzed the historical background and the Americanization of several Baptist ethnic groups.

Woyke, who was born of German parents in Russia and came to his country as a young child, mainly discussed the fate of German immigrants, who were the largest such group.

Woyke also dealt with the following

(See WOYKE, p. 11)



Ruth Rohlf, former president of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., presides at one of twelve seminar sessions which provided participants with opportunity for dialogue.

Wamble: So. Baptist Unity 'Functional'

WASHINGTON—Although "the unity of Southern Baptists is functional, not doctrinal," ideological differences "have caused fragmentation and continue to create tensions among Baptists of the South," according to a prominent church historian in an address here.

Hugh Wamble, professor of church history at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Mo., delivered a paper, "Unity Amidst Diversity: Baptists in the South," to the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation.

Wamble pointed out that even though Southern Baptists are conservative in doctrine, "their unity is not the result of ideological uniformity." In fact, he said, "efforts to establish and enforce such uniformity have often been disruptive of unity, sometimes resulting in splits."

In spite of the success of Southern Baptists to ward off requirements to subscribe to a doctrinal statement as proof of orthodoxy, Wamble predicted that "in the foreseeable future, Southern Baptists will probably feel pressures from the dilemma

(See WAMBLE, p. 12)

Scales

(Continued from page 3)

"There is no other instrument available to organized communities," he said, "to accomplish those tasks that demand any degree of coercion. A good many loud persons in Congress and in the pulpit continue to do mischief by attacking the machinery of our complex society."

He told his audience that "it may be that the course of morality is to defend institutions from mindless attack."

Scales was also critical of the absence from politics of "religious mystics," including charismatics, who "glory in their non-involvement in the making of public policy." He said that while he would "defend any man's right to his own seance," he himself "never heard voices."

Instead, he said, "God speaks to me in the conditions I see and hear and the events, the crises, the analyses, and the prophecies" of those who are aware of "stubborn and scabrous social problems."

Stassen

(Continued from page 3)

ples of our religion from the conduct of government and education."

On other foreign policy issues, Stassen criticized the government's "maneuvering" with the oil-rich OPEC nations and protecting American self-interest in food production.

Stassen paid tribute in his address to a number of prominent figures in Baptist history, including John Leland and Martin Luther King, Jr., and told his audience that "there is an urgent need for a distinctive Baptist participation . . . in setting the course of America" at the outset of its third century.

Convocation

(Continued from page 2)

contributed to this nation. The Thursday preceding the Convocation marked the birthday of Isaac Backus, who was born January 9, 1724. No individual in America stands out so preeminently as the champion of religious liberty during the eighteenth century as does Isaac Backus. The Convocation closed the following Thursday on the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., who was born January 15, 1929—just a little more than two hundred years after Isaac Backus. No Baptist minister in the twentieth century has exerted more influence on the course of American history, nor more eloquently defended the cause of human rights, than did Martin Luther King, Jr. Like Backus, King suffered imprisonment for his belief in the American dream of "liberty and justice for all." The legacies of Isaac Backus and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Gregory

(Continued from page 9)

black Baptist pastor, Martin Luther King, Jr., who "emerged as the leading spokesman of the Movement." He further observed that King was "considered the leader in the Civil Rights Struggle at this time and he was a central spokesman in defining and interpreting the purpose and procedure of the Movement to the various institutions of society and to the world at large."

"As a churchman, King attempted to translate the Movement into religious concepts and patterns. He was an active advocate of the interpenetration of the church as an institution in society and the Movement," he pointed out.

The black churches translated their theological premises into practical policies for human and civil rights, according to Gregory. "The church affirmed the dignity and worth of every person as a human being who is a child of God regardless of the exigencies of individual achievements or one's attitudinal and behavioral patterns stemming from the forces of oppression," he said. Thus every person "has rights which all men are obligated to respect and he is obligated to affirm."

Gaddy

(Continued from page 7)

documents of democracy, the aspirations of the citizenry, and the traditions of various faith groups. Normative principles have been established and then applied to emerging issues in various situations so that new emphases are always developing. The result is a concept dynamic rather than static in nature."

In listing the positive religious effects of civil religion, Gaddy noted that "civil religion has bequeathed to the nation a heritage

of moral concern." Further, "civil religion has emphasized the transcendent dimension of life." Finally, "civil religion has created a climate conducive to religious pluralism."

Gaddy observed, nevertheless, that civil religion "proclaims a false theology. . . . The deity of civil religion is not the God revealed in Jesus Christ. . . . The faith of civil religionists is devoid of radical content, impersonal in orientation, and a matter of human achievement," he said.

Pinson

(Continued from page 8)

"acknowledge Christ as Lord, not the state."

Such a posture is difficult in America, particularly for Baptists, he said. Baptists have historically been loyal to the nation, particularly during wartime.

Pinson listed three options for Baptists in seeking a solution to the paradox of nationalism and Christian allegiance.

First, they can "identify Christian allegiance with American nationalism," a view which sees the United States as "God's agent in the world." Second, they can "maintain that nationalism and Christian allegiance are two distinct entities, each with a right to exist." Or finally, Baptists can "consider nationalism a challenge to Christian allegiance and oppose it."

Pinson said that his "most disturbing conclusion" is that "Christian allegiance for most professioning Christians takes a back seat to nationalism and civil religion."

Peterson

(Continued from page 7)

freedom-oriented solutions to the problems and persecutions of the Mormons," he continued.

Peterson then cited two cases of recent history where the American Civil Liberties

may well have symbolized the Convocation's reason for being and its hope for the future.

There are those who regard the Bicentennial as occurring at a most inopportune time in American history. The American poet and playwright, Archibald MacLeish, has eloquently expressed the view that the Bicentennial belongs appropriately at the center of our concern in 1976. "What we need precisely at this moment of our history is something that will compel us to face ourselves as we once thought we would be and as we are, and the Bicentennial can give us such a time. [This is] not a year of self-congratulation, but a moment of truthfulness when all of us together can look Watergate and Thomas Jefferson in the eye, first one and then the other, not our present corruption only but our once and almost forgotten greatness as a people—and the expectation that remains." It is in "the expectation that remains" that the Bicentennial may well serve to contribute toward America's becoming the nation it ought to be.

Union had taken a supportive stand for the religious liberty of Jehovah's Witnesses, while "no local or state or national Baptist agency came to the aid of that religious group."

"A champion of liberty is a champion for other people, not a champion for his own liberty, and Baptists were just not taking up the case of other groups," he said critically.

It is little wonder that "persons who felt that their religious freedom was being denied would not hasten to the First Baptist Church to find support," Peterson observed. He contended that these people in need of aid would rather seek it from secular sources such as the ACLU.

Taylor

(Continued from page 1)

Lordship of Christ, the authority of the Scriptures and the doctrine, in rare purity, of the priesthood of the believer, the royal status of every Christian and, therefore, the dignity of all people," he declared.

Taylor challenged the Baptists of America to renew themselves to the cause of human rights by saying, "The united and faithful witness to the nation of Baptist people who are truly committed to their historic distinctives of liberty and freedom might send forth a glad and glorious word of deliverance ringing through the land."

St. Amant

(Continued from page 1)

therefore, without the cement of an established church. . . ."

He reminded his audience that Baptists pushed for such pluralism and that "it would be strange indeed for a Baptist to insist upon religious liberty and its implications for everyone except his fellow Baptists."

"Our philosophy of diversity," he went on, "is one of the threads that paradoxically binds us together."

St. Amant acknowledged that such a philosophy is difficult to sustain in actual practice. "Such a balance is fragile and requires constant nurture. Vigilance is the price of both liberty and community," he said.

"Our Baptist heritage at its best," he continued, "involves a blend of loyalty and liberty. . . . In this context, let us strive to bridge the gaps between our schools and churches, our theology and the secular mentality, our professors and laymen, our pastors and people, our Christian faith and culture, between Baptists and Baptists, between Baptists and those of other persuasions."

He cautioned, however, that "in our search for Baptist unity, the prophetic voice must not be muted" nor should Baptist unity be "purchased at the price of expediency."

Hill

(Continued from page 8)

choly Watergate," the Washington pastor charged. He deplored the concept of religion that enabled "a considerable number of respectable, church-going, religious men, some of whom won't drink or smoke as a matter of principle," to mount a deliberate assault "on the most cherished institutions of a free society and evidence neither guilt nor remorse when apprehended."

Hill asserted that Christian effectiveness would be enhanced if there could be harmonizing of the widely diverging views of the role of the church. "For example," he said, "the gap between believing and doing needs to be narrowed." He said that the church needs not only to understand what the problems of society are but that it needs to do something about them.

Torbet

(Continued from page 9)

per. Torbet said his denomination had more pluralism than the Southern Baptist Convention or any of the smaller Baptist denominations. "The ABC has a wide spectrum," he said. "But it has a commonality—the primacy of Christ as Lord, the new life in Christ coming by faith and conversion, a hope in Christ the risen Lord."

"We all misuse the word liberal," he said. "If liberal means open-minded and open-hearted to human needs and the work of God, then liberal is a good word."

He said, "The Southern Baptist Convention is beginning to feel the fragmenting effects of controversy and theological disagreement that the American Baptist Churches experienced in the 1920's and 1940's."

"The ABC learned too late the lesson of how to contain controversy, of how to deal with dissent." In another look at his own denomination he said, "In some respects American Baptists have come of age; in other respects they stand with uncertainty upon the threshold of a new age."

Woyke

(Continued from page 9)

ethnic groups: Scandinavians, Italians and Spanish-Americans, all of whom formed "a tremendous mix."

A common mark of all of the immigrating groups is that they have made the necessary adjustments "and many of them have become loyal Americans," Woyke said. "The fears of the nativists of a hundred years ago," he added, "that these immigrants would be a threat to the indigenous work, have thus proved largely without foundation."

The "melting pot" may not have become a reality, perhaps for the good of the United States.

"Today it is important to realize," Woyke concluded, "that there is strength in diversity, and beauty in dissimilarity."

Arnold

(Continued from page 9)

when two burly FBI men appeared at my study door. They had come because I had written letters to senators, congressmen, even the President, and especially to J. Edgar Hoover, asking that they investigate the bombing, shooting and boycott attacks which were directed at Dr. Clarence Jordan and his farming community in Americus, Georgia."

Arnold thought they had come to offer help. But in the course of the conversation he found out that they had come to ask him questions which were to establish his loyalty to the United States. That incident prompted him "never to take the right of religious liberty for granted, no matter how benign and friendly a government may be in outward appearance."

Patterson

(Continued from page 6)

"In the campaign for civil rights, King was ably assisted by numbers of black Baptist pastors, and meetings and rallies were usually held in black Baptist churches," Patterson said.

He observed that these rallies in the churches and especially King's address, "I have a dream," from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington were highly influential on the national conscience that resulted in enactment of a civil rights law in 1964.

Baptists have made significant contributions to national life also in the realm of urbanization, war and peace, and political action, Patterson asserted.

Miller

(Continued from page 6)

"In a democratic state, it is the obligation of every group that is concerned with the nation's welfare to make its positions known and to see that its perspectives receive a fair hearing," he said.

Adams

(Continued from page 7)

inception certain internal contradictions."

"Had the founding fathers been literally truthful concerning their actual beliefs and practices," he continued, "they would have said, 'All men are created equal with the following exceptions: slaves, Negroes, Catholics, Asians, Atheists, Women, Jews, nonproprietors, Indians, Heretics, etc.'"

Even Thomas Jefferson, Adams reminded his audience, "owned slaves who had no guarantee or protection of life, no liberty and were restrained from any protracted pursuit of happiness."

Turning to the current scene, Adams said that public opinion in the nation is swinging "toward the right in fear and reaction."

Citing recent champions of human rights, he asked, "Are there any current replacements for John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Martin Luther King, Jr., or retired Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas?"

The current conservative trend, Adams said, is being felt within the black community in the areas of education and employment.

Keucher

(Continued from page 7)

lation" may retain its status as a tax-exempt group.

Keucher complained that the policy actually amounts to an effort by government to determine the mission of the church. His contention is supported by the Baptist Joint Committee, which last year passed a resolution deploring the IRS policy.

"The effect of the tax policy," Keucher said, "is to violate the guarantee of the First Amendment that no law can be passed by Congress to prevent the free exercise of religion in America."

In addition to warning of eroded freedoms, Keucher also traced historical developments which led to colonial independence and offered an overview of basic "unalienable" rights guaranteed to American citizens.

Wamble

(Continued from page 9)

caused by insistence on doctrinal purity, on the one hand, and assertion of the right of each Christian to interpret Scripture without direction from an ecclesiastical body, on the other."

Since 1940 the Southern Baptist Convention expanded to all parts of the nation and has become the largest Baptist body in North America. The resulting diversity and inflow of new cultural elements into the fellowship has produced a more homogeneous membership. This, in turn, has made for "functional unity," Wamble said.

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