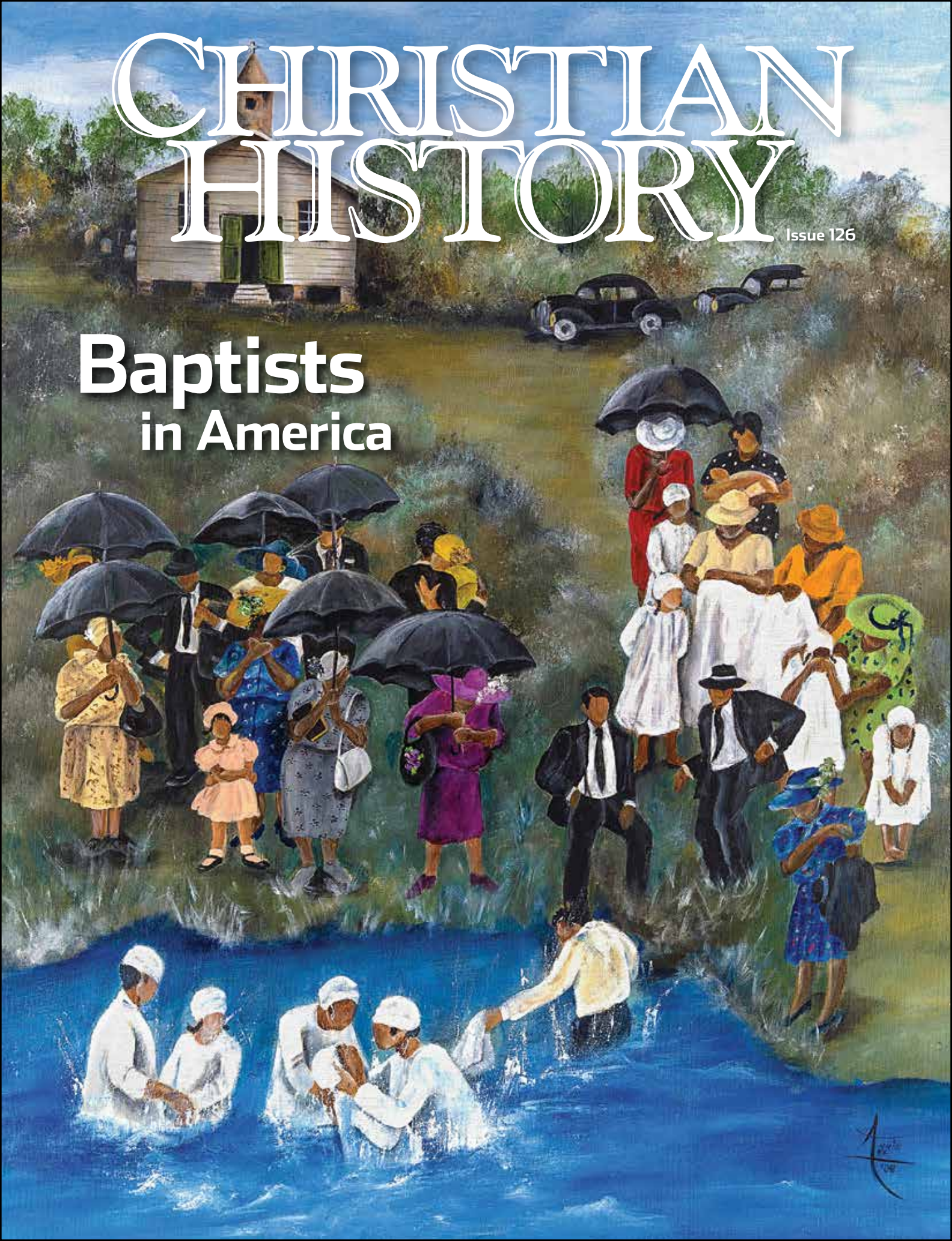


CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 126

Baptists in America





Did you know?

BAPTISTS “CHURCHING THEMSELVES,”
FOUNDING SCHOOLS, JOINING THE ARMY,
AND CLIMBING TREES

SELF-SERVE BAPTISM

Early Baptist founder John Smyth, originally an Anglican priest, became a Separatist pastor in Holland (“Separatists” wanted to be independent of England’s established Anglican Church). Mennonites in Amsterdam convinced him of the need for believer’s baptism, so he baptized himself and his followers in 1609. Smyth described his group as “Christians Baptized on Profession of Their Faith,” but many shortened that to “se-Baptist” (self-Baptist). “There is good warrant for

LIVE STREAMING Many Baptists have preferred to be baptized in “living waters” flowing in a river or stream as opposed to a pond or baptistery.

a man churching himself,” Smyth wrote about his act. “For two men singly are no church; so may two men put baptism upon themselves.” He later rethought the issue and asked the local Mennonite church to baptize him as a Mennonite. They refused, though some of his followers eventually did join the Mennonite Church.

IVY-COVERED WALLS OF SEPARATION

The first Baptist college, Bristol Baptist College, was founded at Bristol, England, in 1679; it still exists today. Its graduates helped to found Brown University in 1764—the oldest Baptist college in the United States. Baptists were often barred from attending other colonial schools, most of which are members of the Ivy League today. In fact Harvard College president Henry Dunster had been fired in 1654 and his house confiscated because of his Baptist beliefs. Ironically Brown would later *join* the Ivy League.

I’M YOUR PASTOR. NO, I’M NOT. YES, I AM.

Elias Keach, the son of a famous London Baptist minister, arrived in Pennsylvania in 1686 in clerical garb though he was not licensed, baptized, or even converted. (Many colonial Americans tried to pass themselves off as clergy, often lying about British credentials, in pursuit of wealth and social status.) Local Baptist immigrants in Pennepack asked Keach to preach for them. But his conscience got the better of him during a sermon; he began weeping and trembling, and admitted that he was a fraud. An Irish Baptist minister led him to conversion and then baptized him. The Pennepack Baptists still needed a minister, and so Keach became the *real* pastor of the church in 1688.

I’LL MAKE A MAN OUT OF YOU

Schoolteacher Deborah Sampson joined Third Baptist in Middleborough, Massachusetts, in a 1780 revival. Two years later minutes from a church meeting recorded: “Deborah Sampson, a member of the church who last Spring was accused of dressing in men’s clothes and enlisting as a soldier in the army . . . although she was not convicted, yet was strongly suspected of being guilty, and for some time before behaved very loose and un-Christian like, and at last left our parts in a secret manner.” The church withdrew fellowship from Sampson, who successfully joined the army as “Robert Shurtliff.” She served for 17 months, survived a grievous battle wound, and was honorably discharged in 1783.

“EAT MOR CHIKIN” Baptist layman S. Truett Cathy (1921–2014) founded Chick-Fil-A, which has never opened on Sundays.



STORIES ABOUT KEACH AND SAMPSON: FROM BAPTISTS IN AMERICA BY THOMAS S. KIDD AND BARRY HANKINS. COPYRIGHT © 2018 BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.
BAPTISM IN LIVING WATER—DOC STOCK / ALAMY. STOCK PHOTO
SEPT. 8, 2014 - CHICK-FIL-A FOUNDER TRUETT CATHY DIED MONDAY AT AGE 93. PICTURED: APR. 1, 2001 - ATLANTA, GEORGIA, U.S.—TRUETT CATHY, PRESIDENT AND CEO OF CHICK-FIL-A, BEHIND COUNTER OF THE COMPANY’S ORIGINAL DINER. © ROBIN RAYNE NELSON / ZUMA PRESS.COM / ALAMY LIVE NEWS

BURNING QUESTION When famous British Baptist preacher Charles Spurgeon (1834-1892) considered preaching in the United States in 1859, some Southerners burned his books because of his antislavery views.

THE BAPTIST-LIBERIAN CONNECTION

Lott Carey, a Virginia Baptist and a former slave, was the first missionary to Liberia. A century and a half later, Liberian president William Tolbert was elected the first black president of the Baptist World Alliance. He was assassinated in 1982 during a coup.

FUNDAMENTALIST FREQUENT-FLYER MILES

J. Frank Norris, one of the early twentieth century's most famous Baptist preachers, had an eventful life. The most eventful part was probably his acquittal on a murder charge, but he also grew up with an alcoholic father, had his church burn down twice, broke with the Southern Baptist Convention, helped send John Birch out as a missionary, and pastored First Baptist in Ft. Worth and Temple Baptist in Detroit *simultaneously*.

QUOTABLE QUOTES

When Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary at Baylor University announced in 1908 that it was looking for a new home, Norris helped convince the school to move to Ft. Worth, announcing that it had "found its permanent home until Jesus comes again." SWBTS's founder, Benajah Harvey Carroll, was not a man



at a loss for words either, according to the *Ft. Worth Star-Telegram*. When trying to raise funds for the new school, he wrote to one donor, "I'm up a tree. Can you and your fine men help me?" The donor responded, "I'm in a hole. How can a man in a hole help a man up in a tree?"

"When you come up the tree to help me down," Carroll wrote, "you will be out of your hole." ❏

Thanks to Oxford University Press for allowing us to reprint the stories of Sampson and Keach from Thomas S. Kidd and Barry Hankins, Baptists in America.

FAKE PASTOR Below: The founding pastor of the most influential early Baptist church in Pennsylvania was impostor Elias Keach.

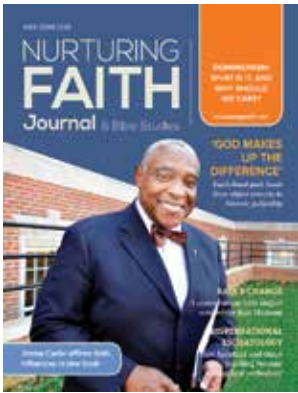


FIXING UP Right: Florence Harding straightens the tie of her husband, Warren G. Harding, one of the US's four Baptist presidents.




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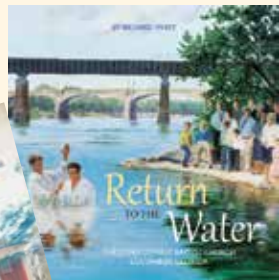
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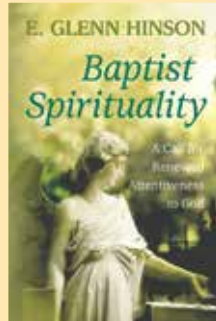
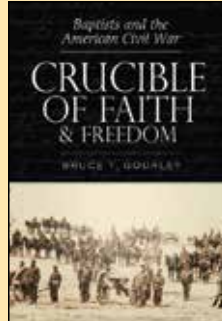
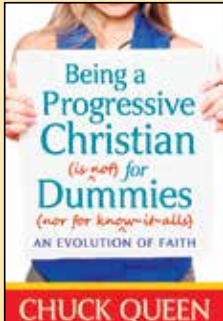
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Letters to the editor

Readers respond to Christian History

It's worth reminding our readers from time to time of our mission statement: "CHI is aligned with no particular denomination, but adheres to the Apostles' Creed and seeks to present the history of the global church and to see the best in each Christian tradition." Though many saints do appear in our pages, not everyone we discuss has demonstrated a living faith, even those who sometimes claimed it. We trust our readers to separate the wheat from the chaff and discern the hand of God at work even in the unlikeliest of circumstances.

YOU THANK US FOR OUR MAGAZINE . . .

Thank you so much for providing your magazine. I pass it on to other inmates after I have thoroughly devoured it. Your research and insight are a gift from our Father in heaven.—*Charles Jenkins, Burlington, CO*

I have distributed your resources to my study group urging them to receive *Christian History* so we can use it in our discussions. Thank you for a quality quarterly! —*Joseph Boutwell, Halifax, VA*

. . . WE THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT

I have every issue from #1 to the present. Thank you for this truly great resource. May God richly bless your efforts to educate so many for such a nominal fee. I wish I could give more. Keep up the great work. —*Robert Canino, Auburn, NY*

I believe that I have all of *CH* from the first issue and am now investing in the slipcovers to keep them nice. I thoroughly enjoyed issue 124. I especially liked how you interwove modern day interviews with the historical articles. I hope you will consider doing that more often. . . . I thoroughly enjoyed the Feasting and Fasting issue. It helps so much to see these topics in their historical context, especially concerning the celebration of the Eucharist. As always, Lord Bless and keep up the good work!—*Tom Edmunds, Washington, NJ*

If you want slipcases to keep your collection in good shape like Tom's, they are available at our website, www.christianhistoryinstitute.org.

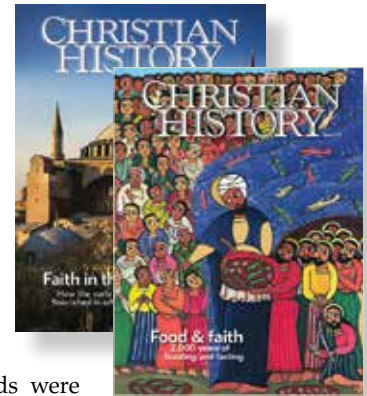
EASTER EGGS AND CHRISTMAS MEALS

Thank you so much for the *Food and Faith* issue. Since my husband's mother was Italian, I learned to make Easter Bread. It was amazing to discover that the raw-in-shell colored Easter eggs woven into the bread baked like hard-boiled eggs.

I grew up in Sugar Creek, MO. Much of the town was of Slovak descent. On Holy Saturday the Catholic Church blessed the various food items that were to be

eaten Easter morning. The local ladies brought lovely Easter baskets filled with *Potica* (walnut roll-up bread), ham, sausage, and homemade egg cheese.

The traditional Slovak Christmas Eve dinner consisted of *Oplatky* (Christmas wafers), honey, wine, *Pagach*, *Bobalky*, *Rozky*, and nut and poppy seed rolls. Most of the foods were prepared with home-grown crops. These foods were part of my childhood along with faith, family, and now happy memories.—*Nancy Pallo Hennis, Jourdan, TX*



A CROWD OF READERS

I was elated to see my name in the last issue. In prison most offenders don't receive mail or acknowledgments from anyone. And usually the mail we receive, like magazines, we share with everyone else. Well, your magazine is shared by not only myself but apparently several other offenders here on Eastham, because I have had a ton of people come up and tell me they saw my name in the "Letters to the Editor" section. So please know that your magazine is read by more than just those on your subscription list.

Also, have you ever thought of doing an issue on Christian higher education and the history behind it? I attend the Therapon Theological Seminary and Bible College here on the unit. . . . Again, thank you for all you do and we'll keep praying for you and ask you to do the same for us.—*Johnny Wooten, Lovelady, TX*

Thanks, Johnny, for that wonderful testimony. We are in fact seriously discussing doing an issue on Christian involvement in primary, secondary, and higher education.

TOO CORNY?

On page 8 of issue 125, there is a mention of corn. Didn't Europe and the rest of the "Eastern World" *not* have this grain until explorers brought it back from the New World? I'm aware it's translated as corn in the Bible. Please set me straight. I'm married to a Navajo so this is a pet peeve of ours!—*Suzanne via email*

"Corn" means "grain" in British English, the dialect of that article's author (and incidentally of the editor's British husband, which is probably why I read right past it). American corn, which was indeed unknown in the Old World until the age of exploration, is called "maize" in the UK.



Editor's note

AS I WAS PREPARING THIS ISSUE, marveling at the twists and turns of the Baptist tale in the United States, I wondered how to begin this editor's letter. With Roger Williams, leading dissenters from established colonial churches to worship in freedom in Rhode Island? With Isaac Backus and John Leland, urging a consideration for religious liberty as the new nation took shape?

Or perhaps with Adoniram and Ann Judson, setting out for India as Congregationalist missionaries and becoming convinced of Baptist beliefs on the way? (I would love to have been a fly on the wall when the Congregationalist missions board heard the news.) With Lottie Moon, the first single woman missionary ever sent out by Baptists, who spent four decades in China? With twentieth-century controversies and splits that pitted Baptist against Baptist, each group with differing visions of how to be faithful to the Kingdom of God?

Then Billy Graham died.

SOMETHING BIGGER

When speaking of "America's pastor" Graham—as with another famous twentieth-century Baptist, Martin Luther King Jr.—the first thing that comes to mind is something other than Baptists. Graham's crusades and King's struggles are seen as bigger than any one denomination: something that belongs to Americans as part of our history, not just Baptist history or even Christian history.

The more I thought about it, the more I thought that a lot of Baptist stories are like that. When we think about Williams, it quickly leads us into the importance of Rhode Island (and later Pennsylvania) as a place for all sorts of people who wanted to worship in peace. The stories of Backus and Leland soon give way to those of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson and the debates that consumed our country at its founding. Jefferson's

famous statement about a "wall of separation between church and state" came from a letter he sent to a group of . . . you guessed it . . . Baptists.

The Judsons and Moon were forerunners of the broader nineteenth-century missionary movement, spanning the globe with the story of Christ's love as well as the march of Western cultural habits, for better or for worse. Recent Baptist splits bring us to the battle between fundamentalism and modernism, a battle that burst the bounds of churches to change American culture and politics forever. And all along Baptists have been committed in their message, congregational in their polity, and concerned for the freedom of the individual in matters of worship and conscience.

And I started thinking: if Baptist religion isn't American religion, it's got to be pretty close. True, the Baptist movement was birthed in England (a story we told in one of our earliest issues, #6). But in the Baptist journey, we see the struggles and triumphs of the United States, and of the Christian faith in the American context, as we do in the journey of almost no other group. (Given that I am descended from a people who grew up singing "I'm a Methodist till I die," this is a significant statement.)

So no matter what your denominational ties, let Baptist history illuminate American church history for you in this issue. We've intentionally invited many different kinds of Baptists to contribute. And may all those whose stories we tell in these pages—including Williams, Backus, Leland, the Judsons, Moon, King, and Graham—rest in peace and rise in glory. ☩



Jennifer Woodruff Tait
Managing editor, *Christian History*

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CHRISTIAN HISTORY



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From outlaws to patriots

THE EARLY STORY OF BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

Thomas S. Kidd and Barry Hankins

ON SEPTEMBER 5, 1651, Obadiah Holmes was taken from his cell in Boston's prison to receive 30 lashes with a three-corded whip. Holmes had been alone in prison for weeks; that day an unusual calm came over him. His captors tried to keep him from speaking, but he would not be silent. "I am now come to be baptized in afflictions by your hands," he said, "that so I may have further fellowship with my Lord, and am not ashamed of his sufferings, for by his stripes am I healed."

Holmes was tied to a post; an officer took up the whip and began flailing with all his might. Yet Holmes felt God's presence more strongly than at any other time in his life; the pain floated away. When the captors untied him, Holmes stood up and smiled. "You have struck me as with roses," he advised them.

What had Holmes done to provoke the wrath of colonial Massachusetts? He had preached the gospel of the Baptists. And that was against the law.

BAPTIST BEGINNINGS IN ENGLAND

Baptists argued that their defining practice—the baptism of Christian believers by immersion—represented

A KANSAS BAPTISM Baptists began as a small and despised sect, but had spread throughout the US by the time this scene was painted in 1928.

a recovery of ancient Christian tradition. Hints of a Baptist movement existed in sixteenth-century England, mostly among English Separatists, radical Puritans who believed that the Church of England was corrupt beyond redemption. By the early seventeenth century, some Separatists concluded that complete church purity demanded a rejection of infant baptism.

Many of them also adopted views similar to Mennonites on issues such as separation of church and state, and experienced similar persecution by political and church authorities. Fleeing such persecution, Separatist pastor John Smyth (c. 1570–1612), originally an Anglican priest, escaped to Amsterdam in 1608. Taking his rejection of church tradition to the furthest extreme, Smyth decided to baptize himself by affusion (pouring water over his head) and subsequently baptized the rest of his congregation. Then he developed doubts and approached local Mennonites to baptize him (for what would have been the third time). They refused.

BAPTISM IN KANSAS. OIL ON CANVAS BY JOHN STEUART CURRY, 1928. GRANGER / GRANGER. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. FROM BAPTISTS IN AMERICA BY THOMAS S. KIDD AND BARRY HANKINS. COPYRIGHT © 2018 BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

THE
BLOVDY TENENT,
 of PERSECUTION, for cause of
 CONSCIENCE, discuffed, in
 A Conference betweene
TRVTH and PEACE.

VVHO,
 In all tender Affection, present to the High
 Court of Parliament, (as the *Result* of
 their *Discourse*) these, (amongst other
 Passages) of highest consideration.



Printed in the Year 1644.



FOR CAUSE OF CONSCIENCE Above: A 19th-c. artist imagines Roger Williams's meeting in exile with the Narragansett tribe. Williams's *Bloody Tenent* (left) argues for religious liberty rather than "bloody belief" in persecution.

Smyth soon died of tuberculosis, and his followers split. Some joined the Mennonites, some followed John Robinson's English Separatists (the "Pilgrims" on the Mayflower in 1620), and a small faction, nicknamed "se-Baptists" (self-Baptists), followed lawyer Thomas Helwys (c. 1550–c. 1616). They returned to England in 1611 or 1612, where Helwys gained notoriety with his *Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity* (1612).

Short Declaration, personally inscribed for King James I with a remarkable tirade against state authority in spiritual matters, landed Helwys in London's infamous Newgate Prison, where he died. Despite their untimely ends, Smyth and Helwys had permanently established the Baptist movement in England.

"THE SE-BAPTIST AT AMSTERDAM"

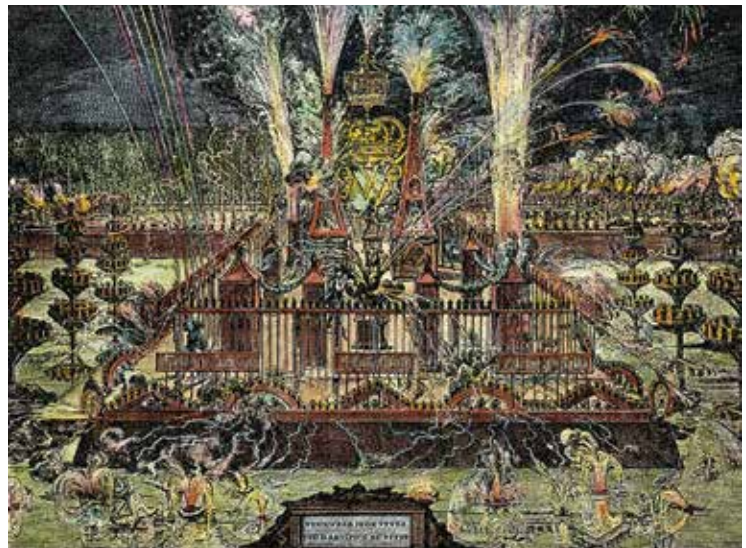
Most early American colonists were at least nominally Christian; almost all practiced infant baptism, viewing its rejection as a dangerous affront to the traditions of family, church, and society. In the Puritan-founded colony of Massachusetts, Roger Williams was one of the first to run afoul of these strictures.

Arriving in Massachusetts in 1631 as a Separatist pastor, Williams's continual dissent took him from Boston to Plymouth to Salem. In Plymouth a ruling elder feared Williams "would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the se-[self] baptist at Amsterdam had done."

In 1636 Williams fled to southern New England and helped establish the town of Providence and the colony of Rhode Island, soon filled with Separatists. Meanwhile the mercurial Williams repudiated his infant baptism and in 1638 joined with a small group of followers to establish America's first Baptist church in Providence. One of Williams's followers, Ezekiel Holliman, baptized him, and then Williams baptized Holliman and the rest of the group. Like John Smyth, though, Williams began to question his new baptism. From that point forward, he preached to anyone who would listen, but he refused to join a church.

Persecution of Baptists soon intensified. Provocative behavior by some Baptists was partially responsible. William Witter was brought before the court of Salem, Massachusetts, in 1643 for saying that infant baptism was "a badge of the whore" and three years later "for saying that they who stayed while a child is baptized, do worship the devil." Massachusetts authorities banned Baptists in 1645, calling them "the incendiaries of commonwealths and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places." The ban covered anyone who questioned infant baptism, proclaimed Christian pacifism, or denied the state's authority to police religious convictions.

In 1654, though, the Baptists nabbed their most prominent colonial convert: Harvard president Henry Dunster. His public rejection of infant baptism alarmed Massachusetts authorities, but they had to handle the case delicately; the president of Harvard could not be hastily tried or summarily whipped.



A group of Puritan ministers met with Dunster, but he made compelling arguments for believer's baptism. "All instituted gospel worship hath some express word of Scripture," he said. "But paedobaptism hath none." Harvard removed him from the presidency. After his dismissal Dunster largely remained quiet, but he presented a formidable challenge to the Massachusetts establishment, simply because he had once belonged to it. It seemed anyone could be led astray by the Baptists.

BAPTISTS IN BOSTON

Meanwhile Boston farmer and wagon maker Thomas Goold (1607-1675) had become intrigued by Baptist beliefs. When the family had a daughter in 1655, he refused to present her for the customary baptism. Eight years later he objected when his church adopted the Halfway Covenant, a Puritan agreement to allow baptized nonmembers to have their children baptized despite lack of a convincing testimony of conversion by the parents.

Goold and others began holding private meetings at his home; they solidified their Baptist convictions in May 1665 when Goold and eight others were immersed. Massachusetts authorities would normally have crushed Goold, but ongoing controversy related to the Halfway Covenant, as well as the English government's pressure to temper persecution in the wake of recent Quaker hangings, muted their reaction.

Goold was excommunicated and tried twice but not successfully convicted; then the government challenged Baptists to an unprecedented public debate in 1668. When the debate ended without changing Baptist minds, the Massachusetts General Court banished Goold and two others. Despite their best efforts, signs of Baptist activity began to appear all over eastern Massachusetts. In 1674 Goold and his followers slipped into Boston and began meeting at a private home.

Though Goold died in 1675, his church grew to 80 members by 1680. Officials tried repeatedly to stop

FIERY SKY Above: Fireworks in London mark the coronation of William and Mary, who gave Baptists and other dissenters freedom of worship.

FIERY PREACHER Left: George Whitefield was an Anglican priest, but his effect on Baptists was profound.

their meetings, even nailing the door shut. But continuing pressure from London for religious toleration broke Boston's resistance, and in 1681 the General Court gave official approval for them to meet publicly.

In 1689 new English monarchs William III and Mary II championed the Act of Toleration, which protected freedom of religion for all Protestants, including Baptists. Baptists could now worship in relative peace and quiet, but they still had to pay taxes to support the established state churches.

By the early eighteenth century, Baptist churches proliferated across America. In Kittery, Maine, a small church developed under the leadership of the merchant William Screven (c. 1629–1713); hoping for relief from persecution, Screven and a number of church members relocated to Charleston, South Carolina, and by 1696 established the first Baptist congregation in the South.

Quaker-founded Pennsylvania afforded religious freedom to all, but this actually worked against Baptists: they struggled to get a foothold amid so many churches and sects while troubled by internal feuds. To alleviate these problems, the Philadelphia Association of Baptists was founded in 1707. The association could not dictate policy or theology to individual congregations, but it helped regularize Baptist life in the Middle Colonies—solving congregational disputes, testing ministerial candidates, and sponsoring new churches and missionary journeys.

The largely uneducated leaders of the seventeenth century were gradually replaced by highly educated pastors in the eighteenth. In 1718 Elisha Callender

LIBERTY OF WORSHIP Right: A 19th-c. history textbook pictures for readers how the Pilgrims might have worshiped at Plymouth.

“THE GOSPEL IS NOT PREACHED HERE”
Below: Convert Isaac Backus became one of the Baptists’ most famous 18th-c. leaders.

became the first Harvard-educated pastor of Boston’s First Baptist Church. Congregationalist stalwarts such as Cotton Mather even participated in his ordination.

GREAT AWAKENINGS

The next big break for Baptists came from an unlikely source: popular Anglican revivalist George Whitefield, whose fiery preaching drew large crowds. During a 1740 stop in Philadelphia, Whitefield heard Baptist pastor Jenkin Jones preach “the truth as it is in Jesus” and called him “the only preacher that I know of in Philadelphia, who speaks feelingly and with authority.”

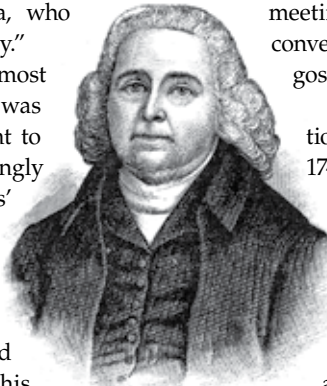
But one of the Baptists who most vehemently opposed the revivals was Ebenezer Kinnersley, an assistant to Jones. Kinnersley grew increasingly uncomfortable with the revivals’ emotional extremes, and a frenzied sermon preached at the Baptist church by Presbyterian revivalist John Rowland pushed him over the edge. The disgusted Kinnersley went public with his complaints in Ben Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

Franklin knew a good news story when he saw one, and he became the colonies’ most influential publicist of the Great Awakening, giving a platform both to Whitefield and to his critics. This story was repeated all over as hundreds of new “Separate” Congregationalist and Baptist churches formed, usually because existing churches did not sufficiently support revivals.

The most influential New England Baptist convert to emerge from the Great Awakening was Isaac Backus, from a Congregationalist farming family in Norwich, Connecticut. When the revival came, Backus’s mother renewed her faith and urged her son to do the same. His breakthrough came in late August 1741:

The justice of God shined so clear before my eyes in condemning such a guilty rebel. . . . And just in that critical moment God who caused the light to shine out of darkness, shined into my heart with such a discovery of that glorious righteousness which fully satisfies the law that I had broken. . . .

Backus became increasingly dissatisfied with his Norwich church. By mid-1745, 13 members, including Backus, stopped attending and began holding private



meetings; they argued that the church did not make conversion a condition of membership and that “the gospel is not preached here.”

The 23-year-old Backus had no college education or formal ministerial training, but during a 1747 visit to Titicut, Massachusetts, he felt moved by the Holy Spirit to a ministerial calling. His commitment to that calling would last the rest of his life. In July 1751 Backus set apart a day for fasting and prayer to consult every Bible verse relevant to baptism and definitively concluded that baptism was for believers, not infants. He announced this conclusion to his church, which led some to discuss removing him as pastor. In August he took the final step of receiving believer’s baptism from a visiting Baptist pastor.

Starting unauthorized churches was illegal, and Separates and Baptists experienced severe persecution in New England, usually for their refusal to pay taxes to support the established churches; Backus’s own mother and brother were imprisoned in 1752 for this offense. Some suffered physical violence.

One provocative Baptist preacher in Connecticut, Joshua Morse, faced repeated beatings and harassment from both government officials and angry mobs. On one occasion he was dragged by the hair out of a revival service, down a flight of steps, and into the street. He was beaten severely and received a gash on his face that scarred him for life. Official and unofficial persecution undoubtedly hindered Baptist growth in New England. But it also increased Baptist zeal.

Whitefield *also* brought revival and turmoil to Baptists in the South. Following the 1690s establishment of Charleston’s First Baptist Church, Baptists had spread through the Carolina low country. A pivotal congregation was formed on the Ashley River north



TEA OVERBOARD This 1773 engraving is the earliest-known American depiction of the Boston Tea Party.

of Charleston, where English Baptist Isaac Chanler became minister in the 1730s.

“A PUBLIC BATH”

In July 1740 Whitefield began preaching at Ashley River, describing Chanler as a “gracious Baptist minister.” Whitefield had become so disgusted with the Anglicans of Charleston that he “went to the Baptist and Independent meetinghouses, where Jesus Christ was preached” and privately served Communion to sympathetic Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Baptists. (Later an unsympathetic Anglican priest, Charles Woodmason, would criticize revivalism and Baptist public baptisms, “to which lascivious persons of both sexes resort, as to a public bath.”)

The key figure in exporting the Separate Baptist movement to the South was Shubal Stearns (1706–1771) of Connecticut. Converted by Whitefield, Stearns and his family adopted Baptist principles and in 1754 left for North Carolina.

In Sandy Creek they established a church that grew to more than 600 members. It spawned 42 congregations within 17 years, becoming the epicenter of Baptist revival in the South. Stearns and his followers experienced intense signs and wonders. They preached in a deeply emotional style that generated crying, shaking, and visions. Stearns himself developed a quasimystical reputation.

The Sandy Creek churches looked strictly to the Bible as their guide for church practice, implementing even obscure New Testament obligations. They practiced nine rites. The first two were believer’s baptism and the Lord’s Supper celebrated weekly. But the other seven were less common in colonial America:

love feasts, laying on of hands at baptism, foot washing, anointing the sick with oil, the right hand of fellowship, the kiss of charity, and devoting infant children, a substitute for infant baptism.

Elders governed Sandy Creek churches; deacons cared for congregational needs. Remarkably women commonly served in both offices. Eldresses, as they were called, primarily worked with women but occasionally taught mixed audiences. Unlike many Anglicans, Separate Baptists evangelized slaves and sometimes gave blacks positions of leadership as exhorters, deacons, and even elders in mixed-race congregations.

Separates in the North, though, were growing in sophistication and in similarity to the more established Philadelphia Association. The 1764 founding of Brown University in Rhode Island and the organization of a New England group of Baptists called the Warren Association in 1767 further enhanced the move toward the mainstream.

But full religious liberty still tarried. In Ashfield, Massachusetts, in 1770, authorities seized hundreds of acres from Baptists who did not support the Congregational Church. The Warren Association appealed directly to King George III, who sided with the Baptists. Ashfield’s Baptist minister called the Sons of Liberty, who led the resistance against Britain, underserving of their name: they only wanted “liberty from oppression that they might have liberty to oppress!”

One of the most influential Baptist Patriot resisters was also one of the most unlikely. In 1772 English Baptist pastor John Allen arrived in Boston from London (where he had just lost his job) and became one of the resistance’s most popular advocates with his *An Oration upon the Beauties of Liberty*. In contrast to most colonists who blamed British bureaucrats, Allen pointed directly at the king himself:

I distinguish greatly between a king and a tyrant, a king is the guardian and trustee of the rights and laws of the people, but a tyrant destroys them. This was heady, seditious stuff—three years ahead of Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense*.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, rank-and-file Americans, including Baptists, carried on their daily business, often not learning of major developments until days or weeks later. The only journal entry Baptist pastor Hezekiah Smith made on the weekend the Declaration of Independence was signed was a passing remark about his health. But Smith soon became one of the first chaplains hired by the Continental Congress.

BOSTON TEA PARTY—SARIN IMAGES / GRANGER; ALL RIGHTS RESERVED



FOUNDING FATHER *Left:* Baptists hoped leaders like Benjamin Franklin and others would respond to their desires for religious liberty.

FOUNDING MOTHER *Below:* Sandy Creek Baptist Church produced over 40 daughter congregations.



GREAT MEN WITH HATS OF FEATHERS

The South Carolina Patriot assembly sent Baptist pastor Oliver Hart of Charleston on a backcountry recruiting campaign to convince reluctant settlers to embrace the Revolution. Hart found that some thought Bostonians had recklessly stirred conflict; one man said he didn't care if "1,000 Bostonians might be killed in battle." James Miles of North Carolina criticized Patriot leaders: "Show him a great man with a half-moon in his hat with liberty written upon it and his hat full of feathers . . . and he would show you a devil."

But the Separate Baptists of Virginia declared in 1775 that although they had many religious differences with their fellow Americans, they shared the same political cause of liberty. They advised "military resistance against Great Britain in her unjust invasion, tyrannical oppression, and repeated hostilities."

The Philadelphia Association took a more muted tone, worrying over the "awful impending calamities" of war and recommending that congregations hold days of fasting to pray for God's help and forgiveness for America's sins. The war did hold "awful impending calamities" for many Americans; numerous churches were damaged, disrupted, and scattered by the conflict. Charleston's First Baptist Church essentially ceased to function for two years after the city fell to the British.

The First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in 1774 presented a chance for Baptists to appeal directly to Patriot leaders for religious liberty. The Warren Association distributed *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty* to members of Congress and sent Backus and James Manning to Philadelphia to lobby for their cause. In October 1774 they met with leaders of the Massachusetts delegation, including

Samuel and John Adams, and presented a case for religious liberty and disestablishment (see "The wall of separation," pp. 13–15).

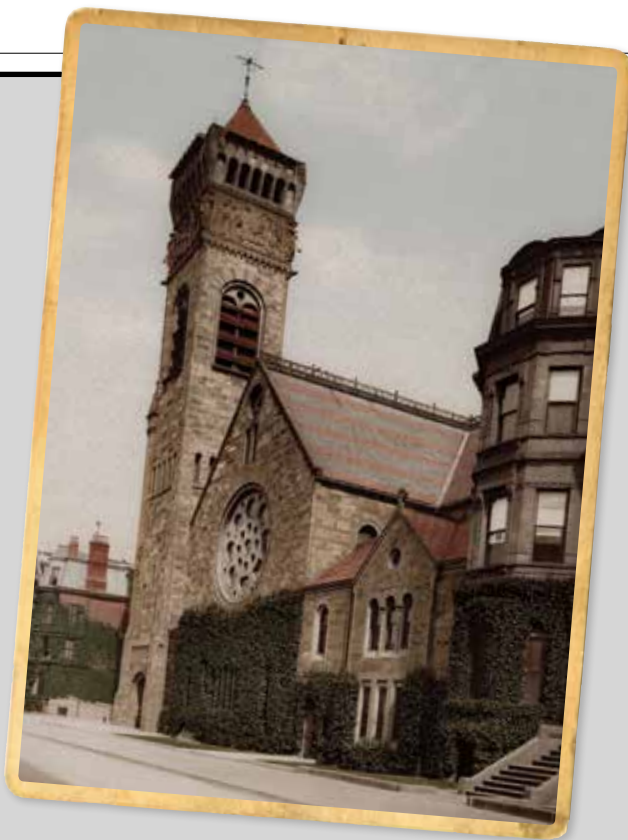
As the war progressed, many Baptists began to identify America as a nation specially blessed by God. Hezekiah Smith traveled with General Horatio Gates's troops as they faced the lumbering army of British general John Burgoyne in New York in 1777. Smith ministered to American troops and watched them win the Battle of Freeman's Farm. He captured the experience in a sermon on Exodus 15:2: "The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation."

Manning had received the war's beginning with much trepidation, but he and Backus heralded its conclusion as a sign from heaven. This growing Baptist enthusiasm for the new country was perhaps best expressed by the Warren Association in 1784:

The American Revolution . . . has been accomplished by many astonishing interpositions of Providence. . . . Nor is it at all improbable, that America is reserved in the mind of Jehovah, to be the grand theater on which the divine Redeemer will accomplish glorious things.

Baptists hoped that victory over tyranny would be followed by full religious liberty. They had come a long way from their dissenting English roots and their days as colonial outlaws; they had become Americans. ☐

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VERY OLD BAPTISTS First Baptist Church of Boston, established (illegally!) in 1655, has been in this building since 1881.

Landmark Baptists held that Jesus had established a Baptist church and that only Baptist churches had an unbroken succession back to the New Testament. Landmarkers stressed the absolute primacy of the local church, practiced closed Communion, and rejected “alien immersion” (baptism by a non-Baptist). Their influence in Southern Baptist life can still be felt.

The most basic Baptist unit is the local church. But organizations have risen at a higher level. The Triennial Baptist Convention was established in 1814 to support Baptist foreign missions. It soon united Baptist associations, societies, and eventually educational and publishing efforts. It attempted neutrality over slavery, but when its Home Mission Society refused to appoint a slave owner as a missionary, the Southern Baptist Convention formed in 1845. In 1907 Baptists in the North decided to create a more centralized structure and formed the Northern Baptist Convention (now American Baptist Churches in the USA).

American Baptists have tended to be more liberal in their doctrine, liturgical in their worship, and ecumenical in their practice. Southern Baptists are generally theologically conservative, nonliturgical, and evangelical in outlook. With roughly 16 million members, the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) is the largest Protestant denomination in the United States.

Fundamentalist movements resulted in numerous splits among white Baptists over the first half of the twentieth century. In 1979 the SBC underwent significant upheaval; after conservatives came into power, progressives formed the Alliance of Baptists in 1986 and moderates formed the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship in 1997.

Most black Baptists originally worshiped in churches controlled by white Baptists. But after the Civil War, they increasingly established their own congregations, associations, and mission societies. In 1895 three black conventions merged into the National Baptist Convention. In 1915 National Baptists split over ownership of the publishing house; fragmentation continued in 1961, resulting in the activist Progressive National Baptist Convention. At roughly 15 million, black Baptists account for at least 25 percent of America’s Baptists, making them hugely significant to the Baptist story. —*Elizabeth Flowers, associate professor of religion at Texas Christian University and author of Into the Pulpit: Southern Baptist Women and Power since World War II.*

Which Baptist are you again?

In England Baptists were divided into General (Arminian) and Particular (Calvinist) Baptists, differing over whether Christ died for all (Arminianism) or only for the elect (Calvinism). These developed in the colonies into three groups:

Regular Baptists were Calvinist and more formal in their worship, favored a paid and educated male clergy, and opposed the emotionalism of the First Great Awakening of the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, they had merged with Separate Baptists.

Separate Baptists emerged from the First Great Awakening. More moderate Calvinists, they allowed women to preach, employed altar calls in worship, and discouraged a paid clergy.

Free Will Baptists were Arminian; as Regulars and Separates joined together and their Calvinism softened, most Free Will churches were absorbed into those associations and conventions. A few still exist, marked by conservative theology and the practice of foot washing.

In America new groups emerged in the nineteenth century. **Primitive Baptists** were motivated by a desire to follow the faith and order of the New Testament. They became known for strict Calvinism, the rejection of organizing impulses, the practice of foot washing, and acappella singing.



The wall of separation

THE BAPTIST BATTLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Curtis W. Freeman

ON JANUARY 1, 1802, President Thomas Jefferson wrote to the Baptist Association of Danbury, Connecticut. For more than a year, it had been actively petitioning against laws that privileged the state faith: Congregationalism. The association appealed to the president for support, calling religion “at all times and places a Matter between God and Individuals” and stating that no one should “suffer in Name, person or effects on account of his religious Opinions.”

Even though the Bill of Rights had been in effect for a decade, the First Amendment’s prohibition of religious establishment was understood to apply only to the federal government. In fact Congregationalists in New England had a standing order for civil authorities to punish “idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions.” The Dissenters’ Petition, as it became known, asked the state legislature to abolish all regulations that interfered with “the natural rights of freemen” or “the sacred rights of conscience.”

ACTIONS BUT NOT OPINIONS

Baptists deeply objected to paying taxes to support Congregational churches. They reminded the president

CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS In this famous painting from 1817, John Trumbull pictures the Declaration Committee presenting their work in June 1776.

that the few religious privileges they enjoyed were regarded as “favours granted” by the state government, not as “inalienable rights.” In his response Jefferson agreed “that religion is a matter which lies solely between man & his god, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legitimate powers of government reach actions only and not opinions.” It was a familiar argument he had made earlier in his *Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom*. To the Baptists Jefferson went on to reference the First Amendment on freedom of religion—which, he explained, built “a wall of separation between Church & State.”

The appeal to Jefferson seemed to have had no immediate impact on the petition, which was met with overwhelming opposition in Connecticut’s General Assembly. Governor Oliver Ellsworth reportedly threw it on the floor and stomped on it, saying, “This is where it belongs.” But in 1818 Connecticut would narrowly adopt a new constitution affirming “that the exercise



“THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF” Baptists influenced James Madison (left), whose Bill of Rights left no room for a nationally established church.

and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be free to all persons in this State.”

THE CROWN OF JESUS

The Baptist position came out of a long tradition of English religious dissent. The term “dissenter” in the English context includes a theologically wide range of groups from Presbyterians to Quakers, with Baptists and Independents in the middle; they shared a common bond as minorities first persecuted and later tolerated by the dominant, established Anglican majority.

The first generation of English Baptists were strong defenders of religious liberty. Leonard Busher’s *Religion’s Peace* (1614) addressed to King James I a full-throated plea for complete and free liberty of conscience for all: “Christ hath not commanded any king, bishop, or minister to persecute the people for difference of judgment in matters of religion.” Thomas Helwys and John Murton also defended freedom of conscience in tracts like *A Humble Supplication to the King’s Majesty Against Persecution of Any of the King’s Subjects for Differences in Religion* (1620).

In 1661 John Sturgen published a tract addressed to King Charles II in which he made an impassioned plea for toleration on behalf of “the Baptized People” (the Baptists) “that we may serve the Lord without molestation in that Faith and Order which we have Learned in the Holy Scriptures.” And Thomas Monck and six other Baptists issued a petition entitled *Sions [Zion’s] Groans for her Distressed*, which asserted that, because God made the conscience free, “no Magistrate, although a Christian, hath power to be a Lord over another’s faith.”

Some dissenters left England in search of freedom of worship, and, of course, some wound up in the

American colonies. Roger Williams (1603–1683) arrived in Boston in 1631; he was banished four years later by the General Court of Massachusetts for his “new and dangerous opinions.” Boston minister and fellow dissenter John Cotton defended the banishment; Williams responded that compelling the conscience amounts to “soul-rape,” declaring that any faith “which needs such instruments of violence to uphold it” cannot be true.

Williams and a small band of followers set out to establish a colony as “a shelter for persons distressed of conscience” and obtained a Royal Charter for Rhode Island and Providence Plantation in 1636; it ensured religious liberty for all its residents. In his most famous book, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* (1644), Williams drew on the Baptist tradition of dissent, especially a letter by Murton which he quoted extensively. Williams argued that the soul is free, not because the human will is supreme, but because Jesus Christ is king:

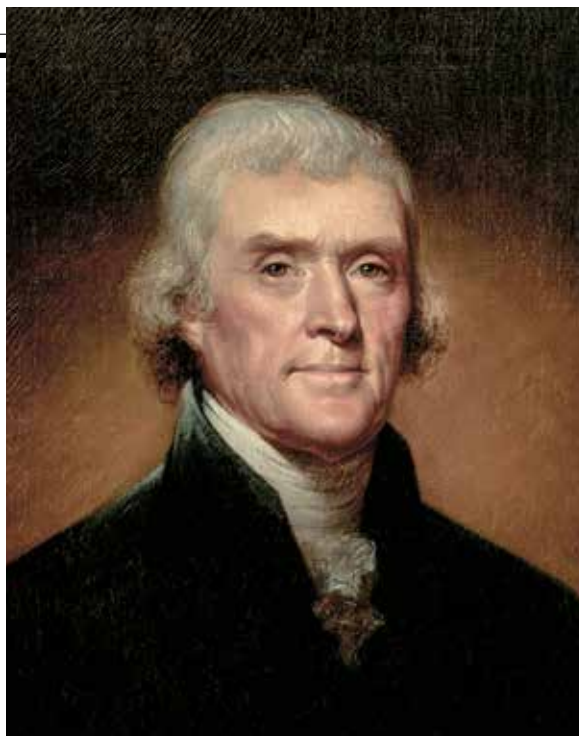
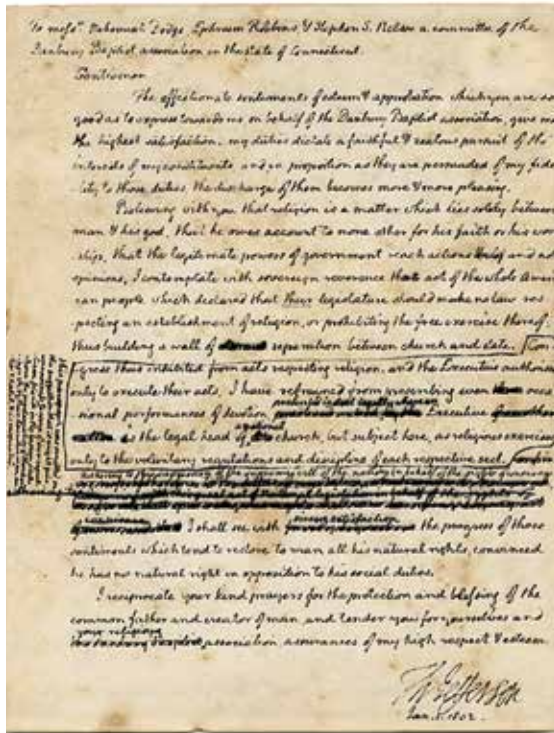
God’s people since the coming of the King of Israel, the Lord Jesus, have openly and constantly profest, that no Civill magistrate, no King nor Caesar have any power over the Soules or Consciences of their Subjects, in the matters of God and the Crowne of Jesus.

In 1643 a letter to Williams by John Cotton mysteriously appeared in print, denying that it was necessary to repent for maintaining communion with the Church of England. But Williams in reply contended that joining together with the unregenerate is akin to false worship which, as he famously intoned, “stincks in God’s nostrils.” He proposed that there must be a “wall of Separation between the Garden of the Church and the Wildernes of the world.” Initially he thought this could be achieved by weeding the garden, but his hopes of a pure church faded.

Williams invoked the metaphor of “the wall of separation” long before Jefferson. Yet for Williams this wall protected the church from the world, not the state from the church. He lamented that God had caused the wall to be broken down, and the worldly vines had choked out the garden. The only hope was to await the coming of Christ, the heavenly gardener, who would prune back the weeds, so that the roses might again bloom.

Other colonies held the Rhode Island experiment in contempt, and Williams was essentially forgotten, even among fellow Baptists. But in the late eighteenth century, Isaac Backus (1724–1806) and Baptists in Massachusetts retrieved his memory and example to support their cause of religious disestablishment.

In *History of the Baptists in New England* (1777), Backus extolled Williams’s Rhode Island as “the best form of civil government that the world had seen in sixteen



MUCH-REVISED LETTER Above: Thomas Jefferson laid out a framework for over 200 years of church-state relations in his letter to the Danbury Baptists (left).

hundred years.” Yet when Backus had earlier drafted a petition to the Massachusetts General Court arguing that every person has a God-given “unalienable right” to act according to conscience, he did not extend this protection to Catholics (unlike in his Rhode Island model).

A CHANGE IN THE SOLAR SYSTEM

The greatest contribution of Backus to church-state relations came through his leadership of the Grievance Committee of the Warren Association, which repeatedly petitioned the Massachusetts General Assembly. In 1774 it even submitted a memorial to the Continental Congress; John Adams dismissed it, suggesting it would be more likely to expect a change in the solar system than to expect Massachusetts to give up its established church. (But give it up Massachusetts ultimately did, in 1833.)

Backus was not the only prominent Baptist advocating freedom of conscience. If one asks historians who built the wall of separation of church and state in America, their answer is usually “James Madison,” but if the question had been put to Madison (1751–1836), he might well have replied “John Leland and the Baptists.”

In colonial Virginia it was not uncommon for Baptists and other religious dissenters to be fined, beaten, or imprisoned. Between 1770 and 1775, the Baptists presented a succession of petitions against this in the General Assembly of Virginia; the undisputed leader of this battle for the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, which finally occurred in 1776, was John Leland (1754–1841).

Yet for Leland true liberty was more than toleration. To secure it he met in 1788 with Madison, a delegate to Virginia’s ratifying convention for the Constitution, and protested that the Constitution had no provision for religious liberty. Madison, who was also running for Congress, reminded Leland of his efforts to secure religious liberty in the Virginia Legislature and assured him he would do the same if elected to Congress. Leland and the Baptists agreed to support Madison, who was elected by a large margin. Virginia ratified the Constitution in 1788; Madison went on to write the Bill of Rights, approved in 1791, making good on his promise.

In 1802, when Jefferson wrote the Danbury Baptists, he originally also wanted to explain why he did not proclaim fasts and thanksgiving days like his predecessors. After consulting with his cabinet, Jefferson deleted his explanation and also struck out the word “eternal” in his sentence that the First Amendment built “a wall of eternal separation between Church & State.”

Given that the closing of the Danbury Association letter prayed that Jefferson would be brought safely to the Heavenly Kingdom through Jesus Christ, perhaps the president and his advisors realized that not even Baptists believed that the separation of church and state would continue throughout eternity. ☐

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March to freedom

AFRICAN AMERICAN BAPTISTS FORGED A STRONG IDENTITY IN THE FACE OF OPPRESSION

Adam L. Bond

AFRICAN AMERICAN BAPTISTS have transformed the moral and social landscape of the United States. When we honor Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968), we also honor black Baptist spaces and leaders that formed him. When we observe Black History Month, we pay homage to its founder, Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950), from the Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, DC. First-ever female bank president and legend of the black freedom struggle Maggie Lena Walker (1864–1934) was a long-time member of the First African Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia.

However this transformation came through an enduring tension: Baptists of African descent pushing back against the heavy hand of racism in their march to freedom as they built their institutions and uplifted their race.

FROM FERVOR TO FREEDOM, 1740–1845

The Great Awakening of the eighteenth century introduced the power of the evangelical message of salvation. That compelling message led many churches to grow—chiefly Methodist and Baptist churches. Many

SLAVES WAITING FOR SALE English painter Eyre Crowe intended this painting of a slave market to show the anxiety of a family fearing they would be sold apart.

new members were enslaved people of the southern states. The traditional religions of their African ancestors provided a foundation consistent with Christianity. But it soon became apparent that in practice, Christian slaveholders behaved inconsistently with the spirit of a religion focused on freedom.

White Christians debated converting enslaved Africans. Some said slaves would be better laborers upon conversion. Others discouraged conversion, catechesis, and baptism, feeling it would prompt Africans to see themselves as equals of those persons who held them as chattel. These debates did not stop African converts from embracing and expressing their faith. The congregational polity of the Baptist Church and its emphasis on experience gave African American Baptists a particular avenue to practice and preach the Gospel.

By the end of the eighteenth century, white Baptists licensed enslaved men across the South as preachers.

REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, VIRGINIA. EYRE CROWE—SLAVE AUCTION IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1852–53—GRANGER / GRANGER—ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

MARCH ON *Right:* African American troops, like the 4th Colored Infantry here, fought for the Union after the Emancipation Proclamation.

PRAY ON *Below:* The First African Baptist church of Savannah memorializes founder Andrew Bryan.

In Georgia the Buckhead Creek Church licensed and ordained George Liele (1750–1820) “to perform missionary labors among slaves on other plantations in the surrounding area.” He also organized the First African Baptist Church in Savannah, Georgia, with Andrew Bryan, and later became a missionary to Jamaica.

In Mississippi Joseph Willis—a free African—was licensed to preach the Gospel in 1798. He became the first moderator of the Louisiana Baptist Association in 1818, after serving as a pastor and church organizer. Another preacher enslaved from birth, “Uncle Jack” (c. 1746–1843), earned his freedom and impressed white church members during his Baptist ministry in the 1790s, mostly in Virginia. He was so captivating that a white Presbyterian minister, William White, wrote a biography about him, *The African Preacher* (1849).

Peter Randolph, born enslaved around 1825, gained his freedom in the 1840s and became a Baptist preacher. In *Sketches of Slave Life* (1855), he wrote:

Among the slaves, there is a great amount of talent . . . which, if cultivated, would be of great benefit to the world of mankind. If these large minds are kept sealed up, so that they cannot answer the end for which they were made, somebody must answer for it on the great day of account.

As the nation embraced its new-found independence, African Baptists began to build independent congregations, leaving many white Baptist churches or other black congregations to do so—from Petersburg to Williamsburg to Charles City to Norfolk. Baptist polity gave them permission to receive their direction from God alone. To be sure the laws of the commonwealth would have some say in how that happened.

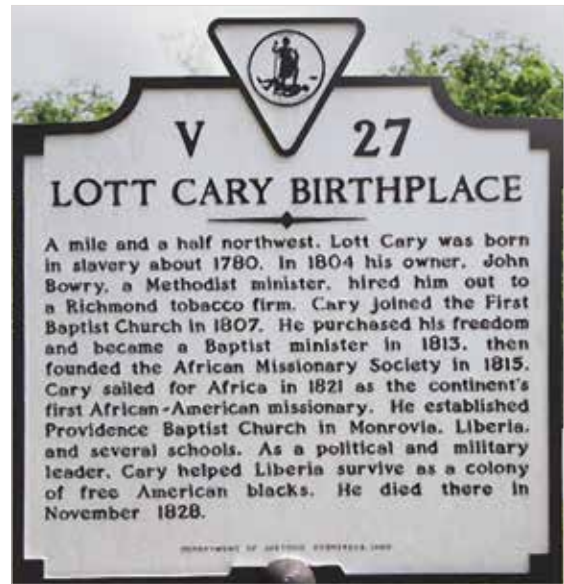
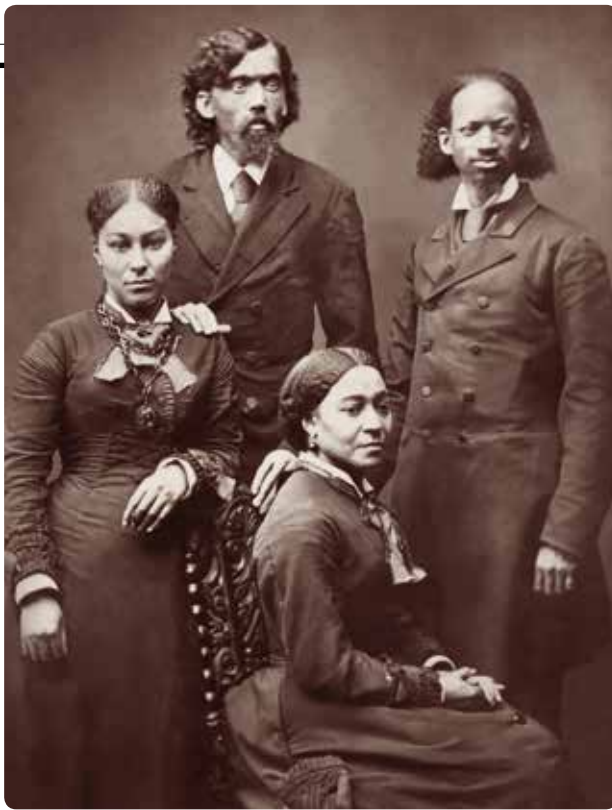
Often black congregations blossomed with influence—or interference—from white sister churches. In Richmond, Virginia, black congregants outnumbered white ones briefly at the the biracial First Baptist Church; that church licensed Lott Carey, who became the first American Baptist missionary to Africa in 1821. But the black members of First Church formed their own congregation in 1841. The gospel of freedom that produced these Baptist pioneers and institutions still betrayed problems in the larger culture. Black Baptists were still black, and racism was still prevalent.



UP FROM FREEDOM, 1845–1895

As an oppressed people, African Americans sought to challenge longstanding institutions of white supremacy; as part of the larger Baptist family, their energy and influence led to conversations about Baptist commitment to real freedom. Baptists debated slavery in the years following the unifying Triennial Convention of 1814. They had merged for the sake of missions and education, but the cultural divide between the states was growing. Black Baptist associations and conventions began forming across the country with a focus on abolishing slavery and its influence. When their efforts were frustrated, they pushed for an independent national denomination.

They watched as Baptists in the South split from the Triennial Convention in 1845 and continued to watch the larger society’s simmering conflict result in the Civil War, a failed Reconstruction, and the rise of Jim Crow laws. And they became more and more determined to develop a national church; though northern missionary societies supported them on the mission field and



PREACH ON Black Baptists served as tireless missionaries, from Lott Cary/Carey (*above*) to Thomas Johnson and Calvin Richardson and their wives (names unknown, *left*).

in education, black Baptists believed they would best determine their course in a church of their own.

Fifty years after white Baptists split in 1845, the merger of numerous black conventions led in 1895 to the National Baptist Convention USA, Incorporated (NBC). Elias Camp Morris (1855–1922), its first president as well as a political leader in Arkansas, wrote in his 1901 memoir:

The writer firmly believes in the possibilities of the race and has firmly advocated that the nearly two millions of colored Christians which God has added to the Baptist churches as a mass, are an heritage, and that it is the imperative duty of Negro Baptist leaders to develop this mighty force for the glory of God and the further redemption of the race.


IF IT WASN'T FOR THE WOMEN, 1895–1965

Black Baptist women were a major force in the growth of these churches, associations, and conventions—establishing strong societies that supported mission work in the fields of education and evangelism. Sought-after evangelist and teacher Virginia Broughton (1856–1934) shaped NBC mission work, wrote for denominational newspapers and magazines, called attention to efforts of the women's convention, and mentored the next generation of women. In *Twenty Years' Experience of a Missionary* (1910) she wrote: "The Negro woman is doing a noble part to forward every righteous movement that makes for the peace and uplift of humanity and the glory of God."

One of Broughton's protégés, Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879–1961), would later wield influence in the denomination and the women's auxiliary

(see "Preachers, organizers, trailblazers," pp. 36–40). Burroughs rose up the ranks of Baptist and black American life to become an officer in the Women's Convention Auxiliary. Her leadership ability and organizational prowess gave the women a singular focus as forces for good within the denomination and society. They embraced a social agenda that included the founding of the National Training School for Women and Girls in 1909, embodying its founder's push for excellence.

Black Baptists faced numerous challenges in their march to freedom; these issues would remain through the civil rights era (see "That's where I used to go to church," pp. 32–35) and beyond in the lives of leaders like Samuel DeWitt Proctor (1921–1997), president of Virginia Union University; Howard Thurman (1899–1981), dean at Howard University and Boston University; and Prathia Hall (1940–2002), activist, preacher, and theologian.

When King famously reminded his audience in 1963 from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, "We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream," he spoke as an American asking his country to make good on its promises of freedom. He also spoke as a Christian and a Baptist, reminding his audience of freedom's source. 

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“For the public worship of almighty God and also for holding Commencement”

BAPTISTS FOUNDED SCHOOLS EARLY AND OFTEN FOR MANY PURPOSES

Amy Whitfield

OBSERVERS VIEW BAPTIST COLLEGES and seminaries of today with curiosity. Like little engines that could, they plod along amid the challenges of a culture that increasingly spurns what they have to offer: education based on religious conviction.

For Baptists this scorn is nothing new; they have always trained those whom other colleges would not accept. Beginning in 1764 Baptists started over 500 institutions of higher learning; some confessionally Baptist but open to all, others specifically focused on Baptist church leadership or missionary service.

THE ROAD TO BROWN

Schools to educate believers were nothing new in colonial America. Beginning with Harvard in 1636—then William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), the University of Pennsylvania (1740), Princeton (1746), and Columbia (1754)—Anglicans, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians had founded colleges to provide both liberal arts training and religious education.

The trouble was that Baptists were not particularly welcome in these established institutions. Despite other colonists having escaped religious persecution themselves, they had little tolerance for Baptists. So Baptists forged their own path. They began in the place that,

FEW BUT MIGHTY Here is the 1899 graduating class at Roger Williams College in Tennessee, founded in the 1860s for freed slaves.

thanks to Roger Williams a century before, had become a Baptist haven—Rhode Island. Williams had seen the necessity of education from the beginning, writing in his *Bloudy Tenent of Persecution* (1644) that one of the roles of a godly magistrate was to “provide for the churches as to erect schools, take care for fit governors and tutors.”

Rhode Island College (now Brown University) in Providence, founded in 1764, was the first Baptist educational institution in America. The student body did not always comprise a Baptist majority; the founders, committed to religious liberty, envisioned a college with classical ideals where Baptists and others could attend. Similar institutions followed: Colgate University in New York, Georgetown College in Kentucky, the University of Richmond in Virginia, and Wake Forest University in North Carolina. Their goal was to prepare students for all of life within a broadly religious context.

But theological education was also significant. When Baptists came to America, many were active



from the beginning in sending out itinerant preachers to plant churches in frontier areas. But most of these preachers were uneducated. Historian Janet Phillips once noted that the reputation of Baptists for “being an ignorant lot led by unlearned ministers made [Baptists] squirm.”

Educational societies sprang up to support those called to the ministry; ministry training schools and seminaries arose throughout the country; and collections were taken to aid students. The Northern Baptist Education Society began handing out scholarships in 1791. Its constitution began:

The exclusive object of this Society shall be to aid, in acquiring a suitable education, such indigent, pious young men of the Baptist denomination as shall give satisfactory evidence . . . that they are called of God to the gospel ministry.

Northern Baptists began the march of seminaries by opening Newton Theological Institution in 1825 for ministry training. Later they established nine other seminaries including Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School, American Baptist Seminary of the West, and Northern Seminary.

When Southern Baptists established a separate convention in 1845, their commitment to educate their own future leaders soon followed. Initially training came through the religion departments of existing colleges, but in 1859 the religion department



DOUBLE DUTY Brown University (pictured at *left* in its early days) for many years held commencement in the First Baptist Church of Providence (*above*), specifically erected in 1774 “for the publick Worship of Almighty GOD and also for holding Commencement in.”

at Furman University formed The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (SBTS). Over the next century, Southern Baptists acquired or established five more seminaries.

NEW SPLITS, NEW SCHOOLS

Birtherd amid conflict, Southern Baptists experienced continued controversy; as a result new institutions arose. Luther Rice Seminary and Mid-America Seminary created places for theological conservatives who were concerned about moderate or liberal teachings.

Two centuries of Baptist schools

Some of the most famous colleges and seminaries originally founded for or by Baptists include

- Brown University (1764)
- Colby College (1813)
- Colgate University (1819)
- Union University (1823)
- Newton Theological Institution (1825)
- Mississippi College (1826)

- Furman University (1826)
- Georgetown College (1829)
- University of Richmond (1830)
- Mercer University (1833)
- Wake Forest University (1834)
- Judson College (1838)
- Samford University (1841)
- Hillsdale College (1844)
- Baylor University (1845)
- William Jewell College (1849)

HITTING THE BOOKS—AND LAPTOPS Students study in the 2010s at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Education was at the core of the dispute; president of the SBC Morris Chapman (b. 1940) later commented,

Scores of God-called young people who had been birthed, baptized, and disciplined in Bible-believing Southern Baptist churches went off to Baptist institutions of higher learning where they were robbed of their faith in the truthfulness of Scripture by the very folk . . . paid by Baptists to strengthen their faith and prepare them for vital ministry.

When the churches of the SBC led their institutions back to theological conservatism, this led new schools to emerge such as Baptist Theological Seminary of Richmond, Campbell University Divinity School, and Wake Forest University School of Divinity.

Baptists were also committed to providing education for individuals outside of the white male elite. Like other American women, Baptist women did not attend seminaries, or even many universities. But in 1838 Judson College opened in Marion, Alabama, founded by Siloam Baptist Church members and named after missionary heroine Ann Judson. Founder Julia Tarrant Barron (1805–1890) enrolled her son John along with the first class of eight young women, but when she thought he had become too old for co-educational classes, the undaunted Barron founded Howard College for men so John would have a school to attend!

These schools were doing something revolutionary by giving many women access to formal education for the first time. The Women’s Missionary Union Training School, founded in 1907 at the Broadway Baptist Church in Louisville, trained potential missionary women in a three-year course that included not only Christian education and home economics but also theology, comparative religion, church history, and the Bible. In addition they could take electives alongside men at SBTS.



Many Baptists after the Civil War sought to educate African Americans. At the same time, many existing Baptist schools did not admit black students. Institutes began to spring up, many in church basements: Morehouse College in 1867 in Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta, Georgia; Virginia Union University in the 1860s in Ebenezer Baptist Church in Richmond, Virginia; and Spelman College, the nation’s oldest college for African American women, in Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta. After *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, Baptists ultimately opened all of their doors, but the historically black schools had developed a rich history.

The development of schools has not stopped, from universities to trade schools to Bible colleges. From a founding member of the Ivy League in 1764 to twenty-first-century worldwide online learning, hundreds of thousands of students have received an education from what began as a group of dissenters who saw the value of learning and sought to provide it. ☐

Amy Whitfield is director of Marketing and Communication at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School (1850)
University of Rochester (1850)
Bates College (1855)
University of Chicago (1856, refounded in 1890—
both times by Baptists)
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (1859)
Shaw University and Divinity School (1865)
Virginia Union University (1865)
Morehouse College (1867)
American Baptist Seminary of the West (1871)

Spelman College (1881)
Stetson University (1883)
Belmont University (1890)
Dallas Baptist University (1898)
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (1908)
Northern Seminary (1913)
Samuel DeWitt Proctor School of Theology (1941)
Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary (1950)
Eastern University (1952)
Liberty University (1971)

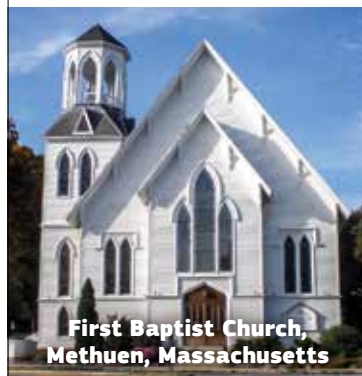
Baptists, 1600-2000



First map of New England, 1677

- 1609 Former Anglican John Smyth rebaptizes himself and 40 others by pouring in Amsterdam.
- 1612 Thomas Helwys forms the first Baptist church in London.
- 1638 Roger Williams forms the first Baptist congregation in America in Providence, Rhode Island.
- 1646 New England Puritans enact laws requiring attendance at Congregational churches.
- 1654 Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard, is forced to resign because of his Baptist views.
- 1661–1664 British parliament passes acts that exclude and penalize Baptists and other Nonconformists.
- 1665 Thomas Goold organizes the first Baptist church in Boston.
- 1682 First Baptist Church is formed in Kittery, Maine, then moves to South Carolina, becoming the first Baptist church in the South.
- 1707 Congregations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey unite to form the Philadelphia Baptist Association (PBA).
- 1727 Free Will Baptists are founded in North Carolina.

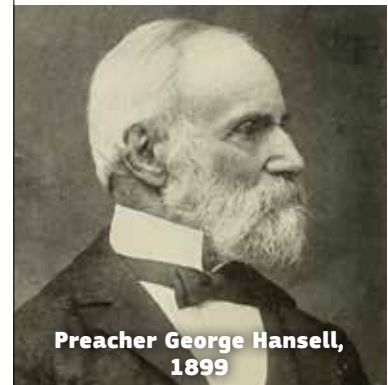
- 1740s First Great Awakening prompts Baptist growth.
- 1750 Silver Bluff Baptist Church is founded in South Carolina, the US's oldest African American church.
- 1755 PBA organizes a home missions program, alarming Baptists who fear too much organization.
- 1764 Baptists found the school later called Brown University, only the seventh institution of higher education founded in the colonies.
- 1773 Isaac Backus publishes *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty*.
- 1780 Another line of Free Will Baptists is organized in New Hampshire.
- 1802 Thomas Jefferson writes to the Danbury Baptists.
- 1812 Adoniram and Ann Judson and Luther Rice leave for India as Congregationalists but become convinced of Baptist doctrine.
- 1814 Triennial Convention is formed in Philadelphia.
- 1815 Two black Baptist ministers, Lott Carey and Collin Teague, and a



First Baptist Church, Methuen, Massachusetts

white deacon, William Crane, form the first black mission society. It sends Carey and Teague to Liberia.

- 1822 Baptist preacher William Miller announces the coming end of the world, beginning the Millerite movement.



Preacher George Hansell, 1899

- 1827 *Kehukee Association Declaration* signals the rise of Primitive or Hard Shell Baptists.
- 1832 Triennial Convention establishes Home Mission Society.
- 1833 Triennial Baptists approve *New Hampshire Confession of Faith*.
- 1840 American Baptist Missionary Convention, the first black Baptist convention, is formed.
- 1844 In the “Millerites’ Great Disappointment,” the world does not end on October 22.
- 1845 Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) is formed.
- 1846 Free Will Baptists license Ruby Knapp Bixby as the first licensed female Baptist preacher in the US.
- 1851 Landmarker Movement arises, arguing that Baptists trace back to the New Testament.

NEW ENGLAND MAP—GRANGER / ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
 FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH—ERASERGIRL / CC BY SA 3.0 / WIKIMEDIA
 GEORGE HANSELL—AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, 1899 / LIBRARY OF CONGRESS / WIKIMEDIA

How a small group of English dissenters ended up transforming American religion

From the Association of Religion Data Archives, the Baptist History and Heritage Society, and other sources

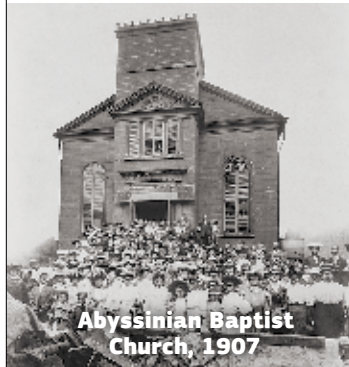
AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCH—GRANGER / GRANGER—ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
JUDY BONTHUM—Mennonite Board of Missions Photograph Collection. MISSION TO COLORADO, IV-10-7.2 BOX 2 FOLDER 39, PHOTO #30.MENNONITE CHURCH USA ARCHIVES—GOSHEN, INDIANA / WIKIMEDIA
JAMES FORBES SPEAKING—PHOTO BY SCOTT GRIESEL, CC BY-SA 2.0

- 1854 Baptist preacher Charles Spurgeon becomes pastor of the New Park Street Chapel in London.
- 1866 AMBC and other black-led conventions form the Consolidated American Baptist Convention to help black Baptists set up state conventions free of white interference.
- 1873 Lottie Moon goes to China.
- 1891 Southern Baptists form a Sunday school board, today the Christian bookstore chain LifeWay.
- 1895 National Baptist Convention U.S.A. (NBCU) forms out of three smaller African American groups.
- 1900 Nannie Helen Burroughs delivers speech “How the Sisters Are Hindered from Helping.”
- 1905 Baptist World Alliance forms in London.
- 1907 Northern Baptist Convention (NBC) is formed; pastor Walter Rauschenbusch publishes *Christianity and the Social Crisis*.



Missionary Judy Bonthum, 1961

- 1909 Burroughs founds the National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, DC.
- 1910 *The Fundamentals* begins publication.

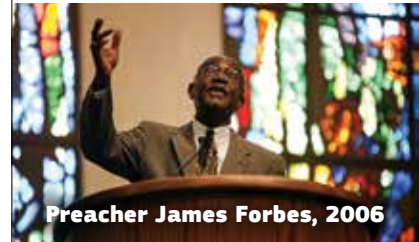


Abyssinian Baptist Church, 1907

- 1916 The NBCU splits over issues related to the Publishing Board.
- 1923 William Bell Riley, “The Grand Old Man of Fundamentalism,” sets up the Anti-Evolution League of Minnesota and the Baptist Bible Union.
- 1926 Pastor J. Frank Norris is acquitted of murdering Dexter Chippo on grounds of self-defense.
- 1933 Norris founds the Premillennial Missionary Baptist Fellowship to protest SBC modernism.
- 1935 Two different streams of Free Will Baptists form the National Association of Free Will Baptists.
- 1939 SBC, NBC, and NBCU jointly sign the *American Baptist Bill of Rights* as a statement of religious liberty.
- 1947 Billy Graham holds his first crusade; he will hold over 400 in 185 countries and retire in 2005.
- 1950 NBC renames itself American Baptist Convention (ABC).
- 1961 Pat Robertson founds Christian Broadcasting Network; Progressive National Baptist Convention leaves the NBCU; Ralph

Elliott publishes *The Message of Genesis*.

- 1963 A bomb at 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, kills four young girls; responses to Elliott prompt the *Baptist Faith and Message* statement by the SBC.
- 1964 Watts Street Baptist Church in North Carolina ordains Addie Davis, the first woman pastor ordained by the SBC.
- 1968 Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated.
- 1971 Jerry Falwell founds Liberty University.



Preacher James Forbes, 2006

- 1972 ABC changes its name to American Baptist Churches USA.
- 1976 Jimmy Carter is elected president after referring to himself as “born-again” while campaigning.
- 1979 At the SBC’s annual convention, conservatives are elected to key positions.
- 1984 SBC delegates pass a resolution against women pastors.
- 1987 Alliance of Baptists is formed by SBC liberals.
- 1991 Cooperative Baptist Fellowship is formed by SBC moderates.
- 1995 SBC issues 150th-anniversary resolution on racial reconciliation.



Attempting great things for God

BAPTISTS SPREAD THE GOOD NEWS AROUND THE WORLD

Melody Maxwell

“YOUNG MAN, SIT DOWN! When God pleases to convert the heathen, he will do it without your aid or mine!” With this exclamation an older British Baptist pastor reportedly silenced William Carey’s missions plea at a meeting in the late eighteenth century.

Whether the conversation really happened or not, most Protestants of the time did not prioritize missions. But Carey (1761–1834), a bivocational cobbler and minister, had other ideas; his slogan was “Expect great things from God—attempt great things for God!” In his workshop he hung a large map of the world and wrote information on it about peoples who had not heard the Gospel. In 1792 Carey and his friends gathered in Kettering, England, and formed the Baptist Missionary Society. The next year Carey and his family set sail for India, where he served for more than 40 years. The modern missionary movement had begun.

Carey’s organization, modeled on the concept of the overseas trading company, introduced a new paradigm for mission work. Protestants soon formed dozens of similar societies. Advances in travel and trade meant

ZEAL FOR CHRIST Missions concerned Baptists globally; here British missionaries conduct a baptism in the Congo.

new regions of the world were accessible—and people there needed to hear the Gospel. Baptists, captivated by this vision and by stories from missionaries like Carey, became ardent supporters of global missions.

“ESTIMATED BY MY MERITS”

Baptists in the United States have traditionally considered their first missionaries to be Adoniram (1788–1850) and Ann (1789–1826) Judson, who departed in 1812 (see p. 28). However African Americans had embarked on cross-cultural ministries even before official missionary societies were organized. Among them were escaped slaves protected by the British during the Revolutionary War, who feared re-enslavement after the American victory.

As early as 1782, pioneer African American pastor George Liele left the United States for Jamaica. Initially living as an indentured servant to pay for his

family's passage, Liele supported himself as a farmer and driver after regaining his freedom. He also continued his intense evangelistic efforts, writing by 1791, "I have baptized 400 in Jamaica." Liele endured repeated imprisonments but never wavered from his missionary endeavors. Thousands of Jamaicans were eventually converted as a result of his ministry.

One of Liele's early converts, David George (c. 1743–1810), accepted the Gospel as a freed man in Georgia and founded the first African American Baptist church. In 1782 he and others fled with British help to Nova Scotia, where George continued pastoral ministry despite persecution. Ten years later George and his family immigrated to Sierra Leone along with other former slaves. There he established the first-known Baptist presence in Africa and even convinced the Baptist Missionary Society to support his efforts for a time.

Other freed slaves migrated to Liberia. One, Lott Carey (1780–1828), helped found the Richmond African Missionary Society, which assisted with his passage to Liberia in 1821. He explained, "I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits, and not my complexion; and I feel bound to labor for my suffering race." The influential Carey established the first Baptist church in Liberia, which drew fellow immigrants as well as indigenous Liberians. Later an African American mission society was named in his memory.

ORGANIZING FOR MISSIONS

Congregationalists created the first missionary society in the United States in 1810, and two years later the Judsons and Luther Rice (1783–1836) sailed to India under its auspices. Knowing that they would meet Baptist missionary William Carey upon their arrival, the trio studied what the Bible said about baptism. To their surprise they found themselves siding with the Baptist position and were baptized as adults on the journey.

They subsequently resigned from the Congregationalist board and lost financial backing. A shaken but determined Adoniram wrote, "Whether the Baptist churches in America will be compassionate about my situation, I know not." While the Judsons established their mission in Burma, Rice returned to the United States in the hopes of enlisting Baptist support for their ministry. He traveled thousands of miles by horseback and stagecoach to make his plea to churches.

Thanks to Rice, in 1814 Baptists across the United States joined together for the first time to form the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions (commonly known as the Triennial Convention) to support the Judsons and others. American Baptists had rejected previous efforts to unite them, so this was significant. The cause of missions was a priority for Baptists across the country.



PIONEER PREACHER Baptist Nancy Jones was the first black single female missionary commissioned by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The Triennial Convention soon began sending domestic as well as foreign missionaries. Pioneer missionary John Mason Peck (1789–1858) arrived in Missouri Territory in 1817, explaining that "ever since I have thought upon the subject of missions, I have had my eye upon the people west of the Mississippi."

He soon organized churches, Sunday schools, mission societies, and Bible societies, persevering despite a drop in funding and the opposition of antimissionary Baptists. Peck later helped organize the American Baptist Home Mission Society, with 150 home missionaries in the field by 1836. They served among Native Americans, frontier settlers, immigrants, African Americans, and others.

The debate about slavery that split the United States also divided Baptist missions advocates. Northern Baptist abolitionists and Southern Baptist slaveholders struggled for control of the Triennial Convention, which attempted to remain neutral. After the convention refused to appoint a Georgia slaveholder as a missionary, southerners pulled out and formed the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845. Again missions took priority: the SBC's stated purpose was "for the propagation of the gospel," and it quickly established foreign and domestic mission boards. Both Southern

A trumpet call for China: Lottie Moon

Lottie Moon was born in 1840 in Virginia, where she grew up on Viewmont Plantation not far from Monticello. From a wealthy family, Moon enjoyed the advantages of an outstanding education and became one of the first women in the South to complete coursework for a master's degree. She knew seven different languages and sometimes read the New Testament in its original Greek.

The death of Lottie's father and the Civil War hurt the fortunes of the Moon family, and Lottie began working as a teacher. As a young woman, she also committed her life to Christ. When the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board appointed her younger sister Edmonia (1851–1908) as a missionary to China, Lottie took note. Now that the board had begun sending single women overseas, Lottie wanted to be part of this group. In 1873 she set sail for China, a country her sister would soon leave but where Lottie would spend nearly 40 years.

In China, Moon taught in girls' schools, evangelized in towns and villages, and opened a mission station in the country's interior—an unusual role for a single woman. Over time she adopted Chinese dress and grew to love the people of China.

Moon famously wrote hundreds of letters to Southern Baptists, urging them to support international missions. She wrote, "Could a Christian woman possibly desire higher honor than to be permitted to go from house to house and tell of a savior to those who have never heard his name?" Later she urged, "Oh! That my words could be as a trumpet call, stirring the hearts of my brethren and sisters to pray, to labor, to give themselves to this people."

Moon's efforts led to the formation of the Woman's Missionary Union and the establishment of what became known as the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering, which has raised more than \$2 billion for missions. Lottie Moon died in 1912, having given her all for Christ. More than a century later, she remains the most famous Southern Baptist missionary of all time.—*Melody Maxwell*



HOLD YOUR BREATH Missionaries baptize converts in Russia in about 1960.

and Northern Baptists sent growing numbers of missionaries to China, India, West Africa, and other places.

BAPTIST WOMEN GET INVOLVED

Women had supported Baptist missions endeavors from their beginnings, praying for missionaries and giving small sums of money they were able to save. In fact a Baptist woman, Mary Webb (1779–1861), created the first female missionary society in the United States. Despite having suffered paralysis as a child which forced her into a wheelchair, the 21-year-old Webb organized women in Boston to "contribute their mite." Other Baptist women formed similar societies. In South Carolina, for example, Heph-zibah Jenkins Townsend (1780–1847) led women to bake and sell bread to support missions work among the Catawba Indians.

These efforts multiplied in the second half of the nineteenth century as the idea of "woman's work for woman" emerged among many Protestant denominations. Northern Baptist Helen Barrett Montgomery (see "Preachers, organizers, trailblazers," pp. 36–40) explained the motivation:

Men were shut out from ministry [to women] by the iron bars of custom. . . . The missionary wife at best could give only a fragment of her strength and time to the work; then why not send out women to minister to the uncounted millions of women in non-Christian lands?

In the 1870s Northern Baptist women organized home and foreign missionary societies in Boston and Chicago. Southern Baptist women established a national organization in 1888. These societies supported and sent female missionaries, especially single women. The Woman's Baptist Missionary Society in 1878 supported 35 female missionaries in locations such as Burma, Japan, and India. Women's missionary societies also published magazines, led fund-raising campaigns, and provided thousands of women with leadership

FROM TEA TO HORSES Baptist missionaries Lenna Medling (*right*) in Japan and J. G. Chaistain (*below*) in Mexico were among many who spread the Gospel worldwide.

experience. Helen Barrett Montgomery and Lucy Peabody (1861–1949)—both Northern Baptists—led the interdenominational woman’s missionary movement, speaking and writing to tens of thousands.

Among Southern Baptist women, Lottie Moon (1840–1912; see sidebar) was the most revered missionary of this era. Moon, a brilliant woman from a privileged background, spent nearly 40 years serving in China. She witnessed to thousands of people, pioneered ministry in new areas, and urged Southern Baptists to engage in missions. “I would I had a thousand lives,” Moon wrote, “that I might give them to . . . China.” Moon’s counterpart, Annie Armstrong (see “Preachers, organizers, trailblazers,” pp. 36–40), remained in the United States and encouraged missions support.

African American Baptist women also participated. Under the leadership of Nannie Helen Burroughs (see “Preachers, organizers, trailblazers,” pp. 36–40), the Women’s Convention was formed in 1900. It raised funds for missions, published missions material, and trained African American women for missions and ministry. Women such as Eliza Davis George (1879–1979) dedicated their lives to missionary service.

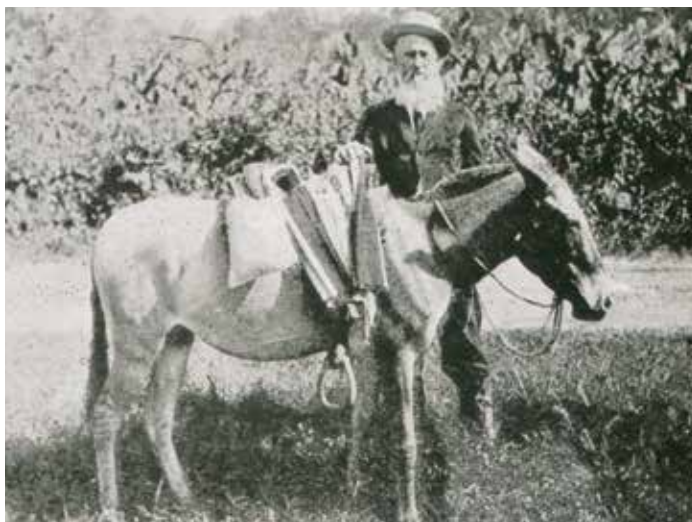
George, a Texan, declared, “I believe my life’s work is not in America, but Africa, and that’s where I must go.” “Mother Eliza” spent more than 50 years in Liberia, leading a school where children learned the Bible alongside vocational skills like farming.

When the National Baptist Convention asked her to retire at age 65, George refused, believing that her ministry was not complete. She became the first African American woman to establish her own mission organization, the Elizabeth Native Interior Mission. In 1971, the year before George returned to the United States for good, a visitor wrote:

I met Mother George at the Evangelical Negro Industrial Mission deep in the bush at the age of 91. Her ministry was vast. She was almost blind. She walked with a walking stick. She had a larger tropical cancer on her leg, and she was still pressing the claims of Christ.

A GLOBAL PEOPLE

By the twentieth century, Baptist missionaries served on every inhabited continent in the world. They often



evangelized, taught school, or worked in hospitals, although many mission institutions were turned over to nationals in the midcentury. Gradually justice ministries and church planting among unreached people became more popular.

By the century’s end, Southern Baptists sent more missionaries than any other American denomination. Some Baptist missionaries also served through interdenominational organizations or independently. Nearly all Baptist churches in America supported missions in some way, with many sending short-term mission teams. In addition Baptists in former mission fields became mobilizers and missionaries themselves as missions expanded “to everywhere and from everywhere.” In the two centuries since the first Baptist missionaries set sail, Baptists had proven themselves to be a truly global people. ■

Melody Maxwell is assistant professor of Christian studies at Howard Payne University and the author of two books on Baptist women, The Woman I Am and Torches in the Corridor.



BURMA LOVE STORY Adoniram and Ann Judson were 19th-c. celebrities, inspiring thousands to greater devotion to missions.

24 and 22, and immediately set sail for India.

CONGREGATIONALIST TO BAPTIST

On their long voyage, the Judsons studied the Bible and embraced Baptist convictions. Ann wrote in her journal: "I have been examining the subject of baptism for sometime past, and, contrary to my prejudices and my wishes, am compelled to believe, that believers' baptism alone is found in Scripture." American Baptists organized the Triennial Convention to support their unexpected new missionaries.

The Judsons settled in Burma and embarked upon Bible translation and evangelism efforts. They endured multiple challenges: illness, living in a foreign culture, their children's deaths, and Adoniram's imprisonment. Soon after

All for Burma: Adoniram and the three Mrs. Judsons

Adoniram Judson couldn't sleep. In fact, the noises coming from the room next door were so disturbing that he feared for the life of the person there. When morning broke, 20-year-old Judson learned from the innkeeper that a man had indeed died of an illness in the neighboring room overnight. Judson was stunned to discover that this man had been none other than his college friend Jacob Eames.

As a student Eames had led Judson to doubt his childhood faith. Now, reeling from Eames's untimely death, Judson reconsidered his commitment to God. He soon enrolled in seminary and dedicated himself to missions service. In 1810 he and his classmates established the country's first mission society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (a Congregationalist group).

Visiting the Hasseltine home as part of this effort, Judson was smitten with the family's youngest daughter, Ann. He soon proposed marriage, asking Ann's father:

whether you can consent to part with your daughter early next spring, to see her no more in this world . . . whether you can consent to her exposure to every kind of want and distress; to degradation, insult, persecution, and perhaps a violent death. Can you consent to all this, for the sake of him who left his heavenly home and died for her and for you; for the sake of perishing immortal souls; for the sake of Zion, and the glory of God?

Ann and her family struggled with this request, ultimately deciding to trust her future to God. Adoniram and Ann were married in 1812 at the ages of

Adoniram was released from captivity, Ann, who had sacrificed her health for his welfare, passed away at age 36. Her sacrifice and the many letters she had written home to curious audiences describing their endeavors made her one of the most beloved missionary heroines America has ever known.

After an extended period of mourning, Judson resumed his missionary work in a different part of Burma. In 1834 he married Sarah Boardman (1803–1845), the widow of another American missionary there. Together they evangelized and translated the Bible among the Burmese and the Karen peoples. After 11 years and the birth of eight children, Sarah too died, a victim of a "wasting disease," one of many illnesses that so often ravaged early missionary communities.

Judson returned to the United States on furlough and commissioned popular author Emily Chubbuck (1817–1854) to write a biography of Sarah. Soon, to the surprise of many, Adoniram and Emily announced their engagement. Some Americans were scandalized at the idea of Judson marrying a much younger woman whose vocation did not seem as honorable as those of his previous wives. However the pair married and served happily together in Burma until Adoniram's death in 1850. Emily passed away four years later.

The legacy of Adoniram and the three Mrs. Judsons encouraged thousands of Americans to faithful Christian commitment and led many to serve as missionaries themselves. —*Melody Maxwell. For more on the lives of the Judsons, see Christian History issue #90.*



Multiplying by dividing (again)

BAPTISTS WRESTLE WITH FUNDAMENTALISM AND LIBERALISM

Bill J. Leonard

BAPTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES entered the twentieth century at the top of their game. One of the country's largest Protestant groups, they were heirs of religious awakenings across the previous century: camp meetings, seasonal revivals, and urban evangelistic crusades. Their missionary endeavors spanned the globe, and they maintained colleges and universities across the nation. The oft-ridiculed, sometimes-persecuted colonial sect had become a powerful fixture in American religious life.

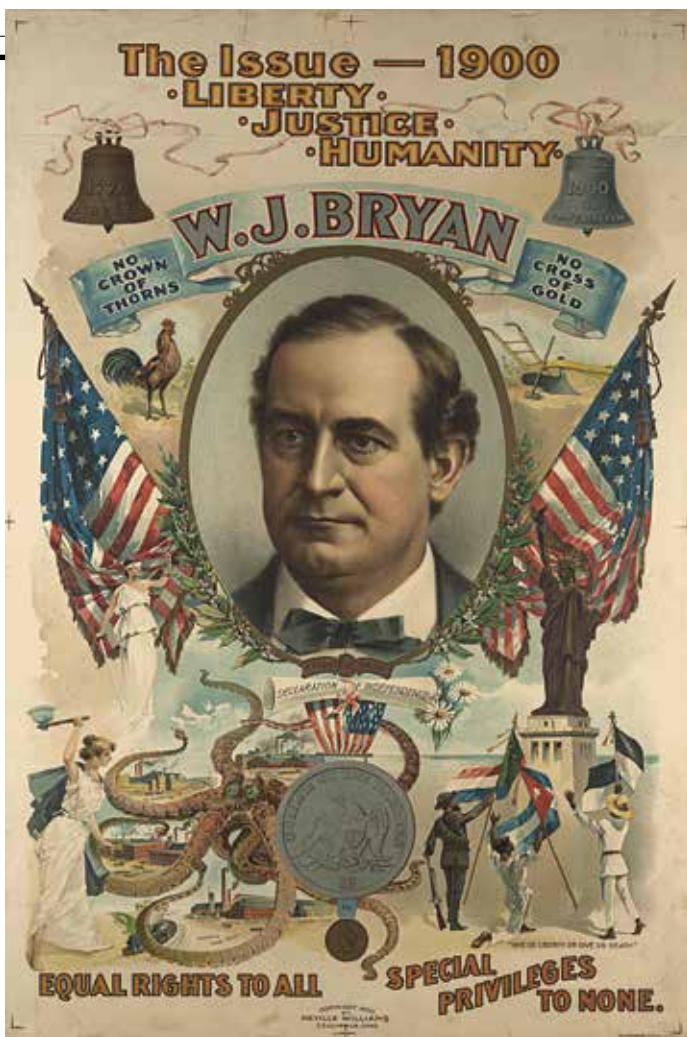
FREE TO UNITE, FREE TO DIVIDE

Baptists “multiply by dividing,” so the saying goes. They unite around the concept of a believers’ church composed of those who testify to an experience of God’s grace through Jesus Christ, symbolized by believers’ baptism. Yet corresponding emphases on congregational autonomy, the priesthood of all believers, and freedom of conscience, plus the Calvinist-Arminian divide, create the possibility of division over issues ranging from Scripture’s authority to the

STILL COMMITTED, STILL BAPTIZING Primitive Baptists in Morehead, Kentucky, head to the creek for a baptism.

color of paint for the fellowship hall. As the twentieth century began, earlier schisms over slavery and the Civil War remained festering wounds, extended by the South’s Jim Crow segregation and the North’s growing passion for Social Gospel progressivism. Baptist pastor and Rochester Theological Seminary professor Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918) envisioned a Social Gospel movement by which Christ’s kingdom, “humanity organized according to the will of God,” would gradually transform individuals and society.

Meanwhile Baptist pastor William Miller’s 1840s claim that Christ’s second coming would soon occur had helped popularize the premillennialist idea that the Savior was on the verge of dramatically establishing a 1,000-year reign of peace. Jesus tarried but premillennialism became a major component of early fundamentalist belief and preaching.



These dueling perceptions set the stage for disputes. Though the 1910s booklet series *The Fundamentals* was actually conceived by a Presbyterian, its effects rippled through many denominations, including Baptists. Fueled by charismatic personalities, these controversies divided congregations and often spawned new Baptist coalitions.

Left-of-center Baptists understood themselves as “Christocentric liberals,” applying new discoveries in theology, philosophy, and science to Christian truth. They accepted biological evolution, historical-critical methods for biblical studies, the findings of modern sciences, the benevolence of the God revealed in Jesus, and the progressive goodness of human nature. In *The Faith of Modernism* (1924), Shailer Mathews (1863–1941), Baptist dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School, wrote,

Modernists are thus evangelical Christians who use modern methods to meet modern needs. Confessionalism is the evangelicalism of the dogmatic mind. Modernism is the evangelicalism of the scientific mind.

Since all truth is God’s truth, Mathews and others argued, Christians need not fear new knowledge and scientific discoveries.

STRANGE LEGACY William Jennings Bryan successfully prosecuted Scopes in his trial for teaching evolution, but the verdict was overturned on a technicality.

Augustus H. Strong (1836–1921), another longtime professor at Rochester, maintained a concern for divine sovereignty and biblical authority while exploring the insights of evolution and the historical-critical method of biblical studies. But by the 1920s, William Louis Poteat (1856–1938), science professor and president of North Carolina’s Baptist-related Wake Forest College, illustrated progressivism by teaching evolution to undergraduates, encouraging Baptists not to fear scientific investigation because Jesus Christ is “the theme, origin, and end of all truth.”

“WHAT IMMEASURABLE FOLLY”

These views began to trouble fundamentalists. Liberal Baptist pastor Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878–1969) became a continuing target; his 1922 sermon “Shall the Fundamentalists Win?” only exacerbated the ire. Responding to the escalating controversy, he called for tolerance, even as he insisted that

Fundamentalists propose to drive out from the Christian churches all the consecrated souls who do not agree with their theory of inspiration. What immeasurable folly!

“A fundamentalist is an evangelical that is angry about something,” historian George Marsden once observed. Baptist fundamentalists directed this outrage initially toward two targets: Charles Darwin (1809–1882) and the historical-critical method of biblical studies developed in nineteenth-century Europe. Both, they believed, challenged biblical authority and veracity.

Darwin’s *Origin of Species* (1859) undermined the Genesis accounts of creation, the traditional Christian doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* (out of nothing), and the belief that humanity was created in the divine image. The infamous Scopes Trial, conducted in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925, centered around John Scopes’s decision to teach evolution in his science classes, violating Tennessee’s anti-evolution law. Famed lawyer Clarence Darrow (1857–1938) defended Scopes with ACLU support, while the prosecution secured William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), nationally known orator and erstwhile presidential candidate. Fire-breathing Baptist evangelist T. T. Martin (1862–1939), known for his popular creationist book, *Hell and the High Schools* (1923), conducted a revival in Dayton during the trial (see issue 107, *Debating Darwin*).

Likewise the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation—which analyzes textual language, dating, and editorial intent—was thought to place sacred writ on the same level as other literature. In

SHALL THE LIBERALS WIN? Baptist fundamentalists protested against the Social Gospel and liberalism as preached by Rauschenbusch (*near right*) and Fosdick (*far right*).

The Fundamentals, Baptist professor J. J. Reeve linked evolution and “the Critical Movement,” calling them “fundamentally anti-supernatural and anti-miraculous.”

Fundamentalists defended a set of 14 nonnegotiable doctrinal fundamentals, which they asserted as a historic Christian response to modernism. Five points have endured as definitive of the movement: 1) biblical inerrancy; 2) Christ’s virgin birth; 3) his substitutionary atonement, taking upon himself the punishment deserved by sinful humanity; 4) his bodily resurrection; 5) his literal second coming.



THE TEXAS TORNADO

In the South J. Frank Norris—a fierce populist called “the Texas Tornado”—brought monkeys into the pulpit to attack evolution and declared that preachers who take “the Bible allegorically and figuratively” preach “an allegorical gospel which is no gospel.” Norris accused even the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) of harboring liberals, ultimately departing to lead a movement of Independent Baptists who affirmed the Five Points and the absolute autonomy of every Baptist congregation. They rejected institutionalism, particularly “unbiblical” mission boards, preferring to fund and commission missionaries from each congregation.

Independent clergy formed loose-knit pastor-coalitions including the Baptist Bible Fellowship, the Premillennial Baptist Missionary Fellowship, the World Baptist Fellowship, and the Southwide Baptist Fellowship. Most insisted that Baptists are the only true church, in direct succession from New Testament congregations. They also pledged to avoid all contact with liberals. Thus many boycotted Billy Graham’s evangelistic crusades because he permitted Roman Catholic and mainline Protestant clergy to participate in those gatherings.

Independent Baptists were aggressively evangelistic, building some of America’s first megachurches. Many founded their own Bible schools, suspicious of liberal influence on traditional colleges and seminaries. William Bell Riley (1861–1947), pastor of First Baptist Church, Minneapolis, founded the Northwestern Bible School (1935) and college (1943); Billy Graham succeeded him as president in 1947.

Riley attempted to purge the Northern Baptist Convention of liberals and to require a denominational confession of faith for missionaries and professors at

NBC-funded schools. When the denomination rejected those efforts, a frustrated Riley moved toward the World Christian Fundamentalist Association, a Baptist-dominated group that had funded Bryan’s work in the Scopes Trial and promoted fundamentalism in numerous denominations. This laid the foundation for a formal NBC schism and the formation of the Conservative Baptist Association of America in 1947.

While the SBC also lost members to Independent Baptists, it avoided formal schism because of its long history of conservatism, a leadership that resisted fundamentalism, and its emphasis on evangelism and religious experience as the source of unity. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary president E. Y. Mullins (1860–1928) contributed an essay to *The Fundamentals* in which he linked doctrinal orthodoxy with the experience of regeneration.

The SBC essentially deferred schism until the 1980s when a conservative coalition executed a doctrinal “course correction” (see “That’s where I used to go to church,” pp. 32–35). In the same period, many Independent Baptists such as Jerry Falwell would join forces with the Religious Roundtable and the Moral Majority. Northern Baptists continued to resist fundamentalist approaches, promoting policies that have made them one of the country’s most racially diverse Baptist groups. Today Baptists are the second-largest Christian group in the United States after Roman Catholics. Perhaps “multiply by dividing” is the best description after all. ■

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WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH—GRANGER / GRANGER; ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK—PAUL FEARN / ALAMY; STOCK PHOTO



“That’s where I used to go to church”

BLACK BAPTISTS AND WHITE BAPTISTS SHARED SOMETHING IMPORTANT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A PENCHANT FOR SPLITTING

Barry Hankins

A FAMOUS JOKE: A Baptist was stranded on a remote island for 20 years. When rescuers finally got to him, they found he had built three structures. When they asked him about them, the man pointed to one building and said, “That’s my house.” “And over there?” the rescuers asked. “That’s my church,” the stranded man replied. “I’m Baptist and take my faith quite seriously.” “And over there? What is the third building?” the rescuers asked. “Oh,” said the man. “That’s where I used to go to church before the split.”

BLACK BAPTISTS BREAKING UP

White and black Baptists in America generally worshiped together before the Civil War, because white slaveholders in the South feared to let blacks have their own churches, which might become centers of agitation for freedom. It was dangerous to let slaves read the story of Moses leading the Hebrew people out of bondage, slaveholders thought: they might take the Bible literally and interpret the Israelites’ redemption story

DEMANDS OF BAPTISTS AND OTHERS Civil rights protestors march on Washington, DC, in 1963.

as a promise of their own freedom. Where African Americans were permitted their own churches, a white preacher presided over the congregation.

Even so, by some estimates, when the white Southern Baptist Convention came into existence in 1845, there were more black than white Baptists in the South. Immediately after the Civil War, they demanded their own independent churches and began to form associations, mission societies, and in the 1890s the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc. (NBCU). By 1900 it had become the largest black organization of any kind in America and remains so today.

But the NBCU split in 1915, producing the National Baptist Convention of America Unincorporated, which is now the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc. In 1988 another split produced the



National Missionary Baptist Convention of America. And throughout most of the twentieth century, the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention functioned as yet another major black Baptist denomination—to say nothing of smaller black Baptist bodies and independent Baptist churches.

Initially black Baptist schism occurred over organizational or sociological issues rather than theology. The 1915 split, for example, centered largely on control of the publishing company that produced Sunday school material and hymnbooks. But the racial turbulence of the 1950s and 60s led to significant political and religious schisms in black Baptist churches. Nearly a century after the abolition of slavery, a rift formed over how African Americans should pursue equality with whites.

“SHALL GRADUALISM BE APPLIED?”

Martin Luther King Jr.’s Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, was affiliated with the NBCU. After Rosa Parks’s famous arrest on December 1, 1955, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leaders, including Parks, met in King’s home. They called for the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956. Dexter Avenue Baptist served as the headquarters for organizing the protests against segregation in Montgomery’s city transit system.

In September of 1956, as the bus boycott continued, the NBCU held a symposium on civil rights at its annual meeting in Denver, debating “National Baptists Facing Integration: Shall gradualism be applied?” Gradualism is the idea that African Americans must be patient and move slowly toward equality with whites. Following the panel King denounced gradualism in a sermon; many at the convention responded enthusiastically. But NBCU president Joseph H. Jackson (1900–1990) was

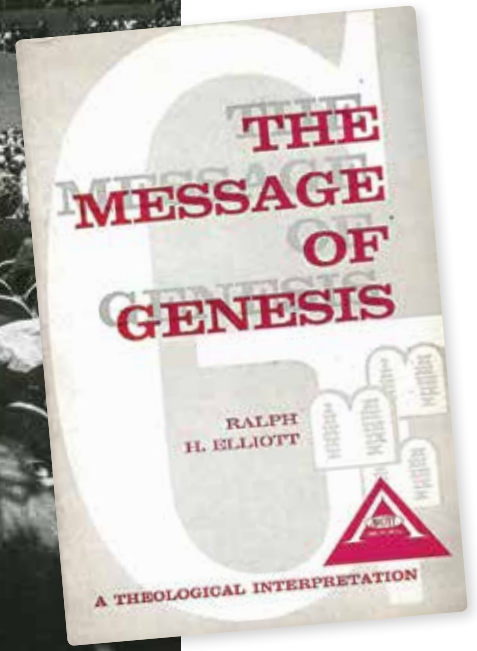
A DREAM AND A SCHISM *Left:* Martin Luther King Jr. preaches in 1965. The Montgomery bus boycott he and Rosa Parks led (at *right*, an almost-empty bus during the boycott) ended up sparking a controversy among black Baptists.

a gradualist, and he bristled at King’s growing popularity, allegedly responding, “We must not crown our heroes too quickly.” The *New York Times* would much later report him as saying: “The answer to racial confusion is the Bible,” which was something white Southern Baptists were also fond of saying.

Jackson had pastored the Olivet Baptist Church on the South Side of Chicago since 1941; by the time of his death, the church would boast over 20,000 members, double the membership when he became pastor. Until King and civil rights became a national phenomenon, Jackson had been the best-known and most influential black Baptist preacher in America, becoming president of the NBC in 1953 with King’s support.

Following Parks’s arrest Jackson at first favored the movement, sending money from the NBCU and from Olivet Baptist and even offering to purchase a bus to help transport African Americans who were boycotting the transit system. After the 1956 symposium, however, Jackson and King became bitter enemies. Some of King’s supporters even urged him to attempt to unseat Jackson from the presidency.

When Jackson’s fourth term as president of the NBCU expired, his supporters tried to keep him in office in violation of the four-term limit, and the issue landed in court where Jackson prevailed. King and other civil rights activists like Ralph Abernathy (1926–1990) threw their support to Gardner C. Taylor (1918–2015) of Brooklyn’s Concord Baptist Church of Christ. Taylor was a close friend of King; he would ultimately serve



the church for years, author numerous books, and be named the “dean of American preaching” in 1980 by *Time*.

In many ways this debate was nothing new. Following the Civil War, some had favored separation from white Baptists, while others favored cooperation. In the early twentieth century, Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) and W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) represented similar positions: Washington, like Jackson, was the gradualist, advocating economic training and opportunity rather than direct action to end segregation and discrimination. Du Bois, by contrast, would accept nothing short of complete equality in all spheres of life.

The NBCU exploded in controversy at its 1961 meeting in Kansas City. With both Jackson and Taylor claiming the presidency, the debate devolved into a violent melee in which pastor A. G. Wright from Detroit was knocked from the platform and rushed to the hospital with a severe head injury. He died the next morning.

Jackson emerged victorious once again, while blaming King for the violence. At Wright’s funeral Jackson referred to King as one of the “hoodlums and crooks in the pulpit today.” Taylor had initially pledged his support to Jackson, but soon he, King, Abernathy, and others bolted the NBCU and formed a separate denomination called the Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC).

A THEOLOGICAL FIGHT

While the black Baptist schism of 1961 was political, it was also a dispute about the proper role of the church in politics. White Baptists fought about politics too. But the white Southern Baptist controversy that erupted in 1979 was more clearly rooted in theology. It was

MESSAGES AND MESSENGERS *Left*: SBC messengers (delegates) meet in 1973, before the conservative shift. The controversy was earlier foreshadowed by a 1961 fight over Ralph Elliott’s historical-critical exegesis in *The Message of Genesis* (above).

arguably the most significant church schism of the twentieth century, given that it happened in America’s largest Protestant denomination, resulted in a complete turnover in power from moderates to conservatives, and had both theological and political consequences.

Conservative activists in the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) had been pestering the moderate leadership since the 1920s, charging that the SBC’s seminary professors and denominational officials were theological liberals who believed in evolution. The conservative movement did not get much traction until preacher and theologian Paige Patterson (b. 1942) and Texas judge Paul Pressler (b. 1930) began to organize in the late 1970s; they brought education, prestige, and organizational prowess to the conservative cause.

Patterson and Pressler determined that if they could elect a conservative to the SBC presidency for 10 consecutive years, they could completely remake the boards of all SBC agencies and the six Southern Baptist seminaries. They recruited Memphis megachurch pastor Adrian Rogers (1931–2005) to stand as the conservative candidate for the SBC presidency in 1979, and he was elected. Moderates thought this was another one-off, much like conservative W. A. Criswell’s presidency a decade earlier (see “Preachers, organizers, trailblazers,” pp. 36–40). It wasn’t. The moderates never again won the presidency. By 1992 the conservatives controlled all agencies and seminaries.

MULTIPLE PULPITS Paige Patterson, president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and a conservative leader, also served as SBC president in the 1990s.

Throughout the 1980s, as the controversy raged, the inerrancy of Scripture served as the conservative battle cry, building on the 1976 book *The Battle for the Bible* by Northern Baptist Harold Lindsell (1913–1998). Patterson, Pressler, and the many who joined them argued that moderate leaders either rejected inerrancy or were soft in its defense. This, they argued, would lead the SBC down the path toward theological liberalism, just as had happened in the Northern Baptist Convention in the early twentieth century.

Each year's convention turned into an electoral battle as conservative and moderate constituencies rallied around opposing candidates. SBC annual conventions had formerly been perfunctory business meetings, featuring worship and fellowship among "messengers" (delegates), many of whom were denominational employees. During the controversy the meetings morphed into highly contested events; before, 13,000 to 18,000 messengers might have shown up, but by 1985 in Dallas, roughly 45,000 attended.

In retrospect that 1985 convention served as the moderates' last stand. Unable to break the conservatives' six-year run of victories, the moderates found their cause beginning to decline and themselves systematically replaced by conservatives on boards and faculties.

That this all took place during the Reagan era gave momentum to the conservative cause; the entire South was flipping from solidly Democratic to almost uniformly Republican. Conservative political positions were often in play explicitly, most conspicuously around abortion. Following the *Roe v. Wade* decision of 1973, the Christian Life Commission, the SBC's political and ethical agency, had taken a softly pro-choice stand. It shepherded a number of abortion resolutions through SBC annual meetings, speaking of abortion as a grave ethical matter, but almost always supporting it as an option when the life or mental health of the woman was at issue.

Conservatives connected this human life issue to their emphasis on inerrancy. The average Southern Baptist had difficulty discerning exactly where and when a seminary professor might have denied the inerrancy of Scripture. But, when people said that an SBC leader was pro-choice on abortion, that average Southern Baptist was ready to march.

ORDINATION AND SUBMISSION

The ordination of women soon became an equally explosive issue. In 1993 Albert Mohler (b. 1959) became the first conservative president of Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville. He formed a four-part test for faculty hiring: belief in inerrancy and opposition



to abortion, homosexuality, and women's ordination. Moderates were particularly outraged by the women's ordination ban. A mass exodus followed, and the seminary faculty turned over almost completely. By the end of the decade, virtually no moderates were left on the faculty there or at the other five SBC seminaries.

In 1998 the SBC garnered front-page news in the *New York Times* and major coverage on secular TV news shows by adding to the SBC's confession of faith a statement calling a wife's submission to the headship of her husband the only biblically approved form of marriage. Two years later, with much less fanfare, conservatives added a clause officially rejecting women's ordination.

Yet, even while taking a leadership role on the conservative side of America's culture wars, Southern Baptist conservatives furthered the legacy of their moderate predecessors on race. In 1995 messengers voted overwhelmingly to adopt an apology for the denomination's racist past and a call for racial reconciliation. The resolution had been carefully crafted by eight white and eight black SBC pastors and leaders, all with impeccably conservative credentials.

Among the roughly 47,000 SBC churches, between 3,000 and 4,000 of them are predominately African American in membership and leadership today, making the SBC among America's most integrated denominations. But very few individual churches are integrated; this, of course, is true in the NBCU or any other black Baptist denomination as well. Black Baptists and white Baptists have shared much in common, including a penchant for twentieth-century schism. But they still share very few pews. ■

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Preachers, organizers, trailblazers

SOME PASSIONATE MEN AND WOMEN YOU MAY NOT KNOW WHO CARRIED FORWARD THE BAPTIST TRADITION IN THE UNITED STATES

Mandy E. McMichael

ANNIE WALKER ARMSTRONG (1850–1938) founded the Women’s Missionary Union (WMU) of the Southern Baptist Church in 1888 in conjunction with other women from 12 states—though establishing a national women’s organization for missions did not come without opposition from male Southern Baptist leaders. Armstrong was elected its first corresponding secretary.

Known for her slogan “Go forward!,” Armstrong wrote letters (over 18,000 in one year) and traveled tirelessly to raise support for missionaries. She refused to address crowds that included men, believing that the Bible prohibited it, but she used her influence to promote Bible and missions education, including the publication of educational materials for African American Baptist women and children. Under her leadership offerings and prayer weeks for both home and foreign missions were established. She never accepted a salary.

FLAGBEARER Nannie Burroughs holds the banner of the Banner State Women’s Baptist Convention, c. 1905.

WMU’s annual Easter Offering was renamed the Annie Armstrong Easter Offering for Home Missions in 1934. To date it has collected over \$1 billion.

HELEN BARRETT MONTGOMERY (1861–1934), social reformer and preacher, dedicated time and resources to help women access education. She was the first woman to serve on the Rochester school board and helped start a local chapter of the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union with Susan B. Anthony. She also taught Sunday school at Lake Avenue Baptist Church for over 40 years, was a licensed Baptist minister, occasionally provided pulpit supply, and served as the first president of the Woman’s American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the first woman president of the National Baptist Convention. Her president’s address

NANNIE BURROUGHS—EVERETT COLLECTION HISTORICAL / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

HALL OF FAMER *Near right:* Annie Armstrong eventually made it into the Maryland Women's Hall of Fame.

SAY THAT AGAIN? *Far right:* Fannie Exile Heck owed her unusual middle name to her mother's feeling of "exile" from West Virginia due to the Civil War.

in 1922 arguably helped keep the denomination from schism.

With fellow Baptist Lucy Peabody (1861–1949), Montgomery threw herself into the cause of evangelism in the ecumenical women's missionary movement through the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, which published no fewer than 37 textbooks for local mission societies. Montgomery authored six and translated the New Testament into everyday language, publishing the *Centenary Translation* in 1924.



FANNIE EXILE SCUDDER HECK (1862–1915)

served as the president of the North Carolina Woman's Missionary Union from its beginning in 1886 until her death and also served several terms as national WMU president. She and Annie Armstrong disagreed over their roles; eventually Heck refused to serve as president until Armstrong stepped down as corresponding secretary.

Heck proved to be an incredibly strong president. She was instrumental in the founding of the Woman's Missionary Union Training School in Louisville, Kentucky, established age-level mission education programs in local churches, spearheaded a major fund-raising campaign during the WMU's twenty-fifth anniversary, wrote for numerous denominational publications, and authored the Woman's Missionary Union hymn, "Come, Women, Wide Proclaim." She became known in many Baptist circles, even delivering a speech at the Baptist World Alliance meeting in 1911.

After Heck's death the minutes of the Foreign Mission Board included a tribute: "She exhibited... delicate feminine modesty and strong leadership. Many will be under the spell of her life and devote themselves to her ideals." The WMU in North Carolina established an annual offering in her memory.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TRUETT (1867–1944) is best remembered as being pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas, Texas—for 47 years! Truett originally wanted to study law, but at Whitewright Baptist Church, congregants discovered his oratorical and teaching gifts and ordained him in 1890. As Baylor University's financial secretary, he raised \$92,000 to help Baylor pay off its debts. Only then did he attend Baylor as a student.

Under his leadership First Baptist Church grew from 700 members to 7,800. Services were broadcast on the radio; Truett preached revivals around the nation and was appointed by Woodrow Wilson to preach to troops in Europe in 1918. He also served as president of the SBC and the Baptist World Alliance. Many of his sermons and addresses were published, and he preached one, "Baptists and Religious Liberty," on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, DC, in 1920.

JOHN FRANKLYN "FRANK" NORRIS (1877–1952)

was converted at a revival meeting. His first church after seminary at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was McKinney Avenue Baptist Church in Dallas. He left that church in 1907 to become the editor of the *Baptist Standard*, but then left that post in 1909 to pastor First Baptist Church, Fort Worth, which he did until his death. From 1935 through 1950, he also pastored Temple Baptist Church in Detroit, Michigan, traveling by train and plane and enlisting the help of others.

In the 1920s Norris emerged as a leader in the fundamentalist movement in the United States. His attacks on Baylor University and on denominational leaders cost his church its seats at the Baptist General Convention of Texas, and Norris eventually broke ties with the Southern Baptist Church (SBC) which he saw as too modernist. He founded a group of independent Baptists (later the World Baptist Fellowship), helped start the Fundamental Bible Baptist Institute, and published a fundamentalist newspaper.

Norris made enemies among conservative evangelicals, liberals, Catholics, and fundamentalists—and was indicted for burning his own church on two separate occasions, as well as for libel and murder. The



last charge arose from his shooting Catholic lumberman Dexter Elliott Chipps in his church office in 1926; Chipps had stopped by to tell him to stop criticizing the Catholic mayor of Fort Worth. Norris escaped all but the libel charge, acquitted of murdering the unarmed Chipps on the grounds of self-defense, as Chipps had challenged him to a fight. Allegedly Norris called his wife after the shooting and told her, "I've just killed me a man."

NANNIE HELEN BURROUGHS (1879–1961) was a teacher, reformer, and leader in the National Baptist Convention (NBC). She wanted to teach in the District of Columbia, but the board of education would not hire her because of her race. Instead she found work in Philadelphia with the NBC's paper, the *Christian Banner*. In 1900 Burroughs accepted a position with the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) of the NBC; she would work with the denomination for the remainder of her life.

Burroughs delivered one of her most famous addresses, "How the Sisters Are Hindered from Helping," at the FMB's annual meeting in 1900, lamenting the lack of opportunities for African American women to serve in Baptist churches. This led to the founding of the Women's Convention (WC) auxiliary of the NBC. Burroughs served as its long-term corresponding secretary, traveling tirelessly to promote the cause and even addressing the first Baptist World Alliance meeting in London in 1905.



POWER COUPLE Above: Howard and Sue Thurman appear at an academic event in 1953.

TWO OF A KIND Left: J. Frank Norris (at right) poses with popular anti-evolution preacher J. Roach Straton.

But Burroughs's crowning achievement was founding a school for African American girls in Washington, DC, in 1909 with the support of the NBC and the WC. Burroughs became president of the National Training and Professional School for Women and Girls, a position she held until her death. A vocal supporter of civil rights, she invited Martin Luther King Jr. to speak to the WC (he accepted). She also spoke out against lynching and for suffrage. In 1964, three years after her death, the school renamed itself after her.

HOWARD WASHINGTON THURMAN (1899–1981) AND SUE BAILEY THURMAN (1903–1996) traveled, spoke, and advised the civil rights movement. Howard was a pastor, professor at Morehouse and Spelman, dean of the chapel at Howard University, pastor of the intentionally interracial Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples in San Francisco, and the first black dean of the chapel at Boston University. After the death of his first wife, Katie Kelley, he married Sue, who had trained as a teacher and musician at Oberlin College and already had a thriving lecture career. In 1935 they traveled to India and met Gandhi, a moment that committed them to nonviolence.

Sue founded the *Aframerican Women's Journal* and published countless articles and a cookbook highlighting African American experience. Howard wrote numerous books—*Jesus and the Disinherited* (1949) was his most famous—and influenced young Boston University doctoral student Martin Luther King Jr. Howard had known King's father at Morehouse.

Howard credited his once-enslaved grandmother for a profound influence on his life, writing in *Jesus and the Disinherited* about her refusal to let him read Paul's letters to her, "Always the white minister used as his text something from Paul. . . I promised my Maker that

Baptist Presidents and Vice Presidents

Richard M. Johnson (1780–1850; vice president to Martin Van Buren, 1837–1841) served as a US representative and a senator from Kentucky. He tried several times to establish a school for the Choctaw in cooperation with the Kentucky Baptist Society and the Baptist Missionary Society and fought for keeping Sunday mail delivery when the issue arose in Congress—calling the US government “a civil, and not a religious institution.”

Warren G. Harding (1865–1923; president, 1921–1923) served as Ohio’s governor and as a US senator; he died two and a half years into his presidential term and was replaced by Calvin Coolidge. He was the United States’ first Baptist president and remains the only one to be a Republican. Harding belonged to Trinity Baptist Church in his hometown of Marion, Ohio, but attended Calvary Baptist Church in Washington while president.

Harry S Truman (1884–1972; vice president to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1945; president, 1945–1953) replaced Henry Wallace as FDR’s vice president for FDR’s fourth term. After 82 days Roosevelt died, making Truman president. Raised in Presbyterian and Baptist churches, Truman was baptized as a Baptist in 1902 and belonged to the Grandview Baptist Church in Grandview, Missouri. He sometimes described himself as a “lightfoot Baptist” because of his love of non-Baptist recreations, but also wrote, “I’m a Baptist because I think that sect gives the common man the shortest and most direct approach to God.”

Nelson Rockefeller (1908–1979; vice president to Gerald Ford, 1974–1977) was governor of New York for over a decade. Ford appointed him vice president in 1974 when Nixon’s resignation made Ford the nation’s 38th president. Rockefeller’s father and grandfather were wealthy Baptist oil tycoons; his grandfather along with other Baptist investors refounded the University of Chicago in 1890, and his father was instrumental in the establishment of the nondenominational Riverside Church in New York in 1930.

Jimmy Carter (b. 1924; president, 1977–1981), governor of Georgia, belonged to the Plains Baptist Church in Plains, Georgia, for many years. In 1977 disagreement over whether Plains would allow African American membership led to a church split creating the Maranatha Baptist Church, which Carter joined after his presidency. As a deacon there, he still teaches a Sunday school class. In 2000 he announced that he was severing ties with the Southern Baptist Convention (though he continues to attend Maranatha, an SBC church), and in 2007 he helped found a progressive group called the New Baptist Covenant.



CIVIL RELIGION Baptists can claim politicians as different as Jimmy Carter (*top left* with Martin Luther King Sr.) and Nelson Rockefeller (*bottom right* with Reagan and Ford).

Bill Clinton (b. 1946; president, 1993–2001) served as the attorney general of Arkansas and as its governor. He was baptized at Park Place Baptist Church in Hope, Arkansas, in 1955 at the age of nine, but grew more distant from the church as a young adult. In 1980 he joined Immanuel Baptist Church in Little Rock, though as president he attended Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington with his wife Hillary. He joined with Carter to help found the New Baptist Covenant group.

Al Gore (b. 1948; vice president to Bill Clinton, 1993–2001) served as a US senator and representative from Tennessee. He grew up in the New Salem Missionary Baptist Church in Elmwood, Tennessee, and was baptized in the Mt. Vernon Baptist Church (SBC) in Arlington, Virginia. He noted in the mid-2000s that he considered himself no longer SBC. In a *Newsweek* interview, he said, “I am a Christian. I am a Protestant. I am a Baptist. All of those labels are less significant to me than my own personal religious faith . . . the tradition of which I’m a part recognizes the importance of personal communication with the deity, along with the lessons that come from Scripture.”

—Jennifer Woodruff Tait

JIMMY CARTER AND MARTIN LUTHER KING SR.—GRANGER / GRANGER — ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
1976 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION—PHOTO BY WILLIAM FITZPATRICK. COURTESY GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY/WIKIMEDIA



THEY HAD DREAMS It is hard to imagine 20th-c. American religion without the contributions of Clarence Jordan (*left*), W. A. Criswell (*below left*), and Prathia Hall (*below right*).

CLARENCE LEONARD JORDAN (1912–1969), a farmer and New Testament scholar from Georgia, witnessed racial tension and economic disparity from an early age. Hoping to make a difference in the lives of poor farmers, he studied agriculture at the University of Georgia. But he felt called to ministry and eventually earned a PhD in New Testament studies, was ordained, and pastored three rural churches before establishing Koinonia Farm in Georgia in 1942. At Koinonia

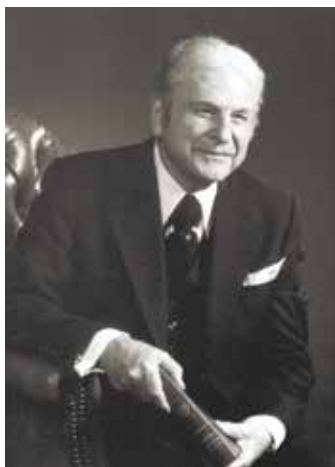
inhabitants shared their resources, practiced pacifism, and treated all people as equal regardless of race or class. Violence and economic boycotts against Koinonia hindered its growth; the farm reincorporated as Koinonia Partners in 1968, and its low-cost, interest-free housing program eventually evolved into the nonprofit Habitat for Humanity.

Jordan’s translations of portions of the New Testament into the southern vernacular became known as the “Cotton Patch” series, and his translation of Matthew was turned into an off-Broadway musical, *Cotton Patch Gospel*.

PRATHIA LAURA ANN HALL (1940–2002), preacher and activist, grew up in Mt. Sharon Baptist Church in Philadelphia, earned a degree in political science, and became a leader in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). She spoke at mass meetings, trained field workers, and led a voter registration project in Selma, Alabama. She was arrested multiple times and once suffered a minor gunshot wound. At a 1962 prayer vigil in Georgia, Martin Luther King Jr. overheard Prathia Hall using the phrase “I have a dream” in prayer. He began to use it in his preaching and speeches. When SNCC abandoned its commitment to nonviolence and excluded white members in 1966, Hall left the organization.

Hall was one of the first African American women ordained by American Baptists. She earned an MDiv and a PhD, pastored her father’s church in Philadelphia, and taught Christian ethics, womanist theology, and African American religious history. In 1997 *Ebony* magazine recognized her as one of the “15 Greatest Black Women Preachers.”

Mandy E. McMichael is associate director of Ministry Guidance and J. David Slover Assistant Professor of Ministry Guidance in the religion department at Baylor University.



if I ever learned to read and if freedom ever came, I would not read that part of the Bible.”

W. A. CRISWELL (1909–2002) became pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas, Texas, following George Truett and served until 1995 (the church had only two pastors in 95 years!). He experienced conversion at a revival meeting at age 10 and felt called to ministry at 12; at 17, he was licensed to preach. (He would later earn advanced degrees including a PhD.) Under Criswell’s leadership FBC Dallas grew from 7,800 to over 25,000—one new member was the young Billy Graham. His over 4,000 sermons were broadcast on radio and television, and he preached through the entire Bible in his tenure. He also organized elaborate age-level ministries, a model that churches around the country would replicate.

Criswell was SBC president from 1968 to 1970 and significant in the denomination’s conservative resurgence. He wrote 54 books, including *Why I Preach that the Bible Is Literally True* (1969), and defended biblical inerrancy, premillennial dispensationalism, and, for a time, racial segregation.

CLARENCE JORDAN—COURTESY OF KOINONIA
W. A. CRISWELL—COURTESY OF SOUTHERN BAPTIST HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
PRATHIA HALL—DANNY LYON / MAGNUMPHOTOS

“America’s Pastor” Prepared to meet his Lord: Billy Graham (1918–2018)

When Graham preached, he said that death was, of course, inevitable. As no one knew when Christ would return, he said, everyone should think instead about the sure thing they did know: the certainty of their own death. While some fundamentalists predicted that some believers would escape death in the Rapture, the evangelist repeatedly insisted that death fell on everyone.

In his remarks at former president Richard Nixon’s funeral, Graham reminded the family and audience that someday every one of them would die: “John Donne said that there’s a democracy about death. ‘It comes equally to us all and makes us all equal when it comes.’ . . . Though believers would not escape death, they would face it with greater clarity.

During his Las Vegas evangelistic crusade in 1980, the MGM Grand Hotel burned. “Someday, for all of you, if you don’t know God, the music will stop. It will all be over,” he said. Critics who charged Graham with sentimentality were not paying attention. He was not a profound thinker or preacher, but he dealt with serious things in serious ways. And millions listened.

Death was one thing; the passing of time in the midst of life, another. Once, when he was in his mid-60s, a teenager asked him what surprised him most in his “old age.” He answered without hesitation: “the brevity of life.” The relentless march of events taught important lessons too. “I urge each of you to invest your lives, not just spend them,” he told another group of young people. . . .

Until the later decades of his ministry, Graham seemed not to dwell very much on [his own death]. But with time Graham did slow down. Aging quieted his trademark machine-gun sermons into talks that seemed more like fireside chats. He readily admitted that he “yelled” less and that he had come to favor less demanding indoor auditoriums over the outdoor stadiums that had propelled him to international fame. . . .

Yet serious illness took its inevitable toll. He collapsed while speaking in Toronto but climbed out of a hospital bed several days later to preach to a Sky Dome record crowd of 73,500 on the final night of an evangelistic crusade. . . . Still [he] soldiered on, year after year, until he preached his final evangelistic crusade in Flushing Meadows, New York, in the summer of 2005. Though others had to help him to the pulpit, the image of an old warrior of the cross, pressing far past the normal retirement age, helped normalize the aging process for many and provided inspiration for millions.



GOLDEN GATES “Think of a place where there will be no sorrow and no parting, no pain, no sickness, no death, no quarrels, no misunderstandings, no sin and no cares,” Graham (*above* in 1954) said once about heaven.

As for his future, Graham made clear that he anticipated his demise as a door to a new life in heaven. “I’m looking forward to it — I really am,” he said in 1995, in his late 70s. “I’ll be happy the day the Lord says, ‘Come on. I’ve got something better planned.’” To be sure, Graham admitted that he did not look forward to the dying process itself. . . . But beyond the event itself stood heaven as a place of glorious fellowship with the Lord, saints, loved ones and invigorating work to do. . . . The journalist David Frost asked the mature Graham what he would want the first line of his obituary to say. “That he was faithful and that he had integrity,” he replied. “And that I was faithful to my calling, and that I loved God with all mind, heart and soul.”

Frost wondered if Graham had questions he hoped to ask God in heaven. “Yes, thousands. Many things in Bible mysteries.” [Graham] then added, “Some things in my life I would be embarrassed if anyone else saw. I would like God to edit the film.” If God needed to edit the film of Billy Graham’s life, some readers undoubtedly thought, the rest of us were in big trouble.

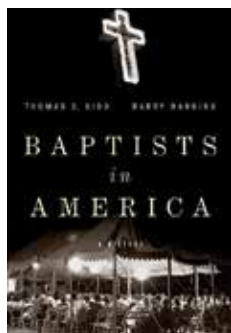
—Grant Wacker, *Gilbert T. Rowe Professor Emeritus of Christian History at Duke Divinity School and author of America’s Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation. Excerpted from an article originally published at Duke Today and in the Washington Post, reprinted with permission from Duke University Divinity School. For more, see our issue #111, Billy Graham.*

Recommended resources

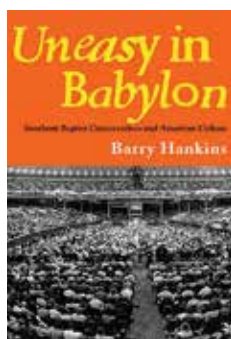
HERE ARE SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FROM CH EDITORIAL STAFF AND THIS ISSUE'S AUTHORS TO HELP YOU UNDERSTAND THE BAPTIST STORY.

BOOKS

Good overviews of **Baptists in America** throughout the country's history are Bill J. Leonard, *Baptist Ways* (2003) and *Baptists in America* (2005); William Brackney, *Baptists in North America* (2006); Pamela and Keith Durso, *The Story of Baptists in the United States* (2006); Joseph Early Jr., ed., *Readings in Baptist History* (2008); William Lumpkin, edited by Bill J. Leonard, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (2011); Keith Harper, ed., *Through a Glass Darkly* (2012); and Thomas Kidd and Barry Hankins, *Baptists in America* (2015). Check out Janet Moore Lindman, *Bodies of Belief* (2008), for a narrative of colonial Baptists.

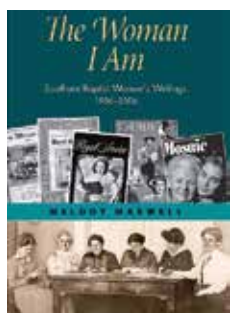


Baptist involvement in debates over **religious liberty** appear in Walter Shurden, ed., *Proclaiming the Baptist Vision: Religious Liberty* (1997); William Estep, *Revolution within the Revolution* (1990); Edwin Gaustad, *Proclaim Liberty throughout All the Land* (1991) and *Faith of Our Fathers* (2001); James Byrd, *The Challenges of Roger Williams* (2002); J. Brent Walker, *Church-State Matters* (2008); and Lee Canipe, *A Baptist Democracy* (2011).



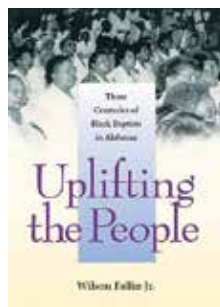
Books on **Baptists in education** include H. I. Hester, *Southern Baptists in Christian Education* (1968); James Draper, *LifeWay Legacy* (2006); and William Brackney, *Congregation and Campus* (2008).

Twentieth-century **Baptist controversies** appear in Barry Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon* (2002) and Eileen Campbell-Reed, *Anatomy of a Schism* (2016). Read more about **Baptists in mission** in Sandy Martin, *Black Baptists and African Missions* (1990); Alan Scot Willis, *All According to God's Plan* (2004); and many of the biographies below.



Baptist women feature in Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent* (1993); Keith Harper, *The Quality of Mercy* (1996); David Morgan, *Southern Baptist Sisters in Search of Status, 1845–2000* (2003); Susan Shaw, *God Speaks to Us, Too* (2008); Elizabeth Flowers, *Into the Pulpit* (2012); and Melody Maxwell, *The Woman I Am* (2014).

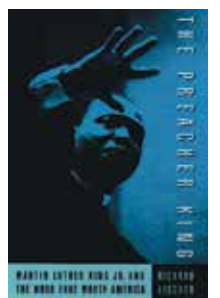
Read more about the **black Baptist tradition** in LeRoy Fitts, *A History of Black Baptists* (1985); Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South* (1997) and *Freedom's Coming* (2005); Andrew Manis, *Southern Civil Religions in Conflict* (1987); Mechal Sobel, *Travelin' On* (1987); Walter Pitts, *Old Ship of Zion* (1993); James Melvin Washington, *Frustrated Fellowship* (1997); Mark Newman, *Getting Right with God* (2001); Wilson Fallin Jr., *Uplifting the People* (2007); William Banks, *A History of Black Baptists in the United States* (2013); Adam L. Bond, *The Imposing Preacher* (2013); and Keith Harper and Edward Crowther, eds., *Between Fetters and Freedom* (2015).



Finally enjoy these **biographies and collections of writings** of some individual Baptists whose stories we've told:

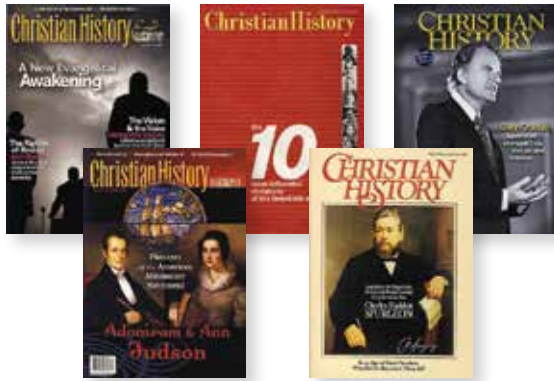


- **Annie Armstrong:** Keith Harper, ed., *Rescue the Perishing* (2004)
- **Virginia Broughton:** Tomiko Ashford Carter and Jessie Carney Smith, eds., *Virginia Broughton* (2010)
- **William Carey:** S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey* (2008)
- **George Liele:** David Shannon, *George Liele's Life and Legacy* (2013)
- **Billy Graham:** Grant Wacker, *America's Pastor* (2014)
- **Adoniram Judson:** Jason Duesing, ed., *Adoniram Judson* (2012)
- **Ann Judson:** Rosalie Hunt, *The Extraordinary Story of Ann Hasseltine Judson* (2018)
- **Martin Luther King Jr.:** Richard Lischer, *The Preacher King* (1995); Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1998)
- **Helen Montgomery:** Kendal Mobley, *Helen Barrett Montgomery* (2009)
- **Lottie Moon:** Keith Harper, ed., *Send the Light* (2002) and



Regina Sullivan, *Lottie Moon* (2011)

- **J. Frank Norris:** Barry Hankins, *God's Rascal* (1996)
- **Lucy Peabody:** Louise Armstrong Cattan, *Lamps Are for Lighting* (1972)
- **Roger Williams:** Edwin Gaustad, *Liberty of Conscience* (1999) and *Roger Williams* (2001)



CHRISTIAN HISTORY ISSUES

Read these past issues of *Christian History* online. Some are still available for purchase:

- 6: *The Baptists*
- 8: *Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening*
- 23: *Spiritual Awakenings in North America*
- 29: *Charles Spurgeon*
- 36: *William Carey and the Great Missions Century*
- 38: *George Whitefield*
- 41: *The American Puritans*
- 45: *Camp Meetings and Circuit Riders*
- 50: *The American Revolution*
- 55: *Rise of Fundamentalism*
- 65: *Ten Most Influential Christians of the 20th Century*
- 90: *Adoniram and Ann Judson*
- 92: *A New Evangelical Awakening*
- 111: *Billy Graham*



VIDEOS FROM VISION VIDEO

Videos on the theme of this issue include *Briars in the Cotton Patch*; *Come Alive*; *C. H. Spurgeon: The People's Preacher*; *Candle in the Dark*; *People of Faith*; *Sacred Space*; *Saints and Strangers*; *The Midnight Cry*; and *We the People*.



WEBSITES


As befits a group interested in the liberty of the individual, there are many, many Baptist websites. Start with some of the larger Baptist archives and historical societies: American Baptist Historical Society; Baptist History and Heritage Society; International Missions Board (SBC); and the Southern Baptist Library and Archives. Also look at Baptist Studies Online, a collaborative effort by scholars from various Baptist traditions.

Baylor University's Baptist Studies Center has extensive links to many smaller archives and historical societies as well as Baptist publishing houses, denominations, and a bibliography of Baptist resources.



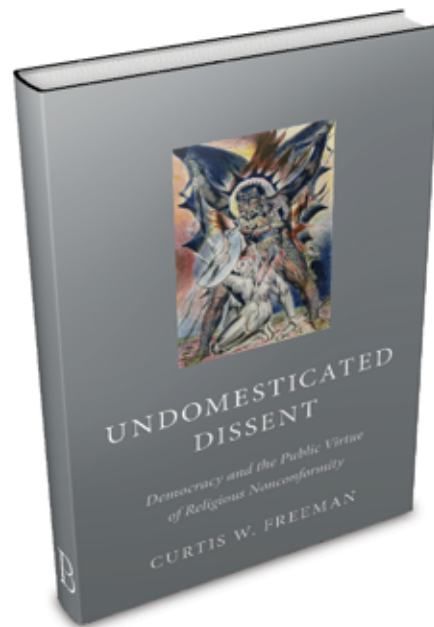
The Baptist History Homepage is continuously maintained with excerpts from historic Baptist documents; Baptist Heritage has some documents and pictures. Documenting the American South contains a number of primary-source resources from Baptists.



To learn more about the origin of Baptists in Britain, go to the Baptist Historical Society. And as always many public-domain primary source documents about people referenced in this issue can be found at the Christian Classics Ethereal Library. 

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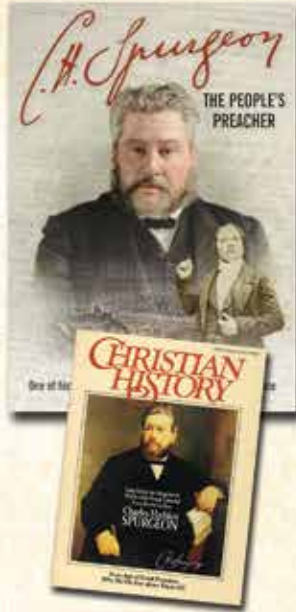
DVDs on the Lives of Influential Baptists

C. H. Spurgeon: The People's Preacher

This powerful, inspirational docudrama faithfully re-creates the times of C. H. Spurgeon and brings the "people's preacher" to life as it follows his trials and triumphs with historical accuracy. *70 minutes*

#501345D, \$12.99

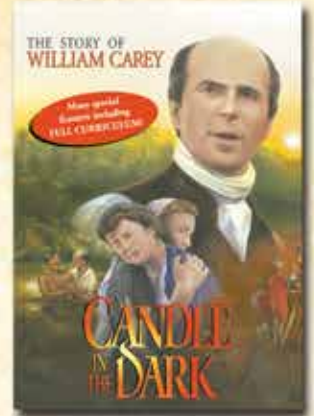
Christian History magazine #29 on Spurgeon—#97866, \$5.00



Candle in the Dark: The Story of William Carey

William Carey sailed to India in 1793 with a reluctant wife and four children to bring the message of Jesus. He worked tirelessly to influence the abolition of *sati* (the burning alive of widows when their husbands died) and to oversee more translations of the Bible than had ever been done before. Life was never easy for Carey. But he simply refused to quit, even when a devastating fire destroyed years of his literary work. His legacy has inspired countless others from his own day to the present. *Drama, 107 minutes*

#4782D, \$9.99



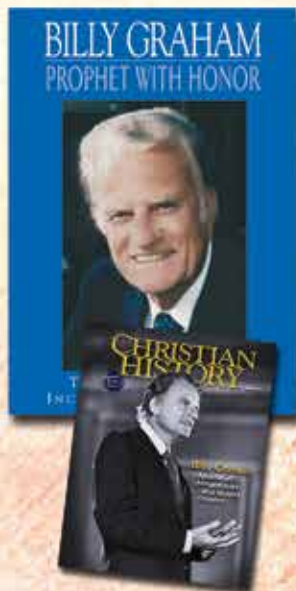
Billy Graham: Prophet with Honor

In this fast-paced international television special hosted by David Frost, we meet Billy Graham and hear in his own words about his unprecedented opportunities and the formidable challenges that marked major turning points for him. Includes documentary footage and comments from friends, associates, and critics.

Documentary, 50 minutes

#501236D, \$9.99

Christian History magazine #111 on Billy Graham—#501614, \$5.00

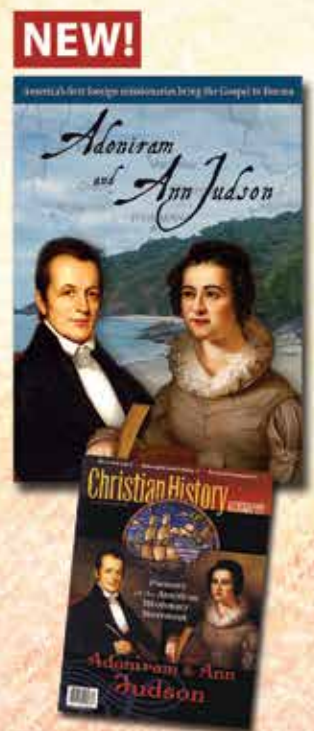


Adoniram and Ann Judson

Adoniram and Ann Judson were American missionaries who sacrificed enormously to bring the Gospel to the people of Burma (present-day Myanmar). Despite resistance, persecution, imprisonment, personal loss, and ill health, Adoniram's and Ann's faithfulness led to the establishment of a church that continues to flourish today. Experience the struggles and triumphs of these remarkable missionaries in this illuminating documentary. *65 minutes*

#501793D, \$14.99

Christian History magazine #90 on the Judsons—4891, \$5.00

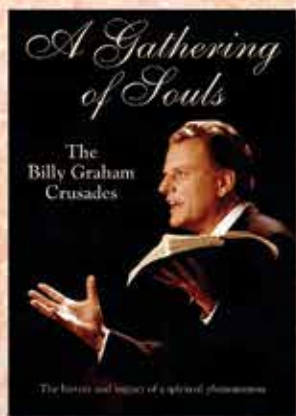


A Gathering of Souls

With expert commentary from pastors, academics, Billy Graham associates, and fellow evangelists, this documentary gives the history of the crusades from the first event in Los Angeles in 1949 to the groundbreaking 1957 New York City crusade and on to the remarkable gatherings behind the Iron Curtain and in the Far East.

Documentary, 51 minutes

#501582D, \$9.99



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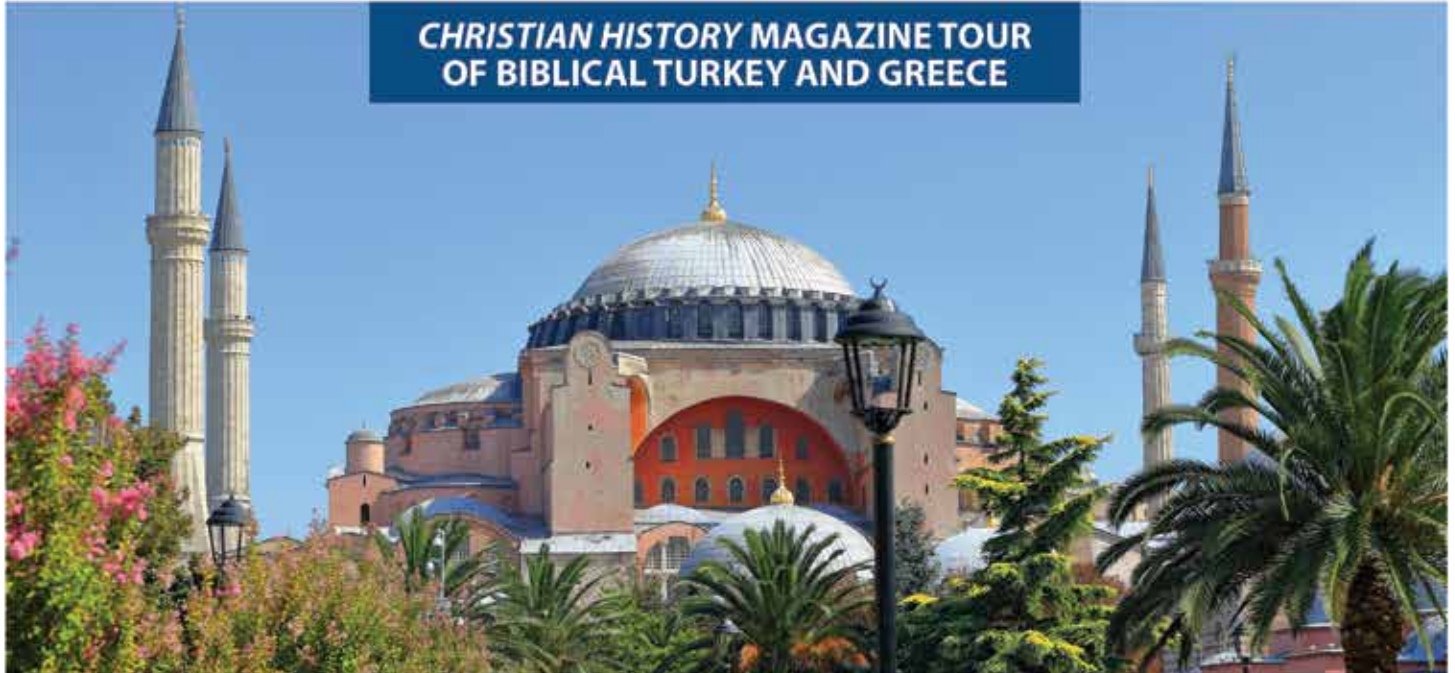
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HAVE QUESTIONS?

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