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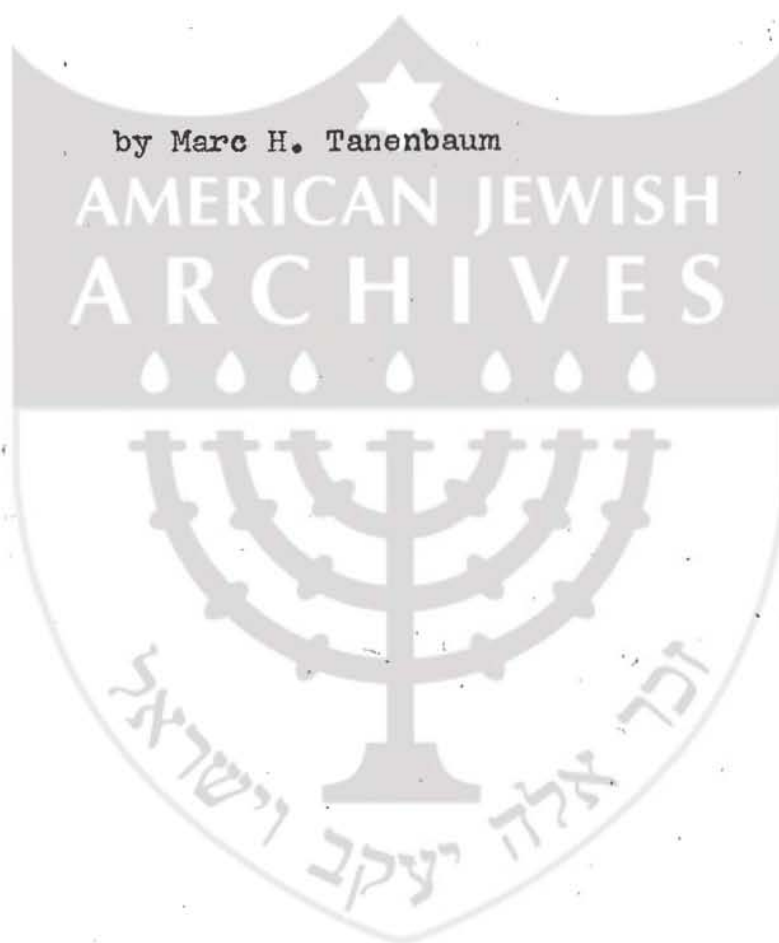
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Series A: Writings and Addresses. 1947-1991

Box 3, Folder 11, "The Evangelical Renaissance - Promise or Menace?", November 1976.

THE EVANGELICAL RENAISSANCE

-- PROMISE OR MENACE?



November 1976

THE EVANGELICAL RENAISSANCE
-PROMISE OR MENACE?

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THE EVANGELICAL RENAISSANCE

-- PROMISE OR MENACE?

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

CHAPTER I - THE SOUTH - "UNCLE SAM'S OTHER PROVINCE"

The election of Jimmy Carter as the 39th president of the United States of America, the first candidate from the Deep South to attain the Presidency in more than a century, crystallized the beginning of the discovery by America of "The New South." Northern journalists, media commentators, and academicians swarmed over the Deep South during the election campaign in 1976 and produced mountains of news copy and untold hours of radio and TV coverage about something spectacular that is going on "down there" amid the kudzu vines, the live oaks and Southern pines, the grits, and the antebellum mansions.

Perhaps it was the inevitable consequence of media overload - the sheer numbing effect of incessant bombardment by inchoate media messages. Or maybe it was the result of the national fatigue that ensued in the wake of the desultory TV debates and frequently disorienting political speeches. Or it could have been the overlay of the lackluster election campaign atop the deepseated "malaise of civilization" that Robert Heilbroner attributed to the effects of Watergate, Vietnam, the race riots of the 1960s, and the swelling, ubiquitous epidemic of terrorism and violence spreading throughout the world that led to emotional recoil.

Whatever the reasons, by the beginning of 1977 - the start of the next four-year Presidential term of office - the

popular conviction in much of the nation appears to remain not substantially altered from what it was in the 1940s when W. J. Cash wrote in his near-classic, The Mind of the South,

"There exists among us - both North and South - a profound conviction that the South is another land, shaply differentiated from the rest of the American nation...The South is, in Allen Tate's phrase, 'Uncle Sam's other province!'" (Doubleday, 1941).

Ironically, the candidacy and the subsequent election of President Carter tended to obscure in many ways rather than disclose the magnitude of the transformations that have been taking place in the South, and their urgent meaning for the rest of America. The concentration on the grinning, toothy personality of Jimmy Carter, on the bewildering and anxiety-provoking phenomenon of being a "born again" evangelical Christian, and on his single-minded pursuit of a meteoric career that would lead from the peanut farm of Plains, Georgia, to the highest office in the greatest superpower nation in the world - all this seemed to suggest that this charismatic politician had pulled a somnolent South by the scruff of its redneck into the mainstream of America's political and national life.

But the realities are more than likely the reverse. It is the massive transformation of the South - still only vaguely perceived and understood in the rest of the nation - that has made possible the candidacy, and then, the election of President Carter, rather than the other way around.

The South is today the fastest growing region in the nation. "The sixteen states that make up the region we call the South," Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard M. Scammon have observed in This USA, "comprise the most populous single area in the nation." Nearly eighty million people live ^{there,} and they add, "more Americans can claim to be Southerners than can claim to be anything else."

The population of the South and Southwest is mushrooming at double the national average, with more than 85% of the nation's population growth now taking place in these states. As we shall detail in Chapter (Four), "The South-A Mainstream In Itself," the South is today, as a matter of straight census fact, more urban than not - almost 60% - and there is solid evidence of mounting wealth, modern industry, and vibrant growth in many Southern areas.

As the 1976 Presidential elections demonstrated, no political party can win a presidential election without some of the eleven states of the Old Confederacy, and their cousin border states who control 163 electoral votes - 60% of the magical 270 needed for victory.

From this perspective, the Presidential election of 1976 was a political watershed for America. President Carter was not just a 22-month political sensation, a "greaky" onetime political accident. His presidential candidacy and election were both in substance and in symbolism a national rite of passage for the South which in 1976, began to move in public consciousness from a state of political and social puberty, arrested since the Civil War, into a next stage of maturity. The occupation of the White House by Jimmy Carter ~~as the~~

ratifies the entry of the South into the national mainstream on numerous levels - not only political and economic, but as well in the cultural, educational, social and religious arenas of our national life. Thus, Carter's election may well signify for the South what President John F. Kennedy's election as the first Roman Catholic to become president has come to mean for the 49 million Roman Catholics of America, the validation of their national acceptance as first-class citizens. (Jews, blacks, Hispanics, women, and Asiatic-Americans, I would suggest, will in time undergo similar rites of passage, with all the accompanying anguish and testing of their reliability to represent the whole of America, as representatives of their respective groups reach for the brass ~~of~~ ~~xxxx~~ ring of the Presidency. The American presidency now, apparently, has become in our pluralist democracy the ultimate seal of approval signaling ~~that~~ a formerly suppressed or marginal group's having achieved first-class citizenship.

Henceforth, I believe, we will ~~witness~~ witness the surfacing of Southern candidates in every national political campaign - as a matter of regular course and accepted practice. That "Americanization of the South" will finally put an end to, or at least modify significantly, the mythologies about Southern politics and ~~politics~~ politicians that prevail in much of the rest of America. "In liberal circles," Wattenberg and Scammon have stated, "it is common to hear about the inordinate amount of congressional control exercised by a few southern legislators who represent the minority, backwoods, rural interests of an otherwise urban, liberal, and sophisticated nation. Oddly, this diagnosis is propagated not only by other-than-southern liberals, but by Southerners as well, who

often stress their minority role in the American scene."

The "new Southerners" can be expected to contest for the ~~high~~ highest political offices of our nation, and make claims for the most prestigious and influential civic positions, with the same convictions of legitimacy to represent the American majority as do candidates and citizens from any other region of America.

A growing number of Southerners are deeply conscious of this seismic change in American life, and speak unabashedly of it, sometimes in heady, triumphalistic terms. "A reshuffling of ~~the~~ power is taking place in America today that has nothing at all to do with political parties or elections," Governor Reuben Askew of Florida, said recently. "The wheel of power in this nation is turning, unmistakably and undeniably from the North to the South."

Accompanying - or perhaps more accurately - integrally involved with this "secular" transformation of the South has been an equally vigorous religious transformation. According to the Southern Baptist Handbook, the populations of the Sunbelt states, excluding California and Hawaii, grew 38% from 1950-1970, while the population percentage of Southern Baptists grew 64%. The Southern Baptists are among the fastest growing denominations in this country, numbering 12.7 million members. But there are also some 30 associations and groups of independents who now bring the number of Baptists in the nation to 30 million.

When you include other evangelicals - Southern Methodists, Southern Presbyterians, Assemblies of God, among others - evangelicals today number about 50 million Americans. The Baptists have spread far beyond the Southern and Border states in recent years and there are now Baptists in all 50 states who are aligned with the Southern Baptist Convention. Today, the

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Southern Baptists are the largest Protestant ~~Rx~~ denomination in the United States. They are confident, church historian James T. Baker of Western Kentucky University comments somewhat caustically, that "given enough time and patience and energy, all three of which they have in abundance, they will eventually become the largest church in the world." (Southern Baptists in the Seventies, Christian Century, June 27, 1973.)

Dr. Baker has also noted that "more Southern whites are Baptists than any other thing, and more Southern blacks are Baptists than any other thing." In a recent study, it was found that Georgia Baptists ~~xxxxxxxspiritualxxxxfellowshipxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ are far more white-collar than the state as a whole. The state's population consists of about 49 percent white-collar workers and 51 percent blue-collar. "But 73 percent of the people in the average Baptist church on Sunday morning are white-collar." (Home Missions, Sept. 1976.) And the same is true of Southern Baptists in all states where the denomination has long been established, the study adds. Most "First Churches" are led by the first families, professional people, business owners - the establishment of the community.

The president of Holiday Inn is a Bible-believing Baptist, as are the presidents of such multi-national corporations as Genesco, Raytheon, among others in the top echelons of national corporate life. All of which suggests that the general images of Southerners as "rednecks," "crackers," or "dirt-eaters," and

of Southern evangelical Christians as "holy rollers" and "Elmer Ganttrys" have little congruence with the socio-economic changes and the religious realities that have emerged in recent decades which have transformed that sizeable community - one third of the nation - into a major force in American life.

But exactly who are these Southern Baptists, and more generally, these evangelical Christians, who now dominate the "new South" and who figure so prominently in the nation's consciousness? What are their actual beliefs and system of values and what might these mean for the future of America? What is the present state of that part of the Southern heritage which fed and nurtured racism, slavery, lynch mobs, virulent anti-Semitism, and brutal anti-Catholicism? What insights can be gained from a better understanding of the "cultural universes" of the South and of evangelical Christianity that will enable us to comprehend more deeply and accurately the views and commitments of the Jimmy Carters of our nation? What are the implications of a renascent evangelical Christianity whose central purpose in life is conversion for the future of democratic pluralism in our society and in the world community - for harmonious relations with non-evangelicals, Jews, Catholics, liberal Protestants, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, humanists, and non-believers? And finally, will a renascent South and an aggressive evangelical Christian community help or hinder the causes of domestic social justice and international reconciliation and peace?

In short, is the Southern and evangelical renaissance that is unfolding so rapidly before our eyes a promise - or a menace - or

some of both?

CHAPTER II - YANKEES AND REBELS: SECTIONAL EGOTISMS AND STEREOTYPES

The present encounter between the South and the rest of America is not unlike that encounter that took place earlier in this century between Oriental and Occidental civilizations. Prof. Mircea Eleade, the noted historian of religions and cultures, depicted that encounter as "the meeting and confrontation of two types of mentality which might be called for simplicity's sake, the 'traditional' and the 'modern,' the first being characteristic of man in archaic and Oriental societies; the second of man in modern societies of the Western type.

"As we know," Eleade declares, "the meeting and confrontation of these two types of civilization count among the most significant events of the last quarter century. That confrontation is developing on two different planes and as a consequence of different sets of circumstances. On the one hand, the exotic and primitive peoples have now come within the orbit of history, so that Western man is obliged to enquire into their system of values, if he is able to establish and maintain communication with them. On the other hand, a whole series of changes has taken place in the cultural outlook of Europeans. ... The encounters have been made through the more Westernized representatives, or in the mainly external spheres of economics or ~~and~~ politics. We may say that the Western world has not yet, nor not generally, met with authentic representatives of the 'real' non-Western traditions. But this encounter is, in the end, inevitable."

Prof. Eleade concludes, "One day the West will have to know and to understand the existential situations and the cultural universe

of the non-Western peoples; however, the West will come to value them as integral with the history of the human spirit and will no longer regard them as immature episodes or aberrations from an exemplary history of man - a history conceived, of course, only as that of Western man."

In a somewhat analogous way, the South is now entering the "orbit of history" of America's national life. If reciprocal communication is to be established between "the new South" and the rest of America we will need to enquire into "their system of values," and "to understand (their) existential situations and (their) cultural universe." But the first step on that journey of inquiry will require that we clear out the cultural underbrush of stereotypes, prejudices, and mythologies which have led many of us - on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line - to regard both the South and the North as "immature episodes or aberrations from an exemplary history" of America. That cultural purification process is an essential precondition required both of the North and the South before they are able to "come to value" each other "as integral with the history" of our nation and "of the human spirit."

To a substantial extent, the lingering emotions of "strangeness" and "differentness" - of perceiving one another as "immature episodes or aberrations from an exemplary history" of the nation - ~~that~~ peaked in special ways during the 1976 Presidential campaign. They were reflected in the suspicions and anxieties toward the Presidential candidate from the Deep South by the splitting of votes by white Protestants in the North, Midwest and West (the split Protestant vote in the ~~Deep~~ South had more to do with President Carter's liberalism

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than, obviously, with his Southernness), by the smaller vote that Catholics gave him than they did to other Democratic candidates (55% for Carter, ~~and~~ as contrasted with % for Humphrey), and by the lesser vote, although substantial, that Jews gave Carter (75% as contrasted with 88% for Humphrey).

While other factors entered into the voting decisions, I am persuaded that the anxious national discussion and indecisions about the President from the Deep South suggested that the bitter legacy of regional pride, prejudice, and ~~political~~ ^{political} ~~suspicious~~ ^{suspicious} deposited by the tragic War-Between-the-States is still far from spent.

In a poignant essay entitled, "Could the Civil War Have Been Prevented?" (Christian Century, March 31, 1976), Prof. Samuel S. Hill, Jr., author of Religion and the Solid South, deplores "the ravages" suffered by America over the past 110 years in the wake of "the harsh conflict of 1861-1865," the first "total war" in the history of warfare. In addition to the loss of an estimated 610,000 lives - 360,000 in the service of the Union, and 250,000 in the service of the Confederate States of America - with countless thousands of others maimed, dismembered, or less severely wounded; the economic ~~xxxxxx~~ devastation and wastage of farms and cities; families ^{or} sundered ~~and~~ diminished; political suspicion and belligerency; internecine strife; a divided people; regional isolation - Prof. Hill counts among the lasting costs of the Civil War to America, which, he says, is hardly over today, "the pride and prejudice the conflict engendered in both regional societies."

Observing that "unlike President Lincoln, each was convinced

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that the Lord was on its side and so denounced the other as immoral or imperious," Prof. Hill adds that "until very recently most Yankees and Rebels spoke openly of their superiority over the other in terms of the quality of their life and moral responsibility. If the charge is open to the charge of having squandered most of its psychic energy on the anachronism of segregation (and slavery before that), the North may be accused of having misdirected many of its attitudes toward the benightedness and inferiority of southerners and southern ways."

Dr. Hill cites the case of a distant relative from the Deep South who "as a child refused to step outside his family's car parked on a Cincinnati street out of a sense of estrangement, fear, and contempt for residents of that (border) northern city. As recently as two decades ago such a response was not altogether exceptional - and the same might be said of analogous incidents involving northern condescension towards citizens of Dixie."

Prof. Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky, a leading authority on Southern civilization, tells this story in an essay dealing with the Confederacy:

When William H. Russell, the correspondent of the Times of London, was traveling in the United States in the late 1850s gathering material for a travel book on America, he interviewed William H. Seward, the then Secretary of State. Southerners believed that Seward was the real power behind Abraham Lincoln. In his interview with Russell, Seward told him that the Southern people

were very different from the Northern people. He said that the society of the South (which Dr. Eaton said Seward knew very little about) was based on "black labor and idle extravagance." He described tumbledown old hackney coaches such as had not been seen north of the Potomac for half a century, harnesses that were never cleaned, ungroomed horses, badly furnished houses, bad cookery, imperfect education. He spoke of the North, on the other hand, as a section of the country where "all was life, enterprise, industry and mechanical skill."

Prof. Eaton concludes, "Now, if so intelligent a man had a stereotype of the South such as Seward had, what must have been the view of the average, untutored Northerner?" (Interpreting American History, by John A. Garraty, Macmillan 1970.)

While both North and South had tremendous sectional egos (and apparently the tense should be present rather than altogether past), a number of historians argue that the South suffered more from a false sense of superiority than the North. In part, this exaggerated sense of superiority and low conception of Northerners, derived from what W. J. Cash (The Mind of the South) termed the "legend of the Old South in its classical form" whose "social pattern was manorial, its civilization that of the Cavalier, its ruling class an aristocracy coextensive with the planter group." What had really happened here, Cash observes, was that "the gentlemanly idea, driven from England by Cromwell, had taken refuge in the South

* Refer to the article, "The Southernization of America,"

and fashioned for itself a world to its heart's desire; a world singularly polished and mellowed and poised, wholly dominated by ideals of honor and chivalry and noblesse."

The Southern aristocratic ruling class, which Cash believed dominated the Southern way of life despite its numbering no more than some 500 families by 1860, "required above all things a fixed background, the sense of absolute security and repose which proceeds from an environment which moves in well-worn grooves, and in which change occurs rarely and never abruptly."

A society's value orientations center around the issues of space and time, cultural anthropologists tell us. Using those categories Prof. Hill proposes that the South has been predominantly oriented to "fixed time" and "fixed space" rather than to "moving time" and "moving space." "Fixed time" is the posture of nostalgia in which "a people may take its cues and derive its norms from what it once was or alleged to have been, before circumstances placed it at a disadvantage." "Fixed space" describes a society wed to its own boundaries and the traditional practices and arrangements of those who have lived within them. "Fixed space" fastens onto how things have been and endeavors to preserve the past against erosive forces. It absolutizes or sacralizes the way of life of the province. Further, "fixed space" is a posture of abstraction, with emphasis on the rightness of institutions and formal policies. Cultures appear to find it easier to be tightly parochial with abstractions than with events or memories.

Of the four societal value-orientations, Hill notes, "fixed space" is the most conservative, and commitment to it accounts in large measure for the South's parochialism, its containedness, or its cultural "sacredness," in the sociological sense of the term.

Southernness and the relatively separatist way of life in the South stayed alive, Prof. Hill observes, "not because of events or leaders or wars or symbolic ceremonial occasions, but "from the energizing and identity-providing force that came from the structure or pattern of a specific and inviolable arrangement for living involving blacks and whites. It seems to have been the sheer presence of Negroes - affirmed to have their special place in this structural arrangement - which intensified and perpetuated regional distinctiveness."

In the South, the adjustment of Negroes had become involved with the caste-like elements associated with the plantation economy. As the large-scale cultivation of tobacco and rice developed after 1680, the black labor force was driven into unmitigated bondage. The emergence of the "cotton culture" and the spread of the plantation economy after 1820 abruptly ended the hope for the end of slavery and, as Prof. Oscar Handlin writes, both whites and blacks became mired in a slave economy.

The legal terms of the bondage of blacks became more stringent, the possibility of emancipation narrower, and the regulation of the emancipated blacks more restrictive. After 1830, as the abolitionists launched an uncompromising attack upon the whole institution, the defenders of slavery came to justify it as a

positive good, worthy of perpetuation, and of extension. Thus white supremacy became institutionalized at the expense of the subjection of black people.

By the 1890s, agrarian and labor reformers, aflame with Populist grievances against big business, focused their hostility on vulnerable Negroes rather than on powerful planters and industrialists who used the blacks as an economic instrument. Nowhere in the Union was the plight of the small farmer so desperate as in the one-crop region of the lower South. (The average annual income of the poor ~~farmer~~ farmer was \$167.) Nowhere else did the white farmer - the "redneck" or "cracker" - hate so intensely. Most of all the redneck hated the Negro.

When populism entered the South, Samuel E. Morrison tells us, it aimed at a political alliance between blacks and poor whites to break the rule of the "Bourbons." But Tom Watson, the number one Populist demagogue of the movement, turned it against the blacks. He fought the Bourbons in Georgia all through ^{the} 1880s. Elected Congress as a Populist in 1890 by the votes of both blacks and whites, he was defeated for a second term. He then adopted the poor white point of view. That class simply would not vote for a biracial party.

From 1906, when he became the most popular leader in the South, he outdid every other white demagogue in Negro-baiting. He lauded lynching, described Booker T. Washington as "bestial as a gorilla," and bracketed Catholics, Socialists, and Jews with Africans in his catalogue of hate. Throughout the Deep South, professional rabble-rousers and "nigger-haters" arose - Tillman, Bibbo, Yardaman, Blease and others. They challenged the Bourbon ascendancy, exploited

agrarian discontent, and seized state governments. In one state after another, between 1890 and 1908, new constitutions which by one device or another disfranchised the blacks, were adopted by conventions but never submitted to popular ratification. Louisiana, which had the most prosperous and cultivated blacks of any ~~xxxxxx~~ Southern state, had 130,334 black people registered as voters in 1896, but the number fell to 1342 in eight years. Every legislature elected under the new constitutions enacted a flood of Jim Crow laws.

The thirty years between 1890 and 1920 were the darkest for the black people of America. Lynchings reached their apex in 1892 with 226 extra-judicial mob murders, 155 of them blacks. From that date, the number slowly dropped off but no fewer than 50 blacks were lynched annually until 1913. According to Prof. Morrison, the total count of lynchings from 1889-1918 is 2,522 blacks and 702 others.

In the Far West, lynching was resorted to in the absence or because of the weakness of law, while in the South it was used in defiance of law and courts, often after trial and conviction to satisfy the vicious hate of the lowest elements of the population. Not until 1918, was anyone punished in the South for taking part in a lynching.

When the 20th century opened, almost 90% of America's blacks lived in the South. The conditions of that ^{vast} depressed population set the tone for the status of all. In the first decades of the new century, the South remained primarily rural. The agricultural system

had never recovered fully from the destruction of the old plantation economy.

Hobbled - some historians say "hypnotized" - by an exaggerated sense of honor and a "sacred right" that beyond common sense, ~~for~~ provincial-minded antebellum Southerners did not realize the strength of the North. (The North consisted of 23 states as compared with 11 states in the Confederacy - although personal loyalties were sharply divided in four of the slave-holding border states that officially remained in the Union. The North had a population of 22 million compared with the South's 9 million, including 3,500,000 slaves. The North possessed 92% of the country's industry, including almost all the iron and steel mills and armament and textile factories. The South had to depend upon imports and its few ~~few~~ factories for manufactured goods. The North ~~xxxx~~ contained over 20,000 miles of railroad, more than double the railroad facilities of the South. The North had sufficient foodstuffs provided by the West, whereas Southern agriculture was devoted to tobacco and cotton. The North had more than two-thirds of the nation's money resources to help finance the Civil War. The North maintained control of the navy and merchant marine.)

The growth of industrial wealth and the commercial activity in the North prior and subsequent to the Civil War produced in the South a stereotyped conception of the Yankee as a "counter-jumper" and a moneygrabber, and inclined Southerners to think they would simply overrun "those popinjays, those tradespeople of the North."

With its economy and the Southern way of life based on the "peculiar institution" of slavery and "king cotton", Southerners have not until relatively recent times properly valued the businessman. Evidence of this is seen in the statistic that on the eve of the Civil War, 11 Southern states of the Confederacy produced only 10 percent of the manufactured goods of the nation's output.

At the same time, Northerners felt themselves at a disadvantage and inferior because the original political "establishment" was Southern - the Virginia dynasty. Four of the first five Presidents were Virginians. The Virginia dynasty elevated Presidents by simply designating the vice-president of a cabinet ~~xxxxxxx~~ member in a set pattern. The United States and the Constitution were made by Southerners. The idea seemed to develop that somehow or other the government was run by Southerners. The South had been the dominant force in American political life before the Civil War. After the Civil War, the Republican party emerged as the national party, and the South was now subordinate to the North.

Against the ~~xxxx~~ background of this history, characterized by so much reciprocal paranoia between North and South, the election of ^{Jimmy} ~~President~~ Carter as the first native Southerner to attain the Presidency of the United States in more than a century assumes even deeper meaning for the South, and for the unity of nation as a whole.

CHAPTER III - ADVENTURE IN SOCIAL UNIFICATION

Through much of American history, our political parties have in fact been sectional in nature. Even with the ascendancy of the Republican Party under Abraham Lincoln, after the Civil War each party dominated a different part of the country, the Democrats in the South, and the Republicans over most of the North.

That sectionalism and the its divisiveness was perhaps most dramatically expressed during the 1924 Democratic convention. William Jennings Bryan, the "Great Commoner" from Nebraska - Richard Hofstadter characterized him as "a circuit-riding evangelist in politics" - had a galvanic effect on the farmers and laborers of the South and West when at the 1896 Democratic convention he delivered his fiery "Cross of Gold" speech which won him the Presidential nomination. ("You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall ^{not} crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.") Bryan's campaign was the last protest of the old agrarian order against industrialism, and the last attempt of the new order to clean house, to sweep away the cynicism and apathy which had been characteristic of American politics for thirty years.

Bryan, whom the Populists called "the Boy Orator of Platte," through his revivalist oratory might inflame the Bible Belt, but in the Eastern cities he was regarded as a repellent, even comic figure. Running for President on the strength of a monomania, namely, free silver and cheap money for the farmers, Bryan was ridiculed and condemned by all "Eastern Respectability."

When Bryan rose before the 1924 Democratic convention in New York to oppose the denouncing of the Ku Klux Klan by name, contending that "we can exterminate Ku Kluxism better by recognizing their dishonesty and teaching them that they are wrong," he was hissed and booed by the galleries.

By 1924, the East - which Bryan had called "the enemy's country" - had given birth to its own Great Commoner in Al Smith. Prohibition and the Klan were the immediate foils in the duel Smith and Bryan had fought. But behind each antagonist were ranged the habits and prejudices, hopes and frustrations, prides and hatreds of two different cultures and two historical eras.

The very eccentricities and mannerisms of the two men were symbolic. The brown derby and rasping East Side accent, which stamped Smith as "one of our boys" to the sidewalk masses, sent shivers down the spine of Protestant respectability. In turn the traits which made Bryan seem like the voice of pious morality and orthodox religion to his Prohibitionist rural Protestant following - the liberal use of Biblical images and quotations, the resonant Chautauqua tones, the heaven-stomping energy - made him sound like the voice of bigotry to the urban masses.

Bryan had made no appeal to class hatred. But his followers were full of it, and "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman of South Carolina called upon the people to throw off their bondage to the Eastern money powers more insolent than the slave power.

Both men were ~~mouthpieces~~ of protest -- Bryan of the overmortgaged Bible belt, Smith of the underpaid, melting pot. Whether either was understood in the other's country was doubtful. Could the factory worker really ~~xxxx~~ share the despair of the farmer watching a sheriff tack a foreclosure notice on the barn door? Could the farmer feel the vicarious terror of the factory masses reading of a shirt-waist factory fire in which 144 women were trapped and burned alive? The year of the Triangle fire, 1911, was the year Smith first went to Albany. It marked the beginning of his fight to improve factory conditions, reduce the hours of labor for women, and for other social legislations.

What Smith embodied was the revolt of the underdog, urban immigrant against the top dog of "old American" stock. His Catholicism was an essential element in that revolt. The so-called "old" immigration which settled the farms was drawn largely from Protestant countries--England, Norway, Sweden, and Germany. The "new" immigration after 1885 which crowded the teeming cities came mainly from Italy, Poland, Russia, Greece, and the disintegrating Hapsburg Empire. The larger part of these new immigrants were Catholic. They also included perhaps 1,500,000 Jews.

Because they came to this country late, these immigrants and their children were concentrated in the lower economic rungs. Moreover, they resented what seemed to them efforts to force conformity to an Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture, through Sunday Blue Laws, prohibition, and the Klan. Throughout the industrialized East, the make-up of society was such that Protestantism coincided largely with

with the Republican party, with millowners and financiers, with the snobbish members of the exclusive clubs - in short, with the upper class. Catholicism, in turn, coincided largely with discrimination and sweated labor, with immigrant minorities who were looked down upon as inferior beings - in short, the lower class.

It was not until the revolution of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932 that this balance of separate geographical dominances was upset. Roosevelt touched off a race to nationalize the basis of support for both parties. By transforming the Democratic following in the North from a largely Catholic party to one whose main appeal was economic, Roosevelt began the process of undermining Republican voting strength. The key to that erosion was a new tendency to vote on the basis of income and economic class. The ability of growing numbers of Americans to vote more sharply in economic terms, appears also to have been strengthened by the ebbing of anti-Catholic feeling during John F. Kennedy's administration and by the slow weakening of anti-Negro prejudice in the South.

The real drama of American politics, Samuel Lubell has noted in his perceptive study on The Future of American Politics lies "in the constant struggle for national unification, in a ceaseless striving for 'a more perfect union' made essential first by our continent-spanning expanse, and later on by the astonishing variety of peoples who were drawn to this country. The screws of internal adjustment have been tightened by the mounting burdens of leadership in a time-shortened world." Lubell adds:

"My basic faith...runs to the belief that in the long run the political future belongs to the forces of unification. Somehow, often in ways that are not readily perceived, the unifying forces eventually win out over the dividing, separatist influences."

Lubell points to economics, culture, politics, and technology as "nationalizing forces" which tend to impose their influences across the whole nation, overriding its sectional cleavages, differences and traditions. These nationalizing forces, he adds, are the carriers of change which disrupt the present and shape the future.

The current era of the Democratic party dominance as the majority coalition on the national political scene has been, in Lubell's words, "an adventure in social unification." For the elements of the New Deal coalition - the children and grandchildren of all the urban minorities, black and white Southerners, workers and farmers, - the problems of social unification have been "life or death" issues." The essential quality of the majority coalition gathered today in the Democratic party is not its "liberalism" or "conservatism" but its timeliness. The elements in this coalition must be alive and responsive to the newer problems around which the unification of the nation spins.

Of the many trends ~~remaking~~ remaking the politics of our time, Lubell singles out "the quickening economic revolution in the South, which has altered the dynamics of Southern sectionalism to where it has become a pressure for ~~political~~ political unification with the rest of the nation."

See
D. B. B. Stern
Time mag. Jan '77
"Republic of
Technology"

The perpetual view of the so-called "Solid South" as a homogeneous, poor, pastoral, politically powerful but growthless whole is rapidly becoming ridiculous. The time is past due for America to ~~xxx~~ cease ~~talking~~ about the South as a minority culture. As Wattenberg and Scammon rightly point out, "when critics stop thinking of ways to bring it into 'mainstream' we will be striking a blow for accuracy. One third of a nation, after all, is nearly a mainstream in itself."

As suggested in Chapter One, it is a matter of straight census fact that the South today is more urban than not - some 60% - and there is solid evidence of mounting wealth, developing modern industry, and vibrant growth in many Southern areas.

In this chapter, we will seek to profile in some detail the extensive transformation in the New South during recent years in the following areas:

a) Population changes - the Census Bureau's estimates of population changes in metropolitan areas between 1970 and 1974 show a continuation of the pattern - enormous growth in the 'boom' areas of the South and Southwest and a slowing of growth, and end of growth or even a loss of population in the older Northern cities. In the last ten years, nearly eight million people have moved into the states of the Southeast alone, far outnumbering the economic exiles, most of them poor whites and blacks, who left to seek opportunity outside the region.

More than 85 percent of the nation's population growth now takes place in these states. Within the past 30 years, the population of the Southern Rim has jumped from 40 to 80 million. Texas has seen a 100 percent increase in its population. California has 200 percent.

Florida 400 percent, and Arizona-Nevada 450 percent. Of the 50 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) - the big cities and their surroundings - 38 with the largest anticipated increases by 1980 are located in the Sunbelt.

At the same time, movement away from metropolitan areas has sharply increased. Most recent Bureau of Census statistics show that the New York metropolitan area, in a pattern typical of many older Northern cities, lost 635,000 residents in the period from 1970 to 1974 - at a time when the population of the South and Southwest was mushrooming at double the national average.

(b) The Economic Revolution - in all the exchanges in population between the regions, the Sunbelt has gained economically. Those moving South tend to be above average in income and education, while those going North are below average. Jobs and money are pouring into the Sunbelt at an unprecedented rate. In his book, The Power Shift, Kirkpatrick Sale cites what he terms "an authentic economic revolution," which introduced the new postwar industries of defense, aerospace, electronics, agribusiness, oil-and-gas extraction as chief impetus in the Sunbelt's emergence as a power. Employment rose 21% in Houston and 26% in Phoenix in the period from 1970 to 1973, compared to a drop of 7% and 6% in New York and Philadelphia, respectively. In 1974 alone, the Southern rim states received \$13 billion more from the Federal Government than they paid out in Federal taxes - while for the same period, none Northern states suffered

a net loss of \$20 billion. The Federal Government, following economic development policies set years ago, is subsidizing the shift. Critics now charge that the Government is thereby contributing to the decline of the older industrialized states. Now these states are banding together - viz., the Nov. 1976 conference of governors of the seven Northeastern states - in Congress and out, to try to get redress. Observers have called this development which "a new war between the states."

The metropolitan expansion of the South and Southwest is characterized for the most part by a frontier atmosphere of optimism and an exuberant faith in the power of capitalism, hard work, and self-reliance. However, for many of the poor and minorities in the region, the Sunbelt boom is still only a phrase in the newspapers, or a talk-show topic on TV. Houston, for many the archetypal Sunbelt city, reflects the region's sometimes harsh emphasis on self-sufficiency and the work ethic in its minimal social service programs. It has been called "No. 1 in business climate and No. 1 in poverty."

(c) National political affairs - the Sunbelt's influence on national politics is likely to be two-sided. On one level, it will continue to gain electoral votes and seats in Congress because of its population growth. As the 1976 Presidential election demonstrated, no political party can win a presidential election henceforth without some of the South and some of the border states who control sixty percent of the magical 270 electoral votes needed for victory.

But in a trend underway for a decade, the South has lost through death, retirement, or political defeat a good share of the powerful committee chairmen who served so well in obtaining

outsided appropriations and job-producing military installations - including an estimated \$8 billion a year by 1980 that will be funneled into these states in military retirement pay alone, a figure that far exceeds the current total of Federal general revenue sharing nationwide.

In assessing the political implications of this power shift, Kirkpatrick Sale (The Power Shift) contends that the leadership of the South Southern rim has been retained by an "oligarchy of yahoos whose value systems were dominant before the shift occurred." But some observers anticipate a new model: an amalgam that is still taking shape between the diverse forces striving for leadership, a competition they say may result in a blending of the old and new instead of a triumph of one over the other.

(d) Educational Progress - newly available statistics and studies conducted by the Southern Regional Education Board reveal that the overall expenditures for higher education in the majority of Southern states are now above national levels. According to board president Winfred L. Godwin,

"Over the past 15 years, the South has taken great strides^d towards achieving national parity in extending educational opportunity and strengthening its systems of post-high school learning." Among the strides documented by various educational agencies:

*National expenditures for higher education increased by 340 percent between 1964 and 1974. But in the South, the rise was 390 percent, including a 725 percent increase in South Carolina and rises of more than 450 percent in North Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and Mississippi

*Full professors in the South, once the lowest paid in the

nation, now make an average annual salary of \$18,293, or slightly more than professors in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain states. The Southern salary is 85% of the \$21,638 received by Eastern professors, the best paid in the country. Ten years ago, Southern professors made \$9,656. That was only 75 percent of the \$12,940 then going to Western professors, the best paid in the country in the mid-1960s.

*The South, with slightly more than a fourth of the country's population and accredited schools, now receives almost a fourth of the academic research and development funds given to top institutions by the Federal Government. Fifteen years ago, the region received only a sixth of the funds.

*In keeping with a national trend, the South has greatly expanded its community college system in the last 15 years. There are now more than 300 of these institutions in the region, a threefold rise in two decades.

*There has been a major increase in the production of doctorates in the South, although this is a mixed blessing at a time when there is a surplus of doctorates in the nation as a whole. Twenty five years ago, the region produced only one of every 10 in the nation's PhDs. Now it has one of every five.

(More data of this kind to give a fuller profile of the educational development, including those involving blacks.)

A number of institutions and graduate departments have achieved national rankings sufficient to slow the debilitating northward "brain drain" of top Southern high school graduates. "Obviously we have lingering weaknesses," Terry Sanford, the former North Carolina governor

who is now president of Duke University, declares, "But each day we are becoming more and more competitive, more in the mainstream. The progress has been absolutely remarkable."

SUMMARY --

There is then not only a Problem South, but a New South: a growing, urban, industrial, educated South. Part of the Southland has economic and social problems - much of it does not. Further, the national demographic correctives are at work in the South as elsewhere in the nation: people are leaving the problem areas, but tens of thousands are flocking to Southern areas where progress of various sorts is apparent.

The South comprises a third of our nation, and for the most part, it stands clearly within our cultural and economic mainstream. Radical differences of opinion have the South appear at times to be a land apart, but its citizens, both white and blacks, reveal a motivational behavior quite identical to that of other areas of the country - Southerners are seeking more and better, and so are we all.

Taking into account all these factors of change and extraordinary growth, there seems to be one inescapable conclusion -- the South has risen again and appears destined to play an increasingly critical role in the shaping of the policies of our nation on practically every level that will affect the lives of all Americans - politics, economics, education, culture. And religion, which also means relations between all religions, ethnic and racial groups. And that means pluralism, the soul of our American democratic society.

The most recent Gallup survey of "Religion in America, 1976" found that "the American public is extraordinarily religious," and "a spiritual renewal" may be in its first stages. In fact, Americans profess a greater level of religious commitment than any other major industrialized society among 60 non-Communist nations surveyed by Gallup International (with the U. S. ranking only behind India among the nations studied.)

Some 132,287,450 persons identified themselves as members of religious groups in America, according to the National Council of Churches statistics for 1975. As one Christian friend put it to me, "there are more Methodist churches in the United States than there are post offices" (and, hopefully, they deliver their goods more efficiently!)

Quick on body

Sixty-one percent of Americans say they are Protestant, 27 are Roman Catholic, and nearly 3 percent are Jews. Six percent have no religious preference. In addition, 71 percent said they are members of a church or synagogue, compared with 73 percent in 1952. Despite statistical ups and downs, institutional membership in churches and synagogues rose 46 percent between 1950 and 1970, while the general population declined. By 1971, religious groups received more than 40 percent of the ~~total~~ total ~~religious~~ philanthropic giving in our nation.

The Gallup International survey showed religious beliefs were considered "very important" by 56 percent of the persons polled 30% said "fairly important", and 5% said "not at all important". in the U. S. (36 percent in Italy and Canada, 26 percent of people in Benelux - Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxemburg ; 25 percent in

in Australia; 23 percent in the United Kingdom; 22 percent in France; and 17 percent in West Germany and the Scandinavian nations.)

Ninety-four percent of the American people professed a belief in God "or a universal spirit," (89% in Canada; 88% in Italy, 80% in Australia; 78% in Benelux; 76% in United Kingdom; 72% in France and West Germany; and 65% in Scandinavian nations.)

Sixty-nine percent of the Americans affirmed a "belief in life after death" (54% in Canada; 48% in Australia and Benelux; 46% in Italy; 43% in United Kingdom; 39% in France; 39% in Scandinavia; and 33% in West Germany).

Sharp declines in religious interest and participation in the 1960s have bottomed out among Americans in the 1970s, and there is little evidence of any widespread growth in the disenchantment with religion in the last 15 years, concludes the Gallup Opinion Index study (July 23, 1976, Washington Post.)

The percentage believing that religion was "increasing its influence on American society" had plunged from 69% in 1957 to 14% in 1970. But in 1975, those saying religion was increasing its influence had risen to 39% of the American public.

Forty-four percent of Americans say they have a "great deal of confidence in organized religions, 24% say "quite a lot", 20% say "some," 9% say "very little", and 1% say "none."

In another study published Sept. 22, 1976, pollster George Gallup reported that "every third American 18 and older says he or she has had a religious conversion experience" similar to the "born again" experience of Jimmy Carter. This figure

projects to nearly 50 million "born again Americans," Gallup noted.

Among Protestants, about half (51%) say they are "born again" Christians, and 18% of the U. S. Roman Catholics say they also have had a "born again" experience. This, he said, is currently "the hot movement" in the ~~am~~ church today and the year 1976 can be considered "the year of the evangelical". He noted that much of the current interest in the evangelical movement stems from Mr. Carter's candidacy for President and the public reactions to Mr. Carter's public profession of personal piety.

The marks of an evangelical or "born again" Christian are listed as including a literal interpretation of the Bible and a belief that one has an urgent duty to spread the faith -- to witness.

Four in 10 nationwide (38%), nearly half of Protestants (46%) and about a third of Catholics (31%) hold that the Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally. "So we see that fundamentalism is still a very powerful force in religion in America," Gallup stated.

To measure conversion efforts, or witnessing, Gallup's pollsters asked their sample of the nation's adults if they had ever tried to encourage someone to believe in Jesus Christ or to accept Him as his or her Savior. "A remarkably high proportion answered in the affirmative - 47 percent.," he said. "The figure is even higher among Protestants alone, 58%. The proportion for Protestants is nearly one-half, and 6 in 10 among Baptists. Crudely put, no other ~~mk~~ denominations have more salesmen in the field." The Episcopalians trail all other major denominations in witnessing, with only about one in 10 trying to encourage someone to believe as a Christian.

Thus, religious fundamentalism as a major factor in U.S. life, and the evangelical movement is "the most significant trend" in religion. Evangelical churches have attracted more members, while "mainline" churches have suffered serious losses.

Whether the churches in America succeed in providing the moral and spiritual leadership needed today depends in large measures on two key groups in the population: those with college background (a fourth of the population) and young adults (ages 18 to 29) who will set the tone for religion in the decade ahead and provide the nation's leadership. "The church's declining influence," Gallup said, "has often been blamed on these two groups -- the college educated and the young -- yet survey evidence strongly suggests that these groups should well be in the vanguard of religious renewal in this country."

"Levels of religious interest, belief and practice are remarkably high among young people in this country. In addition, persons with a college background in many respects are as religious as those with less than a college background."

Social commentators have expressed surprise that so many people in what they describe as a "secularized and largely agnostic nation" have supported a devout evangelical Southern Baptist, Jimmy Carter. Yet ~~in fact~~ the fact appears to be that Americans are extraordinarily religious people, and an estimated two-thirds of Protestants are evangelicals. (In the 1975 survey, 20 % gave their religious preference as Baptist, 11% Methodist, 7% Lutheran, 5% Presbyterian, and 3% Episcopalian.)

Thus, the findings offer a "positive outlook for religion in America as we enter the third century of our existence," the Gallup report stated.

ADD HERE AN INTERPRETATION OF WHY A GROWTH IN INTERESTES IN RELIGION (REACTION TO EMPTINESS OF MATERIALISM, PURSUIT OF IMMORALITY, NUCLEAR THREAT, VIOLENCE - SEARCH FOR MEANING IN LIFE) 2) WHICH EVANGELICALISM (SEARCH FOR CERTAIN TIES, CHANGING PERSONS TO CHANGE INSTITUTIONS) have attracted more members, while "mainline" churches have suffered serious losses.

VI - SOUTHERN BAPTISTS - LARGEST CHURCH IN THE WORLD?

The congregation of the First Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina, the oldest church in the Southern Baptist Convention, began planning in ~~October~~ 1976 for the celebration of its 300th birthday in 1982. The historic Charleston church is one of 108 Southern Baptist churches ^{which} are 200 years old or older.

The list, compiled by the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Commission, includes 94 churches which have passed the bicentennial mark and 14 now observing their bicentennial. (Virginia has the highest number of churches with 59, followed by North Carolina with 25, South Carolina with 20, Georgia with 3, and Maryland with 1.)

Thus, Southern Baptist churches are among the oldest in our nation. Today, they are also among the largest.

The Southern Baptists are among the fastest growing denominations in this country, numbering about 12.8 million members, and growing at a rate of 250,000 persons annually. On an average Sunday now, reports Dr. Foy Valentine, executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention since 1960, "we baptize in our churches about 8,000 new members." There are also some 30 associations and groups of independents who now bring the number of Baptists in the nation to some 35 million, including about 12 million American black Baptists.

Southern Baptists organized themselves into a "Convention" in 1845 in Augusta, Georgia. The SBC is called a "Convention" rather than a "Church" because it is nothing more than a loose alliance of 35,000 Southern Baptist congregations - about 340 of which

are black or predominantly black - that cooperate in mission programs. Each congregation sends "messengers" (delegates) to an annual convention of the body, but none of the action taken is considered binding on any of the congregations or individuals, reflecting the voluntarism and strong commitment ~~to~~ to freedom of conscience.

According to the Southern Baptist Handbook, the populations of the United States, excluding California and Hawaii, grew 38% from 1950-1970, while the population percentage of Southern Baptists grew 64%. "There are now more Baptists than people," is a standard joke that flits around in conversations with Baptists.

In Arizona - which tripled its populations in 25 years to more than 2.2 million people - Arizona Baptists have undertaken as part of the denomination's "Bold Mission Thrust," to start 100 new Sunday school and Bible fellowships each year, plus 30 church-type missions. The Arizona-Nevada Southern Baptists have developed this year 22 new missions and "preaching points." They have also started a "saturation witness" effort, in which they plan to personally confront every person "within the convention's area."

Texas claims 2 million Southern Baptists, and Georgia and North Carolina each have more than 1 million. (list other states and memberships). Kentucky, with 710,000 baptized members in 2,200 Southern Baptist congregations, ranks seventh in Southern Baptist population by states.

The inroads made by the denomination above the Mason-Dixon line are recent and substantial. While Indiana has only 66,000

Southern Baptists, Ohio has more than 110,000. The first Southern Baptist congregation was established in New York City in 1959; today there are 70. (see article on New York Baptists, esp. black, Hispanics)

Texas and Arizona Baptists hope to increase the Baptist percentage of their states' populations, which have remained relatively constant since 1960. Florida Baptists, since 1950, have maintained a constant Baptist to general populations ratio of one in 10 - despite huge jumps in numbers of people living in the state. By 1980, Florida is expected to add another million-plus residents, and Florida Baptists project a three-year "bold advance" effort to have 200 new missions by the end of the decade.

Today, says Dr. Walter B. Shurden, a Southern Baptist historian teaching at Louisville Seminary, the SBC is something more than "the unofficial state church of the South. Sometimes we've been more Southern than Baptists, and more Baptist than Christian. But things are changing." (Dr. Shurden is the author of the history of the SBC called, Not A Silent People.)

The Baptists have spread far beyond the Southern and Border states in recent years and there are now Baptists in all 50 states who are aligned with the Southern Baptist Convention. The SBC Home Mission Board look with something like lust at areas outside the South and are working at a program to establish Southern Baptist congregations in every county in the United States by the turn of the century.

"Missions is the thing that holds us together as Southern Baptists," explains Dr. G. Allen West, director of the Long Run

Baptist Associations in Louisville, Kentucky, "Southern Baptists may disagree on almost anything else. There's a great deal of freedom in our body. But God has given us an imperative to be His witnesses. That's the reason we're ~~here~~ here."

Dr. C. B. Daley, editor of the Western Recorder, the Kentucky Baptist state newspaper published in Middletown, notes that the early Baptists "were sort of the disinherited" but that in the South "we were THE people, the Episcopalians of the community." He adds that "Southern Baptists have become more respectable in other areas of the ~~country~~ country. It remains to be seen what the national image does to us."

The ~~extension~~ extension of the denomination into all sections of the country has been a "wrenching experience" for the ~~faithful~~ faithful, according to Dr. W. C. Fields, who is the SBC's public relations director in Nashville, Tenn., who have a reputation in some quarters as publicly tolerant but privately narrow. "We have been a rural, agrarian people in the South," says Fields, "and there is an unholy momentum that pushes us down the old familiar tracks."

Despite the fact that Southern Baptist congregations can be found in all 50 states, it is still a Southern church, still dominated by the folkways and culture of that region, still revivalistic and ~~is~~ otherworldly/ in spirit.

That revivalistic and heated-up personal witnessing style - sometimes to the exclusion of interest in social evils - has been a Southern Baptist staple from the start and is today the focus of strenuous internal debate among Baptists. (See ~~See~~ Chapter XIII, an

"Public and Private Religion").

"We have to work on combining personal regeneration (the conversion experience) with social reconstruction," asserts Dr. Henlee Barnette, a Christian ethicist at the Louisville Southern Baptist Seminary. The ethical "yoke of the kingdom of God is love and justice. Too often religious institutions fail to speak out on social justice until it's safe, until the newspapers have made it an issue."

Barnette says the SBC still suffers from the mistakes of the "old-timers" - men who organized the SBC in 1845 - and almost immediately sided with those missionaries who wanted to own both slaves and a clear conscience. "It's no wonder we can't really attract blacks," Barnette complains. (see Chapter IV-C, "Evangelicals and Blacks").

Edward Wheeler, who works for the SBC Home Mission Board in Atlanta, is a 30-year-old Southern Baptist pastor who was raised in the National Baptist Church, which is predominantly black. "If anybody told me five years ago I'd be a Southern Baptist," says Wheeler, "I'd have laughed before I cussed. I thought of Southern Baptists in terms of the Mississippian who went to church on Sunday night, and after the service exchanged his choir robes for a Ku Klux Klan robe and then went down the street to burn the black churches."

Wheeler says he was "shocked to find skilled men and women in the SBC who really were wrestling to bridge the gap between the races. I'm still crazy enough to believe it can be done," says Wheeler who believes the denomination allows him the "freedom to have a solid and conservative theology with an active social outreach."

Dr. John Howell, pastor of Louisville's prestigious Crescent Hill Baptist Church, admits that there remain some "narrow, hidebound, fundamentalists" within the Southern Baptist Convention. "But something important is happening," says Howell, "We find a number of Southern Baptists who are able to integrate their Christian faith with the world. Jimmy Carter is a good example of this new breed. Dancing and drinking used to be our ~~main~~ major concerns. Now it's civil rights and really important issues."

Dr. Duke McCall, for the last 25 years president of the Louisville Southern Baptist Seminary, staunchly holds that Carter's candidacy and the resulting investigation of the "Baptist mentality" have been a boost for the old "Jolly Gray Giant." It's the first time the SBC has had a national mirror in which to see itself, McCall says. "I don't necessarily like what I'm seeing. I don't have a rosy-eyed view of Southern Baptists, knowing what I know about human nature. But I'm rather pleased we're doing as well as others seem to think we are."

Dr. C. Welton Gaddy, a member of the SBC Christian Life Commission in Nashville and a former pastor of Louisville's Beechwood Baptist Church, finds in his denomination "an opportunity to live out in action the relationship between discipleship and citizenship...and the freedom to be different."

Summarizing these tendencies, Dr. Fields asserts, "We've finally joined the Union. Our denomination, our style of worship, our thought patterns, will likely change to be more like the rest of the country." Others contend that Southern Baptists needn't move; the rest of the country is rapidly joining them.

The coming out of the Southern Baptist Convention has arrived on the wings of Carter's candidacy and it has "chic" written all over it. "Now it's considered exciting to be a Southern Baptist," Pat Patillo, a vice-president at Louisville's Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, told Bruce Buursma of Louisville Courier Journal (Oct. 25, 1976). "Carter is part of it, but so is success. Success has been our ally."

That success is manifest in the impressive reality that today, the Southern Baptists are the largest Protestant denomination in the U. S. They are confident, Dr. James T. Baker of Western Kentucky University comments somewhat caustically, "that given enough time and patience and energy, all three of which they have in abundance, they will eventually become the largest church in the world." (Southern Baptists in the Seventies, Christian Century, June 27, 1973.)

However exaggerated that claim may appear to be, the profile of Southern Baptist growth - and its implications for the general society - deserve thoughtful attention and evaluation. Consider this additional data:

In 1974, Southern Baptists contributed a total of \$1, 342,479,619 or \$107 per capita. (Women in Baptist churches have contributed more than \$25 million, surpassing their goal by more than \$1 million, and reaching it much earlier than anticipated.) Baptists support some 5,000 missionaries at home and abroad, and in 1976 the SBC Foreign Mission Board has been asked

to provide 1,330 new missionaries in 1977 for expanding and continuing work in 84 countries. (Of the total requests for 1977, 42% were for general evangelists -- a "preacher" missionary who works with pastors, trains church ~~lax~~ leaders, plants churches and missions points, helps established churches grow and promotes church and denominational programs. In addition to general evangelists, other top priorities in 1977 include requests for 36 physicians, 34 nurses, 9 dentists, 16 secondary education teachers and 14 college teachers.).

This contrasts with the state of financial support of a major "liberal Protestant" denomination, the United Presbyterian Church, which on Dec. 8, 1976, announced budget cuts of more than 10% for 1977. The new budget of \$28,489,205 for the Presbyterians' world and national work is \$3,326,777 lower than the 1976 figure. The reductions mean, according to the Religious News Service report, that 21 persons will lose their jobs, and that 37 unfilled staff positions will be abolished. None of the 403 Presbyterian missionaries is being recalled, but those who retire or resign in 1977 will not be replaced. The denomination's missionary total at the end of next year is 360.

The SBC Home Missions Board has projected an evangelizing program for 1976-1979 whose purpose is to realize an "innovative, strong mission policy for all America." In 1974, they conducted interracial crusades in seven major cities of New England, which was an expression of their growing involvement in inner cities, and in working with blacks, Hispanics, ethnic groups, the aging, young people, as well as with Arab Muslims, Buddhists, Jews (see chapter X XIV-A, "Evangelical

and Jews"), and a special ministry geared for the United Nations personnel.

All of which suggests that the general images of Southern Baptists as "rednecks," "crackers," "poor white trash," and "dirt eaters," have little relationship to the socio-economic transformation in recent decades of that large community into a predominantly white-collar denomination. In a recent study, it was found, for example, that Georgia Baptists are far more white-collar than the state as a whole. The state's population consists of about 49 percent white-collar workers and 51 percent blue-collar. "But 73 percent of the people in the average Baptist church on Sunday morning are white-collar." (Home Missions, Sept. 1976.)

And the same is true of Southern Baptists in all states where the denomination has long been established, the study adds. Most "First Churches" are led by first families, professional people, business owners - the "establishment" of the community. (The president of Holiday Inns is a Bible-believing Baptist, as are the presidents of such multi-national corporations as Genesco, Raytheon, among others in the top echelons of corporate life.)

One index of the growing cultural impact of the evangelical Christians is registered in the booming sale of religious books. According to the Association of American Publishers, religious or inspirational books posted a sales increase more than twice as large as secular works. The ~~ix~~ fastest selling titles in the nation during ~~xxxx~~ each of the last four years has had a religious or inspirational theme.

The Rev. Billy Graham's latest book, Angels - which has sold

more than 1.5 million copies - was the biggest ~~xxxx~~ selling book of 1975. The Christian Booksellers Association, a trade group consisting mainly of evangelical book stores and publishers, expects a 17 to 21 percent annual increase in religious book sales through 1982. This will come as something of a revelation to many non-evangelicals and to non-Southerners, since the Northern media tend to be out-of touch with this "parochial" world, or else treat it with some disdain.

Another sign of such cultural impact is seen in the growth of several hundred "Christian" radio and TV stations that carry large numbers of evangelical programs, most of which are related to the National Religious Broadcasters Association. In Dec. 1975, the World Satellite Network inaugurated a "global satellite television network for Christ - man's first telecast of the Gospel from ~~xxxx~~ outer space on ~~Christmas~~ Christmas for 1975." Billed as "God's plan for reaching the world with the 'good news' entering the sixth revolution of speech (1st/ spoken word; 2nd/ writing; 3rd/ printing; 4th/ radio; 5th/ television; 6th/ satellite), the satellite program featured Colonel James B. Irwin, Apollo 15 astronaut as Evangelical host.

There are now major Christian TV networks, including the Christian Broadcast Network of Norfolk, Va.; the Praise the Lord Club of Charlotte, N. C.; the Faith Broadcasting Network, Inc. of Minneapolis, Minn. - all of which are devoted to promoting "Christian family programs" as well as "spiritual messages." The Faith Broadcasting Network is battling with a commercial TV station for

the right to operate a Twin Cities' area television. The ~~newxxx~~ Christian network's president, Rich Life, an evangelist of Ridley, Minn., argued that the area needs a "Christian" station because of the amount of crime and violence programs on existing stations. He also said the main reason for his station would be "to bring the message of Christ to the more than 3 million people in this area."

Cultural impacts of the rise of evangelicalism can be measured by a number of other indices - the popularity of country music, ~~xxxxxxx~~ Brand Ole Opry, Mary Hartmen-Mary Hartman, "The Texas Trilogy" on Broadway. ^A Shortly after the election of President-elect Jimmy Carter, one ~~xxxx~~ acid-tongued comedienne announced that "we can now expect four years of Beverly Hill-Billies in the White House." The audience laughter was nervous and hesitant, a mixture of comic catharsis and residual anxiety over the unknown South.

And, finally, perhaps the most winsome testimony to the emergent evangelization of America's popular culture is reflected in the election of Miss Rebecca Ann Reid, 17, as Miss Teenage America of 1977. On being crowned winner over 46 other talented finalists in a competition which attracted 20,000 teen-age women across the U. S., "Becky", who is an active Southern Baptist from Dallas, said:

"God deserves the credit for all this; certainly not me. A long time ago I just dedicated all ~~what~~ I had to give to God. I want him to use my talent, that's the most important thing. And He has

sports

taken it and let me use it in wonderful ways. As I tried out for Miss Teenage Dallas, I thought about winning, of course, but I asked God to just take me and use me. And that's what I want to do now with me as Miss Teenage America."

Becky recently signed an autograph for an admiring sixth grader with these words:

"I hope that you will always be directed by God and may He continue to shine through you. Best wishes always. Love in Christ. Becky."

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VI - SOUTHERN BAPTISTS - LARGEST CHURCH IN THE WORLD?

The congregation of the First Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina, the oldest church in the Southern Baptist Convention, began planning in October 1976 for the celebration of its 300th birthday in 1982. The historic Charleston church is one of 108 Southern Baptist churches^{which} are 200 years old or older.

The list, compiled by the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Commission, includes 94 churches which have passed the bicentennial mark and 14 now observing their bicentennial. (Virginia has the highest number of churches with 59, followed by North Carolina with 25, South Carolina with 20, Georgia with 3, and Maryland with 1.)

Thus, Southern Baptist churches are among the oldest in our nation. Today, they are also among the largest.

The Southern Baptists are among the fastest growing denominations in this country, numbering about 12.8 million members, and growing at a rate of 250,000 persons annually. On an average Sunday now, reports Dr. Foy Valentine, executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention since 1960, "we baptize in our churches about 8,000 new members." There are also some 30 associations and groups of independents who now bring the number of Baptists in the nation to some 35 million, including about 12 million American black Baptists.

Southern Baptists organized themselves into a "Convention" in 1845 in Augusta, Georgia. The SBC is called a "Convention" rather than a "Church" because it is nothing more than a loose alliance of 35,000 Southern Baptist congregations - about 340 of which

are black or predominantly black - that cooperate in mission programs. Each congregation sends "messengers" (delegates) to an annual convention of the body, but none of the action taken is considered binding on any of the congregations or individuals, reflecting the voluntarism and strong commitment ~~at~~ to freedom of conscience.

According to the Southern Baptist Handbook, the populations of the South states, excluding California and Hawaii, grew 38% from 1950-1970, while the population percentage of Southern Baptists grew 64%. "There are now more Baptists than people," is a standard joke that flits around in conversations with Baptists.

In Arizona - which tripled its populations in 25 years to more than 2.2 million people - Arizona Baptists have undertaken as part of the denomination's "Bold Mission Thrust," to start 100 new Sunday school and Bible fellowships each year, plus 30 church-type missions. The Arizona-Nevada Southern Baptists have developed this year 22 new missions and "preaching points." They have also started a "saturation witness" effort, in which they plan to personally confront every person "within the convention's area."

Texas claims 2 million Southern Baptists, and Georgia and North Carolina each have more than 1 million. (list other states and memberships). Kentucky, with 710,000 baptized members in 2,200 Southern Baptist congregations, ranks seventh in Southern Baptist population by states.

The inroads made by the denomination above the Mason-Dixon line are recent and substantial. While Indiana has only 66,000

Southern Baptists, Ohio has more than 110,000. The first Southern Baptist congregation was established in New York City in 1959; today there are 70. (see article on New York Baptists, esp. black, Hispanics)

Texas and Arizona Baptists hope to increase the Baptist percentage of their states' populations, which have remained relatively constant since 1960. Florida Baptists, since 1950, have maintained a constant Baptist to general populations ratio of one in 10 - despite huge jumps in numbers of people living in the state. By 1980, Florida is expected to add another million-plus residents, and Florida Baptists project a three-year "bold advance" effort to have 200 new missions by the end of the decade.

Today, says Dr. Walter B. Shurden, a Southern Baptist historian teaching at Louisville Seminary, the SBC is something more than "the unofficial state church of the South. Sometimes we've been more Southern than Baptists, and more Baptist than Christian. But things are changing." (Dr. Shurden is the author of the history of the SBC called, Not A Silent People.)

The Baptists have spread far beyond the Southern and Border states in recent years and there are now Baptists in all 50 states who are aligned with the Southern Baptist Convention. The SBC Home Mission Board look with something like lust at areas outside the South and are working at a program to establish Southern Baptist congregations in every county in the United States by the turn of the century.

"Missions is the thing that holds us together as Southern Baptists," explains Dr. G. Allen West, director of the Long Run

Baptist Associations in Louisville, Kentucky, "Southern Baptists may disagree on almost anything else. There's a great deal of freedom in our body. But God has given us an imperative to be His witnesses. That's the reason we're ~~xxx~~ here."

Dr. C. B. Daley, editor of the Western Recorder, the Kentucky Baptist state newspaper published in Middletown, notes that the early Baptists "were sort of the disinherited" but that in the South "we were THE people, the Episcopalians of the community." He adds that "Southern Baptists have become more respectable in other areas of the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ country. It remains to be seen what the national image does to us."

The ~~xxxx~~ extension of the denomination into all sections of the country has been a "wrenching experience" for the ~~xxx~~ faithful, according to Dr. W. C. Fields, who is the SBC's public relations director in Nashville, Tenn., who have a reputation in some quarters as publicly tolerant but privately narrow. "We have been a rural, agrarian people in the South," says Fields, "and there is an unholy momentum that pushes us down the old familiar tracks."

Despite the fact that Southern Baptist congregations can be found in all 50 states, it is still a Southern church, still dominated by the folkways and culture of that region, still revivalistic and ~~to~~ otherworldly/ in spirit.

That revivalistic and heated-up personal witnessing style - sometimes to the exclusion of interest in social evils - has been a Southern Baptist staple from the start and is today the focus of strenuous internal debate among Baptists. (See ~~Sxxx~~ Chapter XIII, on

"Public and Private Religion").

"We have to work on combining personal regeneration (the conversion experience) with social reconstruction," asserts Dr. Henlee Barnette, a Christian ethicist at the Louisville Southern Baptist Seminary. The ethical "yoke of the kingdom of God is love and justice. Too often religious institutions fail to speak out on social justice until it's safe, until the newspapers have made it an issue."

Barnette says the SBC still suffers from the mistakes of the "old-timers" - men who organized the SBC in 1845 - and almost immediately sided with those missionaries who wanted to own both slaves and a clear conscience. "It's no wonder we can't really attract blacks," Barnette complains. (see Chapter IV-C, "Evangelicals and Blacks").

Edward Wheeler, who works for the SBC Home Mission Board in Atlanta, is a 30-year-old Southern Baptist pastor who was raised in the National Baptist Church, which is predominantly black. "If anybody told me five years ago I'd be a Southern Baptist," says Wheeler, "I'd have laughed before I cussed. I thought of Southern Baptists in terms of the Mississippian who went to church on Sunday night, and after the service exchanged his choir robe for a Ku Klux Klan robe and then went down the street to burn the black churches."

Wheeler says he was "shocked to find skilled men and women in the SBC who really were wrestling to bridge the gap between the races. I'm still crazy enough to believe it can be done," says Wheeler who believes the denomination allows him the "freedom to have a solid and conservative theology with an active social outreach."

Dr. John Howell, pastor of Louisville's prestigious Crescent Hill Baptist Church, admits that there remain some "narrow, hidebound, fundamentalists" within the Southern Baptist Convention. "But something important is happening," says Howell, "We find a number of Southern Baptists who are able to integrate their Christian faith with the world. Jimmy Carter is a good example of this new breed. Dancing and drinking used to be our main major concerns. Now it's civil rights and really important issues."

Dr. Duke McCall, for the last 25 years president of the Louisville Southern Baptist Seminary, staunchly holds that Carter's candidacy and the resulting investigation of the "Baptist mentality" have been a boost for the old "Jolly Gray Giant." It's the first time the SBC has had a national mirror in which to see itself, McCall says. "I don't necessarily like what I'm seeing. I don't have a rosy-eyed view of Southern Baptists, knowing what I know about human nature. But I'm rather pleased we're doing as well as others seem to think we are."

Dr. C. Welton Gaddy, a member of the SBC Christian Life Commission in Nashville and a former pastor of Louisville's Beechwood Baptist Church, find in his denomination "an opportunity to live out in action the relationship between discipleship and citizenship...and the freedom to be different."

Summarizing these tendencies, Dr. Fields asserts, "We've finally joined the Union. Our denomination, our style of worship, our thought patterns, will likely change to be more like the rest of the country." Others contend that Southern Baptists needn't move; the rest of the country is rapidly joining them.

The coming out of the Southern Baptist Convention has arrived on the wings of Carter's candidacy and it has "chic" written all over it. "Now it's considered exciting to be a Southern Baptist," Pat Patillo, a vice-president at Louisville's Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, told Bruce Buursma of Louisville Courier Journal (Oct. 25, 1976). "Carter is part of it, but so is success. Success has been our ally."

That success is manifest in the impressive reality that today, the Southern Baptists are the largest Protestant denomination in the U. S. They are confident, Dr. James T. Baker of Western Kentucky University comments somewhat caustically, "that given enough time and patience and energy, all three of which they have in abundance, they will eventually become the largest church in the world." (Southern Baptists in the Seventies, Christian Century, June 27, 1973.)

However exaggerated that claim may appear to be, the profile of Southern Baptist growth - and its implications for the general society - deserve thoughtful attention and evaluation. Consider this additional data:

In 1974, Southern Baptists contributed a total of \$1, 342,479.619 or \$107 per capita. (Women in Baptist churches have contributed more than \$25 million, surpassing their goal by more than \$1 million, and reaching it much earlier than anticipated.) Baptists support some 5,000 missionaries at home and abroad, and in 1976 the SBC Foreign Mission Board has been asked

to provide 1,330 new missionaries in 1977 for expanding and continuing work in 84 countries. (Of the total requests for 1977, 42% were for general evangelists -- a "preacher" missionary who works with pastors, trains church ~~lea~~ leaders, plants churches and missions points, helps established churches grow and promotes church and denomi~~n~~ational programs. In addition~~x~~ to general evangelists, other top priorities in 1977 include requests for 36 physicians, 34 nurses, 9 dentists, 16 secondary education teachers and 14 college teachers.).

This contrasts with the state of financial support of a major "liberal Protestant" denomination, the United Presbyterian Church, which on Dec. 8, 1976, announced budget cuts of more than 10% for 1977. The new budget of \$28,489,205 for the Presbyterians' world and antional work is \$3,326,777 lower than the 1976 figure. The reductions mean, according to the Religious News Service report, that 21 persons will lose their jobs, and that 37 unfilled staff positions will be abolished. None of the 403 Presbyterian missionaries is being recalled, but those who retire or resign in 1977 will not be replaced. The denomination's missionary total at the end of next year is 360.

The SBC Home Missions Board has projected an evangelizing program for 1976-1979 whose purpose is to realize an "innovative, strong mission policy for all Amerida." In 1974, they cnnducted interracial crusades in seven major cities of New England, which was an expression of their growing involvement in inner cities, and in working with blacks, Hispanics, ethnic groups, the aging, young people, as well as with Arab Muslims, Buddhists, Jews (see chapter ~~x~~ XIV-A, "Evangelical

and Jews"), and a special ministry geared for the United Nations personnel.

All of which suggests that the general images of Southern Baptists as "rednecks," "crackers," "poor white trash," and "dirt eaters," have little relationship to the socio-economic transformation in recent decades of that large community into a predominantly white-collar denomination. In a recent study, it was found, for example, that Georgia Baptists are far more white-collar than the state as a whole. The state's population consists of about 49 percent white-collar workers and 51 percent blue-collar. "But 73 percent of the people in the average Baptist church on Sunday morning are white-collar." (Home Missions, Sept. 1976.)

And the same is true of Southern Baptists in all states where the denomination has long been established, the study adds. Most "First Churches" are led by first families, professional people, business owners - the "establishment" of the community. (The president of Holiday Inns is a Bible-believing Baptist, as are the presidents of such multi-national corporations as Genesco, Raytheon, among others in the top echelons of corporate life.)

One index of the growing cultural impact of the evangelical Christians is registered in the booming sale of religious books. According to the Association of American Publishers, religious or inspirational books posted a sales increase more than twice as large as secular works. The ~~xx~~ fastest selling titles in the nation during ~~xxxx~~ each of the last four years has had a religious or inspirational theme.

The Rev. Billy Graham's latest book, Angels - which has sold

more than 1.5 million copies - was the biggest ~~xxxxx~~ selling book of 1975. The Christian Booksellers Association, a trade group consisting mainly of evangelical book stores and publishers, expects a 17 to 21 percent annual increase in religious book sales through 1982. This will come as something of a revelation to many non-evangelicals and to non-Southerners, since the Northern media tend to be out-of touch with this "parochial" world, or else treat it with some disdain.

Another sign of such cultural impact is seen in the growth of several hundred "Christian" radio and TV stations that carry large numbers of evangelical programs, most of which are related to the National Religious Broadcasters Association. In Dec. 1975, the World Satellite Network inaugurated a "global satellite television network for Christ - man's first telecast of the Gospel from ~~xxxx~~ outer space on ~~Christmas~~ Christmas for 1975." Billed as "God's plan for reaching the world with the 'good news' entering the sixth revolution of speech (1st/ spoken word; 2nd/ writing; 3rd/ printing; 4th/ radio; 5th/ television; 6th/ satellite), the satellite program featured Colonel James B. Irwin, Apollo 15 astronaut as Evangelical host.

There are now major Christian TV networks, including the Christian Broadcast Network of Norfolk, Va.; the Praise the Lord Club of Charlotte, N. C.; the Faith Broadcasting Network, Inc. of Minneapolis, Minn. - all of which are devoted to promoting "Christian family programs" as well as "spiritual messages." The Faith Broadcasting Network is battling with a commercial TV station for

the right to operate a Twin Cities' area television. The ~~network~~ Christian network's president, Rich Life, an evangelist of Ridley, Minn., argued that the area needs a "Christian" station because of the amount of crime and violence programs on existing stations. He also said the main reason for his station would be "to bring the message of Christ to the more than 3 million people in this area."

Cultural impacts of the rise of evangelicalism can be measured by a number of other indices - the popularity of country music, ~~Grand Ole Opry~~ Brand Ole Opry, Mary Hartmen-Mary Hartman, "The Texas Trilogy" on Broadway. Shortly after the election of President-elect Jimmy Carter, one ~~acid~~ acid-tongued comedienne announced that "we can now expect four years of Beverly Hill-Billies in the White House." The audience laughter was nervous and hesitant, a mixture of comic catharsis and residual anxiety over the unknown South.

And, finally, perhaps the most winsome testimony to the emergent evangelization of America's popular culture is reflected in the election of Miss Rebecca Ann-Reid, 17, as Miss Teenage America of 1977. On being crowned winner over 46 other talented finalists in a competition which attracted 20,000 teen-age women across the U. S., "Becky", who is an active Southern Baptist from Dallas, said:

"God deserves the credit for all this; certainly not me. A long time ago I just dedicated all that I had to give to God. I want him to use my talent, that's the most important thing. And He has

taken it and let me use it in wonderful ways. As I tried out for Miss Teenage Dallas, I thought about winning, of course, but I asked God to just take me and use me. And that's what I want to do now with me as Miss Teenage America."

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