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Series A: Writings and Addresses. 1947-1991

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THE EVANGELICAL RENAISSANCE
-- PROMISE OR MENACE?

by Marc H. Tanengaum

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 reginning of the discovery by America of "The New South."

Northern journalists, media commentators, and academicians swarmed over the Deep South during them? election campaign in 1976 and produced mountains of newscopy and untold hours of radio and TV coverage about something spectacular that is going on "down there" amid the kudzu vines, the live aaks and Southern pines, the grits, and the anterellum 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 stop 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

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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 nations...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 phace 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 politican 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 there, eighty million people live, 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 eletion 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 public, arrested since the Civil War, into a next stage of
maturity. The offusation of the White House by Jimmy Carter as the

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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 agenas of our national life. Thus, Carter's election may well signify for the South what President Johnk F. Kennedy's election as the first Roman Catholic to become president has come to mean for the 49 million Ra 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 as active ring of the Presidency. The American presidency now, apparently, has become in our pluralist decomeracy the ultimate seal of approval signaling that a formerly suppressed or marginal group's having achieved first-class citizenship.

Highceforth, I believe, we will winker witness the surfacing of Southern candidates in everym 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 pitt 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 diagnosts is propagated not only by other-than-southern liberals, but by Southerners as wall, who

often stress their minority role in the American scene."

The "new Southerners" can be expected to contest for the kex highest political offices of our nation, and make claims for the most prestiguous 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, triumphabistic terms. "A reshuffling of pwa 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 Subbelt 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 of God, among others and methodists, Southern Presbyterians, Assemblies of God, among others and there are now Baptists in all 50 states

who are aligned with the Southern Baptists Convention. Today, the

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Southern Baptists are the largest Protestant Rr 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.)

The president of Holiday Inn is a Bible-"elieving 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 Gantrys" 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, andm 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 the future of America? What is the present state of that part of the Southern heritage which fed and nubtured racism, slavery, lynch mbbs, virulent ant P-Semitism, and brutal anti-Catholicism? W 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 Capters 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-belivers? And finally, will a renascent South and an aggressive evangelical Christian community help or hinder the causes of demestic social justice and international reconciliation and present 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 ofman 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 sories 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-Kestern traditions. But this encounter is, in the end, inevitable."

Prof. Elease 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 in 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 suspicisons and anxieties toward the Presidential candidate from the Deep South by the splitting of votes by white Protestants in the North, Nidwest and West (the split Protestant vote perceived in the Exxh South had more to do with President Carter's liberalism

than, orviously, with his Southerness), by the smaller vote that Catholics gave him than they did to other Democratic candidates (55% for Carter, and as contrasted with % for Humohrey), and by the lesser vote, although su betantial, that Jews gave Carter (75% as contrasted with 88% for Humphrey).

While other factors entered into the voting decisions, I am persudded that the anxious national discussion and indecisions about the President from the Deep South suggested that the bitter political legacy of regional pride, prejudice, and paktiteal suspicions 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 seferely wounded; the economic

waskagxexx 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."

Chserving that "unlike President Lincoln, each was convinced

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 towards the benightedness and inferiority of sautherners 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 bestrangement, 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 <u>Times</u> of Londan, 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. Maton said Seward knew very little about) was based on "black labor end 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 Segard had, what must have been the views 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 (TheMind 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 palished and mellowest 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 issuesm 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 houndaries and the traditional practices and arrangments 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 ar sacralizes the way of life of the province. Fruther, "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.

Southerness and the relatively separatist way of life in the South stayed alive, Prof. Hill observes, "not because of events or leaders or ward 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 intensifted and perpetuated regional distinctivemess."

In the South, the adjustment of Negroes had recome involved with the caste-like elements associated with the plantation economy. As the large-scale cultivation of toracco and rice developed after 1680, the reack larger force was driven into unmitigated rondage. The emergence of the "cotton culture" and the spread of the plantation economy after 1820 arruptly ended the hope for the end of slavery and, as Prof. Oscar Handlin writes, both whites and blacks recame 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 abolitions at 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 andlabor reformers, aflame with Populist grievances against hig husiness, 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 was \$167.) Nowhere else did the white farmer - the "redneck" or "cracker" - hate so intensely. Most of all the redmeck 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/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 Scuth, professional rabble-rousers and "nigger-haters" arose - Tillman, Bibbo, Yardaman, Blease and others. They challenged the Bourbon ascendancy, exploited

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 propperous and cultivated blacks of any taxthax 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 resommed 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 vast blacks lived in the South. The conditions of that/decressed 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 hystorians say "hypnotized" - by an exaggerated sense of honor and s "sacred right" that beyond common sease, par 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-holing 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 mells and armament and textile factories. The South had to depend upon imports and its fewex factories for manufactured goods. The North xxxxx 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 tokacco and cotton. The North had more than two-thirds of the nation's money resources to help finance the Civil War. The North maintained conntol of the navy andmerchant 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 Yakkee as a "counter-iumper" 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, Il 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 minister 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 Make Packground of this history, characterized

by so much reciprocal paranoia Petween North and South, the election
Jimmy
of RESERVANT 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 while.

CHAPTER III - ADVENTURE IN SOCIAL UNIFICATION

Through much of American history, our political parties have in fact weem 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 — Richarda 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 not upon the brown of labor this crown of thorns, you shall/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 publitics for thirty years.

Bryan, whom the Populists called "the Boy Orator of Platte," through his revivalist oratory might inflame the BBible 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 condemend by all "Eastern Respectability."

When Bryan rose before the 1924 Democratic commention 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 shonesty and teaching them that they are woong," he was hissed and box 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 antegonist were ranged the hatits and prejudices, hopes and frustrations, prides and hatreds of two different cultures and two historical eras.

The very eccentracities and mannerisms of the two men were symbolic. The brown derby and rasping East Side accent, which stamped Shith 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 urgan 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 who, he said, were money powers more insolent than the slave power.

Both men were mouthpiecesse of probest - Bryan of the overmortgaged Bible helt, Smith of the underpaid, melting pot.

Whether either was understood in the other's country was dountful.

Could the factory worker really seres share the despair of the farmer watching a sheriff tack a foreclosure notice on the harn 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 hurned alive? The year of the Triangle fire, 1911, was the year Smith first went to Alhany. It marked the heginning 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 undergog, urgan immigrant against the top dog of "old American" stock. His Catholicism was as essential element in that revolt. The do-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 Haps-urg Empire. The larger part of these new immigrants were Catholic. They also included perhaps 1,500,000 Jews.

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 snowbish members of the axclusive clubs - in short, with the upper class. Catholicism, in turn, coincided largery with discrimination and sweated labor, with immigrant minorities who were looked down upon as inferior beings - im short, the lower class.

It was not until the revolution of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932 that this halance of separate geographical dominances was upset. Roosevelt touched off a race to nationalize the hasis of as 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. They key to that wrosion was a new tendency to vote on the hasis 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 ending of anti-Catholic feeling during John F. Kennedy's administration and by the slow weakening of anti-Negro predudice 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 rasic faith. .runs to the relief that in the long run the political future relongs to the forces of unification. Somewow, often in ways that are not readily perceived, the unifying forces eventually win out over the dividing, separatists influences."

Lurell points to economics, culture, politics, and technology as "nationalizing forces" which fiend to impose their influences across the whole nation, overriding its sectional cleavages, differences and traditions. These nationalizing forces, he adds, are the carrièrs 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 urgan minorities, black and white Southerners, workers and fammers, - 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 "conservation" 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 trands remains remains 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 remain paditical unification with the rest of the nation."

THE EVANGELICAL RENAISSANCE AND AMERICAN PLURALISM by Marc H. Tanenbaum

There are elements in the current national discussion of the surfacing of evangelical Christianity as a significant force in relation to Presidential politics, and to American society generally, that remind one of the description provided by Prof. Mircea Eleade/of the early encounter between Oriental and Occidental civilizations.

Depicting that experience as one of alienation, suspicizion and mistrust, Eleade, the presminent historian of religions and cultures, has written:

The meeting and confrontation of two two types of mentality which might be called, for simplicity's sake, the #traditional* and the "modern, the first being characteristic of man in archair and Oriental societies; the second of man in modern societies of the Western type.

"As wekknow," 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 politics. We may say that the Western world has not yet, or not generally, met with authentic representatives of the 'real' non-Western traditions. But this encounter is, in the end, inevitable.

Prof. Elease concludes, "One day the West will have to know and to understand the existential situations and the cultural universe of the non-Western peoples; moreover, the West will come to value them as m integral with the history of the human spirit and will no longer regard them as immature episodes or abermations from an exemplary history of men - a history/ conceived, of course, only as that of Western man."

The nomination of Governor Jimmy Carter as the Democratic Party's candidate for the Presidency of the United States - the first evangelical, born-again Christian in modern political history to figure in such a role - both symbolizes and expresses the ascendancy of the 40 to 50 million evangelical Christians into "the orbit of history," that is, primarity American political, and social, history. Whether or not Governor Carter wins the Presidential elections in November, the very fact/of his candidacy was possible atall is a statement about he the tranformations that have taken phace both in the South and in Southern religious-cultural life which hold profound, if ambiguous, implications for the future of MAmerican society. That is an indirect way of saying that even if Jimmy Carter should not win the election, in his candidacy the South, and particularly the Southern evangelical Christian community have broken out of their regional isolation dating back to the Civil War and have now established thisExbx bid to be considered as a mature, major partner in any coalition that undetakes to guide the plikit national politics of America, as well as the social policies of the national community. And that, I believe, should be counted as among the most signficant events in American history during the last century and a quarter.

It is genuinely bewildering particularly in an age of mass communications, that images of Southerners prevailed in so much

of the primary discussions of non-Southerners that suggested that
the world from which Jimmy Cabter sprange was not distantly removed
from Eleade's "exotic and primitive peoples" of the Orient. Following
his nomination, Carter gave an extensive=interview to the National
Catholic News Service on August 10th in which he sought to minimze
#the peligious issue# and the possibalities of prejudice toward him
because of his pronounced Southern Baptist religious convictions.
#I believe," Carter said, "that the so-called prejudice against me
because I'm a Baptist was overestamated to begin with. Most people in
this country, I think, have a remarkable absence of prejudice because
of one's religion."

Carter then added, "because of my success in the primaries, people began to study the beliefs of Southern Baptists and they detected a very strong inclination to separate church and state on my part, as was expressed very clearly by John Kennedy when he met with Protestant ministers in Houston in 1960. I think as they've learned what our religious beliefs were, their concerns were alleviated." Carter's final point was that "our public opinion polls have shown, since the (Democractic) convention, on a nationwide basis, that I have strong support among all religious groups and that there is no prejudiece against me because of my religion."

The political wisdom of wanting to downphay the religious factor and to try to create a bandwogga effect is of course understandable. And indeed, on one level, Carter's responses are astute insofar as they are congruent with Erik Eink Erikson's reading of the American plitical character which he regards as uniquely responsive to *kimkingx reducing complex ideological issues to slogans and cliches, a method that advertising has tested as remarkably sudcessful in selling soap and toothpaster, and succeeds even in selling political candidates.

To a substantial extent, thate lingering emotions of "strangeness" and "differentness" that have peaked in special ways during this Presidential campaign suggest that the bitter legacy of regional pride, prejudice, and political suspicions deposited by the tragic War Between the States is stiff far from wholly 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." In addition to the loss of an estilated 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 devastation and wastage of farms and cities; families sundered or diminished; politic political suspicion and belligemency; intensecine strife; a divided people; regional isolation - Prof. Hill counts among the lasting costs of the Civil War to America, which is hardly over in 1976. The pride and prejudice the conflict engendered in both regional societies."

Observing that "unlike President Lincoln, each was convinced that the Lord ma 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 quality of their life and moral responsibility. If the South is open to the charge of having squandeed 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 attituates 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 bestrangement, fear, and contempt for the 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 condencension towards citizens of Dixie."

While both North and South had (and perhaps the tense should be present rather than altogether past) tremendous sectional egos, a number of historians argue that the South suffered f more from a

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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 Sotherners khemmakkems as well, who often stress their minority role in the American scene.

"It is, then, peculiar to note this first pertinent in regional fact: the sixteen states that make up the region we call the South comprise the most populous single area in the nation, and it has been the most populous area since the year 1820. Fifty-five million people live there, and more Americans can claim to be Southerners than can claim to be anything else.

"Southerners comprise almost a third of our population and are in the second fastest-growing area in the nation," they add, urging that "we cease talking about it (the South) as a minority culture."

MRA When critics stop thinking of k ways to bring it into "the mainstream," we will be striking a blow for accuracy. One third of a nation, after all, is nearly a mainstream in itself.

By a similar token, Wattenberg and Scammon add, the perpetual view of he so-called "Solid South" as a homogeneoous, poor, pastoral, politically powerful and growthless whole is becoming equally ridiculous. In 1960, as a matter of straight census fact, the South was more urban than not (almost 60%), and there was solid evidence of wealth, modern industry, and vibrant growth in many Southern areas. To be sure, a problem South does exist; it is poor, rural, and underdeveloped, but it by no means compromises the entire South - nor are poor, rural, underdeveloped areas found only in the South.

The problems of the South - poverty, education, poor housing, threadbare rurality - are white as well as Negro probadms, they assert, and these are especially concentrated in the East South Central states of Mississippi, Alabams, Tennessee, and Kentucky. However, they note, there are many areas of the South that measure up closely to, or actually surpass, national averages. For example:

Delaware, Maryland, and Washington, D. C. all surpass national income medians. These areas and Florida are above the national education medians. Texas and Florida have less sub-standard housing than the national average. Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Florida, Texas, and Oklahoma all surpass the national percentage of white-gollar workers. Other southern areas - right in the southern heartland - also surpass the national averages: unemployment, for example, was lower than the national rate in all southern states except West Virginia and the East South Central States.

Among ciffes, Atlanta, Austin, Baton Rouge, Dallas, Huntsville (Alabams), Jackson, Lexington, Lubbock (Texas), Midland (Texas), Miami, Nashville, Oklahoma City, Raleigh, Richmond, Roanoke, and San Antoniom all have proportionately more white-collar workers than the average American city (more than Chicago, to name one instance). Some of these cities exceed the national family median income figure, although generally, wages are still lower in ven the prosperous parts of the South. We've heard a good deal about below-average southern rates of education, but seventeen southern SMSAa all match or surpass the national SMSA avera e of 11.1 years of schooling for persons ofer twenty-Live.

Wattenberg and Scammon conclude: There is, then, not only a Problem South but a New South: a growing, urban, industrials educated South. Part of he Southhand has economic(and social) problems - most 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 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 appear, but its citizens, both whose and non-whites, reveal to hee Census notivational behavior quite identical to that of other areas of the country: 250 Southerner are seeking more and better, and so are we all.

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This economic growth has serious cultural and social consequences In that it represents a radical reversal in both the self-concept of the South, and of the North's traditional perceptions of Southern economic backwardness, and by inference other kinds of backwardnesses as well - social, cultural, relgiious, political. Dr. Roy F. Nichols, in observations of "the causes of the civil war," asserts that the growth of industrial wealth and the commercial activity in the North prior and subsequent to the civil war produced in the South a concept of Yankee as a "conterjumper" and a moneygrabber. With its economy and the Southern way of life based on the "preuliar institution" of slave ry and "king cotton", southerners have not until recents relatively regent times properly valued the businessman, and, in fact, the south has lacked good businessmen (Dr. Eaton). Evidence of this is seen in the statistic that on the eve of the civil war, ll southern states of the confederacy produced only 10 percent of the manufactured goods on he nation's output.

While both North and South had tramendous sectional egos, the suffered more from a false sense of superiority knowskiew with a successful superiority knowskiew with a successful superiority knowskiew with a superiority knowskiew with a superiority knowskiew with a south and a superiority knowskiew with a

"those popinjays, those tradespeople of the North".

At the same time, Northerners felt themsleves at a disadvantage and inferior because the original political Yestablaishment" was Southern - the Virginia dynasty. The United States and the coast were made by Southerners. Four of the first five presidents were Virginians. The idea seemed to develop that somehow or other the government was run by Southerners. The South which had been the dominant force in American political life before the Civil War was now subordinate to the North, with the emergence of of the Republican party as the national party.

Through much of American history, our parties have been sectional in nature. As Samuel Lubell states in his "The Future of American Politics," 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. (The Frankdlin D. Rossevelt revolution upset this balance of separat geographical dominances and touched off a race to nationalize the basis of support for woth parties. By transforming the Democratic following in from a largely Catholic party to mone whose main appeal was the North economic, FDR 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.... White the transport of the contract of xisoxtoxhexexbeenxstrengthenedxduringxxohn_F...Vennedxsxxxdninistrationx The Eisenhower victoreis extended this line of economic voting into the South, where it survived even Johnson's 1964 landslide. Our ability to vote more sharply in economic terms appears also to have been strengthened by the ebbing of anti-Catholic feeling during JFK's administration and by the slow weakening of anti-Negro prejudice in the South.)



THE EVANGE ICAL RENAISSANCE

"A reshuffling of power is taking place in America today that has nothing at all to do with political parties or elections," Gov. Reuben Askew of Florida, said recently. "The wheel of power in this nation is turning, unmistakably and undeniably from the North to the South."

Making the necessary allowances for boosterism or for the revival of sectional egotism, it is evident from the available data about the enonomic, demographic, and political trends in the South that there is a firm reality basis for that growing self-confidence expressed by Askew and others over the ascendancy of the South in the affairs of the nation. But Governor Askew is not only an important Southern politician. He is also, like Gov. Carter, a "born again" evangelical Christian, and the buoyant observation he offered about the future of Southern power, he could apply with equal certitude to the ascendancy of Southern religion. Indeed, a number of social analysysts have observed that Southern society in which the present dynamic growth is taking place continues to be, at least as of now, a defacto established Southern Baptist - or more broadly - evangelical Christian - culture. (It is conveivable that the migration from the North will affect in time the character of Southern religion; it is equally possible that a substantial number of Northern Christians will he embraced by Southern religious institutions and will conform by a not unnatural protective coloration.)

The most recent Gallup survey of "Religion in America, 1976" found that "the American public is extraordinarily religious," and, in fact professes a greater level of religious commitment that any other

Tanenbaum -15-

major industrialized society among 50 non-Communist nations (with the U.S. ranking only behind India among the nations studied) While certain mainline Protestant denominations, particularly those considered socially and theologically liberal, have suffered membership and income losses in recent years, the conservative Protestant denominations have demonstrated a pattern of consistent growth and expansion. Some 132,287,450 persons identified themselves as members of religious groups in America, according to the National Council of Churches statistics for 1975. Sixtyone percent of Americans say they are Protestant, and two-thirds of these are estimated to be evangelicals.

mated to be evangelicals. SOUTHERN BAPTISTS - LARGEST (HURCH IN THE WORLD?

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 millior.

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TI - ROBER WILLIAM - BAPTIST PATRIANCH OF RELIEVES PRECIONS

THE ROLE OF SOUTHERN BAPTISTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Calvinist evangelicalism, product of the Puritan experience and the Great Awakening revivals between 1734 and 1750, was one of ltx of the principal streams/and ideology that dominated the colonies of North America prior to the birth of the American nation. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, dominated by the "Puritan oligarchy," was a Bible Commonwealth which united ecclesiastical and civil government. Only the "sanctified," those who experienced infant baptism and celebrated communion at the Lord's Table, were entitled to hold public office and vote in civil elections of magistrates. Heresy was punished not only because it threatened men's souls, but also because it weakened the authority of secular government; it was too subservice to be tolerated.

Reaction against the enforced establishment of evangelical orthodoxy began early. On March 7, 1638. Roger Williams gathered nineteen men, refugees from Massachusetts Bay, to form a new colony at Rhode Island that would not only allow but enforce liverty of conscience. Williams became convinced that there existed no Scriptural authority for baptining infants and he rebaptized twelve people by "plunging," as it was derivively termed by conventional Calvisists. Thus was born the first Baptist church on the North American continent.

Roger Williams became a "seeker after light," adrering to the principle that "every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of his own conscience." In his celebrated parable of the ship, Williams elaborated his commitment to "total freedom of conscience"

^{*} Religious Liberty in the United States, by Elwyh A. Smith, Fortress Pre

paralleled by his call for complete obligation "to obey the common laws and orders" of the civil sphere;

"There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common; and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or any human combination, or society. It hath fallen out some times that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks may be emparked indone ship. Upon which supposal, I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that every I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that mone of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayer or worship nor compelled from their own particular prymers or worship, if they practice any."

Thus, the Baptist tradition of religious liberty and freedom of conscience is deeply rooted in early American history. But they also made other constructive contributions to the establishment of democracy in this nation.

Calvin, it needs to be recalled had a very low opinhon of the common people. His spiritual children among the New Enghand fahhers, who were in full agreement with im him, had a poor opinion of democracy and considered it the "meanest" of all forms of government. They concaived it to be their principal in task to see to it that the "elect," the "chosen of God," contolled in both church and state. They considered democracy a dangerous thing in a government such as theirs pledged to carry out God's will, for they asked, "How could ungodly rulers know has the will and purpose of God?" Therefore it seemed to them necessary to keep the godly minority in control and and the whole machinery of government both in church and state was directed to that end.

The principal colonial churches in their organization were aristocracies. The Anglican Church in Virginia was under the management and control of the planter aristrocracies. The lay vestries, rade up

of the great tohacco gentry, were self-perpetuating hodies and managed the affairs of the parish, largely for the henefit of their own class. Southern Anglicanism was the religious expression of the Southern gentleman's way of life

In the 18th century, the Baptists, Quakers, and the Methodists repudiated salvation through the church as an institution. Imbued with a pietism that stressed inner religion and emotional response, they emphasized individual responsibility.

BAPTIST CHURCHES - "PURE DEMOCRACY"

VIII

William Warren Sweet pointed out in his distant Revivalism And Markona (Charta Scaluta, 1944)

was a society in motion, and therefore as individualistic society.

A religion which was to make an appeal to an individualistic society necessarily made its chief concern the problem and needs of the common man and woman. It emphasized the fact that salvation is to a large degree a personal matter, dependent mainly upon individual decisions. Revivalism ximuxished and the emphasis in American democracy upon freedom of the individual conscience has give the personal emphasis in religion its greatest opportunity, which as could not be found anywhere else in the world - especially in the old world where religion was largely an institutional matter rather than an individual concern.

The great protagonists of frontier revivalism were the Baptists and the Methodists. Of the several phases of the great colonial revivals, the southern is regarded as the most significant. These not only changed the religious complexion of Maryland and Virginia, the principal strongholds of the established

church of colonial Anglicanism, but eventually of the entire when nation. The Baptist revival was started by two New Englanders, Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall, who had come out of the Separatist Baptist movement at the end of the 18th century. Neither Stearns nor Marshall had been educated for the ministry, and both came into the south as farmer-preachers. Findally settling just over the southern Virgania boundary in North Carolina, then a frontier, they hegan to evangelize throuhout the region. They paid particular attention to the neglected neighborhoods, to frontier communities, andx to humble people. As their work continued, other farmer-preachers were "raised up," who in turn carried on their work in ever-widening itineraries. In their preaching they appealed to the emotions, with the result that there were many excesses. As a result of the wedespread effort to reach the humble and poor, and also because the form of their church government was "a pure democracy", their growth in frontier societies was chenomenal.

as their cardinal principhe the separation of church and state and thexcomplete religious liberty, and they therefore gave little heed to the requirements of Virgina to secure licenses for their meeting houses and ministers. As a result, they were severely persecuted. The also fact/that they were generally humble people and their meetings were often marked by displays of emotional extravagances aroused disgust and contempt among the so-called "upper classes." One of the charges leveled against the Baptist preachers was that they were disturbers of the

peace and were responsible for calling unlawful assemblies which took

people away from the farms and plantations, and encouraged "habits of idleness and neglect of their necessary business." As in New England, this was an indication that the privibled classes were feafful of lesing their privileges as a consequence of the religious revolution they inaugurated.

The Baptists, together with the Presbyterians, filed petitions in 1784, demanding from the Virginia establishment equal rights for all denominations, "not as a pittance of courtesy, but...as their patrimony which cannot be withheld without flagrant fraud, pride, and impastice."

They also demanded of the government that their meetings be protected as adequately as those of the establishment, that they have freedom in speaking and writing moon all religious subjects; that they have the right to hold property for the support of their churches and schools and their full right to enjoy the free exercise of their religion "without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever."

Their petition ended with, "We are petitioning in favor of a church that is neighter contemptible nor obscure."

Historians concluded that the achievements of the Baptist were revivalists at this stage of their development was severalfold:

Calvinism shaped to meet personal rather than institutional needs they established the right of each individual to have his or her own
religious experience, which did not need to be like any other. The
emphasis upon the individual therefore meant variability; it implied the
right to be different, the right of the individual to live his or her
own life which became a spiritual support of a basic principle of
democracy for the individual support of a basic principle of

- 2) The Babtist preachers sought to reach all classes of people slaves as well as masters; poor as well as rich; ignorant as well as leadned. Believing that all people were equal in the sight of God, they knew so social distinctions. All were sinners in need of salvation. Thus the revivals were a great leveling force for equality in American colonial and Grontier society. They sowed the basic seeds of democracy perhaps more widely than any other single influence.
- people who had never before had a voice in government of any kind found themselves, as members of a Baptist congregation, with an equal voice in the management of the affairs of the church. The Methodist form of garrangement organization, though highly centralized and authoritarian, nevertheless gave full right of self-expression to every member, women as well as men, in the class meting. Not only was this his or her right, it was their duty. No religious body placed greater stress upon the activity of lay individuals than did the Reputitor Methodists. Thus, the popular forms of church government of Baptists and Methodists became significant influences leading their manners to participation actively in the democratic process.
 - 4) For the first time in colonial America, the common people found a leadership among their own class. Their preachers were men of their own kind, most of them from humbler walks of life. Through their leadership, although uneducated but generally of native ability, the great mass of the plain people came to realize their own imcordance as well as their own strength.

morality

5) The presence of large numbers of dissenting Baptists, and Presbyterians, in Virginia who demanded all the rights of free men decisively contributed to the centrality of the role Virginia played as the testing ground for freedom of conscience. Out of that dissenting ferment, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson formulated the content of the First Amendment, which after its adoption in 1789, fundamentally altered the course of church-state relations in America. BAPTISTS AND PUBLIC MORALITY - MORAL COURTS OF THE FRONTER

Much of the historiography of the American past, scholarly as well as popular, has tended to overidealize our colonial ancestors, frequently attributing to them virtues which the majority never possessed In general, we have been taught from grade school on to think of our American forbears in terms of the best rather than of the average which was the majority of the population. Critical historians have documented persuasively in our time that the vast labor and the rough hardships which invariably accompanied the building of a pioneer society Of and wan/subduing/the frontier found early America wanxthexgeneralxxxxx Dr. Frenklin Littell Characterized are an uncouth and generally wild society. The early sections as a "sermi-

In the period of the Revolution, and in the years immediately following, the moral and religious conditions of the country as a whole reached what Sweet has called, "the lowest ehh tide in theentire history of the American people. " Contrary to the popular pious images, we now know that of the 101 colonists who came over in the Mayflower, only a dozen constituted the membership of the first church. Scarcely one-fifth of the Massachusatts Bay Settlers who founded Boston and the other set-lements about the Bay, were even professing Christians. In New England which was the best churched section of the colonies, church wh membership

was about 1 to 8 in 2262x 1760. In the Middle colonies, where the great new German and Scotch-Irish immigration took place, the proportion of them unchurched was something like 1 to 15 or 18. In the Southern colonies, the ratio of the muchurched to the unchurched was not more than 1 to 20. And taking the colonies as a whole, the ratio was something like 1 to 12.

Thus, the great majority of the people living in America in the 18th century were unrelated to any church, demonstrating their overwhelming iddifference to religion and any moral claims that might be laid of them assekurant as church members. It was in the very midst of this period of "moral and religious depression" that the great western migrations began. (The first census of the U. S. in 1790 disclosed that 94% of the population of the country - about 4 millions - were living in the original thirteen states. The 1820 census reported that one-quarter of the total population was living beyond the western limits of the old seaboard states. By 1850, nearly one-half of the population of the nation was living in regions cutside the original states. In the four southern states of Viginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, one-third of the free-born people were living outside the state of their Wirth.)

Reporting on coarse and rude conditions of life, one missionary in the Western Reserve of Chio xxxxxx wrote in 1826 that xxxx his region was settled largely by people from Connecticut and though "coming from a land of Bibles and Sabbaths and Ministers and Churches, now act like freed prisoners. They find the messelves in a country where they can fight against God without fearing man."

The greatest single curse of the whole country at this period

, and especially of the raw frontier, was homeomade whiskey. The extent of drunkenness is illustrated in the statistic that in the 1730s in Boston alone, a million and a quarter gallons of rum were it manufactured, most of/for home consumption. Rum mills were busy turning out their potions in every seahoard town in New England, and stills became commonplace on the fratierx frontier wildeeness. This was a time of widepread segual indulgence, even among the most respectable families, of violence, of murderous gangs of hold-up men, (see The Violent Americans), of lynch law, and of "the extermination of animals vulgarly called Indians." (Breckingidge, as quoted by Martin Marty in The Righteous Empire, termed this "the century of dishonor.")

Much stress has been placed upon the emotional excesses of the revival and camp meetings; much less recognition has geen given to the substantial and vital roles played by the frontier churches and preachers as "moralizing," and "civilizing" forces in the moral desert of early America. By the 1820s, the whole settled areas of the Weetxwasxx South and West was covered with a network of Baptist

gesociations, which werex voluntary organizations made up of Baptist

The "leviten covenents" of the Baptist were as much ethical as theological churches. and, during the early revivals a reform of life - an actual change in personal behavior - was required as well as a clear profession of experiential religion.

meetings which all members were required to attend. It was here that the life of each members came under the scrutiny of the church. It was the duty of each member to watch over the conduct of fellow members and to seek to prevent the infraction of rules of Christian conduct or church order. According to church historians, a good share of the business of these congregational meetings was devoted to hearing the charges against any members guilty of anti-social behavior. Intoxication

The frontier Baptist churches held monthly congregational

was the most frequent cause for church discipline. Among some of other issues that called for disciplining listed in the essay "The Churches as Moral Courts of the Frontier," by Sweet (Chruch History, March 1933), were edultery, unchristian business dealings, gambling, immoral conduct, stealing, removing landmarks, talekhearing, and quarreling, dishonest horse trading, cruelty to slaves, misusing or abusing wives. Unrepentant members were excluded from the fellowship of the followship of the followship of the fellowship of the f

ahusing wives." Unrepentant members were excluded from the fellowship Similarly, from 1786 on, the Methodot of believers without fear or favor. code of biscipline stipulated "drunkenness, form cotion, light living, dishonory in business, 'dispossely walking,' "as grounds for rebuke - and, if not covered-expulsion. From the ix close of the civil war to 1900, approximately

the turn of the century millions more entered the EMMAX country In addition, the rural population decline between 1880 and 1890 not only in old New Englad but as well in such states as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. This mass immagration of the foreign born, as well as the vast internal migration; created a moral and religious crisis Companyable to that of the early part of the eighteenth century. As a result of of the western movement of the population, millions of Americans were cut off from their old homes, their old churches, and became vulnerable to "sinful temptations" of the cities and the frontier.

It was during this period that a new spectacular type of city revivalism arose, embodied in the professional revivalists of the types of Dwight L. Moody and Billy Sunday. Much can be a said sout the inadequacies of their theologies and the offensiveness of their big business techniques, fundamising, and sensationalism. But in terms of their influence, it must be acknowledged that they reached thousands of uprooted and alienated people, and they combatted the

grosser sins and debaucheries of then common to city life. While none of the professional city revivalists effected any large social reforms - unless one considers Billy Sunday's influence in bringing about the Prohibition era - they did lift moral standards by bringing about those of seformed lives, including **Exexy** many young people. An analogue today would be found in the turning of young people from drugs to the variety of Jesus movements.

In sum, revivalism - in particular, Baptist, Methodist, and Ctriculated
Presbyterian revivalism - has been the chief pattern of Protestant activity in America from the first third of the 18th century to within axagementation at the present time. Its primary influence has been in the realm of personal religion within the lives of men and women. Such influences are difficult, ff not impossible, to assess accurately. But there appears to be little question among competent observers that that revivalism, at its best, did raise moral standards in contless communities throughout the country; it affected life and manners; and it enabled religion's influence to reach down to the lowest levels of society giving a sense of worth and community to the otherwise neglected masses.

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BAPTISTS AND HIGHER EDUCATION : EDUCATE -OR PERUM!

To those who think of revivalism mainly in terms of ignorance, supersittion, and an exaggerated emotionalism, it will come as a surprise to learn that the history of higher education in America cannot be understood without taking into account int its profound indehtedness to the revivalist movements.

Of the nine colonial colleges, six that were established between 1740 and 1769 were either directly or indirectly the handiwork

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of the great colonial awakenings. These included Princeton (1746), Columbia, Rutgers, Brown, Dartmouth, and the College of Philadlphia (later the Univ. Of Penna.). The first five presidents of Princeton, which was established by Presbyterian revivalists, were all autstanding revivalist preachers - Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr, Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Davies, and Samuel Finley.

Young men who had experienced conversion in the great revivals and who felt the call to the ministry required educational preparation. Presbyterian law required all candidates for the ministry must have a diploma of Bachelor or Master of Arts from a college of university.

Of the 40 colleges and universities established in the United States from 1780 to 1830 in all sections of the country, 13 were established by Presbyterians, 4 by Congregationalists; 1 by Congregationalists; 1 by Congregationalists and Presbyterians in cooperation; 6 by Episcopalisms; 1 by Catholics; 3 by Baptists; 1 by German Reformed; 11 by the states.

All the state institutions established west of the Alleghanies before 1830 were begun under Presbyterian auspices.

Baptists accepted as a mixer matter of course the Presbyterian and Coggregational control of higher education throughout the country, and particularly in the West. But beginning in the 1820s and continuing through the Civil War, the Methodosts and Baptists entered upon a period of college interest founding unprecedented in the history of denominational activity. In 1830, the Methodosts had not established a single permanent college. From 1830 to the Civil War, they had pierman established 34 permanent colleges. By 1830, the Baptists had already established four colleges. In 1861, there were 25 Baptist

colleges in the country. (Brandeis had to await the coming of Aoram Sachar

That American higher education should be democratic rather than aristorratic was largely a contribution of the revivalistic churches. **Exx The multiplication of colleges over the country was more responsible than anything else for the decentralizing of educational facilities, and that determined that higher education should not be confised to a few colleges located in distant centers. By fully decentralizing the colleges and locateng them in the midst of relatively ** immobile populations, educational opportunity became available for all.

The Adexx deep commitment by revivalists to education is reflected in the speech of Lyman Beecher, one of the principal promoters of Congregational-Presbyterian revivalism, who said in his "Plea for the West":

"We must educate ! We must educate! Qr we must perish in our own prosperity."

BAPTISTS AND SOCIAL REFORM - ANTI- SLAVERY

The many Reform movements which swept over the Englishspeaking world in the latter 1700s and early 1800s owed much of their
impetus to revivalism. The new humanitarianx impublic impulse which
lay back of all such movements derived from the revivalistic emphasis
on the inestimable worth of each individual person. If all people
are equal in God's sight, then Christian people were behooved to see
to it that the underprivileged, the unfortunate, and the downstrodeen
have a better chance in this world.

The men back of the drusade in England to abolish the slave trade - William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, and Thomas Clarkson -

were evangelicals. Image Until the middle of the 18th century, slavery and slave trade had been accepted as a matter of course. Many Englishmen had grown rich through the slave trade, with English slave traders alone having shipped some 2 million Negroes to America. As the evangelical movement grew in England, their opposition to human bondage attracted men of the standing of William Pitts, Edmund Burke, and Charles James Fox. Together these groups were eventually able in 1807 to force through Parliament the bill fathered by Wilberforce to abolish the slave trade.

All the revivalistic bodies in the Southern colonies - who were influenced by John Wesley, George Whitefield, emong other prominent revivalists - developed strong anti-makes slavery views. By the chose of the war of iddpendence, manumission of slaves had become increasingly their common, particularly among those who took kkmks religious awakening seriously. The revival had also reached great numbers of blacks and many slaves were received into the church.

Many of the frontier Baptist preachers were strong advacates of emandipation of the slaves. David Barrow, a well-known Virginia Baptist preacher, was convinced that slavery was contrary to the laws of God and inconsistent with the republican forms of Government, and in order to escape from it, he moved over the mountains. In 1807, the anti-slavery Baptists in Kentucky organized a separative Association of Anti-Slavery Baptist churches, which was known as "The Firends of Humanity Association," It adopted what became known as Tarrant's Rules, the first one being that no person was to be admitted to the churches of the Association if he supported pretual slavery. Another rule provided that in no case was a member to purchase a slave except to rescue a slave from perpetual slavery, and even in such a case it was to be done in such a way that as the churches approved. "Friends of Humanity Association"

were later formed in Illinois and Missouri, all pledged to the same anti-clavery principles.

The abolition movement fathered by William Lloyd Garrison found its largest support, according to Dr. Sweet and other church historian in New England among Baptists and Methodists, and not among Congregationalists and Unitarians to the extent as has been generally claimed. Despite the leadership of Unitarian leader Theodore Parker, the abolition movement would have amounted to little if there had not been a large following in the rural, town and countryside where the revivalistic churches had their greatest strength. Writing on The Anti-Slavery Impulse, (1933, New York), G. H. Barnes states:

"A check on the delegates attending the Anti-Slavery Society convention in 1835 showed that 2/3 were ministers, and 2/3 of them were either Baptists or Methodists. It was assumed by Bostonians that Boston was the moral reform center of the nation, which is certainly not borne out as far as anti-slavery reform is concenned. In this respect, Boston lagged far behind the rural andsmall towns."

In 1836, Charles G. Finney of Western, New York, orgained a Preshyterian but committed to Methodism, came to Oberlin as a professor of theology, and carried on a vigorous anti-slavery evangelism. He trained a whole generation of leaders of reform who created student abolition societies, and who led a strong anti-slavery movement, "more important historically than Garrisonian Oberlin Competition, became the first Gillege in the Justee abolition." States to accept blacks and whites on equal forms

Similarly, Samuel Hookins, the minister of the First
Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Isalda, then one of the most
active slave-trading ports in America, catalyzed the first antislavery impulse in New England. He was the principal exponent

of the revivalistic Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards stressing his doctrine of "distinterested benevolence" which held that "holiness consists in disinterested love for 'being in general'" - which includes Negroes, Indians, and underprivileged people generally. This movement reinvigorated New Engaland religious life and was responsible for sending out large numbers of young men who were to assume leadership

in many reform movements in American during the 1800-18506. In general, among northern revival churches, the discipline against staveholding gradually took precedent over every other ethical issue

This, is of course, does not tell the whole story of the churches and alavery. Indeed, one must keep in perspective the fact that the breakdown of national loyalties prior to the Civil War frequently began in the churches. Dr. Franklin Littell reminds us in his From State Church to Pluralism that one of the first schimex schisms over slavery began 1837-38 imx dividing the Presbyterian Church into northern and southern churches, a division which took place with much rancor. Similarly Methodosts and Baptists also solit

into northern and southern churches over conflicting flews toward their divisions prepared the way for the political and military confict that was to Gome, slavery, Indeed, Henry Hotze, a Swiss journalist who settled in Alabama, published a Confederate magazine called The Index. One of

his progaganda strokes was to publish in The Index an appeal of several hundred Christian clergymen in which the clergy affirmed that the South was a very Christian nation, that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible and was a very humane institution.

While this role of the churches in support of slavery has been better known, it is helpful to recall the other side of that history which is a more relevant and as useful model for American society today.

XII

BAPTISTS AND OTHER SOCIAL PEFORM - "THE DOWNS ITHD OUT," "THE UB AND OUT,"

From the very beginning, Timothy Smith has written in Revivalism and Social Reform (1957), the revivals have had the whole man and the whole of society as their object of concern, and the major social movements of the 19th century were the fruit of the new style of mass evangelism.

The period in American history from about 1830 to 1860 has been called "The Sentimental Years" for it was a time in which ogganized benevolence flourished in bewildering numbers. Societies were formed by revivalists to advance the cause of temperance, to promote Sunday schools, to save sailors at ports and along the canalsto combat the use of tabacco, to improve the diet, to advance the cause of peace, to reform prisons, to stop prostitution, to colonize Negroes in Africa, and to support education.

The greatest benevolent organizations were founded by missionary societies that warex had no formal connection with the churches but they were the legitimate children of the revivalism of the time. There were eight great societies - "the great eight" - which were largely officered by revivalist laymen. (The most conspicuous of these were Lewis and Arthur Tappan, wheak wealthy New York merchants whose benevolent giving reached out in every direction and in every good cause.)

The YMCAs came into American cities as a result of the revival of 1857. Dwight L. Moody inspired the religious work carried on in the armies during the Civil War. A Christian Sanitary Commission and numerous Freedom Societies were formed in the midst of the Civil War. During the years when Moody's influence was as its highest.

the Salvation Army was introduced from Enghand to America in 1878, and within ten years it established branches, hotels, food depots in every large city in America. The Salvation Army was created to serve the "downs and outs," and while the Oxford Group movement established by American Lutheran Frank Buchman was set up to serve "the ups and outs." They served the upper classes "where sex and money have been primarily responsible for wrecking God's plan for lives," and were especially effective among Episcopalians.

Since 1880, a number of revivalistic sects arose to meet the needs of large numbers of the disinherited - they became the churches of the underprivibeged - for those who did not feel at home in the larger evangelical churches. During the depression they were the most rapidly growing religious bodies in the United States and continue to grow significantly today, especially in the South and West. These include the Assemblies of God (formed in 1914), the Church of God, the Church of Christ, the Pentecostial Haliness church, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ, the Pilgrim Haliness, and the Church of the Nazarene, which serve people of the same cult and economic levels in rural and urgan areas.

Similar bodies have also risen among blacks in cities as well as in rural sections of the South.

All of these bodies stress Pre-millenialism, and the Doctrine of Holiness. Their god is a God of love, who cares for their condition, and with whom they can walk and talk. This close relationship with God is obtained through a conversion experience, which is often accompanied with joyous acclaim. The members of these churches stress Puritan virtues together with total abstisance from harmful habits.

The very fact that they have increased so rapidly is an indication that they occupy a necessary place in American life. Significantly, they have influenced larger evangelical bodies, including the Southern Baptist Convention, and even the charismatic renewal in the Roman Catholic Church.

In effect, the evangabical emphasis on personal conversion experience and on inner piety has been a reaction to the dominance of the impersonal in much of instutionalized religion during the past fifty years, as well as to the de-personalization in society at large. And as William Warran Sweet acknowledges in his important study,

"Revivalism has keen been primarily the individualizing of religion. It has often been blind to the sins of society, so sins which cannot be reached by merely converting individuals. But if religion is to continue ke as a vital force in America, it must not lose the personal and individual emphasis. At the same time it must concern itself about the sins of society."

BAPTISTS, EVANGELISM, AND PLUFALISM

Even a cursory reading of the history of Baptist churches in the settling and building of America suggests that, at its west, this evangelical movement as the radical wing of Protestantism represents undergirding a significant and major spiritual and human force for/what many "modern" persons would call the distinctively good things about American democracy and its pluralist society. Over and beyond its often heroic role in establishing the principal and practice of religious liferty, freedom of conscience, and the separation of church and state - which Gov. Carter has repeatedly and rightly pointed to with pride as a committed Baptist - its contributions have been manifold in other social and civic areas that we have described at some length. Indeed, if one were to remove the "Baptist" or "evangelical" labels, its the achievements of this movement and could be chaimed with comfortable assurance by the Americans for Demodratic Action or a progressive large union - anti-slavery, care and Compassionate Encern for feeding of the poor and disinherited, higher education, "the down and outs". Many Jews and Christians, aware of that aspect of the Baptist contributions to maxax the common welfare of Americans, felt that Gov. Carter was being unfairly caricatured, especially during the early days of the primary campaigns, and therefore urged all Americans to resist any popular temptations to stereotype Carter and the entire Southern Baptist and evangelical communities, and to /inflict upon them an invidious prejudice.

There is another side to the evangelical phenomenon in America which is not the object of victimization, but is in fact a victimizer of others, namely, all those Americans who are non-evangelical And, as I shall document in a moment, it is their attitudes and

actions especially in recent months which have made many Americans uneasy, even filled with misgivings. In fact, I am increasingly persuaded that these elements in the evangelical community - at times, when my threshold of toleration is falters, I find myself referring to them as "the evangelical underworld" - read the popularity of Gov. Carter as a numinous sign that America is turning to a plenary acceptance of evangelicalism as thex becoming synonymous with the American way of life and have steppedm up their efforts and assorted campaigns to exploit for their own purposes this new openness that attends the candidacy of the first born-again evangelical candidate for the Presidency. Gov. Carter, and with him, responsible Ratks Southern Baptist and other evangelical leaders, are not guilty for the actions of others, but they do have a responsibility, in my non-evangelical judgment, to the xixtimized Americans not to allow these developments to continue to mount and remain silent. Indeed, as I shall try to indicate, the commitment to the bedrock princples of freedom of cosscience and church-state separation of which Carter and others in the Baptist world rightly claim patrimony could become comprombsed EXXXX they apeak out, and disassociate themselves from these efforts, and seek to establish some sense of national limits to there campaigns which threaten the integrity of demoaratic pluralism. It is vital to

And that is precisely the first level of concern: a growing complex of efforts to "Christianize" America. We need recall that during the first 100 years of America, when established churches dominated the colonies, this country was - as Dr. Martin Marty called it, - "an Evangelical Empire." Evangelical Christianity and American nationalism were regarded by many as one and the same thing. To be accepted as a loyal, patriotic American, you had to be an evangelical Christian. Catholics and Jews were not allowed to worker vote nor hold public office in North Carolina, Maryland, New Hamphshire and elsewhere unless they would recite an evangelical mix oath of office. It took another hundred years of courageous and diligent efforts, especially on the part of mainline Protestants and their like-minded Ameridans in the Catholic and Jewish communities to disestablish church from state, and to carve out axix a living experience of pluralism whose basic philosophical and theological assumption was that every merer of every religious, racial, and ethnic group was a first class citizen, by constitutional right and not by sufference. יניסג

KNAXXXEXX

These increased efforts to "Christianize" the American political process and the social order, which show signs of regression to an "Evangelical Empire" model, on their deepest levels are expressions of anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic prejudice, because their underlying rationale imply a second-class status no different than that which confronted the Jewish and Catholic immigrants when who found pass nativist posters on stores, factories, and medical schools telling them unmistakably, "Nor Jews allowed,"

"No Catholic Park (Apply)"

What is the evidence of the movement to "Christianize" America?

As was reported in the press in various parts of the country,

a makex coalition has been formed by leaders of several evangelical

Protestant organizations that include such groups as the Christian

Freedom Foundathon in Washington, D. C., the Third Century

Publishers in Arlington, Va.; the Intercessors for America, and the

Christian Embassy in Washington, D. C.

Led by former Congressman John Conlon of Arizona, and Bill Bright, an evangelical businessman who now heads the Campus Crucade for Christ, their announced purposes are to organize a nationwide political network of evangelical Christians "to take over local precincts and to elect only 'godly' Christians to public office."

(Newsweek, September 6, 1976,)

A clear sense of how divisive and disturbing to the public order that campaign can become was illustrated by the recent election campaign in Arizona between Republican senatorial candidates, Sam Steiger, a Jew, and Rep. Conlon. As he toured churches in Arizona, Rep. Conlon is quoted as having proclaimed to evangelical audiences, "A mote for Conlon is a vote for Christianity. We need to elect a Christian Congress. "Conlan is a state leader in the evangelical Christian churches.

In addition, a number of reporters indicated that a letter was slipped under the door of Steiger's campaign headquarters demanding that his aides "quit working for the Jew - remember, you have been warned." Similar messages and anonymous anti-Semitic telephone calls have were also received at Steiger's tampaign headquarters in Tucson.

Steiger told the Jewish Week (Aug. 15) "I have been in Arizona politics

since 1950 and this anti-Jewish husiness has never suffaced before."

Donald Gall, a University of Arizona professor, resigned as Pima

County (Tucson) Republican chairman in protest against the injection

of the religious issue into the campaign, saying that "the Jewish

community is frightened out of its wits by Conlan."

The only significant national personality to speak out against this anti-Semitic attack was Senator Barry Goldwater who said he was "very concerned over anti-Semitism creeping into any campaign," and "I don't want to be associated with anything like that. I will disavow anti-Semitism in the Republican party as long as I am around."

The Chrsitian Freedom Foundation (CFF) which Conlon heads

now claims to have a corps of field representatives in all 50 states.

the main function of the CFF field representatives is to mobilize evangelicals in every

38 Yr

Congressional district, screen out those with "liberal" whitx political views, and train the remaineder with the help of Third Century's "Good Government Kit."

Rus Walton, editor-in-chief of Third Century Publishers, has stated that his group's literature calling for the election only of "evangelical Christians" to Congress is now being employed in the campaigns of at least 30 Congressional candidates. Third Century also publishes a Christian "Index" which lists how members of Congress vote on bills that Walton sonsiders necessary for the preservation of "individual freedom, free competitive enterprise and Constitutional government based on God's laws."

Intercessors for America, a number of whose rembers also have been on the boards of both Third Century Publishers and the Christian Freedom Foundation, last dune sent a "Dear Pastor" letter to 120,000 clergymen urging them to purshase large quantities of a pamphlet written by Bill Bright, titled, "Your Five Duties as a Christian Citizen." The pastors were asked to distribute the pamphlet to their congregants as a means of instructing them on how to take over local political machinery for the election of evangelical Christians only.

The Campus Crusade for Christ is now using local prayor groups, Bible-study meetings, and the Sunday School lecture circuit to create a grass-roots constituency for a political movement of "real Christians only."

The Christian Embassy, which was established in \$550,000 mansion by "concerned Christian businessmen" for the purpose, as one of its announcments state, "of ministering to the executive department Congress, the Judiciar", the military and the diplomatic corps in

Washington. Rolfe McCollister, a Baton Rouge, Louisiana, attorney who serves as president of the Christian Embassy, has decelled (Pittsburgh Press, June 10,1976):

"We will greet all newly elected members of Congress, for example, and try to share with them the claims of Christ."

(One celebrity who lent his prestige by attending the dedication of the embassy was Air Force General Geofge S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who in Oct. 1974 told a Duke Law School audience that "Jews own the banks in this country, the newspapers - you just look at where the Jewish money ima is in this country." He later apologized for the remark, but feebly.)

Mr. Bright, who helped establish the Christian Embassy, And the Christian E

"Here's Life, America" whose brave intention is "to evangelize" the paid United States by the end of the year. With khis/staff of 3,800 people operating in 82 conktries, he speaks also of evangebring the world by 1980. No one questions his right to free speech nor his freedom to propagate his faith, but what message is being communicated about the respect of evangelical Christians for the integrity of Judaism - and of Roman Catholicism, and other Prectestants - to whom their respective historic faiths remain the sources of touth andwe value and for whose perpetuation them many are prepared to stake their lives?

During the policital campaign in Arlyona.

Mr. Bright, an energetic one-time candy manufacturer turned evangelist, who helped establish the Shrisvian Embassy, has recently launched a massive campaign called, "Here's Life, America" whose brave intention to "to evangelize" the United States by the end of the year. Claiming a paid staff of 5,000 in 80 countries, an annual income of more than \$30 million, Mr. Bright has also announced a goal "of saturating every country in the world with the gospel of Jesus Christ" by 1980.

An announcement of a 1975 Bright evangelical campaign called Project Final Thrust - the "final thrust" before Christ's return -Call s for "changing the character of your mixxx entirex city ... " "Capturing your city for Jesus Christ! It can happen here through Here's Life, America, a proven plan of evangelism ... " is the glazz slogar of his latest efforts. In Short, the purpose of three efforts try to convert muner with an evangelist clinistran country In 1974, Bright organized Eplo '74, the crusade's internationa evangelism training congress in Seoul, Korea. At that time Bright declared that "there is more religious freedom in Korea than in the United States." Bright had told reporters, according to a Los Angeles Times interview of July 25, 1976, that "South Korea political repression was justified because division or dissension would inivite invasion from the north. The ke week before Explo 74 opened, 10 of Korea's top churchmen had risked prison and possible death in petitionnin g President Park Chung Hee to restore democracy and to to release persons arres ted under his emergency decrees for criticizng the

Asked about his statement in this finterview, Bright said "he still stands by it. Rental of a university building for crusade meetings in the United States is denied 'because you pray' while 'you are free

governement.

to preach the gospel anywhere in Korea."

Sojourners magazine, published by a group of young evangelicals who are committed to social justice, wrote in the spring issue that Bright had linked himself to "an alarming political initiative by the evangelical far right ... to Save America. "Sojourner's editor Jim Wallace and others maintain that Bright's program "dangerously distorts the fundamental meaning of the gosepl," promotes "narrow conservative positions" and seeks to harness wealthy evangelicals/the cause.

In an interview given January for Worldwide Challenge, a publication of the Campus Crusade for Christ, Bright said he thought Christians "could capture" many of the 435 con-ressional districts by November.

During the Key '73 campaign whose objective was "to Cal 1 the Continent to Christ," the Campus Crusade for Christ evangelists who werex spread out on several hundred college and university campuses brought considerable a coercive psychological pressure to bear particularly on Jewish young people to make decisions for Christ. When this writer met with Mr. Bright in Washington, D. C., to protest this proselytizing among Jewish youth, Mr. Bright said he would instruct his representatives on campuses to be "more sensitive" and careful in their encounters with Jews. He then added in kxixx conversation with me, somewhat gratuitously and aminously, that "wherever I travel around the country, I find that Jews most frequently are involved in secularlizing America. Jews are opposed to prayer in schools, to prayer meetings. They also are mostly involed in peddling pornorgraphy and the dirty movies." I protested that his comments verged on anti@Semitism and he then qualified his remarks. OTHER EFFORTS TO CHRISTIANIZE AMERICA

OTHER EFFORTS TO CHRISTIANIZE A ERICA

Agroup of inderependent evangelical Christians in Porthand,
Oregon, published in 1973 a "Christian Yellow Index". The purpose
of the preanization is, in its own words, "to provide
the Christian community with an index of Christian businesses, services,
and organizations, "to supplement the telephone books' yellow pages.
"Hopefully," their announcement reads, "it will serve as an encourgement
for commerce between fellow Christians during this present time of
economic crisis. The index also provides the Christian family with
a list of reputable services, wome of which they not may not already
have had previous reference for."

Christian Yellow Pages seeks to work closely with the individual churches in the community, aksing the congregations to distribute the booklets to each offe of their Christian households, and requesting the assemblies for names of Christian businessmen whom they feel might want to participate in the booklet."

A Greater Altanta Christian Businessmen's Index, compiled by Ray Williams, kavex was published. A new Atlanta edition of Christian Yeklow Pages was recently issued as a dequel. A new edition for northeastern Atlanta was published in June, and editions for northeastern and southern sections of Atlanta are being compiled. The Christian Yellow Pages for Atlanta was stimulated by the Christian Businessmen's pegional office in Miami, Florida, under the direction of Carl and Walt Goebelt.

An announcment of the availability of the Christian Yellow
Pages was carried in the June 1976 issue of Together, the bulletin
of the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlants. The Jewish Community
Relations Council of Atlanta and the American Jewish Committee's Atlanta
office protested to Christian Council, calling the Yellow Pages project

"a call to discriminate against non-Christiam businessmen." While the intent of the Christian Yellow Pages is not deliberately anti-Jewish, the Jewish groups said, the message nevertheless to the general community is still clearly "buy from Christians only,"

In responde to the Jewish concerns, the September issue of Together carried a disclaimer of disriminatory intent. "It is the feeling that the booket (Yellow Pages) encourages dealing only with Christian merchants; some have been left feeling that such merchants are the only ones who deal fairly." The Council "has no intention of advocating anything or anyone who discriminates against individual or group who do not profess the Christian finance."

Nevertheless, Christian Yellow Pages continues in circulation, and goes on being distributed in churches, in Atlanta, Miami, Portland, and God knows ink how many other cities.

EVANGELISIZING PUBLIC EDUCATION

In Charlotte, North Carolina, an evangeical Presbyterian minister, the Rev. French O'Shields of St. Giles Presbyterian Church, sent out questionaaires during the week of Sept. 2, 1976, asking nine school board candidates if they are "born again" Christians. The letter accompanying the questionnaire said Rev. O'Shields congregants "vant to be informed and able to vote intelligently."

Pat Lowe, one of the candidates and a member of another

Presbyterian congretation, said, "I don't really think it's any

**wkhof their business." She added, "I realized that they are sincere

and it's my responsibility to let khem know how I feel, "but she

said she was "appalled, sort of stunned" when the questionnaire came.

The Rev. James Gilland, a United Methodist minister who chairs the Charlotte Area Clergy Association, questioned the propriety of the "born again" question. He said a gandidate's religious conivctions dught not to be a magor reason to vote for or against the candidate. According to the Religious News Sertice, the questionnaire "has created a community stir."

EVANGELIXING CIVIC FUNCTIONS

On March 5, 1976, the Honorable Max M. Heller, mayor of Greenville, Prayer
South Carolina, who is Jewish, sponsored a Mayor's/Breakfast in
cooperation with the Greater Greenville Ministerial Alliance,
an interdenominational group. A group of several evangelical
churches and Bob Jones University, a fundamental ist school,
protested against the prayer breakfast, calling it a "mockery"
of fundamental Christian principles.

Rev. Russell Stolp, minister of Boulevard Baptist Church, said, "We feel there is a great deal of emphasis today on togetherness. which embraces all religions and all people in those religiouns as brothers in Christ. We do not feel this is Biblical. There is only one way to heaven, and that is through the persphal acceptance of the Lord Jesus Christ as Savior, not through any denomination, church, rite, rekigious baptism and so forth. So to bring together a group of people with variance of beliefs in this area causes confusion to the general public." (Greenville Pmedmont, March 11, 1976)

Rev. Stuart Latimer of Hampton Park Baptist Chruch said the Bible teaches "we are not to have kkinxx anything to do with false teachers. It is my understanding that Biole-believing pastors are not to work in religious endeavors with non-Bible-believing pastors.

so for Ithat reason I will not attend the break wast."

Dr. Bob Jones III, president of the university, Wrote a letter to the breakfast invitation committee declining an offer to participate in the prayer meeting. "Not only will we not be there but we are a also opposing this ecumneical mockery of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God. We stand in opposition to everything being done in this endeavor. We consider that the Mayor's efforts are in the interest of Satan and not that of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"The Lord all one true believers to expose wolves in sheep 's clothing who rend and tear the flock of God, and we consider any preacher who participates in an unscriptural endeavor such as this to b be a wolf in sheep's clothing. Bob Jones University wents no part of it, and we are opposing it," Dr. Jones wrote.

A group of 35 Bob JonesUniversity students picketed the breakfast meeting carrying signs reading, "How Can Christians join in a prayer meeting with a man who objected to the cit-council praying in the name of Christ?"

The Rev. Lynn P. Smith, President of the Greater Greenville Ministerial Alliance, denied the charge, saying "we have always been free to exercize peronsla religious freedom in presentations at these meetings." Rev. John Corbitt of the Springfield Baptist Church, who represents the ministerial alliance in the prayer meeting, said that "if they don't want to participate, that? stheir right, but they're trying to deny us our religious freedom. We live in an ecumenical community. Greenville is a community of Catholics, and Protestants, Jews and Gentilæs, blacks and whites. Anything undertaken in the community should encompass the whole community."

EVANGELISING THE JET'S

The faculty of the School of World Missions of Fuller
Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, one of the largest
evangelical seminaries in 'merica, issued am strongly worked appeal
on June 17, 1976, challenging all Christians to reinstate their
evangelism efforts toward Jews and to develop programs specificially
for them. The Fuller professors said that they believe "Jesus is
the only hope of salvation for the Jewish people, and for all mankind.
...We continue to pray that through the mercy and blessing of God,
the Jewish people wikks shall turn to the Messiah Jesus and Exext become
once again a light to the nations, that His salvation may reach to the
end of the earth.

"We wish to charge the church as a whole," the statement said, k "to do more than merely include the Sewish people in their evangelistic outreach. We must provide a priority opportunity to our Jeu sh friends to respond to the Messiah."

The Fuller faculty issued the statement in conjunction with the 28th anniversary of the establishment of Israel as a nation. They added that there were "much in prayer" that the Jewish presence in the Middle East "shall become under God an instrument for reconciliation and peace."

ha Son

In March 1976, Jesus Rallies, a Milwaukee evangelical group, brought a former South African Jew, Hymie Rubenstein - "a messianic Jewish believer" - to speak at a mass rally held atk Mount Mary College, a Catholic school. The flyer announcing Rubenstein's appearance described him as "a messianic Jewish beliver" who "learned two early in life to play the Jewish piano - the national cash register." Both Christians and Jews in Milwaukee condemned the leaflet as

11_ anti- Semitic." [3 ker on Suran Baper

IS EVANGELISM A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY AND PLURALISM

Prof. James T. Baker is a Southern Baptist who teaches history at Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green. In his frank and searching article on "Southern Baptists in the Seventies," he asks a number of pertinent questions which wardswarzadky troubles a large number of people - undoubtedly among them "the voters" whom William Shannon descrived as finding Gov. Carter "different" and "a little puzzling". I would presume to suggest that that feeling of troubled doubt have far more to do with concerns, if not anxieties, about the religious traditions and ethos that Gov. Carter has come to represent to the nation than it has to do with his own personal qualities or stances on particular issues.

In the foregoing pages, I have tried to descrive at some length the positive values, ideals, and contributions that Southern Baptists and evangelical Christians generally have made to the upbuidling of American society. It is both in order and essential to face the misgivings, especially in light of the great growth of the Southern religious communities and their potential impact on the lives of other peoples, an impact that would be vastly augmented were a Southern Baptist believer to occupy the White House. And even should that not occur, the questions still need to be faced and satisfactory answers given for the role of the South and that of the evangelical community is destined to become more prominent and influential in the years shead for all the reasons stated earlier.

Prof. Baker puts the general issue in this candid works:

"The Southern Baptist Convention is a giant sleeping bear.

One day it just might wake up and make its impact upon American society. That empact could be very bad. Men could take command who

are not only ignorant but downright hostile to education and social and theological maturity. But the explosion could be positive, and Southern Baptists could awaken to both the good and the bad in their past, choose to face the future and its problems with the west they have in them, and with the strength that is implicit in their size and location do something which they talk a lot about but seem not really to understand: a "ggod work for the Lord."

The questions there thus center of matter of "social and theological maturity" and in fact need to be addressed as much to the respected leaders of the Southern Baptist Convention, the reading evangelical personalities who have major followings in the South and elsewhere, as much as to Gov. Carter.

Here are some of the salient questions that, in our judgment, require clear and forthright replies:

What are your views about the Christian Freedom Foundation in

Washington, D. C., and the Third Century Rukkinkingx@sx Purlishers

in Arlington, Va.7, the Intercessors for America, and the Christian Emrass in Washington, D. C.

As was widely reported in the press, these mgm organizations represent a coalbtion, led by former Congressmen John Conlon and Bill Bright, a conservative businessman who now heads the Campus Crusade for Christ, whose purposes are "to take over local precincts and to elect only 'godly' Christians to public office." (Newsweek, Beptember 6, 1976.)

The Christian Freedom Foundation is a tax-exempt group devoted to conservative economics and politics. It now chaims to have a corps of field representatives in all 50 states. The main function of the CFF field representatives is to mobilize evangelicals in every

we, the delegates to the annual meeting of the International
Council of Christians and Jews, in session in New York City, June
10-15, 1979, hereby join together in this solemn declaration of
conscience.

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We speak together as Christians and Jews on the basis of our commitments to those principles and precepts which are inherent within both Judaism and Christianity and which compel us to involved concern for the welfare of all our brothers and sisters in the human family.

We have met together to study our religious responsibilities

for human rights. We have looked backward in time to the tragedy of

the Nazi Holocaust. We have looked inward to our own hearts and souls

to ascertain our directions for today. We have looked outward to the

world in which we live and have seen the outstretched arms of uncounted

millions of our fellow human beings crying to us for our caring and

our assistance.

We have discovered in our investigations and our deliberations

the Teaching of Centempt and feeling of

that the lessons of the Holocaust have not been learned. The genocide

Super out, Still deeply they aimed in our tradition

Inflicted upon the Jewsy's generation ago is being repeated in other

and others

nations and inflicted on other peoples. Indeed, the tyrants seem to

20 have learned more from the Holocaust than have the people of conscience.

Even as Hitler was encouraged by the world's lack of outrage and protest at the massacre of the Armenians, today's oppressors seem to have been emboldened by the world's silence to the reality of the Holocaust.

remains in our world. We decry the fact that the great silence continues. We confess our own participation in this conspiracy of apathy and pledge together that we shall lift our voices and commit our bodies and our resources to active resistance to every expression of human tyranny.

we call upon the religious leaders of our world, statesmen and political organizations, authors and artists, educators and representatives of the mass media to sealesce with us in a united effort to develop and implement strategies of action to alleviate the bondage of those who suffer all forms of oppression.

We affirm the fundamental right of every person of every country, every color, every class, and every creed --

- * To freedom of conscience and the expression of the dictates of that conscience,
- 40 * To freedom of religious belief and the right to

| 41 | that religion without interference from the State |
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| 42 | or other religious bodies within the State, |
| 43 | * To freedom of migration from any nation which violates |
| 44 | these rights and full participating citizenship in the |
| 45 | nation to which they move, |
| 46 | * To freedom from hunger, poverty, and deprivation of |
| 47 | adequate housing and medical care, |
| 48 | * To freedom of self-identity and cultural tolerance |
| 49 | without pressure, either subtle or overt, to be |
| 50 | assimilated into the majority culture of the State. |
| | and cericeins |
| 51 | On the basis of these beliefs we urge |
| 52 | * The immediate release of all prisoners of conscience, |
| 53 | * The alteration of immigration regulations in the free |
| 54 | nations of the world so that victims of oppression may |
| 55 | find safe haven and a new beginning of life, |
| 56 | * The development of positive and aggressive educational |
| 57 | State programs in every nation to instruct our children in |
| 58 | the lessons of the Holocaust and to instill within them |
| 59 | the sensitivity to the conditions of others that will |
| 60 | inspire them to actively resist all forms of tyranny and |

| 61 | all violations of human rights. |
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| 62 | We hear the cries of our brothers and sisters in distress, |
| 63 | and commit ourselves to strive in every way to respond to the |
| 64 | special needs of |
| 65 | * The refugees from political oppression in South- |
| 66 | east Asia, |
| 67 | and other racial rething nu norities * The black majorities in southern Africaj who live under |
| 68 | the oppressive heel of racist minority regimes, |
| 69 | * The minorities in the Middle East, whose existence |
| 70 | becomes more tenuous every day under the yoke of |
| 71 | cruel and fanatic rulers, whole the impact of political conflicts. |
| 72 | * The improverished of the nations of Latin America |
| 73 | who plead for liberation from the terrorism of mili- |
| 74 | taristic totalitarianism, of the Right, |
| 75 | * The masses of Eastern Europe and Asia who quest for |
| 16 | freedom from the tyranny of the totalitarianism |
| '7 | the Left, |
| 8 | * The minorities of our own nations to whom basic human |
| 9 | rights are still denied by reason of race, religion, |

or class. or cultice

| 81 | Never Again will we abandon our brothers and sisters in their |
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| 82 | time of distress. |
| 83 | Must Never Again will we turn away from the anguished cries for |
| 84 | recognition and release. |
| 85 | must Never Again will we remain aloof and silent when any member of |
| 86 | the family of humanity reaches out to us for help. |



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN THE U.S.A. A. Middle East Refugees

In September 1968, the General Board of the National Council of Churches, meeting in Houston, Texas, received a report on the "refugee situation in the Middle East." The survey, conducted by Rev. Edwin M. Luidens, general secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America, the Rav. Raymond E. Maxwell, of the Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Rodney A. Sundberg. of the United Presbyterian Church, dealt only with the situation of the Arab refugees and made no reference to 500,000 Jews who were refugees from Arab countries.

In seeking to explain the "convictions of Christian people there," the report stated: "Western nations out of a sense of guilt for the persecution of Jews in Europe created the State of Israel and thus contributed toward the persecution of Arabs.

"For 20 years Israel has been permitted to ignore the resolutions of the United Nations aimed at justice for dispossessed Am bs, and thus has been enabled to nelarge and consolidate her position."

According to a Religious News Service report, "there was strongly worded opposition to the survey from some who held it was unbalanced in favor of the Arab position." The refugee report, however, was published in Approach, an official journal of the National Council of Churches and the United Presbyterian Church, under the title, "Do Churches Betray Mid-East Christians?" No mention was made of the

opposition to the report during the floor debate. A reprint of the pro-Arab report was made by the Mille East and Europe Department of the Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches, and was sent to the 34 member denominations of the Protestant Council.

Middle Kass Referes

