

**Baptist World Alliance – Heritage and Identity Commission
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**BAPTIST HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE NEW CENTURY:
WHAT THEMES SHOULD WE BE ADDRESSING?[1]**

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Baptist history is a field full of opportunities for new investigations. To be sure, over the years, a number of areas have attracted our attention. The most obvious is institutional history, that is, denominational, associational, and local church matters. The American Baptist Historical Society, together with American Baptist Archives Center and the American Baptist-Samuel Colgate Historical Library have provided resources for people looking at Baptists in the North and West, while the Southern Baptist Historical Library and the Baptist History and Heritage Society have done likewise in the South as well as other parts of the country. In Europe are the rich holdings of the Angus Library at Regents Park College and the affiliated Centre for Baptist History and Heritage in Oxford, England, and the library and Oncken Archive at the German Baptists' theological seminary in Elstal bei Berlin.

As I have documented in the September 2003 issue of the *American Baptist Quarterly* and the efforts of the BWA's Heritage and Identity Commission so clearly reveal, the exploration of Baptist history is taking place around the globe.[2] We are becoming increasingly aware of this explosion of scholarship, and we want to do everything in our power to encourage

and foster this development. A good starting place for our inquiries is the compendium *Baptists Around the World* that Albert W. Wardin organized and to which many of us working in the field contributed.^[3]

Another approach to enhancing our historical understanding is to look at the specific controversies that have occupied so much attention. Walter B. Shurden reminded us of several of these in *Not a Silent People*, a concise work aimed at sensitizing the layperson, and which a few years ago was revised to reflect more recent concerns.^[4]

1. What were our origins—is there a lineal succession of people who practiced Baptist principles from the New Testament to the present, or did the Baptist movement emerge out of sixteenth-century Mennonite roots or English Puritan Separatism?

2. Were Baptists a missionary people or did they oppose sending out missionaries throughout the world?

3. What was the role of Baptists in perpetuating slavery and then white supremacy? How did racial separatism negatively impact the churches and denominationally supported institutions? Significant scholarship continues to appear on this topic, such as Mark Newman's work on segregation in the last half of the twentieth century,^[5] and Paul Harvey's study of racial identities in the post-Civil War era and into the twentieth century.^[6]

4. What were the conflicts resulting from high Calvinism which fed into Landmarkism and the debate over the total autonomy of the local congregation and the rejection of any meaningful form of connectionalism or vision of the larger church?^[7]

5. What was the nature of the debates over theology and how to interpret the Bible—the Downgrade controversy in Britain, the fundamentalist-modernist struggle in America, and the associated issue of creedalism. This resulted in such things in the South as the J. Frank Norris movement and the Bible Baptist schism, and the adoption of the Baptist Faith and Message in 1925 as a confessional statement, while in the North an ongoing conflict raged inside the Northern Baptist Convention over whether the New Hampshire Confession of 1833 should be

made normative. This culminated in the schisms of the General Association of Regular Baptists (1932) and the Conservative Baptist Association (1947).

6. How did issues surrounding biblical literalism or inerrancy affect Baptist life? The controversy that erupted over Ralph H. Elliott's commentary on Genesis in 1961-62^[8] led to a revision of the Baptist Faith and Message in 1965, and was carried to its extremity by W. A. Criswell's *Why I Preach that the Bible Is Literally True* and Harold Lindsell's highly influential *Battle for the Bible*.^[9] In the North this was manifested in the bitter attacks on Fuller Theological Seminary and infighting within the Evangelical Theological Society, while in the South the fundamentalists gained control of the SBC leadership, which resulted in schism and the denomination's increasing withdrawal from the larger realm of Baptist life. The latter was reflected in such actions as the defunding of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and the International Baptist Theological Seminary in Switzerland, revision of the Baptist Faith and Message in 1998 and 2000 to place wives under the authority of their husbands and to deny women the right to a place in the ordained ministry, and the SBC withdrawal from the Baptist World Alliance in 2004.

We in the North have struggled with the problem of how to affirm our diversity as a people of God and yet hold our denomination together. The differences in theology and attitude to social concerns were major factors in the schisms in 1932 and 1947 and the hemorrhage of members and funding that has occurred ever since. The latest catastrophe to befall the American Baptist Churches in the USA, as the denomination has been called since 1972, was the demise of the Board of Educational Ministries, the successor to the hallowed American Baptist Publication Society. Many American Baptists question how much longer the ABC-USA can survive, given the tensions produced by the homosexuality issue and the continuing financial crisis. A lively group of American Baptist Evangelicals and an equally determined Fellowship of Welcoming and Affirming Churches have polarized the denomination, and those in the middle are in a quandary as to what to do. The creedal issue has revived as well, as the Evangelicals have recently called for a formulation of a Confession of Faith. They regard this as an antidote to an

“anything-goes” doctrine of soul liberty that allows an individual to believe whatever he or she wishes, regardless of how heterodox or even heretical that might be.

There are numerous other questions of Baptist history that have been debated through the years, both in the United States and Britain. This includes such matters as doctrine, church polity, congregational life, differences between General and Particular Baptists, and so on. But I feel we need to move beyond these to look at new and different issues in our scholarship. To some extent, many of you are already doing this, but I believe much more remains to be done and new areas require our attention. I would like to suggest some realms of Baptist life that hold opportunities for fruitful investigation. This is by no means an exhaustive list but rather the identification of possibilities for more intensive research. I especially want to emphasize the importance of moving beyond American considerations and looking at the questions of Baptist history in global terms, as we are truly a worldwide movement.

Let me identify twelve areas of fruitful scholarly concern that I believe we should consider focusing on.

1. International links among Baptists. We need to look at the wide variety of ties that have developed among Baptists. This includes becoming aware of indigenous or independent Baptist works around the world and how they relate to each other. The most important agency linking our people is the Baptist World Alliance. It has done much to promote cooperation among Baptists by convening regional meetings, relief programs, assistance in evangelism, promoting peace witness, literature projects, and other ventures focused on specific matters. The BWA archives housed at the American Baptist Archives Center in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania are a treasure trove of source material in this area. One of the most tragic events of our time is the foolish and short-sighted action of the Southern Baptist leadership in taking the SBC out of the BWA, thereby choosing the route of narrow sectarianism over cooperation with the global Baptist community. We do not yet know the extent of the damage this has done to the global Baptist witness.

There are also connections within denominational organizations. The SBC links its mission churches abroad, and the process of doing this is worthy of study, especially if the leadership succeeds in its plans to transform them into a shadow BWA. How other Baptist bodies, both in the United States and other countries, do this should be looked at as well. Some indications of the directions such work might take is contained in the March 2001 thematic issue of the *American Baptist Quarterly* which focuses on partnerships in Baptist interchurch relations.

Another aspect is the development of the ecumenical vision. Some bodies, such as the American Baptist Churches and the Baptist Union of Great Britain, and a few non-Western unions relate to the World Council of Churches. What influences do they have there and how does this connection affect the constituent bodies? As for regional organizations, the European Baptist Federation is a model of this type of connectionalism, as Bernard Green's recent study reveals.^[10] It would be interesting as well to examine what the African, Asian, Caribbean, and Latin American churches have been doing in this regard.

2. The work of new types of Western (British and North American) missionaries. By this I mean those kinds of missionaries who have enabled to preservation and development of indigenous cultures, as opposed to Westernizing them. This involves an understanding of contemporary missiological theory that stresses contextualized mission work and reaching people in their cultural situations without transforming their cultures into something more Western in character. Missionary historian Frederick Downs' works on northeast India reveal some interesting developments along this line, but it is an area very much in need of further scrutiny.^[11] I think it is especially important to demonstrate that missionaries are most effective when they equip the indigenous Christians to carry out evangelistic work and to plant new churches rather than simply do it themselves, as the new, and in my opinion faulty, policy of the SBC's International Mission Board requires.

3. The missionary work of non-Western Baptists. The Koreans and Brazilians are important examples of missionary churches in the Baptist world. In fact, Brazilian Baptist leader Fausto Aguiar de Vasconcelos reported in the June 2004 number of the on-line *Baptist Studies*

Bulletin that the more than one million Baptists in his land now support 540 missionaries in 59 countries around the world. The historical backgrounds of these non-Western works need to be explored and their effectiveness assessed. We should become acquainted with what churches in other countries are doing to reach non-Christians outside their borders. The porous national boundaries and fluid travel situations have helped to make this the practice of churches elsewhere. Their efforts have received little documentation, and the story needs to be told.

4. The role of women in the life of the church is an area of study rapidly gaining in importance. We need to know more about how they rose to places of leadership in congregations and denominational organs and struggled to overcome patriarchal resistance in the process.. Lydia Hoyle of Campbell University has authored a revealing study of the Southern Baptist Woman's Missionary Union role in training young Baptist women for leadership in the church,[\[12\]](#) and the WMU itself as an organization of strong-willed and highly-dedicated women deserves more intensive study. The histories by Catherine Allen and others reveal much about the motivation of these women and how they exercised leadership their leadership gifts, but more remains to be done.[\[13\]](#) DeLane Ryals' inspiring account of Southern Baptist women who ministered in the New York City area helps us to see the unfortunate impact that the resurgence of patriarchalism has had upon the gospel witness.[\[14\]](#) Catherine Allen's tragic account of the ongoing marginalization of women in the SBC stirs us to question how and why such a retrograde movement could be occurring today.[\[15\]](#)

Studies of women's ministerial organizations in the American Baptist Churches and the ill-fated SBC one could tell us much about how women perceived their calls to ministry and how they responded to the challenges of theological education and parish life. In the North we know of Susan E. C. Griffin (1851-1926), who, when she and her husband were called to a co-pastorate of Elmira Heights Baptist Church in New York State in 1893, became the first woman to be ordained as an American Baptist minister. Anthea Butler is currently working on the life and work of Joanna P. Moore (1832-1916), a remarkable person who trained black women to read in post-Civil War Tennessee and so identified with the people among whom she labored that she

requested to be buried in a black cemetery when she died. (The evil of segregation even continued to the grave.) Although several things have been written about Helen Barrett Montgomery (1861-1949), who was a preacher, author, administrator of a women's mission agency, Greek scholar, and first woman to preside over the Northern Baptist Convention, still we lack a first-rate scholarly study of her.

Annie Armstrong (1850-1938), the founder of the Woman's Missionary Union, was a talented leader, while Southern Baptist missionary Lottie Moon (1840-1912) engaged in extraordinary labors in the China mission that few males could match. The stories of missionary wives, who were in every sense partners with their husbands in ministry, need to be told. We already know a lot about Adoniram Judson's wives,[\[16\]](#) but many other spouses were just as faithful and involved in the work of proclaiming the gospel of Christ. The same is true of single women missionaries. They carried out a ministry virtually identical to that of the men in the far-away places of the world, but when they returned home, they had to submit to the patriarchal system.

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*[\[17\]](#) is an important study of female activism in the black churches. Six of the contributors to Cecil Staton's symposium, *Why I Am a Baptist*, are women who are leaders in both the North and South.[\[18\]](#) Charles Deweese is currently engaged in a study of the selection and service of women deacons in Baptist churches, a process that needs to be better appreciated, as that struck a forceful blow at the reigning patriarchal structure of the church. We are making progress in learning about the changing roles of women in the church, but much remains to be done. The resurgence of patriarchy in the SBC and the impact of regressive movements in the larger realm of evangelicalism such as the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood simply make the scholarly reconstruction job more difficult and at the same time all the more pressing.

5. The missionary vision of African Americans and how those in the African Diaspora engaged in evangelism among the peoples in their ancestral home is an exciting topic. Horace O.

Russell provides a revealing account of how African Americans in Jamaica engaged in missionary work in West Africa in the mid- and later nineteenth century.^[19] Leroy Fitts' work on Lott Carey has opened our understanding of the first black missionary to Africa.^[20] Sandy Martin's study on black missionaries to Africa is another important work. Unfortunately, scholars have only begun to scratch the surface in this vital area.^[21]

6. The formation of Baptist churches among Spanish and Portuguese speaking peoples in North America. This important development needs to be documented much more clearly. Also the interrelationship between these churches and sister churches in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Brazil must be traced. The impact of publishing houses like the Casa Bautista de Publicaciones, the SBC's Spanish language enterprise in El Paso, Texas, needs closer scrutiny. American Baptists as well are heavily engaged in ministry among Hispanics, and an interesting example of the American Baptist Historical Society's concern in the area is the recent publication of a Spanish language edition of Edwin Gaustad's popular *Doing Church History—Your Own!* (1991), a convenient hands-on guide for those wishing to write the history of their congregations.

7. Baptist works among East Asian peoples, and the especially the immigrant communities in North America is a vast topic awaiting closer examination. American Baptist historian Timothy Tseng put together an issue of the *American Baptist Quarterly* in September 2002 that called attention to the possibilities for further research in this area. It focused on Asian American Baptists, beginning with the planting of the first Chinese congregation in Sacramento, California in the 1850s and the formation of the Chinese Baptist churches in San Francisco and Seattle and the Japanese Baptist Church in Seattle as American Baptist missionary efforts. He showed that the Chinese and Japanese immigrants embraced the Baptist way of life during an era of racial segregation and looked to the conversion of their homelands as a source of hope. The converts found the Christian faith to be a source for cultural renewal and national salvation in the face of Euro-American imperialism. Although most people assumed the churches would be the

means of assimilating the immigrants into the white culture, in fact they eventually became self-supporting congregations that adopted a more biblical and multi-cultural outlook.

Since the 1960s the vision of ministry among Asians has changed and expanded due to the great influx of Filipino, Korean, Indian, and Southeast Asia immigrants. In some ways the works became less denominational in character. As Tseng's bibliography reveals, there is a growing body of literature in this field. The Korean story particularly is crying for increased attention, as the symposium covering the gamut of Korean religion edited by Kwang Chung Kim and R. Stephen Warner, *Korean American and Their Religions: Pilgrims and Missionaries from a Different Shore*, alerts us.^[22]

8. The contributions of Baptists who have been public figures need examination. A significant number of Baptists have been involved in public life, and their stories need to be told. Among the major Northern/American Baptist figures were Charles Evans Hughes, presidential candidate in 1916 and Supreme Court justice, and Harold E. Stassen, governor of Minnesota and prominent presidential candidate in the 1940s. Perhaps the most avowedly Southern Baptist figures active in politics were Brooks Hays, congressman from Arkansas, and President Jimmy Carter. Three other twentieth century presidents had Baptist ties, Warren G. Harding, Harry S Truman, and Bill Clinton. A distinguished Baptist statesman was Senator Mark O. Hatfield from Oregon. Hays, Hatfield, and Carter have all published memoirs that testified to their faith.^[23] There are many other Baptists who held high public offices, and their stories need to be told and their witness evaluated.

Baptist figures in other lands should be identified and their biographies written. For example, Welsh Baptist David Lloyd George was a prominent Liberal politician in Great Britain during the early part of the twentieth century and prime minister in the later years of the First World War. Tadeuz J. Zielinski, a Baptist lawyer and theologian in Poland, served for a time in the Polish parliament and today is a respected expert on human rights questions. The Australian Peter Costello is from a Baptist family in Melbourne and a leading figure in the Liberal Party. He is currently a Member of Parliament and holds the cabinet post of Treasurer.

This list of Baptist figures in public life barely scratches the surface. I am sure it could be expanded greatly through further research. It would be helpful to learn how the faith of these individuals affected their public actions and policies, and if it did not, then why not. It could give us a more comprehensive picture of Baptists engaging in public life.

9. Civil religion as the new faith of Baptists in the United States. This is an enormous problem that has largely been swept under the carpet of patriotism.^[24] A useful exercise would be to see how the American flag is exalted in the church, how much patriotic songs are used in worship, and how often the nation is exalted in sermons. I am convinced that many Baptist preachers are more committed to the religion of Americanism than to that of Jesus Christ. It is amazing how many of them have bought into the Christian America historical mythology, and this is directly linked to their erosion of commitment to the historical Baptist principle of church-state separation.^[25]

10. We need much more research in the local history of Russian and East European Baptists, especially their congregational life and the relations between Baptists and the various state authorities. The magisterial work of Albert Wardin in 1995 as well as his new biography of Gottfried Alf points the way here.^[26] Some themes that could be treated are: Baptist growth in these areas and what enabled or inhibited it, the leading personalities, conflicts among groups, ethnicity as a factor in religious strife, and the tensions between connectionalism and schisms. A salutary development is the endeavor at the International Baptist Theological Seminary in Prague to encourage students from Eastern Europe to write the histories of their unions and congregations. In this way, a body of scholarly material is beginning to accumulate.

11. More work needs to be done on Baptist institutions of higher education, both in the West and other countries. How did they impact the cultures in the countries where they existed? Who were the national leaders trained there and how did they exercise their faith? An even more important question is that of why Baptist institutions abandoned their roots and became like secular universities? The problem is raised in larger works like George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established*

Nonbelief (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), and James T. Burtchaell, *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from their Christian Churches* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). This alleged “apostasy” has been the grist for many a fundamentalist mill, and further investigation would be useful to learn how and why this occurred.

12. The small Baptist bodies are often overlooked. We know about the large unions and conventions, but the smaller and more marginal ones are not given the attention they deserve. We need to ask such questions as: Why do these bodies exist? What are their distinctive contributions? To what extent are they vestigial churches? What produced the fissiparous situation that led to the formation of so many churches? The problem of separatism is one that Baptists in both the North and the South must confront. In the South are such large bodies as the Baptist Bible Fellowship, Missionary Baptist Association, and American Baptist Association, and smaller ones like the Free Will Baptists, Primitive Baptists, and Old Regular Baptists. We have been sensitized to the variety of small churches by Bill J. Leonard,^[27] Loyal Jones,^[28] Deborah McCauley,^[29] John G. Crowley,^[30] and Howard Dorgan.^[31] The Free Will, American, and Missionary Baptists all have recent official histories.^[32]

In the North, the GARB has an in-house history by Paul Tassell and the Conservative Baptists by Bruce Shelley, but these are hardly works of critical scholarship.^[33] The level of treatment of the black denominations is also inadequate, although the amount of literature on African American Baptists is growing slowly.^[34] An important step in this direction is the June 2004 issue of the *American Baptist Quarterly* on the theme “The Black Baptist Experience in America.” For objective treatments of the smaller or lesser known churches one may also consult the brief but informative articles in Albert Wardin’s *Baptists Around the World*. The signal example of a small Baptist body preserving and telling its history is undoubtedly that of the Seventh Day Baptists, and for this we are deeply indebted to the selfless labors of Don A. Sanford.^[35]

As suggested at the beginning of the essay, this list of topics for research is by no means exhaustive. However, they do indicate a number of ways in which we may go. It is now time for us to move beyond the controversies that have for so long kept us focused on our internal differences and internecine conflicts. There is plenty of new territory to explore, and I would encourage all Baptist historians to turn their attention toward these new directions. Much remains to be done.

^[1] I wish to dedicate this essay to the memory of Professor William R. Estep, Jr. (1920-2000) of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Although I never studied with him, he was nevertheless one of my mentors. He took a personal interest in me and encouraged me to broaden my grasp of the Christian heritage by looking at the Mennonite roots of the Baptist tradition and to bring my understanding of the political dimensions of modern evangelicalism to bear on the problems facing Baptists today. Without his friendly nudging and kind words on many occasions, I would never have ventured this far into the field of Baptist history.

^[2] Thematic issue, "Baptist Historical Studies: A Worldwide Enterprise," *American Baptist Quarterly* 22 (September 2003); Richard V. Pierard, "The Globalization of Baptist History," *American Baptist Quarterly* 19 (June 2000), 165. Many of the Heritage and Identity Commission papers have been published in the three quinquennial volumes of the Baptist World Alliance's Study and Research Division: *Faith, Life, and Witness*, ed. William H. Brackney with Ruby J. Burke (Birmingham, AL: Samford University Press, 1990); *Baptist Faith and Witness*, ed. William H. Brackney and L. A. (Tony) Cupit (Birmingham, AL: Samford University Press, 1995); and *Baptist Faith and Witness Book 2*, ed. L. A. (Tony) Cupit (McLean, VA: BWA, 1999).

^[3] Albert W. Wardin, ed., *Baptists Around the World: A Comprehensive Handbook* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1995).

^[4] Walter B. Shurden, *Not a Silent People: Controversies That Have Shaped Southern Baptists* (Nashville: Broadman, 1972); revised ed., (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 1995).

^[5] Mark Newman, *Getting Right with God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945-1995* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001).

^[6] Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

^[7] This has been insightfully revisited in the Spring 2004 (vol. 39) thematic issue of *Baptist History and Heritage*.

^[8] Critics charged Elliott with "liberalism" because he utilized modern critical scholarship instead of literally interpreting the first eleven chapters of Genesis in his volume *The Message of Genesis* in the Broadman Bible Commentary series. He was fired from his post at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and the book withdrawn from print.

^[9] W. A. Criswell, *Why I Preach that the Bible Is Literally True* (Nashville: Broadman, 1969); Harold Lindsell, *The Battle for the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), and *The Bible in the Balance* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979).

^[10] Bernard Green, *Crossing the Boundaries: A History of the European Baptist Federation* (Didcot, U.K.: Baptist Historical Society, 1999).

^[11] Frederick S. Downs, *The Mighty Works of God. A Brief History of the Council of the Baptist Churches of North East India: The Mission Period 1836-1950* (Guahati, Assam: Christian Literature Centre, 1971); *Christianity in North East India: Historical Perspectives* (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1983); *Essays on Christianity in North-East India* (New Delhi: Indus Pub. Co., 1994). See also Herman G. Tegenfeldt, *A Century of Growth: The Kachin Baptist Church of Burma* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1974).

^[12] Lydia Huffman Hoyle, "Queens in the Kingdom: Southern Baptist Mission Education for Girls, 1953-1970," in *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002), 101-112.

^[13] Catherine B. Allen, *A Century to Celebrate: History of Woman's Missionary Union* (Birmingham, AL: WMU 1987; Alma Hunt, *History of Woman's Missionary Union* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1976); T. Laine Scales, *All That Fits a Woman: Training Southern Baptist Women for Charity and Mission, 1907-1926* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000).

^[14] DeLane M. Ryals, "Southern Baptist Women Ministering in Metro New York, 1970-1995," *Baptist History and Heritage* 39 (Spring 2004), 90-99.

^[15] Catherine B. Allen, "Shifting Sands for Southern Baptist Women in Missions," in Robert, *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers*, 113-126.

¹⁵ See, for example, Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Mission for Life: the story of the family of Adoniram Judson, the dramatic events of the first American foreign mission, and the course of evangelical religion in the nineteenth century* (New York: Free Press, 1980).

^[17] Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

^[18] Cecil P. Staton, Jr., ed., *Why I Am a Baptist: Reflections on Being Baptist in the 21st Century* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 1999).

^[19] Horace O. Russell, *The Missionary Outreach of the West Indian Church: Jamaican Baptist Missions to West Africa in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

^[20] Leroy Fitts, *Lott Carey: First Black Missionary to Africa* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1978); *The Lott Carey Legacy of African American Missions* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1994).

^[21] Martin, Sandy D. *Black Baptists and African Missions: The Origins of a Movement, 1880-1915* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1989).

^[22] University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.

^[23] Brooks Hays, *Politics Is My Parish: An Autobiography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Mark O. Hatfield, *Not Quite So Simple* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), *Between a Rock and a Hard Place* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1976); *Against the Grain: Reflections of a Rebel Republican* (Ashland, OR: White Cloud Press, 2001); Jimmy Carter, *Why Not the Best?* (Nashville: Broadman, 1975), *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* (New York: Bantam, 1982), *An Hour before Daylight: Memories of My Rural Boyhood* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001).

^[24] My own works provide a starting point for those interested in the question: Richard V. Pierard and Robert D. Linder, *Civil Religion and the Presidency* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988 [Japanese translation, Tokyo: Reitaku University Press, 2003]); Pierard, "Civil Religion" in *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans,

1999), 1:583-588; and Pierard, "‘In God we trust. . . all others pay cash’: Reflections on Civil Religion," *Stimulus: The New Zealand Journal of Christian Thought and Practice* 10/3 (August 2002), 11-19.

^[25] By far the most thorough discussion of this matter is the two-part series by Stephen M. Stookey, "In God We Trust?: Evangelical Historiography and the Quest for a Christian America," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 41 (Spring & Summer 1999), 41-69 and 5-37.

^[26] Albert W. Wardin, Jr., *Evangelical Sectarians in the Russian Empire and the USSR* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1995), and *Gottfried F. Alf: Pioneer of the Baptist Movement in Poland* (Brentwood, TN: Baptist History and Heritage Society, 2003). Important books include Walter Sawatsky, *Soviet Evangelicals since World War II* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1981), and Heinrich Löwen, *Russische Freikirchen: Die Geschichte der Evangeliums-christen und Baptisten bis 1944* (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft., 1995).

^[27] Bill J. Leonard, ed., *Christianity in Appalachia: Profiles in Regional Pluralism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

^[28] Loyal Jones, *Faith and Meaning in the Southern Uplands* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

^[29] Deborah Vansau McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

^[30] John G. Crowley, *Primitive Baptists of the Wiregrass South: 1815 to the Present* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

^[31] Howard Dorgan, *Giving Glory to God in Appalachia: Worship Practices of Six Baptist Subdenominations* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); *The Old Regular Baptists of Central Appalachia: Brothers and Sisters in Hope* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); *In the Hands of a Happy God: The "No-Hellers" of Central Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997). The latter is an account of the Primitive Baptist universalist churches.

^[32] Michael R. Pelt, *A History of Original Free Will Baptists* (Mount Olive, NC: Mount Olive College Press, 1966); William F. Davidson, *The Free Will Baptists in History* (rev. ed., Nashville: Randall House Publications, 2001); John W. Duggar, *The Baptist Missionary Association of America (1950-1986)* (Texarkana, TX: Baptist Publishing House, 1988); Robert Ashcraft, gen. ed., *History of the American Baptist Association* (Texarkana, TX: American Baptist Association, 2000). A substantial history of the Baptist Bible Fellowship is lacking, but useful factual information about it can be found in George W. Dollar, *A History of Fundamentalism in America* (Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1973).

^[33] Paul N. Tassell, *Quest for Faithfulness: The Account of a Unique Fellowship of Churches* (Schaumburg, IL: Regular Baptist Press, 1991); Bruce Shelley, *A History of Conservative Baptists* (Wheaton, IL: Conservative Baptist Press, 1981).

^[34] Leroy Fitts, *A History of Black Baptists* (Nashville: Broadman, 1985); William L. Banks, *A History of Black Baptists in the United States* (Philadelphia: W. L. Banks, 1987); James M. Washington, *Frustrated Fellowship: The Black Baptist Quest for Social Power* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986).

^[35] See especially Sanford's *A Choosing People: The History of Seventh Day Baptists* (Nashville: Broadman, 1992).