Baptist World Alliance Women and Racism A Background Paper for a Presentation to BWA Commission on Heritage and Identity July 12, 2022

Meeting at Samford University

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It is particularly appropriate for a meeting in Birmingham to be examining the issue of women tangling with racism in the life of the BWA. This is the historic center of the American Civil Rights movement, and it is the headquarters office of Woman's Missionary Union of the Southern Baptist Convention. These women and other women of the Baptist World Alliance have been particularly instrumental in finding practical ways, and through organized efforts, to build up a worldwide interracial sisterhood of Baptist women.

I have lived this story myself for 80 years as a lifelong resident of Birmingham, and through 57 years of close association with BWA women's organizations. In worldwide travels I have dragged with me the identity of being from Birmingham, AL. Birmingham has been my heavy burden, and only the grace of God and mercy of Baptists, brought me through. I can testify that women of the Baptist World Alliance helped me to cast off some of my old shackles and to open arms and heart to women of all races worldwide.

Birmingham has been not the only throbbing heart of racism. Racism in many lands has always been a factor in the life of the Baptist World Alliance because its constituents were entrapped in world cataclysms over race. These were a reality from the beginning of the BWA in 1905, and they directly caused formation of an enduring BWA Women's Department after World War II.

My personal experience began as a captive of anti-Negro attitudes in the American south, notably in the Southern Baptist Convention. Among other epic examples of racism harming Baptist women, I should and will mention Ayrian racial superiority as enacted by Nazi Germany, and then Japanese racial superiority as demonstrated in the world war in the Pacific. In Africa, racism was not only between white and black, but among black tribes—such as in the Hutu and Tutsi genocide in Rwanda and near countries. Other places of Baptist racial domination fights could be named, but these are some I know to have affected Baptist women in leadership internationally. My conclusion is that women were leaders in racial reconciliation within the world Baptist family. They accomplished some victories because they used their BWA experiences to establish personal friendships across barriers. They organized a system of seven regional (or "continental") Baptist women's unions that gave women greater access to working together across political and racial barriers. Most importantly, the women of the

Baptist World Alliance built their fellowship was based on prayer, starting in 1948 with a Baptist Women's Day of Prayer in Europe. This annual day of awareness and intercession was adopted in North America in 1951. Prayer not only moved heaven, but also moved hearts on earth towards Christian harmony.

I will give a half-dozen case studies of Baptist women who fought to free themselves and their Baptist structures from the control of racism.

The first and foremost emblem of racial victory was Miss Nannie Helen Burroughs of the United States. This Black woman became known as the first corresponding secretary, and then president, of the Woman's Convention of the National Baptist Convention USA Inc. She commanded a countless organization of one or perhaps two million Negro women. Also she was famous in her times as founder of the National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington DC. In DC, she bought a large tract of land in Washington, with an old farmhouse. Here with her own money and courage she organized a school that would offer a superior education for Negro girls through the high school years. This is where she based her office and power to sway the Baptist World network, but also nearly all the civil rights organizations in the United States.

In 1905, she was a 26-year-old with a growing reputation as an orator. Born in 1879 in Virginia, to parents who had known slavery, her mother took her to Washington DC where educational possibilities were better for an impoverished girl of color. She graduated from the best high school for Negroes in town and expected to work there as a teacher. But she was passed over for the job she expected. She always suspected that she lost out to a girl with lighter skin and better social credentials. She found opportunity when hired as a clerk and assistant editor for the Foreign Mission work of the National Baptist Convention of America, the Baptist network for African American churches. (Later known as National Baptist Convention USA Inc.) She moved to Louisville, KY.

From this office she was pushed into the organization in 1900 of a women's branch of National Baptists. With coaching from the women leaders of both American Baptists and Southern Baptists, Nannie Burroughs boldly made a resounding speech: "How the Sisters Are Hindered from Helping." She was thus elected corresponding secretary of the new National Baptist women's auxiliary. According to the Southern Baptist model, this would have been the most powerful position, but among National Baptist women the president assumed superiority. She was S. Willie Layten of Philadelphia, a woman of lighter skin and higher social position. Layten and Burroughs both became famous and were courted and sometimes manipulated by men of their convention and by the BWA leadership. Layten and Burroughs became bitter rivals until Layten resigned due to breaking health, and Burroughs took the presidency in 1948.

The formation of the BWA in 1905 came through correspondence between British, Southern, American, and Canadian Baptists. London offered to host the meeting. Strong promoters in the USA were the editors of the Baptist newspapers of Virginia and of Kentucky. In Kentucky there were two Baptist newspapers—one in favor of the world meeting, and the other strongly opposed. The opponents did not want to deal with Black Baptists, and they knew Blacks had to

be considered if the proposed congress were to be truly worldwide in scope. At the time, it is estimated that at least one-third of Baptists in the USA were Black; no other country could approach this concentration of dark-skinned people among Baptists. With some of the head offices of Black Baptists located in Kentucky, the white leaders in Kentucky were well aware of their strength, and the whites were afraid they would gain dominance.

Therefore in the final registrations for the 1905 formational Baptist World Congress in London, Southern Baptist attendance was very low in comparison with their known membership and in comparison with other delegations. It was informally estimated by a Southern Baptist journalist that 250 registrants were from the south, with 450 from the north, a good delegation from Canada. There was no mention of Negroes, but Miss Burroughs herself said there were 35 black delegates to represent over 2 million black Baptists. There were murmurs that if Southerners went to meetings in London, they would have to mix socially with Negroes—starting aboard the ship en route, continuing in accommodations and seating at conferences.

There was another ethical issue making Southern Baptists resist a world fellowship: the role of women. Gender is often the hand-holding companion of race. Some of the men planners for the congress program insisted that women be given a visible role. An entire major session was to be devoted to a women's rally. As it turned out, only a small emphasis on women in foreign missions was allowed, with two women speakers amid a general session. Mrs. Lucy Waterbury, head of the American Baptist Woman's Foreign Mission Society, was one of them—well known, competent, experienced. Yet she refused to submit a photograph of herself for inclusion in publications of the congress—believing, as many women did at the time, that a lady should never have her likeness exposed to the general public. The other woman speaker was less well known, Miss Nannie Helen Burroughs, corresponding secretary of the newly organized woman's convention of National Baptists. She had no hesitancy about submitting her photograph.

It was a stretch to think that a young woman whose mother worked as a domestic maid and laundress could meet the expenses of attending a meeting across the ocean. She reported that a woman in Louisville came to her office and handed her the bulk of money needed for her passage—one account says that her benefactor was a white woman. The remainder of her travel outfit she had to earn herself. She had a travel companion, a Black young woman named Ella E. Whitfield. Miss Whitfield worked for more than 25 years as field worker for the National Baptist women, with funding provided quietly through Southern Baptist women, perhaps also by American Baptist women.

At the congress, there was no speaker representing Woman's Missionary Union of the Southern Baptist Convention, and not one major officer of that organization registered for the congress. It can be surmised that southern ladies hesitated to get into the men's controversy about race mixing. And those officers would have refused to speak to an assembly which included men, and they certainly would not have allowed themselves to be pictured.

Nannie Helen Burroughs became the superstar of the congress. In fact, all the Negroes who attended were well received by the people of London, where they were regarded as exotic curiosities to be honored. And Miss Burroughs proved to be one of the most quotable,

memorable speakers of the entire congress week. A biographer said that her speech to the congress was interrupted by 15 standing ovations.

British pastors who were in charge of the congress program spotted her abilities and assigned her to make a speech to the general public. Admission to the congress sessions was tightly controlled due to overcrowding, so that many who wanted to attend could not get inside the hall. Therefore one afternoon was dedicated to an open air meeting in Hyde Park, at a particular spot sometimes known as "Reformers Corner." A stage was improvised on a wagon, and a wooden sounding board was erected to help project a speaker's voice into the wide open space.

At Hyde Park, Burroughs again attracted enthusiasm and pleased the huge crowd. She injected charming illustrations with wit and brevity. London newspapers gave her lavish attention and printed a memorable photo which showed her declaiming from the high wagon.

Nothing is known about Miss Burroughs' lodgings in London. Possibly she and Miss Whitfield were hosted in a private home. There was no social restriction or problem reported for them. There was a problem experienced by Rev. E. C. Morris, president of the National Baptist Convention of America. He had been serving on the program planning committee for the congress, and he was photographed with the committee of distinguished brethren—he was the only dark skin in the group. When British Baptists served the committee a nice tea at the Baptist Church House, Mr. Morris excused himself from the group. He took his tea alone in another room, so he would not "cause embarrassment" to the whites.

The final session of the congress was held in Royal Albert Hall, with a capacity crowd. Some of the popular personalities of the congress were invited to sit on the platform. There was only one female in the honor group—Nannie Helen Burroughs.

Many years later, Miss Burroughs reminisced about 1905, writing: "The *London Mirror* called me a handsome young woman many shades removed from black. . . dressed in a grey gown that harmonized well with her bronze skin—she has become one of the notable personages o the Congress." She also said, "That meeting to this day remains the most thrilling and satisfying experience of my entire life."

Plans were laid at the 1905 congress to have a permanent organization with ongoing communication, among Baptist communities in all countries of the world. Yet resistance continued among Southerners in the USA. As predicted by many, opponents in the Kentucky area spread the word that SBC representatives had been seen socially mixing with Negroes in London. Supporters of the BWA in Virginia mildly denied this—the Negroes had courteously behaved themselves appropriately, they said. Miss Burroughs was not mentioned in any way by the Southern Baptist reporters, though a few Black pastors were named. The editor from Virginia said, "...the negro brethren behaved with becoming modesty and propriety, though the unusual attention bestowed on them was enough to turn their heads. Some of the English brethren took the negroes into their homes and treated them as social equals. Occasionally some American delegate was embarrassed by the disposition of the English to ignore the distinctions which prevail here in this country..."

Ultimately, the 1905 congress did result in a permanent worldwide organization of Baptist unions, but only because of compromises which treated the black Americans in a discriminatory way. They could not have equality in leadership or fellowship, when Southern Baptists were concerned.

Despite racial barriers, white Baptists, even some (but not all) Southern Baptists, never forgot or ceased their admiration of Nannie Helen Burroughs. In 1911, at the next world congress in Philadelphia, Dr. Shakespeare took initiative to organize two sessions for women. Miss Burroughs was one of the speakers, and the congress minutes recorded her clever remarks. The women elected officers and set up a continuation committee, with a Southern Baptist woman as the correspondent. When the Southern Baptist secretary, Miss Edith Crane, published her report on the Southern Baptist mission journal, she made no mention of Miss Burroughs, even though Burroughs had been appointed to the continuation committee. Miss Crane resigned and the committee did not function.

In all, Burroughs spoke to four congresses. She missed some invitations because of ill health.

Her life was constantly absorbed by development of her school, duties to the Woman's Convention of National Baptists, and her rising role as a public figure in the public fight for racial justice. Time will not permit naming the countless, historic civic and civil rights organizations which she helped to establish, lead, and fund. Only one other Negro woman of her times reached as much fame as a reformer and educator. (Mary Bethune's statue was recently unveiled in the statuary hall of the US Capitol building. She did not take a prominent role in religious affairs but concentrated on education and legal reform.) Burroughs is one Baptist who could uniquely live and lead in both church and state affairs. Her theme became a public demand for "The Bible, Bath, and Broom" but also for "Jesus, Jobs, and Justice."

By the time of the 1923 world congress in Stockholm, race troubles in the southern USA were reaching a critical point. Lynching of black men and even of women was rampant. In this setting Miss Burroughs played a vital role as a bridge between white Baptist women north and south. She was one of the few people who knew leaders on both white sides. She played them skillfully to gain funding for her school, but more importantly to gain protection for black women in the American south, and to eliminate discrimination against blacks in public accommodations.

Burroughs could call the white women to account for responsibility in creating and perpetuating race discrimination in the United States. Writing in 1943 (and again in 1950), she praised Southern Baptist WMU for making progress along "the Christian way" in race relations. She said, "I have always contended that when it comes to the race problem in the South, that the southern white woman is the molder, shaper, and changer of attitudes, sentiment, and action of the entire section. She holds the key to solution of the race problem... her word is law and gospel to southern white man. Whatever the south is or whatever it becomes depends on her vision, attitude, teachings, and desires."

Burroughs was invited to speak to southern white women's conventions. Hosts had to want her rather desperately, to go to big effort to pave her way into the south. She stood up for herself, in

telling white WMU leaders that she required protection and safe passage, before she would accept an invitation in the south. This was a critical issue when Burroughs was unwell, or was recovering from hospitalization. Public transportation was segregated, and blacks were consigned to the worst seating, even kicked off trains and buses, no matter what kind of ticket they had purchased. Blacks could not enter hotels or convention halls or restaurants where whites assembled.

When Southern Baptist WMU invited her to speak at a meeting, they had to contract for a private railroad car, and permission had to be clarified with railroad personnel at every train station along the way. Miss Burroughs was given documents of permission to enter the hotel where the white women were meeting—to enter by the front door, not by the servant entrance. WMU officials had to get guarantees from the hotel management and every porter and doorman. A white woman needed to meet Miss Burroughs and escort her to and from the meeting room. Private arrangements had to be made for her lodging.

Southern Baptist Woman's Missionary Union timidly began to organize resistance to lynching and other social injustices against blacks. It was about 1932, when a white woman walked into Miss Burroughs' office in Washington. It was Mildred Dodson McMurry, better known as Mrs. William McMurry. She was wife of a pastor who had served both north and south, and she was assigned duties in the WMU network to improve race relations. She decided to get acquainted with Nannie Helen Burroughs—where else could she have found a kindred Baptist woman in faith and practice? Miss Burroughs liked what Mildred McMurry said to her that day. She wrote it down and kept the words on her desk for the rest of her life, saying that she had never heard more welcome words "fall from the lips of a member of the white race:"

"God has been too good to my race for us to neglect or mistreat any of his children." McMurry said. Burroughs wrote, "We can get somewhere with people like that. Mrs. McMurry's visit was a benediction to me."

This budding acquaintance between black and white would bear fruit in many ways. Mildred McMurry figures later into the story of BWA women in quest of racial justice in Birmingham in the 1960s.

In the 1930s, Burroughs met several SBC women leaders who were appointed to "do something" about the racial problem in the south. Most influential among them was Blanche Sydnor White, executive director of the WMU of Virginia. She later became the unseen architect and funds provider for building the Women's Department of the Baptist World Alliance, in 1947-1960.

Early in the 1930s, Blanche White was determined to hire a Negro staff member for the Southern Baptist WMU of Virginia, one who could train black women in organized leadership, and one who could build relationships. Thus she was able to hire the first Black ever who worked for Southern Baptists in an office adjacent to the white boss, right in the white headquarters building. At a meeting of the Virginia women's committee working on interracial cooperation, Miss White invited Miss Burroughs to attend. She arrived early, as the committee members were taking a break for lunch, with the VIPs seated at a head table. Miss White asked a white

woman if she minded having Miss Burroughs sit beside her for lunch. The answer was for the entire head table to clear out, rather than sit with a Negro. Seeing the unrest, Miss Burroughs suddenly claimed a headache and asked if she could rest in a private room. Lunch was brought to her privately. The WMU ladies of Virginia were interested in what she had to say, but they didn't intend to be social equals (not unlike the Baptist World Congress of 1905). Because Blanche White had pushed too far against social custom, her job was threatened, and a formal hearing was held by the officers and leaders of Virginia WMU. A former national WMU president, Mrs. Minnie Kennedy James, who had spoken and presided at the 1923 BWA women's meeting in Stockholm, was called out of retirement to preside and adjudicate at the trial. Miss White kept her job, but she soft-pedaled her future work with Burroughs.

With funds arranged by Blanche White, Burroughs was able to resume publication of *The Worker*, the periodical of National Baptist women. Because SBC women wanted National Baptist women to do more to promote missions, Miss White began secretly writing lesson materials for *The Worker*. She even ghost-edited the magazine and got it published.

When Miss Burroughs couldn't afford to buy coal to heat her school., it was Miss White who came to her rescue through a cold winter.

Many Southern Baptists considered Miss White to be the most powerful woman in their ranks. I once asked a knowledgeable person: Why was Miss White not chosen to be head of WMU on a national level, instead of working only with the state of Virginia. The answer was, "Miss White would have considered that a demotion." Despite her run-in with her board over dining with a black woman, she usually got what she wanted, and she found funds to support development of women leaders around the world. She did this because she was often able to control money Virginia women had given for overall SBC missions causes. She believed that if women gave the money, they should be able to control the expenditure, rather than handing it off to men. She did not always cooperate with the SBC WMU's plans, but directed Virginia's offerings to other causes in support of women, or she found other donors. She was a visionary thinker. For example, she was a major supporter of the Virginia Union University, a black-heritage Baptist college in Richmond. She served on their board of directors, and she arranged for building of a new structure devoted to training of women students to serve as missionaries. Although the program was dropped after some years, the building continues to be called White Hall, and it does provide offices for some activities in support of women in ministry.

In the late 1930s, missionaries working with the WMU of Nigeria sought White's help. Nigerians wanted the most promising male leader among them to study in the United States. His name was J.T. Ayorinde. Miss White thought that his wife should accompany him to the US and also have advantages of study. So she arranged funding for Mrs. Mobola Ayorinde to come to the USA. Miss White became sponsor, hostess, and manager of Mrs. Ayorinde as well as of her husband. There were few, if any theological schools in the south who would admit a black student. In 1938, the Ayorindes began their studies at Virginia Union University in Richmond, where Miss White was an established authority figure. Ayorinde became the first Nigerian to head the Nigerian Baptist Convention. Mobola Ayorinde was a vital leader in transitioning from missionary leadership to Nigerian leadership in her native land..

Also there were Mr. and Mrs. Emanuel A. Dahunsi (he later to be a Bible translator and she a major leader among women) and Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Adegbite, both educators. In 1951 Virginia WMU was hosting all three of these outstanding Nigerian women at their summer camp. Nannie Burroughs invited them to speak at National Baptist women's meetings. The atrocious racist treatment endured by three Nigerian couples wherever they went among white people was offset by the best efforts Miss White could arrange through Virginia WMU and through Nannie Burroughs. All couples gained higher education, the Dahunsis graduating from the University of Louisville in 1954, and Debora Dahunsi earning a master's degree from WMU's Carver School of Missions and Social Work in 1956. Emanuel Dahunsi earned the ThD at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville in 1957, soon after it was integrated. In Louisville, Debora Dahunsi nearly died because local hospitals refused to do necessary surgery for a Negro female disorder. Intervention of white Baptist friends got her the needed operation, but it was an inferior situation because of race.

I mention these three Nigerian women not only because they illustrate Blanche White's progressive attitudes and struggle about race worldwide, but also because they figured prominently in a later, untold chapter in Miss White's work.

Between the two world wars, racism arising in Germany and Japan interfered with efforts to strengthen the BWA and to establish a permanent women's department. Yet the women reached out to maintain some contacts with their sisters of other races. The BWA grappled with the racial issue in earnest in the 1934 world congress held in Berlin, under influence of Hitler's increasing control of Christians. At the women's congress in Berlin, a nineteen-year-old girl from Texas was sent to the meeting by her new husband, who had brought her to the Baptist World Congress for their honeymoon. For the first time in her life, Helen Fling sat beside an American Negro woman. This was a life-changing moment and memory for Helen Fling, because she later became president of WMU SBC and she served for years on the executive committee for the North American Baptist Women's Union.

There was a questionable decision by the BWA to hold the 1939 world congress in Atlanta, Georgia USA—a legally segregated city of the South. White Baptists were insistent that they could make the city safe for black delegates to attend the congress. Although whites thought the meeting came off without incident, blacks and some key National Baptist women refused to travel to Atlanta through the insulting system of discrimination in public transport and accommodation. Their absence disappointed white women who had hoped to meet black women leaders to advance the cause of cooperative work.

The second world war hit the BWA hard, causing the international office to relocate from London to Washington, DC—the hometown of Nannie Helen Burroughs. The men in charge tried to protect the interests of an ongoing women's ministry, and thus invited key women to attend the first post-war congress.

Because she thought it a waste of missions money for her to travel internationally, Blanche White never did until 1947. In that year, she decided to accompany the president of WMU, SBC, to the Baptist World Congress in Copenhagen. The president was a Virginia woman, Mrs.

George R. (Olive) Martin, and she had been named to an executive committee of the BWA. White and Martin knew that what happened at this meeting, would determine the future for a worldwide women's network that would endure. Europe was in tatters, and hatred between enemy nations was bubbling, especially against Germany. Miss White and Mrs. Olive Martin saw the healing power of the Gospel in action.

They met leading Baptist women from each participating country. Men had drafted a program for a women's meeting, and they had appointed Mrs. Martin to preside over a program she had never seen. She found that most of the designated women speakers did not show up for the congress. On the spot, Blanche White pulled together a program for a women's meeting using those who were present—even the German woman leader, Mrs. Auguste Meister, who proved to be magnificent. White's objective was to get the women so recently enemies to share their stories of faith through suffering.

As Martin and White sailed back to the USA, they decided, according to their own notes, that "women could do a better job of a worldwide organization than the men could."

BWA officials invited representative European leaders to London, in 1948 to establish a European Baptist Union. White and Martin saw the strategic possibility of organizing a European Baptist Women's Union similarly because women certainly would not be included in the "men's union." Miss White found travel money for the essential women representatives from across Europe. When they assembled in a small London hotel lobby, Mrs. Martin shocked the Europeans by calling them to order and holding prayer right in the lobby of the hotel, with the public looking on in amazement. Germany was one of the countries represented. In spite of multitudes of racial and cultural problems, the first branch of a worldwide Baptist women's union was founded in Europe. Those present declared a women's day of prayer for later that year, and a recommended program was designed.

Miss Burroughs was appointed as a member of the newly constituted BWA Women's Committee that Olive Martin chaired.

The next world congress was held in Cleveland, Ohio USA in 1950. This city was chosen because people felt that the meeting must be in the USA, and it was impossible to hold a racially integrated meeting anywhere in the USA farther south.

During the roll call of nations attending the congress, unresolved racism of the World War in Asia bubbled to the surface. The flag of Japan was to be carried by a young woman who happened to be studying in the USA at the time, under sponsorship of American Baptist women. Her name was Ayako Hino, and she would become famous as the principal of large Japanese Baptist schools. According to Mrs. Hino's testimony in later years, she was terrified to carry the flag of Japan through a throng of former enemies. When the name of Japan was called, she couldn't move. Then Dr. C. Oscar Johnson, the president, commanded: "We will all stand for Japan!" and he walked over to escort Mrs. Hino. This scene made a deep impression on several women present, and it set a tone for their international relations in the BWA women's work in years ahead. At this same meeting, Mrs. Hino was among the select women who met in view of organizing a permanent Women's Department of the BWA. When Baptist women of Asia

organized a continental union a few years later, Mrs. Hino was a key officer and remained so for many years.

In preparation for women's meetings during the World Congress of 1950, Olive Martin had written to Nannie Helen Burroughs in 1949, asking her how to get in touch with other Negro Baptist women's conferences, who had not previously been noticed and involved. She asked Burroughs to help organize a women's roll call in which a representative would answer for her organization in a way that would be a bit novel and take no more than 3 minutes. "Something other than a speech," Martin wrote. "They are so tiresome." And, could Burroughs suggest some musical group to bring special music. Nannie Helen Burroughs thus helped organize open meetings for all women during the congress of 1950. As usual, the women turned to Nannie Helen Burroughs to speak. She said:

We are here today because of what the gospel has done for women. In building on Christ our cornerstone, we build on his purpose, his plan, his promise, and his power.... We may smile and look at the mountains of evil and hatred, for we believe his promise.

It took nearly ten years for the dream of an organized worldwide women's fellowship with six continental components to be realized. Although Miss White reached retirement age from her job in Virginia, and she was personally almost penniless, she always could pinpoint the money needed to bring leaders together across national borders and racial lines. It was a struggle to identify Baptist women's organizations in some countries, or in mission-sending organizations. The top stated objective of the new Women's Department of the BWA was to help organize national unions of Baptist women in each country. This was viewed as an adjunct of foreign missions and thus gained financial investment from the American and European Baptist mission boards. As new units were formed, enemies and hostile tribes had to agree to work with each other. Martin and White did much groundwork through missionary women. Bit by bit these united to be continental unions.

We must imagine a scene at the North American Baptist Women's first general assembly, 1953 in Columbus Ohio. In preparation, Mrs. Martin again wrote Nannie Helen Burroughs to help organize the crowd and the program. Blanche White and Burroughs wrote a historical drama and booklet to explain the development of women's role in the BWA. Who could have been better qualified to tell that story? The small history was entitled "Jesus Shall Reign." Burroughs furnished the photo of herself preaching from the wagon in Hyde Park London, 1905—the printed version is the only copy of the photo known today.

Miss Burroughs' 1953 message was "Spiritual Equipment: Love, Literature, Leadership, Light." There was a citywide power failure, plunging the auditorium into darkness. Someone brought candles for the pulpit area. Miss Burroughs made the point about racial unity: "In darkness, we could not see each other's faces, but we could hear each other's voices." It did not matter what color person was sitting beside another.

The next world congress would be the 50th anniversary of the BWA and would be held in London. In 1955 both the congress program planners and the women's department wanted Nannie Helen Burroughs to speak, because she was one of two remaining living speakers from

the first congress, and because she was known worldwide. Because of a serious illness, she was prevented from traveling to London.

Martin and White arranged for a widely representative intercontinental group of 35 leading women to travel to London, arriving early. For the first time, African, Asian, and Latin American representative women were present. All their hospitality expenses were paid personally by Mrs. Russell James, whose father had been general host in 1905 and who was currently president of the Baptist Women's League of Great Britain. While the international group was assembled, the Baptist Women's Union of Africa was declared to be organized. It was easier to make a start in London than in Africa. Africa was such an enormous continent, and local work not yet well developed in most countries. Mrs. MoBola Ayorinde of Nigeria was chosen to the president—the same woman Blanche White had helped to get an education in the USA. In 1956, a more representative assembly was held in Africa, with Mrs. Ayorinde leading.

One of the most complicated challenges for the women's organization was in Asia. Resentment of Japan's aggressions during the World War made some Asian women not want to sit in a meeting with Japanese women. Distances were enormous. It s hard to imagine today the difficulties of reaching any sort of racial harmony, but the world leaders stuck with their vision, and the Asian Baptist Women's Union was organized. They held their assembly in Japan in 1957. As late as 1993, Japanese Baptist women were still feeling accusations of guilt for the World War, and they used the occasion of the Asian continental women's meeting to issue a mass apology and plea for forgiveness.

When North American women met in Toronto in 1957, Miss Burroughs was there, meeting with the executive committee for the continent and for the worldwide organization. For the first time, a duly elected woman representative from each of six continents, including Australia and New Zealand could be present. In her travels of more than 22,000 miles to get there, Mrs. Florence Church of Australia reported that the highlight was to meet Nannie Helen Burroughs. She called her the greatest Baptist woman alive today. She said, "She has the power to lift one up, until one feels almost face to face with God."

The world congress of 1960 was held in Rio de Janeiro. Blanche White by this time was aged and sick, and so was Nannie Helen Burroughs. At the pre-congress women's meeting, there was a shortage of rooms for the throng of women who showed up. Miss White picked up her belongings and moved from her private room into the large hall where Africans were sleeping on improvised beds. At this meeting, the worldwide BWA women's department could be considered organized, in spite of racism blatantly disturbing at least three continents. Mrs. Olive Martin passed on the women's presidency to Mrs. Marion Bates of Canada, and Miss White truly retired. Neither Miss White nor Miss Burroughs was forgotten, nor did they forget each other for a moment. Each of them was awarded an honorary doctorate in the same year, by differing schools. When they met, they teasingly addressed each other with their new doctoral titles. White helped Burroughs recruit some leading white women to serve on the board of her school in Washington.

Miss Burroughs wrote to her saying, "You have been a God-send to this school and to me personally—you have been a rock in a weary land. I have had some weary days, and but for you, I could not have made it."

Nannie Helen Burroughs died in 1961 after a difficult illness. Southern Baptist WMU gave her their highest recognition: they printed her portrait on the cover of its *Royal Service* magazine which reached a half-million subscribers.

Miss White was a complex person, as many great leaders are. Few people had done more to promote and recognize leadership among black Baptist women in the United States and also in Africa. Yet at a crucial moment, she opposed racial integration. It happened in 1965 when two men students from Nigeria sought membership in her church—the historic, influential First Baptist Church of Richmond Virginia. They were pastors, coming out of Southern Baptist mission work in Nigeria, highly recommended. Miss White was historian of the church. The pastor, Theodore F. Adams, had recently completed his term as president of the Baptist World Alliance. Yet after many days of acrimonious debate, the church refused to accept the young Black men from Nigeria. Blanche White was among the narrow majority who voted against them. It was incomprehensible.

Eventually, the church did accept the Nigerians, but inequities and unhappiness popped up. On her deathbed, Miss White had a visit from her retired pastor, Theodore F. Adams. She said, "Pastor, I was wrong."

Because of today's meeting happening in Birmingham, we should examine a Baptist women's story from the American Civil Rights Movement. Already, the name of Mildred McMurry has been mentioned, because she and Nannie Burroughs had maintained contact over many years. Mrs. McMurry was a persistent advocate for Negro rights, as part of Southern Baptist WMU missions education. After her husband died, Mrs. McMurry joined the staff of WMU at the head office in Birmingham. This was in 1951. She soon became the second in command of the staff, WMU enrolment grew to about a million, and circulation of magazines grew to close to a million. Mrs. McMurry used well these powerful channels to urge white Baptists to renounce racism.

During her time in Birmingham, the Civil Rights movement was begun among Black ministers, many of them Baptists (since it is estimated that over half the Black churches in Birmingham were Baptist.) In 1956, Pastor Fred Shuttlesworth of Bethel Baptist Church organized a mass meeting at one of the largest Baptist Churches. It was called the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. More than 1000 people attended. Soon afterward, Rev. Shuttlesworth's house was bombed, but he escaped injury. (Remember that the Birmingham airport is now named in honor of Shuttlesworth). The ACMHR was a grass-roots movement run by the lesser known Black pastors; some were bivocational and dependent upon white employers. Nevertheless the movement grew, had its own usher organization and own choirs... in many respects operating like a Baptist church. The ACMHR had a women's branch, like in a Baptist church. By 1959, 61% of the members of ACMHR were women, and they were the primary fundraisers and musicians for the movement. Many were domestic workers. The majority were

Baptist women. They have been described as very militant in the crusade for rights and justice in Birmingham. In 1962, Martin Luther King came to Birmingham, and Shuttlesworth agreed to merge his movement into King's Southern Christian Leadership movement.

Strengthened by working together and by King's national reputation, the Civil Rights Movement picked up steam, always based largely in Baptist churches and led by Baptist pastors and funded by Baptist women. Thus history was made.

In 1962, at the same time that Martin Luther King was making his impact in Birmingham, Mildred McMurry was elected president of the North American Baptist Women's Union, and the secretary chosen was an African American woman. McMurry had just retired from her employment with the Southern Baptist WMU, but WMU gave her an empty office in their building for her new voluntary task with the BWA. She was a quiet, intellectual, wise, low-key person, yet she was very controversial because she made no secret of support for school desegregation and racial justice.

In 1963, the NABWU elected a new secretary to serve with McMurry. She was Mrs. Margery Brawley Gaillard—who also lived in Birmingham. The Civil Rights Movement in Birmingham was at a fever pitch. Yet because of the strict segregation prevalent in Birmingham and all the Southern Baptist world, Mrs. Gaillard and Mrs. McMurry were barely acquainted. The BWA had brought them together.

A woman of wealth and influence in the Black community statewide, Mrs. Gaillard was a lifetime leader in the women's auxiliary of National Baptist Convention USA Inc., the organization led by Nannie Helen Burroughs. Mrs. Gaillard had graduated from the college where her father had been president. She came to Birmingham after her marriage to a successful businessman who owned construction and plumbing companies. From 1919 she was a member of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. She was director of a mortuary. She was president of the state federation of women's clubs for Negro women. Mrs. Gaillard was the church treasurer, and she was treasurer of the Alabama branch of National Baptist Women's Convention. President John F. Kennedy had named her to the White House committee to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation.

So it came to pass that two prominent women from the same city but from different race cultures came to be officers of the North American women of the BWA. The new colleagues in May 1963 established an interracial women's prayer committee. Mrs. McMurry had been appointed by the mayor of Birmingham to serve on an interracial peace committee. This role and its meetings brought her personal threats. Walking the corridors of the city hall, she was taunted. She could not drive, so young WMU staff members gladly volunteered to chauffeur her between late night meetings and her apartment—with suspicious carloads of men chasing them. She could only think: this is what Negro women have been suffering for years. Regardless of the harassment, Mildred McMurry continued her public speaking and writing in support of racial justice.

Mrs. McMurry wrote the following message to North American women in summer of 1963, a few weeks before the tragic bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church four blocks from her office:

These are days of extraordinary stress. Brother is set against brother, Christian against Christian, denomination against denomination, race against race. Knowing the right moment to speak, to act, and to pray can mean the difference between success and failure in human relations."

I came onto the WMU staff in January 1964, and it was a dangerous time. The WMU headquarters were in an imposing stone building on Sixth Avenue and 20th Street North. Sixteenth Street Baptist Church was four blocks down Sixth Avenue at 16th Street, and it had been bombed in September 1963. WMU had been warned to expect bombs at our office. Every time a WMU publication said something favorable to rights of black people, stacks of critical and threatening mail piled into our office, some of it containing cancellations for magazine subscriptions that paid the bills. It was an encouraging event whenever the interracial women's prayer group held a meeting in the office. It was in such settings that I first saw Mrs. Gaillard, an attractive, stylish woman.

In summer 1964, Mrs. McMurry traveled to a BWA council meeting in Europe, accompanied by Alma Hunt, the chief executive of WMU. Mrs. McMurry had her heart set on visiting the scenes of suffering related to Nazi racism, the Jewish death camps especially. She was an ardent advocate for Jewish people, active in pro-Jewish organizations in Birmingham that sought justice for their suffering under Hitler. She wanted to see the bunker where Hitler committed suicide. It was while climbing into that bunker that she was seized by unbearable pain. The trip was cut short, and she went into hospital upon return to Birmingham. She was diagnosed with cancer and she died on January 2, 1965. Her last words to Miss Hunt were "I have done my best."

Her funeral was held at First Baptist Church of Birmingham—another imposing edifice on Sixth Avenue. The congregation was staunchly, angrily segregated, but members respected Mildred McMurry. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had had little impact in Birmingham, especially not in churches. But for Mrs. McMurry exceptions were made. The staff of WMU marched down Sixth Avenue and took our seats in a reserved section of the First Baptist sanctuary. A large delegation of women from National Baptist Churches led by Mrs. Gaillard marched in from Sixteenth Street—where Mrs. Gaillard's husband had been leading in rebuilding the bombed building. Heads turned in the large auditorium packed with Jews, politicians, and leaders of all Christian denominations. And then Alma Hunt, wearing a red dress and hat, walked to the pulpit to deliver the eulogy. It was something that women did not do in the south in the 1960s, but for Mrs. McMurry an exception was made. It was not long before the pastor, Earl Stallings, who had signed the white pastors' letter which led to Martin Luther King's letter from the Birmingham Jail, was forced to resign from First Baptist Church. His wife had an emotional breakdown.

Alma Hunt was asked by the North American Baptist women to fill out Mrs. McMurry's term as president of NABWU. She led in organizing the five-year assembly November 16-18, 1967 at

the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington DC. She enlisted the famous Negro theologian and author, Howard Thurman as a chief speaker. Without knowing each other, both had lived in Roanoke, Virginia, and by chance had adjoining seats on an airplane, where they got acquainted for the first time. At the assembly in Washington DC in 1967, Dr. Thurman began his speech with a long silence. Then he said, "We do not know each other yet. We have not been silent together." At this same assembly, the music director was a Negro woman, Marena Belle Williams, wife of a prominent pastor in Kansas City. In 1977, Mrs. Williams would be elected president of NABWU—the first black woman to hold the presidency.

Wanting to strengthen her friendship with Margery Gaillard, Alma Hunt invited her to dinner in her home. Marie Mathis, who had succeeded Mrs. McMurry on the staff of WMU, was present. Mrs. Mathis was soon to become president of BWA Women's Department. It was most unusual in Birmingham for the races to be invited to a meal in each other's home, and there was some nervousness. Mrs. Gaillard said, "Why do you always address me as Mrs. Gaillard, when you address your white friends by their first names?" Miss Hunt tried to think of a graceful explanation, and it was along the lines of saying "We want to be sure to show proper respect to a Negro woman in these complicated times." Mrs. Gaillard replied, "I wish you would call me Margery."

The Birmingham experience in interracial prayer led to intensifying the Baptist Women's Day of Prayer on the first Monday of each November, as BWA women had observed it worldwide since 1951. Southern Baptist women began to instruct their members to reach out across races in their community, to unify Baptist women in citywide prayer meetings. This was so successful in some cities that the multiple Baptist women's organizations became fairly well acquainted. In the state of Maryland, three differing statewide Baptist women's conventions established and incorporated the United Baptist Women of Maryland. It had taken five years of occasional meetings and prayer together to establish this benchmark. On April 30, 1964, they held a multiracial unification banquet in a large department store. The speaker was Uvee Mdodona Arbouin, the first woman to be ordained a minister in the Progressive National Baptist Convention. She told the women: "...to unite more strongly in faith and friendship. These are perilous times—times when we need each other." For many years the group kept in touch, conducted joint projects, and prayed together—I personally attended their annual meetings in the late 1980s.

The ways women addressed racism in the Baptist World Alliance were numerous and creative. The women established continental fellowships nearly 20 years before the BWA added regional groups to the European Baptist Federation. These continental groups gave women better opportunity to meet and know each other to discuss matters of common interest to women. Their annual Day of Prayer was unifying. The continental and world organization were issuing informative newsletters. Women whose nations had been enemies were forming real friendships. Yet racism continued to be the troubled water in which many Baptist women struggled to keep afloat.

The story of Beth Hayworth MacClaren must be remembered. She was world director of the BWA Women's Department from 1987 through 1995. She came to the position through bitter experiences because she as a white woman had ministered to black students in interracial

settings. Beth's experience was emblematic of the racism imbedded in parts of Southern Baptist life for many years. Although I had known her personally she never told me much about her experience confronting racists face to face. But as ill health and old age took over, she began to tell me her story. The story was well written by Jennifer Hawks, associate general counsel for the Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty. Beth died at age 96 in December 2020.

Beth was a white Southern Baptist educated at Baptist schools. She was called by God to minister among international people. She got into Baptist student campus ministries in the 1950s, then became a student ministries director for the Louisiana Baptist Convention. Among her duties, she ministered to students from other countries, and she spoke by invitation at colleges for African-American students. She took some of her students to attend the Baptist World Youth Congress in Beirut in 1963. She was thrilled to see people of many colors and countries studying and worshiping together.

Each year, she organized a retreat for international college students at Thanksgiving. Naturally, some of the international students were of dark skin color. She included them fully in the same holiday conference for white students. The program included recreation as well as Christian studies. She let it be known that she admired Martin Luther King, and she thought that a person should be able to choose the across race lines the person he or she would be friend or even marry.

Soon after the interracial conference of November 1964, a belligerent committee from the White Citizens Council arrived at the Baptist Convention office to protest the race mixing known in her conferences. The White Citizens Council was a terrorist organization promoting white superiority and black subordination. A delegation of White Citizens, who happened to include Baptists, marched into the office of the Louisiana Baptist Convention to demand an explanation for the race mixing at the student conference. Male leaders of the Louisiana Baptist Convention found a way to hide in their offices and avoided meeting with them. Beth, in all innocence agreed to meet them.

In the report soon published by the White Citizens Council, she was described as genial. Beth believed that if the interrogators could hear her explanation about facts of the interracial conference, they would not object. Under their glare, Beth affirmatively answered their questions about conducting an interracial conference. She affirmed her appreciation of Martin Luther King. She did not object to interracial marriage. One of the men took notes and asked her to sign them, to show agreement that the notes truthfully captured what she said and did.

Soon her story was published in headlines in the White Citizens Council newspaper. It was highly critical of her and of Louisiana Baptists. The White Citizens Council demanded that Beth Hayworth be fired, else their members would stop supporting Baptists financially. Beth's Baptist Convention superiors called in lawyers who concocted an excuse for her bad behavior. She was forced to issue a written statement that the White Citizens Council had misquoted her. The White Citizens editor denied making a mistake in what Beth had said. Lawyers then wrote a confession for her to sign. Her boss suggested that she check into a hospital so he could report that she was being treated for mental illness. Beth refused all of these schemes. She did resign

from Louisiana without any thanks or commendations. She was advised to get out of town for her own safety.

Although she was unemployed, in summer 1965 she attended the Baptist World Congress in Miami Beach. She connected with Robert Denny, associate general secretary for youth of the BWA, and with his wife Jane Rae Denny. They had once worked in student ministry. The Dennys invited Beth to move into their home near Washington DC, to search for a job. After a few months of refresher study, she did that.

Soon she found a job equal to her abilities, working for the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in Washington. She was a newswriter concerning church-state issues confronting 9 different Baptist conventions in the nation's capital. After some years, she was asked to be religious education director for McLean Baptist Church. Deeply beloved in this role, she was ordained for pastoral ministry. Several Baptist World Alliance staff were members of this church. They recommended her to become executive director of the BWA Women's Department. She was later to say that this job was the dream job of her lifetime; its opportunities to minister to all races and nationalities were truly fitted to her calling and abilities.

When age and illness forced her to retire, many friends contributed to a fund in her honor. She directed that it be used not for her personal benefit, but to assist in proving a new home and office for Eleazar and Evelyn Ziherambere of Rwanda. Eleazar was director of the All-Africa Baptist Fellowship, and Evelyn was the multi-lingual secretary of the Baptist Women's Union of Africa. They were driven from home and country because of the racial wars between Hutu and Tutsi tribes.

As stated in a dramatic presentation at the 1977 assembly of NABWU (held in Freeport, Bahamas): The beginning of NABWU was the end—of isolation and suspicion, the end of historically perpetuated separatism. At least this was true for dozens of leading Baptist women around the world.

The BWA women's programs and their remarkable leaders changed many hearts and lives—not through proclamations and scholarly papers, but through getting key women into acquaintance with each other across racial and denominational lines. I am among those who were changed. It was a long process to escape the cultural captivity of growing up in segregation of Birmingham, but it was impossible not to love and to admire the devout and devoted Baptist women of multi colors around the world. I found that racism has hurt many of the world's people, but the power of Jesus Christ could bring healing.

Source Notes

In January 1964, when I was employed by Woman's Missionary Union of the Southern Baptist Convention, I stepped into living history of women and the Baptist World Alliance and the issue of racism. The US Civil Rights Movement was swirling on the streets around our staff, our

work, and our office. The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, had recently been bombed just four blocks away from the WMU Building. Several executives of the WMU staff were officials of Baptist World Alliance women's groups. I was soon assigned to small duties in support of the Baptist World Alliance and its women's branches.

Therefore this presentation is largely based on my experiences with the topic. I couldn't footnote the paper because I lived it. I was often assigned to write about the history of women in the Baptist World Alliance. Sources for my information were women who had actually started the BWA Women's Department from 1948 onward. They in turn knew many of the key women before their own time of service. Among the women I knew well were Ferne Levy of Nova Scotia, Marion Bates of Ontario, Alma Hunt (my chief executive at WMU), Mildred McMurry (recent WMU retiree who was the current president of the North American Baptist Women's Union and had an office across the hall from my office), and not forgetting Marie Mathis, president of WMU and future president of BWA Women for ten years. Hardly a day passed without discussion about the racial crises of the day, and their impact on women around the world.

I should have made more thorough notes, but I did do formal interviews in order to write articles and scripts to depict the history of BWA women. Many of these are preserved in the archives of WMU, SBC, and I recently accessed them to refresh my memory. WMU has a fairly solid archive about BWA Women, including the key publications *Together for the Whole World* and *The Tie That Binds*. These newsletters were often produced in the WMU Office (and written or edited by me).

I wrote the history of WMU, *A Century to Celebrate*, in 1987. The book touched on the women's activities of the Baptist World Alliance and on relationships between WMU and National Baptist (Negro). A companion to that book *was Laborers Together with God*, biographies of key leaders of WMU—and almost every one of them from 1911 onward figured into development of the BWA Women's branches.

I conducted many hours of oral history interviews with Alma Hunt, eventuating in her book *Reflections from Alma Hunt* (first edition 1987). In this volume, she recounted several episodes and personalities appearing in this presentation.

Between 2000 and 2005, I intently researched the full history of women in the BWA. It was not published. Research notes and the script will be preserved in the Special Collections Library of Samford University.

To confirm what I had heard about racism in the background of the 1905 Baptist World Congress in London, I returned to copies of the most influential Southern Baptist publications of the time. These were the *Religious Herald* of Virginia, the *Baptist Argus* of Kentucky, and the *Western Recorder* of Kentucky. Editions in the summer of 1905 brought out the controversial issues. Another source were the relevant SBC mission journals of 1905 to 1911.

With this background, I was overflowing with stories and impressions about racism and BWA women. With difficulty, I selected some enduring threads and personalities to describe anecdotally, as I experienced them or as they were told to me.

I carefully consulted my old research notes and reread published sources. One succinct article about BWA Women was written by me for *American Baptist Quarterly* June 2005. In addition to the publications mentioned above, I must acknowledge these sources:

*Blanche Sydnor White, considered the hidden architect of the BWA Women's Department from 1947-1960, wrote several publications that preserved facts. These are rarely spotlighted as they should be, as excellent sources. She wrote over 50 books, but these especially relate to the BWA:

From London to London, a history of the BWA and its women leaders, set against the backdrop of the worldwide missionary spread of Baptists. This was published 1950.

Working Together (1952) written by her historic Negro staff member Fletcher Mae Howell.

"Jesus Shall Reign," a booklet and a historical script co-authored with Nannie Helen Burroughs. This is a rare publication but can be found in BWA Women's files and in WMU, SBC Archives.

The Tie That Binds, a history of the North American Baptist Women's Union, 1960.

Regarding Blanche White's personal biography, an essential book is *For Such a Time As This*, by Mary Lou Burnette and Carrie Sinton Vaughan., 1980. For a thorough explanation about the complex attempt to integrate Miss White's church, see the 2005 book, *The Open Door: A History of First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia* by Frederick Anderson (who accorded the late Miss White a co-authorship).

*My authority about women's role in the Alabama Civil Rights Movement is Dr. Wilson Fallin, author of a seminal book, *The African American Churches in Birmingham 1815-1963*. Dr. Fallin was the first African American to earn a doctoral degree in history from the University of Alabama. The University of Montevallo recently named a building in his honor, recognizing many years as a professor there. Another qualification is to be the son of the president of the Alabama state branch of Woman's Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention USA Inc. She was a great leader who worked with Nannie Helen Burroughs.)

*The stories about Mildred McMurry came from Alma Hunt and from my personal knowledge. A biographical book was written by her daughter, Billie Emmons, entitled *Letters from Mother*, 1968. Bio info about Margery Gaillard can be found via Google search and in The Tie newsletter.

*Beth Hayworth MacClaren Echols's harrowing story was well told by Jennifer Hawks and published in the *Baptist History and Heritage* Journal Summer 2018. I worked very closely with Beth MacClaren 1990-1995, and I have an extensive file about her. The article by Jennifer Hawks presents the racial trauma very well.

*Nannie Helen Burroughs—the single most influential woman regarding racism in the BWA is this indomitable orator, writer, organizer, president of a women's school in Washington DC, and president of the Woman's Convention, National Baptist Convention USA Inc. Her story is told in many books and articles, because she is an American icon in human rights. But the stories never detail her impact internationally. Possibly the authors did not have enough understanding of Baptist denominational sources to write the story that I try to present herewith.

Among recent books that present Dr. Burroughs's role in American history is *Nannie Helen Burroughs: Portrait of an Early Civil Rights Pioneer 1900-1959* by Kelisha B. Graves, 2022. Another is *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion*, by Bettye Collier Thomas, 2019. These books make a strong attempt to document Miss Burroughs' many facets of public service, but they make no mention of the Baptist World Alliance.

I never knew Miss Burroughs personally, but I knew the woman who followed her as president of the National Training School for Women. This was Dr. Aurelia Downey, who was treasurer of the North American Baptist Women's Union and who served with me on the Finance Committee of BWA Women. Dr. Downey should be credited for her little book, *A Tale of Three Women* (1993), which preserves some of Miss Burroughs's lore. Dr. Downey collected the Burroughs papers and donated them to the Library of Congress, where many scholars have pored over them. A researcher who is not attuned to Baptist personalities and organizations would miss the significance of some of the material in the Library of Congress. It took me years of combing publications of BWA Women and of WMU, SBC, to extract many of her words and her impact. Nannie Helen Burroughs is slipping out of the national memory at this time, and she needs to be reintroduced to the world, especially to the Baptist world.