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Situating Polemics of Moral Imperative in Shifting Socio-Cultural Paradigms: Exploring Rhetorical Appeals in Two Baptist Archives

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SITUATING POLEMICS OF MORAL IMPERATIVE IN SHIFTING SOCIO-CULTURAL
PARADIGMS: EXPLORING RHETORICAL APPEALS IN TWO BAPTIST ARCHIVES

by

DONALD I. GAMMILL, JR.

Under the Direction of Lynée Lewis Gaillet, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Expanding present research in religious rhetoric, the following primary-source study helps explain how dogmatic intractability and cultural insularity have led to precarious rhetorical positioning and uncertain rhetorical effectiveness in light of questionable appeals to moral imperative, defined herein as things that should intentionally be done or not done based on a rhetor's perceived shared morality with an audience. The project interrogates two Baptist media outlets at two points in history roughly marking each end of the American Temperance Movement, revealing several of the ways in which these appeals were affected by historiographical and cultural contexts. Viewing selected moral-imperative-focused Baptist polemics through a lens informed by David Barton's "ecology" theory of literacy, which focuses on a reciprocal relationship involving linguistic connections to the psychological, the social, and the historiographical, this investigation uses a discourse analysis methodology to analyze the polemic content of six months' worth of 1881 issues of *The Christian Index*, a Georgia Baptist Convention-published Christian newspaper, and three months worth of transcripts of 1942 *Baptist Hour* radio broadcasts (a Southern Baptist Convention production), identifying trends and patterns that indicate how moral imperative appeals were handled in each source, whether or not the Temperance Movement affected this treatment, and what role rhetor and audience perception of language may have played. Two coding categories emerged: those dealing with temperance and those dealing with war (the lingering effects of the American Civil War and the beginnings of U.S. involvement in World War II). Analyzed in light of these central elements (along with factors dealing with several ancillary themes that appeared in the data), this study's major findings show that the 1881 Baptist newspaper polemicists were more sure of their interpretation and application of Biblical principles to issues of the day like temperance and resentment over Reconstruction, while the 1942 Baptist radio preachers were more open and self- and audience-aware, preferring a tone of comfort and unity to one of stark, quick judgment. Ultimately, the study concludes that the extreme divergence between each era's dominant

culture and the insular Baptist denominational culture was likely the preeminent inhibitor of Baptist rhetor consistency and innovation.

INDEX WORDS: Primary source research, Religious rhetoric, Temperance, War, Literacy, Discourse analysis

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements of the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the late Reverend Dr. Durward F. Williams and to past, present, and future Baptist preachers, teachers, and polemicists of all types who, despite the severe limitations of both human language and human understanding, strive nonetheless to “rightly divide the Word of Truth,” knowing in faith that the Word of God will not, despite the myriad imperfections of those who proclaim it, return void.

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To God Be the Glory. I could not have undertaken nor completed this research without the leading hand of the Almighty in even the smallest details of the project, and I thank Him for bringing me to this achievement. Additionally, I offer my sincerest gratitude to my wife, best friend, and chief encourager, Dr. Rebecca Leigh Gammill, my beautiful baby daughter Clara Lynée Gammill, my parents, Don Gammill, Sr. and Carolyn W. Gammill, my grandmother, Oma C. Wood, and my in-laws, Robert W. Parker, Sr. and Brenda Clark Parker. On the Georgia State University side, I extend my deepest thanks to my Dissertation Committee Chair (and Guardian Angel), Dr. Lynée Lewis Gaillet, whose extraordinary faith in me surpassed that of any instructor, mentor, or supervisor I have ever known. I tremendously appreciate the wisdom and guidance of my other two committee members, Dr. Michael Harker and Dr. Elizabeth Sanders Lopez, as well; their willingness to work with me and help me develop the key ideas that made this project unique and significant taught me as much about collaboration as it did about research and rhetoric. A number of my fellow graduate students/friends have also helped me in ways too numerous to enumerate throughout the various stages of this work: Susan Cochran, Robert Manfredi, Xiaobo Wang, Valerie Robin, Helen Cauley, Ann Marie Francis, Kateland Wolfe, and Tara Causey—thank you all from the bottom of my heart. Finally, I must thank all of my students, past and present (especially my Georgia State University students) for inspiring me to become a better version of myself by continuing my education. Their tenacious example in the pursuit of their own studies constantly reminds me of who I was in the past and sharpens the image of who I want to continue to try and be. Thank you all.

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1 CONCEPTUALIZING RELIGIOUS ARCHIVES FOR RHETORICAL INVESTIGATION

Ephemera, preserved for whatever reason, can take on future significance as an archive, and can sometimes constitute a heretofore missing piece of a puzzle that many had forgotten was not entirely complete. When such materials are coalesced, the ephemeral essence is often shed, as the likenesses and commonalities of the collection shine through the outward appearance. Great potential for useful meaning often results, and sometimes this meaning can better inform or even correct conventional histories.

Such was the case in composition professor Bruce McComiskey's book "Microhistories of Composition," where the author talks in the introduction about finding his own first-year composition essays. Reading these 30-year-old papers, along with his instructor's comments about them, revealed a tremendous incongruity with the grand narratives of the history of composition pedagogy; what he now knew that was going on in Composition Studies in the early 1980s was not at all what went on in *his* class back then. This surprising revelation caused him to wonder exactly how many data points similar to his own experience conflicted with these grand narratives and what the inclusion of such "micro-histories" might do to mitigate what he viewed as the conventional view's limitations (which he related to Kenneth Burke's idea of "trained incapacities"). McComiskey was "forced to reassess [his] assumptions regarding what history is, what historical narratives do, and how historical evidence should be

marshalled in the service of an argument” due to this primary-source finding (McComiskey 7-8).

In much the same way, I have leveraged largely overlooked archival materials to unearth helpful data points which, in small but useful ways, inform the understanding and sharpen the focus of Evangelical Christian religious rhetoric. The following qualitative study expands on the understanding of rhetoric’s role in how religious dogma has affected public discourse and, subsequently, public policy. This research interrogates primary sources in order to evaluate the roles played by various words and phrases that religious rhetors used to advance exhortations concerning morality in the public discourse of their day. By confining this effort to the microcosm of a particular historical/socio-cultural context—Baptists in Georgia during the late 19th- and early 20th-century Progressive Movement—I established necessary scope-limiting parameters that were essential to the maintenance of sufficient depth and feasibility. Focusing on symptomatic reading, or reading that searches for what that the text did and didn’t say due to ideological bias, I employed a qualitative discourse analysis methodology to identify a number of generally defined “textual elements” which serve as “code” for each author’s broader social, cultural, and historical context (Anderson 125). By carefully interrogating words and phrases correlating with the recurrent themes of war and temperance (both abundant in the primary sources), I probed a number of subtle-but-significant outcroppings of the foundational layer of religious bedrock which undergirded—in a hegemony-creating and sustaining manner—nearly all of American culture and politics in the late-19th and early-to-mid 20th centuries. Essentially, this

study helps explain in small part how religious rhetoric helped bring this cultural hegemony about and what it did—or at least tried to do—in order to sustain it.

1.1 Historic Placement and Present Relevance

This research, while archival in nature, is timely and relevant in that it uncovers important aspects of the rhetoric of public morality that existing scholarship has yet to fully explore. It simultaneously constructs a meaningful link and helpful addition to the current corpus of religious rhetoric and rhetorical studies more broadly. Specifically, it does this by shedding light on Baptist's linguistic association (or perhaps even conflation) of theology with practical social concerns. As an evangelical Christian denomination that views all morality as Biblically derived and the non-Christian world as lost and dying, the Baptists in this study conform to popular stereotypes by associating (or possibly confusing) their Divine charge to proselytize to individuals with a similarly concerted desire to try and conform society to Biblical precepts. Focusing on this famously dogmatic, somewhat insular, surprisingly cohesive, and doggedly change-resistant religious community at two meaningful historical moments—during the fighting (and in the aftermath of the loss) of the losing cultural battle that was the Temperance Movement—proved particularly fruitful. Garrett Peck sets the stage for this “target-rich” environment for rhetorical examination by succinctly summarizing the history of the movement in his book, *The Prohibition Hangover: Alcohol in America from Demon Rum to Cult Cabernet*.

Eliminating alcohol from society would free the workingman from the clutches of the liquor trade. It would shut down the corner saloon where he poured out his wages. It would save his wife and family from abuse and poverty, from

widowhood and the orphanage. Ultimately it would sober up the nation and create a more God-like country. Temperance succeeded in pushing Prohibition onto the nation. (198)

As Peck's recap suggests, many evangelicals (and this is particularly true of Baptists) see Christians as "pilgrims in an unholy land"—ambassadors for Christ in a lost and dying world. Correspondingly, while societal values have evolved and moved away (according to the Baptist's view) from Biblical precepts, Baptist rhetoric has also evolved. New scholarship is therefore needed to help explain how these rhetors—especially the official polemicists among them—react rhetorically to these changes. In parsing Baptist polemics on public morality to survey rhetorical trends and patterns, this study helps supplement existing scholarship by providing an indication of how one of the nation's largest organized evangelical denominations navigated the cacophony of popular discourse on issues of public morality in their issuance of polemics which, by necessity, had to account for both natural and pervasive political and sociological realities while simultaneously adhering to mandatory dogmatic (Biblical) principles—all in the shadow of the fevered rise, legislative legitimation, and ultimate practical failure of the Temperance Movement.

1.2 Key Terms and Research Questions

The lynchpin of this study is the role of moral imperative. Rather than situating this key term within the realm of deontological moral philosophy (Kant, et al) or other more modern conceptions of morality, the present research defines it simply by the context of its function in the archival material under scrutiny:

moral imperative: something that should intentionally be done or not done based on the rhetor's perceived shared morality with the audience; an acknowledged exhortation to do what is right and to avoid doing what is wrong based on the widely understood knowledge of the rhetor's moral positioning.

In this study, 19th- and 20th-century Baptist polemicists hold, in the eyes of their contemporaneous audiences and each other, Biblical precepts and such precept's attendant social mores to be the ultimate standard for behavior. It stands to reason then, that the meaning of "moral imperative," for the auspices of this study, should be necessarily limited to the commonly encouraged adherence to these known scripture-based standards.

Also integral to this study are the roles of Baptist polemics and polemicists. Here, these term's definitions are not theoretically tied to the "ancient belief," as noted by Richard M. Weaver in *Language is Sermonic*, that "a divine element is present in language" (Weaver, et al. 33), but instead and more simply, to moral exhortations and the individuals (preachers, teachers, missionaries, essayists, writers of letters to the editor, etc.) who delivered them, either orally or in print.

With these straightforward meanings established, the study addressed the following research question, which the primary-source material in question indeed answers in a meaningful way:

In Baptist polemics widely published in the South during the decades ramping up to and, later, emerging from the aftermath of national Prohibition, how were mentions of moral imperatives handled, and did this change in any perceptible

way based on major contemporaneous events, especially those involving the Temperance Movement and its ultimate failure?

Because the investigation driven by this question focuses on rhetorical postures adopted by various Baptist polemicists via their choice of words and phrases, the idea that language is used as a vehicle to navigate the natural-supernatural divide plays a considerable part. Due to all of this, the way language interacts with an individual's positionality constitutes an important ancillary question:

Did Baptist polemicists during this period base their moral imperative arguments on the presumption that the audience would see the words and phrases used as indicative of logic and rationality? Or did they base their moral imperative arguments on the presumption that the audience would see the words and phrases used as purely referential to shared religious and scriptural precepts?

In answering these questions, this research undertaking stakes a claim to a small-but-meaningful plot of original territory in the realm of religious rhetorical scholarship and therefore suggests, at its conclusion, an outcropping of new, more clearly-defined queries for future academic inquiry.

1.3 Researcher Connection

Anchoring this contribution more soundly within the wider scholarship of religious rhetoric required adequately situating its author ideologically, so I have chosen to do so here at the outset; moreover I believe that this inquiry benefits greatly from a full disclosure of my personal connection to the subject. I am a life-long Baptist who was raised in an independent, fundamental Baptist church which espoused virtually identical doctrinal positions as the Baptist polemicists my research critically scrutinizes. I freely

identify as an Evangelical who believes that the Bible is the inherent Word of God, and I strive daily to put my faith in Christ first in every aspect of my life, including in my academic research. Rather than viewing faith as conflicting with or as the antithesis to empiricism, I view God as the *author* of empiricism based on my study of the Bible and personal conviction by the supernatural workings of the Holy Spirit. I therefore see the realm of human understanding as something that exists on a level separate from and subservient to that of the Divine. (Helpfully, these beliefs and this denominational affiliation afforded me expedient entrée into the two Baptist archival facilities containing the polemics to be inspected.)

Theologically, my perspectives differ little from the doctrines of stereotypical Baptists in the American South. I do, however, sometimes arrive at different hermeneutical distinctions based on my prayerful, contemplative reading of God's Word. This is not unusual among Evangelicals (the small-but-scholarly church I grew up in actively encouraged it), and such person-to-person interpretive disagreements usually encompass only minor differences in belief or (more often) policies or strategies among the varied array of Baptist churches in the U.S. However, there is one area where my own divergence from established Baptist dogma is especially germane: I do not believe that the consumption of alcohol is a sin, nor that it should be discouraged unless done immoderately. Ironically, I myself have never consumed any alcohol; however, this is not due to my religious beliefs, but instead, a cautionary choice due to another factor that is relevant to my positionality as a researcher: the significant history of alcohol addiction in my family, going back several generations. I have seen first-hand the ugly effects alcohol abuse can deliver, and my stories and those of other affected family

members are not at all unlike the stories recounted by the liquor-damning preachers whose words this project inspects.

While this study was indeed personal for me, maintaining an objective lens is more than just a professional academic standard I uphold, it is also in my best interest as a Baptist. As mentioned above, differing interpretations often result in different policy and strategy recommendations for church governance and evangelism. As a concerned, involved member of my oft-defamed denomination, I believe that this study has yielded important information from which myself and others can extrapolate historical lessons that will help edify the body of believers and, with God's blessing, make future Baptist polemics more sincere and efficacious. As a rhetorical scholar, I am committed to thorough, effectual, and ethical research which is devoid of eradicable bias, and I believe that part of my professional commitment entails not just "blazing a trail" for those who follow me, but "making straight" that road to the greatest extent I can. The Implications section in Chapter 3 of this study consequently goes into considerable detail about numerous significant secondary and tertiary paths that branch off from the main one this effort created in hopes of assisting future scholars who journey in this scholarly direction.

1.4 Literature Review

Scholarship on the role of rhetoric in religion, though fairly sparse in comparison to other subjects in rhetorical studies, does provide a set of helpful boundary markers to stake out the property on which this study resides. These include factors such as how religion addresses real-world exigencies, the preeminence of *ethos* in religious rhetoric, the key role of *logos* and how it blends with arrangement and spirituality to affect

audience, and the degree to which believers view society and culture through a prism of religion. The first of these scholarly guideposts grounds the subject definitively by declaring the essence of what religion is and does. According to Yi-Fu Tuan and Martha Strawn in their book, *Religion: From Place to Placelessness*:

Religion, as it is almost universally understood, rests ultimately on fear of powerful and unknown forces “out there,” a fear expressed by belief in demons and spirits, dependence on magic, obedience to the “dos and don’ts” of a sacred tradition or book, and avoidance of the impure. (61)

To connect religion’s function with human activity and behavior, Tuan and Strawn immediately situate these arrangements of rules and guidelines in terms of their positive opposing counterweights:

Such oppressive burdens are balanced, on the positive side, by uplifting communal feasts of the initiated and the righteous in a sacred building. Also on the positive side is the power of religion to impart a feeling of belonging and, with it, the pleasure of being among insiders, more honorable and privileged than the unfortunates who live in ignorance and perversity beyond the gates. (61)

The authors go on to ask, “Why? With all the knowledge gained by science and scholarship, how is it that even the well-educated may find themselves consulting the star chart for lucky numbers and propitious days?” “The answer,” they immediately contend, “must lie in the uncertainties of life...” (Tuan and Strawn 61).

Exactly how these uncertainties are addressed often becomes a concern of language and its purposeful use. Using Kenneth Burke’s conceptualization of the unknown as “the mystical sacred,” James Darsey and Joshua R. Ritter tender the

following definition of religious rhetoric in their entry in *The SAGE Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*:

[R]hetoric in which the process of invention is ultimately both constrained and authorized by the mystical sacred, by a severe obligation to the realm of things beyond human capacity to alter, a realm not accessible through our pedestrian methodologies or logic, by a connection to and a desire for the supernatural.

("Religious Voices in American Public Discourse" 554)

They go on to extend this concept to the realm of the personal in their mention of religious "charisma"—the idea that a person possesses such extraordinary abilities that these abilities are often seen as divinely imbued, and thus, that such a person should therefore ascend to a position of leadership among others. This represents a particularly powerful form of *ethos* that certain members of a religious organization may possess ("Religious Voices in American Public Discourse" 559-560). Likely, many of the Baptist polemicists whose words this study interrogates relied on just this type of *ethos* to ascend to the level of prominence that would give them such a widespread voice.

Such individual charisma, however, like religious rhetoric as a whole, still seems inseparably bonded to language. As the "Religion" entry in Sloane's *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric* explains, "Religious systems are rhetorical...because they strive to communicate truth," with this idea further arguing for "a distinctive rhetoric of religion, based on authoritative proclamation, not rational persuasion, with the speaker's character as dominant" (662). But if a powerful rhetorical force characterized by *ethos*-via-language is dominant, rational persuasion still seems to play an important part of

how religious rhetoric is currently understood, as the same entry later states that "...Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant exalted empiricism as superior to the communal sense and wisdom of rhetorical method" ("Religion" 668), while Darsey and Ritter establish sermons as vehicles of similarly logical, purposeful arrangement, saying that they are discourses that "share substantive, stylistic, and situational characteristics" and in which forms recur "together in constellation" (Campbell and Jamieson qtd. in Darsey and Ritter 556-557). Here, the rhetorical canon of arrangement appears to be the "key" that unlocks many of the doors leading to an audience being persuaded via *logos*, as they may well evaluate a polemic's organizational qualities as a "litmus test" when deciding on whether or not to assign some degree of credibility to a particular rhetor.

This importance of arrangement largely describes the general parameters of the present research, as the "stylistic and situational characteristics" (various rhetorical choices of words and phrases regarding moral imperatives) that the Baptist preachers used all occur under the "constellations" of either genre (a traditional Baptist sermon or Bible lesson) or social/historical context (the Temperance Movement/Prohibition/Repeal/other contemporaneous happenings). Additionally involving arrangement, empiricism also factors into the current project, as the Sloane *Encyclopedia's* entry underscores practicality in organization by linking this concept to the Bible itself:

However, the arrangement of the gospels is rhetorical: proem, early narrative, exposition of teaching, account of crucifixion, and epilogue. Stylistically, *Matthew* is forceful; *Mark*, plain; *Luke*, elegant; *John*, elevated. Matthew applied rhetoric most broadly, by arranging the gospel into distinct parts with specific functions,

by establishing the *ethos* of Jesus' authority and the *pathos* of his suffering, and by offering probable reasons. Mark asserted absolute claims to authoritative proof without argument. Luke, an educated speaker of Greek who alone among the evangelists knew classical genre, presented an orderly narrative with precise details, exploiting classical *prosopopoeia* and biography for Jesus' infancy. John employed logical argument to turn and reiterate his topics theologically. (664)

Given Baptist preacher's traditional exultation of the Bible above any and all other texts, it would certainly seem plausible that their knowledge of rhetorical arrangement could well have been largely an act of imitation.

Regardless of whether or not Biblical arrangement was the sole or primary blueprint for the Baptist polemics this study examines, couldn't empiricism be less native to the practice of homiletics and instead, merely a part of the Enlightenment tradition? Adam Smith seemed to point at this in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* in 1790 when he wrote, "The prudent man always studies seriously and earnestly to understand whatever he professes to understand, and not merely to persuade other people that he understands it," and that "he is naturally disposed to rely a good deal upon the solidity of his knowledge and abilities" (A. Smith, VI.I.8). This seems to suggest that arrangement, itself possibly an act of imitation for many, may possess rhetorical power that imparts to the rhetor a confidence in her or his knowledge, leading from *logos*, by way of arrangement, back to *ethos*. Alternatively, some voices in the scholarship suggest that empiricism and spirituality are fluidly intertwined, as Karl Popper asserts in "The Logic of Scientific Discovery," where he posits that "scientific discovery is impossible without faith in ideas which are of a purely speculative kind...a

faith which is completely unwarranted from the point of view of science, and which, to that extent, is ‘metaphysical’” (qtd. in Youngdahl 594). Here *logos* unites either directly or indirectly with the spiritual—directly, in that empiricism and rational thinking somehow intersect with the supernatural, or indirectly, in that they inspire thoughts and ideas which serve as heuristics, leading the rhetor to consider other productive ideas and appeals.

The socio-cultural role of rhetoric within religion in the United States is also an important consideration in contextualizing the present study. A recent (2014) analysis by education professor Mary Juzwik entitled “American Evangelical Biblicism as Literate Practice: A Critical Review” posits that “anthropological and historical literatures clearly establish the social logic of Biblical citation as a necessarily ongoing, historically contingent, dialogically mediated practice of justifying actions in the world through the attribution of beliefs to biblical text” (344), so it is probable that, to some degree, imbuing dominant culture with Biblical influences is an inherent part of how Protestant evangelical Christians such as Baptists negotiate societal discourse, regardless of era. And while one may or may not accept Richard Avramenko’s suggestion in “Tocqueville and the Religion of Democracy,” that “Protestantism, because it purportedly encourages religious pluralism, civil society, mass education, and economic development, represents a mindset conducive to democracy” (126), it is still undeniable that American culture has been (and certainly was in the late 19th century) intricately interwoven with Americans’ religious culture, and this religious culture has often been the stronger for it. Thus, the religious heritage carried forth from this nation’s founding has always sustained a widely shared context of its own, and this virtual homogeneity on issues of

faith “has helped mask the role of religion in politics—the virtual hegemony of Christianity in the history of the United States has predictably served to obscure its ideological functions” (“Religious Voices in American Public Discourse” 570). It follows, then, that such religious hegemony in the dominant culture (of the 19th century) would, in blurring ideological functions, set the stage for policy debates in which Christian principles had, if not an advantage, at least an extremely formidable position from which to argue. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Baptists were, by virtue of their ideological congruencies with the Temperance Movement, particularly well-suited to occupy this position and they did so enthusiastically.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Irrespective of where this study may ultimately fit within the existing work on religious rhetoric, and regardless of the methodology it employs, fully realizing the lens through which it examines its subject will help the reader gain a greater understanding of the effort’s impetus and overall meaning. Because this research dissects Baptist polemics in terms of language, it made sense to look at what might be considered the genesis of advanced human language use—literacy—as applied to the greater contexts which surround this study. While the scholarship of literacy studies has often referenced religious institutions as “sponsors” of community literacy, Beverly J. Moss, in her 2010 *Community Literacy Journal* article, “Phenomenal Women: Collaborative Literacies, and Community Texts in Alternative ‘Sista Spaces,’” expresses the essence of how churches cultivate and disseminate language competency in a community with respect to things like “leadership training, socializing, activism, and education” (8). Moss helps make this point by relaying a research participant’s memory of her

grandmother and great aunt “gather[ing] up papers and go[ing] out to serve the community,” thereby connecting the church-facilitated “literacy artifacts—written documents—to the work of community service” (8). As the following explanation of this study’s theoretical framework will carefully detail, the rhetorical efforts of the Baptist polemicists herein are, for the present purposes, viewed in a similar light: they have messages to impart, they seek to make their followers (or potential followers) understand, heed, and proliferate these messages (in word and/or deed), and they leverage and rely upon their influence as representatives of the church—an effective community sponsor of literacy—in order to make this happen.

In considering the rhetors involved in this study, it is helpful to begin by situating them as individuals who not only speak on behalf of their organizations (ostensibly, arms of the Baptist church), but whose literacy is, in some significant way, fashioned by this important affiliation. According to noted literacy theorist David Barton, such a construction results from three separate directions from which people emerge in the course of their actions: literacy as psychological in that it embodies the ways in which we represent the world to ourselves, as social in that it exemplifies the ways in which we represent the world to others, and as historiographical in that it expresses the concept of individual and social memory (33). A related strain of 20th century rhetorical theory dealing with symbolism, metaphor, context, and memory appears to supportively prefigure and possibly undergird Barton’s idea as it is applied to the present research context.

While it seems likely that the English language does indeed possess more words than most comparable languages (“Is it true that English”), it also seems as if this

abundance of words is not enough—and perhaps, can *never* be enough—in a world full of people who think in terms of symbols, symbols which happen to also be integrated into this study’s definition of literacy (Barton 35). In his famous essay “Definition of Man,” Kenneth Burke designates the human as the “symbol-using, symbol-making, and symbol-misusing animal,” going on to say that “[a] fundamental resource ‘natural’ to symbolism is *substitution*,” and then further elucidating the point by comparing this substitution to Freud’s “displacement” concept which, Burke contends, represents “a confused type of substitution” (*Language As Symbolic Action* 6-7).

Concerning this “confusion”—since Burke seems to be discussing a more specific version of the incorrect use of metaphor in human communication (*A Grammar of Motives* 506)—Burke-contemporary I.A. Richards begins his book “The Philosophy of Rhetoric” by plainly defining rhetoric as “a study of misunderstanding and its remedies” (3). Richards goes on to disassociate words from meanings, proffering that the required syntactic arrangements for the latter are typically much more complex and subject to misperception than those needed for the former (9-10), explicating this notion by mentioning that, “Most words, as they pass from context to context, change their meanings; and in many different ways...It is their duty and their service to us to do so” (11). It is this notion that most informs the study’s secondary research question which asks how the spotlighted Baptist polemicists may have considered their audiences’ perceptions of word meanings when crafting their appeals.

Irrespective of our reliance on this shifting of meaning, however, the contexts themselves do tend to exert the vital influence. While Lloyd Bitzer is known for broadening the notion of context into a situational construct in his 1968 article “The

Rhetorical Situation,” it is notable that in that same piece, he offhandedly reduced the narrower idea of “meaning-context” as nothing more than a “general condition of human communication” (3). Perhaps Bitzer referenced only this more static variety of context because he associated it with a more static variety of terms, the type that Richards observed to possess “conditions governing their meanings” which were so “constant that we can disregard them” (Richards 10). But these terms, Richards admonishes, “are fewer than we suppose” (11). A potentially richer understanding of this contextually driven dynamic seems to surface in Mark Williams’ article on Kenneth Burke’s analysis of anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, wherein Williams cites Burke’s *Rhetoric of Religion* which, in connecting Malinowski’s work with contextually poor “positive order” terms, offers that “positivist vocabularies can end in reductive representations of human affairs” and that we “inevitably reduce the material world through writing because our terms cannot capture complete environmental complexity, but representative anecdotes of human action should maintain a strong ‘linguistic bias’” (Williams 171). Williams navigates this complicating of the word-symbol calculus by associating context to it in the following way:

Context works simultaneously to convey the positive bodies of tangible experience, the opposing ideas that arise from our bodies, and the hierarchies and designs that can order bodies around. Varying orders of context may approach Aristotle’s demand for a rhetoric sensitive to—but not entirely bound by—particular circumstance, a rhetoric that “does not belong to a single defined genus of subject.” (Williams 172)

Harkening back to Burke's arranging of the above impression, Williams writes that "Burke argues for the analogical nature of contexts by contending that we class contingent situations through abstractions...We consciously and unconsciously order attitudes about material things with the spirit of language" (Williams 174). Likely unaware of these theoretical constructions, the Baptist preachers studied by this effort almost certainly relied on their knowledge of the conventional use of language in their particular context—but also, of language in general—when crafting the metaphors and analogies through which they transmitted their rhetorical entreaties. This innate human action, this conscious and unconscious structuring, is not wholly unlike the common situational patterns in which people use reading and writing to affect literacy practices within the purview of an ecological theory of literacy (Barton 36). Specifically, these "social practices associated with the written word" embody the very vehicle we may use to "help us to see how social institutions and the power relations they support structure our uses of written language" (Barton 37).

One of the primary contextual forces in the messages this study interrogates involves the shared prior knowledge (on the part of both rhetors and audience members alike) of a major historical event (the rise and fall of the Temperance Movement and other major concurrent events), stated more concisely for the current purpose as "memory." Certainly, this important factor stands as a major contextual operator within the presently-discussed rhetorical milieu. Of memory, Richard M. Weaver opined that rhetorical appeal was predicated on memory, because memory was inscribed with ephemera from past situational contexts: "Rhetoric is involved along with memory...because rhetoric depends upon history...All questions that are susceptible to

rhetorical treatment arise out of history, and it is to history that the rhetorician turns for his means of persuasion” (Weaver qtd. in Irwin 21). Unpacking this, Irwin reckons that:

History involves valuations; the rhetor retrieves from memory thoughts about those historical incidents of war, diplomacy, or personal life whose valuations have become relevant for rhetorical appeal. These fragments of value-laden past experience must appear, or lie implicit in, even the most avowedly logical appeals; any argument that aims to move men, says Weaver, “must have historicity as well as logicity.” (Irwin 21-22).

Tying memory back to language (and thus, to literacy), Irwin states that, “Effectiveness in living is also enhanced by memory as it assimilates experience within the orbits of terms and forms, leaving a residue of useful prejudices and propensities without whose guidance every act should require tedious assessment from the beginning” (Irwin 22). Such “terms and forms” would seem to comprise the letters, words, and grammatical conventions by which our innate symbol systems are more “officially” culturally codified, lending credence to Barton’s definition of literacy events as “occasions in everyday life where the written word has a role.” The “prejudices and propensities” seem to likewise underpin Barton’s presupposition that, both individually and socially, each of these literacy events is influenced by history (Barton 35). For the purposes of the present inquiry, this makes it seem as if the very history—of dogma, of politics, and of alcohol—in the United States influenced not just the creation of the Baptist rhetors’ exigence, but many of the words and phrases they used in meeting it.

Upon the preceding theoretical structure, Barton’s idea of literacy as ecology—the integrated accounting of practices, values, social relationships, societal constructs,

and history as influential to and emblematic of a person's ability to effectively use language in discourse (Barton 35-36)—stands as a useful center for the present research enterprise.

1.6 Methodology

Linda Wood and Rolf Kroger, in *Doing Discourse Analysis*, situate the action of viewing language discursively in terms of three main attributes: “(a) an emphasis on talk as action, (b) an emphasis on talk as the event of interest, and (c) an emphasis on variability” (16). Unpacking these underpinnings further, they state:

Cognition as both an explained and explanatory concept has come to be seen as less than useful. However, the notion of mind is retained in the sense that mind is constituted in talk. The shifts collapse old distinctions (language vs. thought, verbal vs. nonverbal, language vs. action) and make new ones relevant (movements vs. action). They involve reversals (e.g., variability is seen as an advantage rather than as a problem) and reframing (e.g., attitudes are viewed as categories of action rather than cognition, attributions are viewed as accomplishment rather than outcomes of cognitive processes, and consensus is seen as a construction rather than as information used to make attributions...). (17)

Brian Paltridge, in his book *Discourse Analysis*, offers practical advice for implementing the above. Citing Johnstone, he lists a number of fundamental criteria that explain how an idea for a research project moves through the conceptual dynamics listed above to a workable strategy for systematically analyzing discourse. These criteria seem elementary but are nonetheless instructive, entailing the need for an

original question or set of questions, an understanding of the various ways an analysis of the text might reasonably answer those and other questions that emerge during the process, a firm grasp of the broader significances of the project's value, and a familiarity with the text being analyzed so that accurate judgments about data collection methods and scheduling might be made (Paltridge 204-205).

Though helpful, this advice should be seen in its proper context of merely providing a nominal baseline, as the actual business of performing discourse analysis is a kinetic, often-recursive process. Stephanie Taylor elaborates:

The process of analyzing discourse data is not linear but exploratory and iterative. In other words, the analyst's task is not one of straightforwardly "translating" or "decoding" the data, one item at a time; rather, analysis involves reading and re-reading an entire data set, comparing, noticing and making points of possible interest and returning to them later... (69)

Taylor goes on to underscore an important characteristic arising from the fluidity typical of this methodology and which definitely came to bear in this project:

The analysis phase of a discourse analysis project may overlap with both the data collection and the writing up and will take longer than either. (69).

If anything, this attribute of discourse analysis was exacerbated by the present work's qualitative nature.

With regard to actual research design, this undertaking encompasses the examination of two groups of archival, primary-source texts, both representing publically proclaimed Baptist polemics which include discussions and exhortations involving moral imperatives. The two texts examined were:

- *The Christian Index* – The still-published newspaper of the Georgia Baptist Mission Board (GBMB), formerly known as the Georgia Baptist Convention (GBC), this periodical holds the distinction of being the nation’s longest-running religious weekly, its circulation (comprising primarily the southeastern U.S.) running virtually uninterrupted since its inception in 1822 (“Our History”). For the purposes of this study, the issues published within a decade of the South’s emergence from Reconstruction—during the first six months of the year 1881—served as the primary subject of analysis. I chose this period due to a seminal, tradition-breaking vote having taken place at the April, 1881 Georgia Baptist Convention (GBC) annual meeting (*Minutes of the Fifty-Ninth*). This action was significant because, after several years of internal contention regarding the matter, it resulted in a successful resolution which sanctioned the group’s official lobbying of the Georgia State Legislature in favor of a statewide referendum, popularly known as the “Local Option Law” which would allow each county and municipality to vote on whether or not to prohibit sales of alcohol. This unprecedented action stands as the point at which the Georgia Baptists first officially decided, despite possible conflicts with traditional Baptist doctrine involving the deliberate separation of church and state, to put their full weight behind the temperance cause—a cause which represented the ultimate injecting of a religiously-established moral imperative into the public consciousness. All issues of the *Christian Index* and all but two

years' editions of GBC annual meeting minutes are conveniently housed in the Georgia Baptist Mission Board Historical Archive and Museum in Duluth, Georgia ("Historical Commission, Archives & Museum"). Georgia Baptist Mission Board administrative employee Dana Sharitt currently serves as the primary custodian of this collection and she, along with her predecessor, Reverend Charles Jones (former GBMB Researcher and Writer), provided ample access throughout the course of the data collection activity.

- *The Baptist Hour* – Developed subsequent to a similar Catholic broadcast in the early days of radio (Lowe 17), the *Baptist Hour* was largely a child of prominent Atlanta pastor and inaugural Southern Baptist Radio Commission head Dr. Samuel F. Lowe. Beginning on the eve of the U.S. involvement in World War II in 1941, these weekly January-through-March broadcasts consisted of sermons preached over the radio by various Baptist ministers with considerable regional and national reputations. While Dr. Lowe possessed a fairly comprehensive awareness of the sometimes-nuanced communication dynamic particular to the radio medium, such knowledge was not explicitly communicated to the *Baptist Hour* pastors, and they delivered their sermons much as they would have in a traditional church setting (Lowe 27-35). Though no recordings of these broadcasts are available, the Southern Baptist Radio Commission did prolifically publish and distribute (as religious print literature for educational and evangelical purposes) small pamphlets comprising

transcripts of these recordings. While the first year (1941) is missing, complete sets do exist for most subsequent years. Consistent with the selection of the sample from the *Christian Index*, this project interrogated the text of the 1942 transcripts, which covers the sermons broadcast between January and March of 1942 (*Baptist Hour Radio Broadcast Transcripts*). This point in Baptist history in the South marks not only the initiation of an important new avenue of mass communication for the Baptists, but more importantly, this fortuitous juncture arrives less than a decade after the failed end of the Temperance Movement (i.e., the Constitutional repeal of national Prohibition) and at the very beginning of this nation's involvement in the Second World War. With respect to accessibility, the *Baptist Hour* transcripts are available through the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archive, located at the Southern Baptist Convention Headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee. A previous research grant project provided me with an opportunity to visit this collection in October, 2014 and photocopy all the *Baptist Hour* sermon transcript pamphlets encompassing the period examined in this research endeavor.

I commenced the research activity by categorizing the two textual items above in terms of polemics in order to answer this study's primary research question (which, in turn, helped address the ancillary research question). In the case of the *Baptist Hour* radio broadcast transcripts, all the 1942 pamphlet-style sermon transcripts qualified. With regard to the *Christian Index*, the task was more complicated. While the *Index* did

publish short (and sometimes not-so-short) sermons in their entirety during this period, items that could qualify as polemics embody not just this traditional genre but several others, as well (published letters, commentaries/editorials, feature articles, etc.). In order to effectively capture all the *Christian Index's* relevant polemics, I applied the following decision criteria to determine what did and did not qualify a polemic for analysis:

- Does the item's inclusion appear to constitute an intentional editorial decision to provide polemic content?
- Are references to moral imperatives directly mentioned or discernably implied in the item?
- In referencing these moral imperatives, is the item's author obviously addressing the newspaper's general adult readership?

With the gauge for selecting, verifying, and categorizing the polemics firmly established by the above questions, I was ready to do the actual work. Given the Taylor quotes listed above, instituting a full, concrete schema for a qualitative archival study like this seemed less appropriate than using a set of guiding questions to help create source-based analytic criteria. The generative questions I used to initiate the formation of this analytic criteria included:

- Which categories of moral imperative are prevalent/significant enough to examine?
- What types of moral imperative mentions should be excluded?
- Which mentions of moral imperative could be interpreted as practical versus which could be interpreted as spiritual/theological in nature?

- In cases where polemic authors are known, is this information relevant?
- If author information is recorded, is the author's professional identity (i.e., as a preacher, a business person, a newspaper editor, etc.) relevant?
- How will the study account for archaic words and words that are still common today but which may have had different meanings at the time the polemics in question were delivered?
- Which mentions of moral imperative quote scripture or use verbiage/phraseology easily identifiable (by contemporaneous audiences) as Biblically-derived?
- Since one of the primary contexts serving as a line of demarcation for this study is the Temperance Movement, how directly should the ideas/terms in the polemics relate to the temperance issue?
- What major contemporaneous happenings influenced the polemics and to what extent do the polemics reflect this?

While neither exhaustive nor final, these questions did allow the categories for collation ("coding") to be derived from the primary-source material itself, affording a degree of research flexibility that is both useful and vital in any effective archival study.

The above questions provided a crucial starting point for the data analysis phase of the project once the collection process was complete, and though not all were helpful, their presence yielded four relevant criteria that denoted the "coding" categories in the analysis. These criteria for qualitative analysis included two distinct themes that were virtually omnipresent in both primary sources: war and temperance. Depending on the primary source and its era (the *Christian Index* in the early 1880s or the *Baptist Hour* in

the early 1940s), these two themes manifested themselves in the text through the following four sub-categories:

- Georgia Baptist's reaction to the South's emergence from the Civil War and Reconstruction
- the beginning of the Georgia Baptist's legislative involvement in the Temperance Movement
- Southern Baptist's reaction to the end of Prohibition and the effective end of the Temperance Movement
- the Southern Baptist's reaction to Pearl Harbor and the beginning of major U.S. involvement of World War II

Despite the clarifying effect of these “coding” categories dealing with the two major subjects of war and temperance, employing these categories as methodological tools revealed some troublesome obstacles that required thoughtful navigation.

Whereas the *Baptist Hour* was, by its nature as a series of sermons, essentially a group of homogenous long-form polemics, the *Christian Index* was different in that it included numerous types of articles (news stories, lessons on Biblical interpretation, children's stories, agricultural reports and advice, published meeting proceedings, sermons, editorials, letters to the editor, etc.), many of which could individually constitute a polemic on moral imperatives given the definition of such this research has established. Applying the criteria of “Temperance” or “War” to each chosen polemic was sometimes indefinite work, with numerous judgement calls being required with respect to the ignoring of near-duplicate content and the gauging of significance to the study.

Furthermore, obscured and missing content on many of these 135-year-old newspapers

(which contained approximately 4,000 words on each of an issue's eight pages) also made searching for the most noteworthy polemics challenging. Enacting methodological detail work proved slightly confounding for the interrogation of the *Baptist Hour* sermons, as well. Excerpts from these larger, more wide-ranging polemics required selection criteria that necessitated similar judgement calls concerning the concentration of the topics and the significance to the study given the context created by other possible selections within each sermon. Put another way, each sample I ended up omitting had to first be considered in light of the opportunity cost of its possible inclusion. Eventually, the excerpts most demonstrative of the chosen criteria came to light and coalesced to fashion a vivid mosaic that would have been rendered paler by the weaker selections I correctly dismissed.

Of course, these excerpts and the larger picture they created only became meaningful after the systematic examination wrought by the actual research methods I used. I employed a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet as the primary cache for the raw data after I extracted it from the source material. I first typed the text of the selected excerpt (sometimes accompanied by a scanned image of it) into a temporary Microsoft Word document for formatting and then copied and pasted all or part of the excerpt into a cell in this Excel spreadsheet next to a unique identifier. On the same row in adjacent columns of this spreadsheet, I recorded the various other bibliographic and qualitative attributes of the selection. In addition to the "coding" criteria of temperance and war, I created additional columns in the spreadsheet in order to expound on how (and perhaps why) each of these two criteria were employed by their authors. I inserted further spreadsheet columns so that each excerpt's row could contain notes about other

qualitative attributes related to the study. These attributes included notes on how each excerpt might relate to 1) literacy (relating to the ancillary research question stated in Chapter 1 of this work), 2) the Temperance Movement's underlying discursive dynamic of rhetoric versus dialectic and/or the Baptist church's foundational ideas about religious liberty and separation of church and state (as discussed in Chapter 2 of this study), and 3) whether or not widely recognized Biblical language was quoted/appropriated by the rhetor in rendering the excerpt.

Performing the analysis of the data in the spreadsheet via Microsoft Excel's "Sort" and "Filter" functionality, I first sorted the data by source so that *Christian Index* excerpts appeared first and *Baptist Hour* excerpts appeared second. Next, I filtered each source by the "Primary Coding Criteria" column (first for the *Christian Index* excerpts and then for the *Baptist Hour* excerpts), making note of similarities and differences in each coding criteria listed as primary for each excerpt. I then repeated this process with the "Secondary Coding Criteria" column for each excerpt in each source. As I examined each excerpt, I made sure to note the presence or absence of explanatory notes I had made in each of the adjacent columns on each excerpt's row. Though many of the patterns, trends, and connections I made during this process happened quickly, were extremely fluid, and immediately became notes that yielded the rough outline which morphed into the draft of my findings, I did maintain a dedicated Microsoft Word document to record findings that I was less easily able to categorize. Throughout the process, I stored all electronic files on a laptop computer as well as on a cloud-based server (Dropbox), and I frequently backed everything up on a desktop

computer, which was itself subject to a nightly back-up via an automatic external hard drive.

1.7 Chapter Summary

By virtue of the preceding content, this study's genesis and subject, along with its parameters and paradigm, have all been generally established. However, just as the Baptist preachers and writers whose words were inspected by this study colored their own interpretative lenses of the Bible based on their continuing acquisition of additional knowledge, exposure to fresh data and ideas, and attainment of new, loftier critical and doctrinal vantage points, the subsequent content herein arrayed may likewise shade the current reader's perspective of this work. This is welcome and profitable, as there is much fertile ground to cover in this plot of the religious rhetoric landscape and reimagining the conceptualization of this study may constitute thoughts that are creatively generative toward such an activity. Interestingly, perhaps the most valuable asset for a process of re-understanding this study's origin and motives may be the historical situating of those findings.

2 RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AS PRETEXT: HISTORICALLY CONTEXTUALIZING BAPTISTS, TEMPERANCE, AND THE SOMEWHAT CONFLICTED NATURE OF BAPTIST POLEMICS ON PUBLIC MORALITY

Of Judeo-Christian religious rhetoric, prominent rhetorical scholar, author, and professor of classics George A. Kennedy writes that Christianity has “a commandment to preach the gospel. It sought to convert the world through the grace of God and by claims of miracles, testimony, sermons, biographies of saints, epistles, and other appeals or demonstrations...” (Kennedy 137). Given the multiplicity of avenues through which Christians have spread their good news to the world, it follows that the historical context surrounding these methods warrants some scrutiny. Necessitating this scrutiny even more is how the subject population this study investigates—Baptists in the South—view history as a construct that is inextricably intertwined with their faith. As university chancellor Bob Jones, Jr. of the noted South Carolina fundamental Baptist institution Bob Jones University once stated, “The greatest library in the world is one volume with 66 books—the Word of God. It contains history, and it’s history that’s absolutely accurate. In fact, men have found that they can check their ideas of history and their archeological discoveries by the history of the Word of God” (qtd. in Lewis 20). Given the willfully insular certainty by which so many Baptists (past and present) establish their own historical context, it serves the best aims of this research to establish a secular mirror for reflecting the Baptist speech acts historiographically and in ways the denomination might not handily embrace. Therefore, in this chapter I will add to the rhetorical and literacy-based concepts covered in Chapter 1 by delving into the historical

background and heritage-forming events that are absolutely vital to the fullest employment of this study's methodology and to the ultimate extraction of meaning from the archival inquiry in encompasses. Pulling from both secondary-source scholarship (historical, sociological, and theological in nature) as well as the very primary sources I have set out to examine in this endeavor, I outline a series of waypoints in the story of both the Temperance Movement and of the Baptists as both existed in the United States during the first 166 years of the nation's existence.

2.1 Historiographic Context of the Temperance Movement and its Relevant Significances/Resonances

The Temperance Movement in the United States during the 19th and 20th centuries serves as a significant backdrop for this investigation and represents a noteworthy link to rhetorical studies because it signifies a convergence of two powerful echoes of the "Long Eighteenth Century": science and religion. With regard to the nature of this convergence and the real-world implementation thereof, the idea that the Enlightenment had birthed a paradigm in which the two could be understood as something more than mutually exclusive was espoused succinctly by 19th-century psychologist James Martineau, who praised the work of Alexander Bain and James Mill, first by commending them for separating "all that is 'mental' in the phenomena into psychology, and all that is 'moral' into the chemistry of ideas," and for eschewing many of the conventional philosophical views of their time in order to preserve "their science by putting it under the protection of a stronger power," elaborating that this preservation refers to "not so much...their doctrines, as...their method; and especially...the preconception from which they set out, as to the nature of their study and its relative

place in the scheme of human knowledge” (Martineau qtd. in Aley 212). Encapsulating this intertwining of scientific benefit and religious moral impetus, an 1879 issue of the *British Medical Journal* cites a noted physician who, after stating that, “Every person who drinks a dram seems to me guilty of a greater indiscretion than if he had set fire to a house,” goes on to directly invoke religiosity in his medical opinion by extolling the virtues of the Islamic doctrine of total abstinence: “I cannot forbear admiring the great wisdom of Mahomet, who has strictly forbade his followers the use of fermented liquors for better reasons than are generally apprehended” (“The Medical History of the Temperance Movement” 585). On an even broader scale, since Scottish rhetoricians of the Enlightenment like George Campbell and Hugh Blair championed the clarity wrought by replicating “natural order” as a primary standard for human communication (Burwick 24), the disruption of this Divinely-authored clarity by the use of alcohol would automatically seem deleterious to many of the 19th-century Americans whose education was influenced by such luminaries. Clearly, the intertwining of faith and empiricism is a messy business which affords much room for opinion to enter.

Significantly, both science and religion—regardless of how conjoined or separated they may be at any given point—always seem to travel through a conduit of culture, and this is particularly germane to the story of temperance in 19th- and early-20th-century America. Indeed, struggles over culture have, at times, broadened and narrowed this conduit. As Walther H. Beale explains in an article about Richard M. Weaver’s conceptualizations of culture and rhetoric, the noted mid-20th-century rhetorical theorist saw “the basic equilibrium of forces that constitutes the health of

culture” as “encapsulated in the relationship between rhetoric and dialectic” (629). In this interplay, Beale continues,

...the discursive functions of dialectic and rhetoric anticipate a host of cultural antinomies: the ratiocinative and poetic/analogical forms of human conceptualization; theoretical versus historical consciousness; things as they exist ideally, as opposed to things as they exist concretely and historically; a tendency toward rational control and order versus respect for the fullness and plurality of life as it actually exists; the pattern of abstract justice versus the pattern of the existential world; and the rationalizing versus the traditionalist elements of culture. (Beale 629)

Essentially, Beale later posits, Weaver believed that it was “the push and shove between language and experience, as their lockstep relationship, that gives linguistic and rhetorical terms resonance” (633). As the following paragraphs illuminate, this struggle between rhetoric and dialectic, fought through the language used (pledges and pronouncements, popular tropes, Biblical metaphors, etc.) and the lived experience that inspired and informed that language, permeated the history of the temperance movement in America and illuminated it against the lingering background of the Enlightenment-Era deliberation between science and religion.

2.1.1 Alcohol in America: 19th Century Temperance

Alcohol has been an inseparable part of the American story from the very beginning, with public pronouncements about its use going back to the Colonial Period. Prominent colonial minister Increase Mather espoused the prevailing view of colonial Americans when he declared that the alcoholic beverage was, when used moderately,

“a good creature of God,” and that only outright drunkenness was evil (Merrill 147). This soon began to change, however, as the above-described tug-of-war between a dialectical understanding of alcohol’s place in society and the opposing grand rhetorical thrust aimed at eradicating it vividly materialized. By 1842, a Boston newspaper heralded an interesting celebration of temperance:

“Yesterday was a day memorable in the annals of temperance,” trumpeted Boston’s Mercantile Journal on February 23, 1842. Throughout the United States, the newspaper reported, throngs gathered at “great and splendid” temperance meetings to celebrate the 110th anniversary of the birth of the father of the nation, George Washington. (Zaeske 390)

The article went on to describe how the celebrants enjoyed “a feast of reason and a flow of soul, unalloyed by the presence of that ‘which at the last biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder’” (Zaeske 390). What makes this breathless pronouncement interesting is the fact that George Washington himself frequently imbibed (though not to excess), made money by producing and selling alcohol on his own land, pursued international trade agreements that would best attune the country’s mix of alcoholic offerings, served “the best Barbados rum” at his Presidential inaugural party, and even won an earlier election to the Virginia Assembly by giving prospective voters 144 gallons of free “rum, punch, cider, wine, and beer” (Burns 9, 19-25, 70). Indubitably, the “father of our country” was no grand patriarch of temperance and certainly no father to the “total abstinence” brand of temperance preached by so many a century after his presidency.

By the early 1800s, a time when average Americans used alcohol more than at any other time in the nation's history (Mattingly 13), such contradictions were consumed by the intensely passionate zeal of the temperance proponents, and the crusade against "anti-intemperance" was becoming an organized, formidable source in American society. Within the 19th century's first few decades, the well-known Presbyterian Minister and American Temperance Society co-founder Lyman Beecher thought it necessary to radically overhaul the prevalent views of people like Mather and Washington who saw alcohol as a good thing which should be enjoyed moderately and responsibly. Instead, Beecher perceived one's first sip of alcohol as no different from being hopelessly infected with a life-destroying disease, with the only "cure" being prevention. From this point forward, the message of temperance began a hard shift toward total abstinence, and temperance reformers would no longer be satisfied with any position that advocated mere moderation (Kyvig 6). As John L. Merrill writes in "The Bible and the American Temperance Movement: Text, Context, and Pretext," this new, harder-edged alcohol-eradication effort

...accelerated in the early 1830s, gaining support at the national level in the summer of 1836 at the National Temperance...This convention, the largest temperance gathering to date, witnessed the creation of the American Temperance Union, the leaders of which, after considerable debate, decided to require of its members and auxiliary societies a pledge of "total abstinence from all intoxicating liquor." (Merrill 148)

Pledges like this were common in the many temperance societies that dotted the American landscape throughout the 19th century, but now a united, organized, national

organization was imbuing their members with a rhetorical act that made this “capital ‘T’ Total Abstinence” brand of temperance more personal.

This individual internalizing of the temperance message brings the American temperance story back to the practical/scientific side of the equation: the need for temperance was all too real and extremely personal to 19th-century women who often suffered considerably at the hands of intoxicated men. Given the fact that the men of this era tended to drink significantly more than women, their intemperance was particularly effective at exacerbating many of the inequities women already faced. Coupled with a legal structure that relegated women and women’s welfare to the discretion of their husbands or fathers, women in the 1800s were starved for an avenue which would allow them to wield their personal agency in order to remedy the ill treatment perpetuated by a society that preserved their subjugation and an illicit drug that intensified all the negatives inherent to this sad state of affairs (Mattingly 14-15). The form of agency they most often wielded was a rhetorical one, and practical, *logos*-based appeals often constituted their best vehicle. As Carol Mattingly explains in her definitive work on the subject, *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric*,

Temperance speakers consciously chose a rhetorical strategy that served their purposes when they met...opposition... [Clarina Howard] Nichols capitalized on her mistreatment to convince her audience of the need for greater rights for women, but she placed her argument within the context of abuses women suffered at the hands of intemperate men. (16)

Whereas it is certainly admirable to use one's own misfortune to benefit others as Nichols did, the carefully timed rhetorical pivot in her temperance pitch was especially inventive. In her own words, Nichols shrewdly states, "I assured my audiences that I had not come to talk to them of 'Woman's Rights,' that indeed I did not find that women had any rights in the matter, but to 'suffer and be still; to die and give no sign'...But I had come to speak of a man's rights and a woman's needs (Nichols qtd. in Mattingly 16). Nichols' discursive acumen stands as highly representative of the suffering-borne rhetorical innovation attributable to 19th-century temperance women, but even more impressive than its distinctiveness was the fact that it was indeed effective. On the surface, such a tactic would seem self-defeating: Nichols told of abuse toward women, but refused to base the crux of her argument with this *pathos*-laden strategy, opting instead to appeal to the pervasive shared value (i.e., *ethos*) that wished to preserve, in light of the mounting temperance zeal, the rights of men. However, by asking for small change and doing so in a manner that her (likely skeptical) audience was not expecting, Nichols increased her probability of success.

Paradoxical discursive strategies like the one above reflects how the sometimes irrationally fervent desire for more widespread and more stringent temperance measures often utilized very reasoned, very clever dialectical approaches. Nonetheless, the fervor itself was at times overwhelming, and this was usually generated by an equally intense need. The defining event of the 19th century in the United States gave rise to that need like nothing else and, to help meet it, inspired a revival of the Biblically-derived motivation (and corresponding rhetoric) that always stood independent from sheer practicality. Writing in the American Society of Church

History journal, Wendy J. Deichmann begins her article “The Social Gospel as a Grassroots Movement” by declaring that, after the Civil War,

American society faced extreme levels of social instability resulting not only from wartime trauma and loss, but also relocation of massive numbers of those emancipated from slavery, a rapidly accelerated pace of both industrialization and urbanization and unprecedented waves of immigration. (203)

As horrible as were the direct, immediate effects of the War and its aftermath, the indirect, lingering effects were likely just as detrimental to the national morale:

In addition to the obvious, dire need for reconstruction, the post-bellum era was characterized by wage depression, high illiteracy and unemployment rates, extensive poverty, racial discrimination, poor sanitation, and plagues of human trafficking, lynching, liquor abuse and civic corruption. These and other social crises pressed hard upon large segments of the populace, compelling the attention of many American protestants who, along with a progressive view of history, had inherited from earlier evangelical and puritan visionaries a vision of a godly nation. (Deichmann 203)

In so many ways, this vision of a godly nation was now, thanks to the fusillade of temperance activity which occurred in the earlier part of the 19th century, indissolubly blended with a vision for an alcohol-free nation. Even though the now-lionized slain President Abraham Lincoln had, some years earlier, delivered a tacit rebuke of the hysterical rhetorical environment the temperance crusaders were creating (likely indicating that a more inclusive discourse was preferable) (Zaeske 391-393), temperance fervor continued after the War unabated. In 1870, Mattingly writes, “Ohio

passed the Adair Law, which permitted wives and children of alcoholic men to bring suit against saloon keepers to recover damages” (39), and three years later, in the Ohio town of Hillsboro, temperance advocate (and wife of a former governor) Elizabeth Jane Trimble Thompson led a procession of women representing most of the town’s families to the district where most of the saloons were located. Once there, they kneeled down in the cold, prayed, and sang, repeating the event regularly until all of the Hillsboro’s 21 saloons were driven out of business by the social pressure brought to bear by the women’s tenacious spectacle (Burns 103-104). These “Women’s Crusades” sparked similar “Children’s Crusades” (Burns 107), and though they constituted a “series of brush fires, frightening in intensity but quickly extinguished,” they would soon be replaced by a “carefully orchestrated conflagration” which was established a year after the first Women’s Crusade and named the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) (Burns 111).

2.1.2 Late-Century Temperance: The WCTU and the ASL

The WCTU’s significance in America’s temperance story is nearly impossible to understate, and it manifests in myriad ways. For the present purposes, the group’s most notable significance was that it signaled a rhetorical shift in the larger temperance discourse. No longer would women, so often the most dedicated champions of temperance, define their advocacy of the cause in relation to their “female vulnerability,” but they would now argue for pro-temperance reform from a position of “women’s courage, intelligence, accomplishments, and their capacities as role models and heroines” (Mattingly 40), with one of their primary targets for educating the nation about this new brand of temperance being public schools (Burns 111). Part educational

resource, part civic organization, part political action network, part social club, part religious organization, and *all* confidence, the WCTU, steered by early leaders like Annie Wittenmyer and Francis Willard worked tirelessly to sow the seeds of a new American culture, one that simultaneously shunned alcohol and respected women, and they did this by celebrating women among their own ranks, positively associating Biblical precepts with the struggle for temperance (as a proxy for women's rights), encouraging women to maximize their opportunities for civic involvement, and, at every turn, constantly galvanizing the organization's membership into a cohesive unit that would not easily be undone by intra-organizational discord (Mattingly 40-45). They would even work with and around dominant power structures (such as pastors who controlled facilities they needed for their meetings) and the recalcitrant notions of church members who feared that new, unwanted social orders (such as those brought on by the Civil War) were somehow directly linked to temperance reform (Coker 233). As Mattingly writes, "[The WTCU] recognized the power of established religion, acknowledging and deferring to it when necessary and when it served their purposes" (47). As the societal force most responsible for supercharging the Temperance Movement, the WCTU subtly but persistently planted the seeds of a virtual societal revolution without ever appearing to be wholly revolutionary.

On the whole, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union exuded a degree of rhetorical innovation unprecedented on such a large scale at that point in American history, and the if the tension between rhetoric and dialectic had shifted firmly in favor of rhetoric, the parallel contest between science and religion was beginning to turn into less of a contest, as both empirical and spiritual appeals were, by the close of the 19th

century, frequently employed in temperance rhetoric. These appeals were fruitful, and despite some temporary setbacks in the 1880s where prohibition amendments to several state constitutions failed (Kerr 39), by the 1890s, enough of the cultural battle in favor of temperance had been won that a grand-scale effort to wage a political battle on alcohol could finally begin in earnest. The primary vehicle for this would be the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), which was begun by Congregational Minister Howard Hyde Russell in Ohio in 1893 and which spawned a national equivalent in 1895 (Burns 148). In the minds of the temperance advocates, saloons held a particularly insidious place in the milieu of alcohol distribution in American society, embodying “the poor man’s club, a place that was especially important in crowded cities” and one that offered “entertainment, socializing opportunities, and a way for the working class to build community, as many patrons were immigrants” (Peck 10). The primary victory of the Anti-Saloon League was, in the words of K. Austin Kerr in the article “Organizing for Reform: The Anti-Saloon League and Innovation in Politics,” that it “adapt[ed] the structure of the departmentalized business firm and its bureaucratic values to temperance work” as a result of “businessmen learning techniques of managing economic activities previously governed by market forces” (38). “In both its prowess and its duplicity,” Eric Burns writes in *The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol*, “the Anti-Saloon League was like one of our modern political action committees” (151). The author expounds:

It would not credit a man for the virtue or good sense of his positions on other issues if he opposed the group in its single area of concern. It would, in fact, do everything it could to end the fellow’s career; it would write letters, issue

brochures, devise slogans, plan strategies, canvass neighborhoods, poll voters, staff headquarters, stuff envelopes, and provide speakers, the league plodding through these chores with the tenacity of bulldogs and “the patience of driver ants.” (Burns 151)

The national urge for temperance was so great, the moral call backing it so crystal clear, that scorched-earth measures like this mitigated any hesitation that those working on behalf of the temperance cause might have otherwise had to consider other ethical and practical ramifications of their actions. In addition to the Anti-Saloon League’s political ferocity, in many communities, the group augmented its legislative action with direct judicial involvement, as temperance scholar James Timberlake conveys that, by 1908, the ASL had participated in 31,000 anti-alcohol court cases (Hamm 376).

These extreme (for the standards of the day) techniques were especially efficacious. According to Burns, by 1903, a third of U.S. citizens were voluntarily abstaining from alcohol, and by 1913, 46 million people—almost half the nation’s population at that time—had sworn off imbibing altogether. The group’s first major national political victory, the Webb-Kenyon Act, which made illegal the transfer of alcohol from states where alcohol was legal to states where it no longer was, was also passed in 1913 (Burns 152). Despite pressure from anti-temperance corners (and the brewing industry), the ASL’s work ultimately led to pro-temperance victories in the 1916 Congressional election that would institute the two-thirds majority needed to initiate the 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution two years later (Kerr 52). The path to a

fundamental change in America's public morality was now clear, and the motivation to proceed was unrelenting.

2.1.3 Prohibition

The Anti-Saloon League had successfully used targeted political pressure to elect a wave of pro-temperance politicians, and they did so by employing well-thought-out, business-like practices in an almost scientific manner to employ the actions their fierce rhetoric threatened. Dialectic was no longer a significant part of the equation—both sides participating in a reasoned exchange leading to a thoughtful conclusion on the subject had given way to what the Prohibition advocates saw as an understood national exigence, and their willingness to see their ardent temperance work through to its ultimate conclusion would not relent. Still, putting politicians in office was one thing and controlling what they may do in office was another. To this end, the ASL used people like Wayne Bidwell Wheeler, an Oberlin College roommate of Howard Russell and the man the ASL initially directed to network with and then, to put pressure on numerous local politicians in northern Ohio. Ultimately, Wheeler's lobbying work, amplified mightily by his networking skills and his sheer cunning, led him to be one of the most directly legislatively-influential temperance advocates of all time (Burns 155-157). According to his biographer Justin Steuart, when Wheeler was operating the ASL from his office opposite the U.S. Capitol in Washington, he

...controlled six Congresses, dictated to two Presidents of the United States, directed legislation for the most important elective state and federal offices, held the balance of power in both Republican and Democratic parties, distributed more patronage than any dozen other men, supervised a federal bureau from the

outside without official authority, and was recognized by friend and foe alike as the most masterful and powerful single individual in the United States. (qtd. in Burns 157)

Essentially, from the perspective of effective political control, Wayne Wheeler was the most powerful man in the United States at this point. Politicians in Washington were understandably afraid of the clout wielded by people like Wheeler and groups like the ASL. By 1914, pro-temperance congressman Richard Hobson had led the U.S. House of Representatives, after “ten mortal hours of speech making,” in voting for the initiation of a Prohibition amendment to the Constitution. Interestingly, Representative Hobson previously sent telegrams to all members planning to speak, asking them—“in accord with Christian principles”—to politely refrain from mentioning how then-Speaker of the House Champ Clark had embarrassed himself by trying to give a speech while drunk in Detroit several weeks earlier. The measure passed 197 to 190; well short of the two-thirds majority required for a Constitutional amendment; however, this “successful failure” put the proverbial handwriting on the wall (Okrent 71-74). Writes Daniel Okrent in *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*, “...when the Eighteenth Amendment was brought to a vote...in December 1917, [ASL operative] James Cannon and his colleagues were able to pry from the wet column nine southern and border state House Democrats who had voted against the Hobson Amendment in 1914, and they lost none going the other direction” (91). As in so many other legislative upheavals in the U.S. Congress throughout history, popular pressure had first elected as many representatives as possible who would blindly support the popular idea, and then popular pressure increased until it finally crossed the threshold where enough of the

remaining representatives as would be needed feared for their future electoral prospects to the point that they too begrudgingly supported the measure.

Popular political pressure was not the only factor in making Prohibition the law of the land. Outside circumstances also played to the temperance proponent's favor during this period. Perhaps the greatest of these involved America's involvement in World War I. After President Wilson pledged direct U.S. support to the other allied combatants in April, 1917, a domestic restriction on food production, distribution, and rationing called the Food Control Bill was passed to help supply the U.S. military in their prosecution of the overseas conflict. This law allowed the President to exercise temporary executive power to prohibit the manufacturing of alcoholic beverages, and it also put limits on how much of the wheat, rye, barley, and corn required for distillation could be set aside for domestic use. Complicating the situation was the fact that 1916 had been an extremely low-yield year for production of these crops. Anti-Saloon League head Wayne Wheeler urged President Wilson to use his discretionary power under this bill to prohibit domestic alcohol production; however, Wilson hesitated due to the tax revenue alcohol sales generated. Wheeler ultimately convinced the President that the individual federal income tax, recently established under the Sixteenth Amendment, would, in a war-time high-employment economy, result in income tax revenue more than compensating for the loss of revenue from domestic alcohol sales. Wilson still would not go as far as directly prohibiting alcohol manufacture, but he did act to further ration grains and sugar, causing many breweries to shut down due to a lack of these key ingredients. Undeterred, the ASL's legislative lobbying continued apace and by September of 1918, Congress voted to shut down all domestic breweries and

distilleries (Burns 164-166). In much the same way as the ASL had sought out and taken full advantage of the opportunity the war provided, it acted similarly with regard to the concomitant anti-German prejudice that was sweeping the nation during this period. As the U.S. Senate began to investigate the domestic pro-German civic organization the German-American Alliance, the ASL used the opportunity to influence newspapers and other opinion-makers that since many breweries were owned by families of German descent and that even the federal government was investigating stateside German groups, alcohol must, in some way, be immorally or unpatriotically tainted by this furtive relationship (Okrent 94-95).

In the end, the Eighteenth Amendment sped, “with astonishing velocity” through state-by-state ratification (many of those states already “dry” by their own legislation) (Okrent 94). Dialectic on the issue was all but dead; rhetoric on the issue (a place where science and religion peacefully and effectively co-existed during this part of the Temperance Movement) was red-hot, and the rhetorical prowess of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League was unquestionably and indelibly inscribed in the annals of rhetorical history. Temperance advocates of all stripes—progressives, evangelicals, politicians, industrialists—celebrated what many of them honestly believed was a new dawn in American history.

2.2 Historiographic context of Baptists and Baptist ideas about the public sphere in American society

In a famous 1802 letter, President Thomas Jefferson wrote, “I contemplate with solemn reverence the act of the whole American people which declared that *their* legislature should ‘make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting

the free exercise therefore,' thus building a wall of separation between Church & State" (Hamburger 183). Though President Jefferson's famous reference to a "wall of separation" may or may not have been inspired by Baptist pioneer Roger Williams' nearly identical phrase "wall of separation between the Garden of the Church and the Wildernes of the world" (Barry 79), the fact that Jefferson wrote these words in a letter to a suddenly-approachable Danbury Baptist Association which traditionally opposed him—in a political climate where his own religious beliefs had been a source of great controversy during the recent tumultuous presidential campaign—seems in hindsight as if church-state separation was, even at such an early point in American history, becoming somewhat settled (Hamburger 182-183, McDaniel 418). Indeed, generations of Americans have championed Jefferson's bold pronouncement as "an authoritative interpretation of the First Amendment's establishment clause" (Hamburger 177). However, a different view—a view probably more common at the time—casts this pronouncement as the wrong-headed admonishment by the occupant of the "bully pulpit" to those in other pulpits (the Danbury Baptist Association apparently excepted) who were doing nothing more than exercising their First Amendment right to free speech—free speech that happened to oppose Jefferson and his "wall of separation" more often than not (Hamburger 183). Although this troublesome church-state binary was actually no more settled in Jefferson's time than it would become during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it is central to the role played by the Baptist Church in the Temperance Movement. Whereas an overarching dynamic involving science and religion permeated temperance on a national scale (navigating culture and politics through the dual channels of rhetoric and dialect), the Baptist church's key role in the

present study centers around its conceptualization of its own sovereignty with respect to government. For nearly three centuries, Baptist doctrine in America included a basic precept typically referred to as “religious liberty” (McDaniel 415-417).

2.2.1 Baptist Beginnings

The story of religious liberty as a cornerstone of Baptist doctrine began in England in the latter part of the 16th century, when dissenters who were tired of King James’ political appointments of church bishops to oversee their spiritual lives left for The Netherlands to escape political reprisal. In 1611, a small group of them returned, headed by the layman Thomas Helwys, who had written a book entitled *A Short Declaration on the History of Iniquity* (Humphreys 28). When Helwys began to distribute his book in London, he was imprisoned and died within five years, essentially becoming the first Baptist martyr. Prior to his death, Helwys sent a copy of his book to King James, with an inscription that largely summarized the contents:

Hear, O king, and despise not the counsel of the poor, and let their complaints come before thee. The king is a mortal man, and not God, therefore hath no power over the immortal souls of his subjects, to make laws and ordinances for them, and to set spiritual Lords over them. If the king have authority to make spiritual Lords and laws, then he is an immortal God and not a mortal man. O king, be not seduced by deceivers to sin so against God whom thou oughtest to obey, nor against thy poor subjects who ought and will obey thee in all things with body life and goods, or else let their lives be taken from the earth. God save the king. (Humphreys 28)

No small amount of compression is present in this statement; it comprehensively details the most original version of Baptist religious liberty. A careful reading will reveal that it fully legitimizes the rightful authority of human government (“It is a fearful sin to...despise the government” Helwys wrote several years earlier), it tacitly condones (by failing to condemn, or even to comment upon) the political system in place at the time, it stipulates that governing power comes from God to rulers and that there are consequently limits on what power rulers may exercise over citizens, it divides human life into separate civic and spiritual realms (stating the government has no authority over the latter), and finally, it denounces as idolaters rulers who attempt to exercise spiritual authority over their subjects (Humphreys 29-30).

2.2.2 Baptist Ideas Influence American Culture

Several decades after Helwys’ death, Roger Williams, a pious and scholarly minister, came from England to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and was immediately offered a prominent post in the Boston church. According to John M. Barry in “God, Government, and Roger Williams’ Big Idea,” the clergyman quickly declined this offer, proclaiming that the state church’s establishment for the cause of “prevent[ing] errors in religion” was an ignoble exercise in futility. Williams asserted that, due to human imperfection, God’s law could never be interpreted flawlessly and only harm could come from the state church’s corporate effort to do so (73). Barry relates that Williams “therefore concluded that government must remove itself from anything that touched upon human beings’ relationship with God,” and that not doing so would lead to the hypocrisy of a forced worship which, Williams wrote, “stincks in God’s nostrils” (73). Williams eventually accepted a different position at a nearby church comprised of other

dissenters, but by January, 1636, the Massachusetts Bay Colony could suffer him no more, and facing arrest and deportation back to England, Williams fled into the wilderness for several months before establishing a new colony at Narragansett Bay, calling the place "Providence," as he "desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience" (Williams qtd. in Barry 74). The compact written to charter this new settlement was notable not just in the radically democratizing elements it expressed, but even more so in what it did not express:

It did not propose to build a model of God's kingdom on earth, as did Massachusetts. Nor did it even claim to advance God's will, as did the founding documents of every other European settlement in North and South America, whether English, Spanish, Portuguese or French. The compact did not even ask God's blessing. It made no mention of God at all. (Barry 75)

This established not just a central tenet of American governance and the likely inspiration for part of the United States Constitution's First Amendment, but also a founding precept of the Baptist denomination's internally contentious doctrine that guides so much of this research endeavor: the separation of church and state.

However in 1636, for Roger Williams, it merely represented a needed foundation on which to build a civic structure that would not meddle in the free practice of his faith.

Williams' Providence colony grew on this foundation, but by the early 1640s, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, its sights now set on becoming a hegemonic power in America, sent military forces to eradicate Providence. At this time, England was engaged in a civil war between the king and Parliament, with the English Puritans taking the side of the legislators. Realizing that only Parliament possessed the authority to

legitimize Providence and protect it from Massachusetts' hostile incursions, Williams sailed to England, marshaled political and popular support, and against the longest of odds, received the charter he requested in March of 1644. This unlikely turn of events thus allowed an "experiment" in democracy and religious freedom in the American colonies (Barry 77). With his success in London solidified, Williams defied convention in an even more spectacular way than ever before by publishing "The Bloody Tenet," a treatise which brazenly flew in the face of nearly everyone associated with the state church establishment. In a radical departure from centuries of religious tradition, Williams asserted that power flows not from God to the government, but from God directly to the people (Barry 77). Because of Williams' deep convictions, rhetorical acumen, and uncommon courage, religious freedom—in perhaps its purest, most unalloyed form—now had a toe-hold in colonial America.

Roger Williams' "Big Idea" turned out to be persistently influential. By the year 1727, Connecticut and Massachusetts had excused dissenters from paying taxes to the state church provided they helped fund their own denominations, and by the dawn of the American Revolution, the old ecclesiastical system was rapidly deteriorating (Maclear 43). Many scholars mark the pre-Revolutionary years of The Enlightenment as the catalyst for etching the essence of religious freedom into the bedrock of the American experiment; however, others point to the Second Great Awakening as the true force behind this accomplishment (McConnell 1342). Regardless of which factor provided the greatest motivation, the last decades of the 18th century witnessed an explicative review of religious liberty's potential effects in this new American society. Entertaining an idea of how religion's new role might work vis-à-vis the U.S.

government, a Reverend Eliphalet Gilet opined, “All denominations are permitted to choose their religion...but no one, to the detriment of the other, established or preferred by law...The laws of our State require people to worship God: but it is left to their own choice whether they do it through the mediation of Christ, or the Virgin Mary, or without any mediation at all.” (Maclear 47) Thus, a role for religion (or at least, the role for an opinion on religion or spirituality) in society was assured and sanctioned officially; however, specifics were far from fleshed out.

2.2.3 Conflict: The First Amendment and Religion’s Place in American Society

Unsurprisingly, gray areas like this become troublesome. Declarations such as Reverend Gilet’s highlights one of the key conflicts that plagued political and religious (particularly Baptist) views on religious liberty during this period: To what degree does the state respect one’s personal religious choices or lack thereof? To the extent that this was ever successfully negotiated, the addendum of the Bill of Rights to the U.S. Constitution did offer to the dissenters the First Amendment’s “establishment clause.” Though historians disagree as to the story’s veracity, legend holds that prominent Baptist evangelist John Leland visited James Madison in the summer of 1788, promising the Constitutional author and then-struggling congressional candidate broad Baptist support at the polls (to overcome the obstacle of a gerrymandered district) on the condition that Madison, if elected, would lead an effort to amend the Constitution to include an express protection for churches. Madison publically supported such a measure, received Baptist support, won the election, and spent the majority of his first term in the U.S. House on drafting the Bill of Rights and paving the way for its eventual passage (McConnell 1337).

In many ways, however, passage of the First Amendment merely *started* the debate. One popular view, espoused most eloquently by early-20th-century Baptist theologian and one-time Southern Baptist Theological Seminary president E.Y. Mullins, contends that the government has no business co-mingling with religion in any way whatsoever. In his article about Mullins, Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty Executive Director J. Brent Walker cites Mullins' call to "protect against religious oppression [for all]" as not just "freedom of religion for all, but freedom *from* religion, as well" (Walker 79). Much of the conceptual framework for Mullins' idea of religious liberty involves the notion of "soul competency," or the ability, naturally infused into all individuals, to be able to relate directly to God without need for any intermediary. Mullins saw soul competency as completely incompatible with anything other than the total separation of church and state (Stratton 84), as did his contemporary, First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas pastor George W. Truett, who proclaimed that no authority, "whether civil or ecclesiastical," has any right to meddle in one's religion (Holcomb 74).

An opposing view, though, is offered by anti-separationist scholar Phillip Hamburger. In "Against Separation," Hamburger illuminates the fact that the framers of the Constitution and Bill of Rights were petitioned by dissenters merely to prevent the establishment of an official state church, and not so that the government would be devoid of religious dealings in total (179). Reinforcing this perspective is Winnifred F. Sullivan's article "Judging Religion," which uses the example of a 1990s U.S. District Court case on religious freedom. Detailing the judges' ruminations on the matter, Sullivan concludes, "What is needed is a theory of religion that can take account of these difficulties and provide a language about religion that will serve lawyers and

judges” (454). In other words, in a nation where civil society depends on the rule of law, government will sometimes *have* to make policy determinations based on its knowledge of and interaction with religion and religious people. International human rights expert Heiner Bielefeldt declares much the same, providing an unusual but insightful example of this perspective when he alludes to a recent national census in the Czech Republic which saw more than 15,000 people list their religion as “Star Wars,” suggesting that without some official government involvement with “a more or less fixed canon of recognized religions...religion or belief could, in the long run, become lost in trivialities” (39).

The preceding scholarship, while mindful of a wide spectrum of philosophical and theological thought on the subject, is nonetheless an assimilation of many broad thoughts, voices, and views. Alternatively, the *Christian Index*, the official Georgia Baptist Convention newspaper that serves as one of this study’s two main primary sources (which will be analyzed in Chapter 3), represents a smattering of narrowly-focused (but helpful) data points on the foundational aspect of religious liberty in Baptist thought, especially as it occurs near the beginning of the late-19th-century temperance push. Often highly-positioned and occasionally narrowly-focused (even for its audience of Georgia Baptists), the *Index* is notable in two ways. First, it is and has almost always been the outward face and unofficial public record of the Georgia Baptist Convention. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it attaches to its historical heritage a mantle of responsibility—responsibility not just to Biblical principles or journalistic integrity, but to furthering the discourse on issues important to its readers.

An *Index* article entitled “The Bible in the Schools” that appeared in the January 6, 1876 issue reports that the “Common Council” (city council) in Philadelphia had passed a resolution requiring the public school board there to explain why certain schools within the city had discontinued Bible readings. Commenting on this situation, the unattributed *Index* piece states:

It is not necessary for the good of our system of public school education, that the Bible should be embodied in the curriculum as a text book of theological controversy, or to favor the peculiar views of various creeds, but, as Christians, and for the maintenance of the principles of Christianity, it is necessary that its Divine teachings should be recognized as of paramount importance of that system, and its educational programme...No education has any practical and permanent value for this life or the life to come, unless it has the Bible for its foundation...This can be accomplished without any leanings to this or the other creed, or attempts at proselytism in favor of opposing church polities. (*Christian Index* 55.1, 2)

The tenor of this article is noteworthy in that it speaks with authority, and although language appropriate to bold pronouncements was common in the *Index* at this time, this selection’s tone is remarkable in that no such hard line was drawn. Instead, this Baptist author seems to “straddle the fence” on the issue a bit, dealing resolutely with the question of the Bible’s importance in all education, but simultaneously saying that it should neither be included as an official establishment within the educational system nor used for proselytizing.

Somewhat less ambiguous is another article about schools which appears in the February 10, 1876 issue of the *Christian Index*. Many historians charge that in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, Baptist and other Protestant manifestations of religious liberty often served as a thinly veiled attempt to discriminate against, for reasons of nativism and theology, the Roman Catholic Church and its accompanying desire to receive public funding for Catholic schools (Hamburger 183). Lending credence to this assertion, an *Index* article excerpting Boston's *Watchman* newspaper makes a seemingly firmer commitment to the idea that at least one religious influence had no business serving the government's public education needs (nor taking the government's money for doing so):

...we have no faith in the church of Rome. We know her to be the enemy of public schools, and we doubt not that she will demolish them if she ever obtains political power sufficient for the purpose. Our only safety is in keeping power off her hands. In vain politicians may tell us there is no danger, that Rome has changed, that she no longer has a proscriptive spirit. Facts prove it to be otherwise. (*Christian Index* 55.6, 1)

To substantiate this Protestant complaint, the *Watchman* goes on to quote a Catholic publication called the *Tablet*. The contrast in views of religious liberty is stark:

They have as Protestants no authority in religion, and count as nothing in the church of God. They have from God no right of propogandism, and religious liberty is in no sense violated when the national authority, whether Catholic or Pagan, closes their mouths and their places of holding forth. (*Christian Index* 55.6, 1)

For their part, the Baptist's Catholic counterparts do seem to play the antagonistic role the Baptists so regularly assail. No evidence is present in either publication to speak to the question of whether or not "two wrongs make a right," but it is likely that the Baptist's close association of freedom of speech with freedom of worship makes this Catholic paper's pronouncement especially odious.

On the same page of this edition, the *Index* excerpts a *Chronicle and Examiner* story which comments upon remarks recently made by the New Jersey Governor on that state's position of Bibles in public schools. Here, a more definite, if still nuanced, message comes through (its mere appearance signifying the *Index's* likely assent):

Free schools are safeguards of the state and nation, and should be kept completely divorced from sectarian control or influence. [...] These [teachings], it is true, may and do assume different shapes in men's minds, in considering their relations to God, thereby inducing such religious sects and associations for worship as may be deemed necessary...but the great undisputed, underlying doctrines of duty to God and man and individual virtue, which make good citizens, are in the Bible, and to exclude it from being read in schools is a retrogression toward heathenism.

The *Chronicle and Examiner* continues, focusing here more on the more practical legal aspects of the issue:

The simple reading of the Bible in schools is not the teaching of sectarian or peculiar religious beliefs simply because it is used to establish religious creeds and forms...Our law is perfectly just. Its words are, "that it shall not be lawful for any teacher, trustee or trustees, to introduce into or have performed in any

school receiving its proportion of the public money, any religious services, ceremony or forms whatsoever, except reading the Bible and repeating the Lord's prayer." This gives the Bible a fair chance in its influence upon civil character and duty to the Creator, while an exclusion of it is a terrible stride in making the State godless. (*Christian Index* 55.6, 1)

Whereas the concept of a negotiated discourse regarding church-state separation appears on its surface to be a relatively new and novel strategy (Sullivan 459), the 137-year-old passage above seems to offer just such a compromise. To wit, it cites the Bible and the Lord's Prayer as universal factors in the vast majority of publically-professed faiths at the time, stipulating that if these two fundamental, trans-Christian elements are allowed to remain in public schools, then no other cause for argument will exist and all doctrinal differences will be respected. Obviously, this excerpt falls short of the strict, E.Y. Mullins brand of separation, which implored Baptists to "stand for the freedom of the atheist, agnostic, and materialist in his religious or irreligious convictions" some thirty years later (Walker 79), but neither does it support anti-separationist Baptist pastor W.A. Criswell's 1984 assertion that the firm division of governing and ecclesiastical authorities was the "figment of some infidel's imagination" (McDaniel 424).

Differing somewhat from the previous examples, an article entitled "The Press" in the February 3, 1876 edition shifts the issue of religious liberty away from either the church or the state and suggests that the individual citizen—a substantially-empowered stakeholder in a democratic government—might have a significant role to play in the matter. Early on, the article spotlights the considerable cultural power the American

press had attained by the late 19th-century, touting its crucial responsibility to inform, enlighten, and perpetuate societal morality. The piece remains silent, though, on exactly what goal the government might play in regulating and promoting this morality, referencing only obliquely the notion that a separation exists between religious and non-religious media outlets: “It may, therefore, be concluded that public morals are safely lodged in the keeping of the press, secular as well as religious” (*Christian Index* 55.5, 3). What the *Index* is certainly not silent on in this short item is the responsibility that citizens, aware of the press and responsive to the information it imparts, might bring to bear in the directing of their government’s power: “No influence has done half so much in pointing out the value in popular freedom, or in urging the citizens to the faithful discharge of the duties due to the governments, State and National” (*Christian Index* 55.5, 3).

The above exhortation brings to light yet another perspective on the separation debate, one that certainly enhances the chance to stabilize the meaning of religious liberty. Hinted at in the preceding example and implied in the earlier discussion of colonial American dissenters (Hamburger 181), this view effectively skirts allegations of establishmentarianism on the part of the church by leveraging the power of liberal democracy—if the power belongs to the people, why not appeal directly to them? Popular support of Biblical-morality-infused legislation would seem to carry a larger and more intimidating “stick” with which to coerce government leaders than would direct appeals from the clergy. Moreover, McDaniel cites this burning desire for revitalized, Biblically-based public morality as a possible inspiration behind the late-20th century Criswell- and Falwell-led turning away from traditional, politically-inactive conceptions of

religious liberty (424). In the March 2, 1876 *Christian Index*, a story chronicling the legislative death of Georgia's state lottery sought to underscore the political importance that strategically-aligned public opinion had exerted on this contentious political issue. "To the credit of our people," the *Index* editorialist wrote, "be it said, that the final appeal of the iniquitous lottery law received their almost unanimous endorsement" (*Christian Index* 55.9, 5). This moment of clarity on the subject was short-lived, however, as inconsistency creeps back in when a subsequent section of the article disparages the lottery supporters' argument that money from the contest provide funding for charity. Echoing both critical inconsistency, anti-Catholic bias, and a desire to have what sounds like an "on-demand" version of religious liberty, the article concludes that "The plea of 'charity,'...is Jesuitical in spirit, and attempts to inculcate the sophistry that 'the end justifies the means,' and reminds us of the historical truism... 'O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!' (*Christian Index* 55.9, 5).

Hyperbole aside, even the most ardent adherents of separation make some practical exceptions. Even E.Y. Mullins' relatively rigid 20th century separatism allowed for the involvement of individual Christians in public policy debates (Walker 80), and his position on tax exemption for churches was very much the opposite of the total separation he typically advocated. In fact, he concurred with the government's decision that the advancement of the public good by church ministries warrants the recompense of tax exemption, a situation which many (to this day) see as a considerable financial "gift" from the state to the church. In what Walker calls only "a tepid embrace of tax exemption," Mullins nonetheless conceded that "[u]p to the present it cannot be said that time has demonstrated the unwisdom of exempting religious property from taxation"

(Mullins qtd. in Walker 80). To some ears, this statement might sound as if Mullins was saying that Baptists would not have a problem with government involvement in their churches, so long as this involvement entailed a financial benefit with no strings attached.

2.2.4 Baptist Inconsistencies: Sound Doctrines but Unstable Stances

This underscores the obvious fact that Baptists in the U.S., and especially those in Georgia during the period covered by this temperance-related research, have wavered in their definitions of and convictions about religious liberty, sometimes to the point where it becomes difficult to see consistent adherence to Baptist founder Roger Williams' famous words, which cautioned, "[W]hen they have opened a gap in the hedge or wall of Separation between the Garden of the Church and the Wildernes of the world, God hathe ever broke down the wall it selfe, removed the Candlestick, and made his Garden a Wildernesse." Barry states this more succinctly (if less eloquently) by saying, "when one mixes religion and politics, one gets politics" (78). And when one mixes religion and politics with philosophy, the challenges Baptist face with regard to navigating the public sphere on issues of morality (like temperance) multiply. If, as Bielefeldt offers, "human rights are held by all human beings by virtue of their inherent dignity" (a concept he refers to as "normative universalism"), then limiting the tolerance for practices which might be otherwise permissible (or even preferable) by some religions, such as legalized gambling to fund charities or the ability for a restaurant to serve wine with Sunday dinner, the traditional language of religious liberty is detrimentally saturated with the impression that this freedom is "confined to a predefined list of legitimate religious options," a prejudicial result that would run counter

to normative universalism and thus infringe upon basic human rights (Bielefeldt 36). In some part, the debate over the correct interpretation of religious liberty is very much a contest between competing rights, and such struggles often challenge philosophical purity and intellectual consistency.

Still, the desire to keep the government's strings from being attached to the church has always stoked the fire that powers the Baptist's venerable, high-pressure steam engine of independence from outside authority. A similarly-resilient fire has smoldered under a swirling cauldron of Baptist ideas and opinions about what this religious liberty actually means and how it should be exercised. George W. Truett's portrayal of church-state unions as "incomparable apostasy" certainly doesn't permeate modern Baptist language like it did early in the 20th century (Holcomb 74); however, nothing in the *Christian Index* suggests that Georgia Baptists have really ever had any problems whatsoever with such unions, provided it was the Baptist church which was influencing the state and not the other way around.

Even though this inquiry into Baptist involvement in the temperance movement is unable to clearly define a stable Baptist conceptualization of "religious liberty" as a practical element, an evolutionary arc in their thinking on the matter does seem to present itself. According to Maclear, "conservative Protestantism adjusted to the American situation and yet escaped engulfment by an alien philosophy...Its concept of a free Christian nation blending religious loyalty and good citizenship won a place beside other American interpretations of church-state relations expressed in political liberalism and sectarian Protestantism" (59). The fires that heat the Baptist's doctrinal underpinnings are indeed a powerful force, even though they sometimes burn

unconstrained, driven by winds of short-sightedness, inconsistency, and lack of reason. But, as Michael McConnell profoundly states in “Reclaiming the Secular and the Religious: The Primacy of Religious Autonomy,” it was certainly not a “restrained rationality” that “inspire[d] men and women to unseat the king, defeat the powers of slavery, and march to Selma” (1343). As the primary-source analysis that follows in Chapter 3 will illuminate, the Baptist church, for all its faults, was, is, and will likely continue to be an influential factor in American society, inseparably intertwined with a uniquely American view of how government interacts with religion, and this was particularly the case with regard to temperance.

3 CONFLICTS AND INCONSISTENCY: A LATENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN PRACTICAL EXPEDIENCY AND DOCTRINAL LOYALTY

Baptist rhetoric does appear to have changed after the effective end of the Temperance Movement; however, this research endeavor cannot definitely declare the failure of Prohibition and any lessons learned as positively causal. Generative queries like the research questions that initiated this study often serve mainly to guide the investigations more than to craft specific blanks which must be positively filled, and such was the case here. Probing the data did prove fruitful for explaining how the Baptist polemicists in question rhetorically navigated the exigencies that comprised the excerpt-selection criteria: the beginning of Georgia Baptist legislative efforts to advocate for state-wide prohibition in 1881, Georgia Baptist's thoughts and feelings on the aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction, Southern Baptist's ideas about temperance a decade after the repeal of national Prohibition, and Southern Baptist's reaction to the U.S. entry into World War II. Additionally, grouping and examining the polemics selected for analysis by the two analytical criteria of war and temperance which emerged from the original four selection categories proved similarly effective.

Though this study's data does leave room for the suggestion that an evidence-based case could be made arguing that the pointed rhetoric used by Baptists in the South during the Temperance Movement was replaced after Prohibition's repeal by more thoughtful discursive strategies, this is not one of the stronger connections the findings seem to sustain. The more general theme which does brightly materialize spotlights conflict and inconsistency in the collective Baptist voice, both of which intertwined in often unpredictable ways as the paradigm through which late-19th- and

early-20th-century Baptist rhetors viewed their imperfect world was, by the parsing of the archival materials, partially reassembled.

Interrogating the chosen polemics from the *Christian Index* newspaper and the *Baptist Hour* radio broadcast transcripts proved, as many archival investigations do, to be straightforward in some ways and fairly difficult in others. The larger parameters of the study and the overarching methodological decisions they suggested were nonetheless easy to abide: Reviewing the material clearly illustrated that it made sense to limit the *Christian Index* selections to the first six months of 1881 due to a) the Georgia Baptist Convention's April, 1881 vote to lobby the Georgia State Legislature for a "Local Option" county/municipality prohibition law, b) the fact that many of the polemics meeting the established selection criteria were, after a certain point, fairly derivative of one another, and c) because the newspaper's coverage was, in tone and content, deeply and obviously affected (in ways that distractingly shifted editorial decision-making) by the assassination of the President of the United States which occurred in early July of that year. Similarly, limiting scrutiny of the *Baptist Hour* to only 1942 was also well-advised given that the main issue through which this study scrutinizes polemics of moral imperative—temperance—was not mentioned in any relevant, significant way in any of the three years' worth of available broadcast transcripts published after 1942.

In *Doing Discourse Analysis*, Wood and Kroger offer that "discourse analysis requires the ability to examine discourse creatively in all of its multifarious aspects and an open-mindedness to entertain multiple possibilities" (91). Likely, this notion is doubly true in archival endeavors like this one. Connections in these studies are often

ethereal, serendipitous, or even inspired, and rarely do numbers and mathematical statistics tell much of a story. In this case, however, those numbers are worth mentioning as a context-establishing preamble to the richer points of analysis which follow.

3.1 Findings, Analysis, and Discussion

Examining both groups of primary sources yielded a total of 53 excerpts representing polemics meaningful to the study. Of these:

- 36 (67.92%) came from the 1881 editions of the *Christian Index* newspaper
- 17 (32.08%) came from the 1942 *Baptist Hour* radio broadcasts

Interestingly, and almost certainly coincidentally, this ratio represents a nearly equal frequency:

- the *Christian Index* sample covers 6 months
- the *Baptist Hour* sample covers 3 months

With regard to the “coding” criteria of temperance and war (the Civil War for the *Christian Index* and World War II for the *Baptist Hour*), of the 53 total excerpts from both sources:

- 29 (54.72%) were primarily about temperance
- 24 (45.28%) were mainly about war

Though these percentages are relatively close, once broken out by source, a major difference comes to light:

- 26 (72.22%) of the *Christian Index* excerpts chiefly involved temperance
- 10 (27.78%) *Christian Index* excerpts chiefly focused on war

- 3 (17.65%) of the *Baptist Hour* excerpts principally involved temperance
- 14 (82.35%)—the vast majority of the *Baptist Hour* excerpts—primarily spotlighted war

Occasionally, an excerpt would blur the lines between the two coding criteria; however, in every case where that happened, one criteria's subject always showed clear preeminence over the other. In such cases, the excerpt was coded with both "primary" and "secondary" monikers, with columns for both in the analysis spreadsheet. Out of the 53 total excerpts examined by this study, nine (16.98%) met this criteria, and all but one of those nine were from the *Christian Index*.

A number of "big story" findings come to light as they were echoed again and again in numerous excerpts from the primary source material. Many of these seem obvious, but it is significant that the data actually supported what would otherwise be mere assumptions. They include:

- Temperance was a major issue in the *Christian Index*, and almost every 1881 issue the study examined contained at least one item of substantial word length about it
- Temperance was barely an issue at all in the 1942 *Baptist Hour* sermon broadcasts, with a temperance-related exhortation comprising a significant part of just one of these polemics
- Lingering resentment over the aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction simmered just beneath the surface of the 1881 *Christian Index*'s coverage of other issues, and it regularly came to the surface in ways that seemed to tacitly exhibit their contention that the war was wrong and its results ineffective

- Late-Nineteenth Century Baptists in Georgia were wary of Northern and Midwestern temperance advocates because those advocates associated temperance with social equality among the races, and this palpable fear on the part of the Georgia Baptists demonstrated just how deeply racism was interwoven into the Baptist psyche in the South and why it was reflected in numerous 1881 *Christian Index* excerpts
- The *Baptist Hour* polemicists in 1942 were intimately aware of and spoke extensively about the degree of extreme societal fear and anxiety resulting from the attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' sudden entry into World War II

In addition to the above, I gradually perceived a larger, even more overriding discovery, and this one warrants some discussion of context in order to describe. It represents, quite fluidly, a combination of expectations about audience, as well as rhetor's conceptualizations of faith and its proper place in the individual and in society. More than anything else, it speaks to a possible inability of words to describe. Speaking of St. Augustine, James K. A. Smith, in his article "Between Predication and Silence: Augustine on How (Not) to Speak of God," describes how "there is a deep and persistent concern regarding the insufficiency of language" (66). He references the great theologian's own words:

"Have I said anything, solemnly uttered anything that is worthy of God? On the contrary, all I feel I have done is to wish to say something; but if I have said anything, it is not what I wished to say." (qtd. in J. Smith 66)

Couching these as the words of Augustine the theologian, Smith then views a similar sample from another perspective:

But we also hear the same concern from Augustine the preacher and pastor: “Stretch your minds, please,” he asks his congregation, “help my poverty of language” (Sermon 119.3). Thus this “battle of words” (DC 1.6.6) does not attend only theological or philosophical discourse, but even the nontheoretical discourse of the preacher – the predicator. For both, it is difficult to “find the words” which could properly or adequately express their referent. (J. Smith 66)

Given the above, it would seem that not only are concepts which are rooted in the Divine negotiated collaboratively (by the polemicist and her or his audience), but that these concepts also represent a strident contest of language—both language that represents ideas and language that must be practicable and applicable. Smith continues:

Here, we must note, it is a matter of how one speaks, a matter of speaking properly. And as Derrida observes, “The ‘how’ always conceals a ‘why’, and the ‘it is necessary’ (‘il faut’) bears the multiple meanings of ‘should’, ‘ought’ and ‘must’.” The imperative to speak “well”, to speak “properly”, is at root an ethical imperative, even a categorical imperative. (J. Smith 66)

Such linguistic ethical responsibility hearkens back to this study’s primary criteria for selecting polemics to analyze: moral imperative. This is defined in Section 1.2 as, “something that should intentionally be done or not done based on the rhetor’s perceived shared morality with the audience; an acknowledged exhortation to do what is right and to avoid doing what is wrong based on the widely understood knowledge of the rhetor’s moral positioning.”

Therefore, the final major finding of this study, the one that language may indeed be inadequate to fully express, centers around a perceptible shift that is actually probably comprised of several micro-shifts: micro-shifts in prevailing ideas as to how scripture should be interpreted, in how those scriptural interpretations were made to affect doctrine, in how doctrines were discussed and proclaimed, and in how audiences and the predominant cultural as a whole were perceived by rhetors. Within this milieu, the *Christian Index* 1881 excerpts cluster around a binary view of both audience and faith. From this perspective, their polemics paint people and institutions as clearly “in” or “out” of God’s will and either believing/obeying or disbelieving/disobeying. Here, the *Christian Index* editors presumably serve as quick-reaction arbiters of Biblical interpretation, allowing themselves free reign to effortlessly determine/pronounce such things. The 1942 *Baptist Hour* speakers, however, fall into a place within this milieu that is somewhat more permissive, more modern, more hopeful, and more compassionate/forgiving. Their paradigm, while doctrinally almost no different from that of their late-18th-century predecessors, made fewer and different assumptions about their audience and about faith in general. Perhaps due to the newness of the broadcast medium, these rhetors appeared to recognize a range of possible morality within the individuals who could potentially be members of their audience. They seemed to recognize both the world and human psychology and cognition as more complex, and while they certainly didn’t doubt the Bible’s sufficiency to reach their audience, they did offer a softer, more thoughtful approach to their audience, possibly due to the shared trauma that was so immediately and commonly felt in the U.S. after the events of December, 1941.

3.1.1 *Temperance-Related*

While these “big stories” simply reinforce much of what could already have been assumed about the materials in question, the smaller stories within them, as evidenced by the primary source text itself, tell a more nuanced tale. The first grouping of these falls under the analytic category for temperance. Though the 1881 issues of the *Christian Index* offer far more samples associated with this criteria, the three lone excerpts found in the 1942 Baptist Hour radio broadcast transcripts provide a pithy summary of Baptist feelings on the issue and a telling indicator of how 61 years and the rise and fall of a powerful national movement affected Baptist rhetorical positioning with respect to it.

All three of these *Baptist Hour* excerpts appear in a three-sermon series preached by Theodore F. Adams and broadcast during mid-to-late January, 1942. The excerpt that captures the traditional Baptist position on alcohol use most directly and most succinctly comes from the January 25th, 1942 broadcast. In a sermon entitled, “The Home of Tomorrow,” Adams proclaims:

Gambling, extravagance, immorality, drunkenness—all these and other evils threaten the family. The home has no greater enemy than liquor in all its forms. As Mrs. Grace Sloan Overton rightly says, “You can repeal the 18th Amendment, but you can’t repeal the chemistry of alcohol.” It is as ruinous as ever. Keep it out of your life and out of your home. [...] To be sure, not all who drink end as drunkards, but you do not know when you start to tuse alcohol, or introduce it into your home, who the victims will be or the price you and your loved ones eventually may have to pay. (*Baptist Hour* 01/25/1942, 31)

Obviously seeking to reaffirm the Baptist's reflexive position on alcohol as stalwart and wholly unchanged by the repeal of national Prohibition, this sample also trumpets the fact that a more logical, practical reason exists for complete abstinence—the uncontrollable danger to one's home and family that alcohol could cause. More than any excerpt on temperance from either source, this one asserts practical benefit over spiritual obedience. Still, to some extent, this appeal acknowledges other viewpoints by conceding that not all who drink are ruined; however, it's stark, strident, and unrelenting tone suggests that the Baptists have less reason to engage the issue dialectically now that the temperance cause has receded so far from their previous victories. Stated in an alternative manner, the long national temperance debate was over and their side had lost. Therefore, little incentive probably existed for clever temperance-related rhetorical appeals.

Even if, by 1942, appeals no longer needed to be particularly innovative, they certainly did not have to be as overt as the above, as evidenced by an anecdote imparted by Adams elsewhere in the same sermon. Recalling, with arguable intent, a favorite rhetorical strategy of his Baptist forerunners who staffed the editorial desk of the *Christian Index* six decades prior, *Baptist Hour* polemicist Adams alluded to a story from the Civil War:

On the day long ago at Gettysburg, when Pickett's men were waiting word from Longstreet to begin the fatal charge, the gallant Picket had written a letter to his fiancée in Richmond. When the word was finally given to move forward, he wrote in pencil on the envelope, "If old Peter's nod means death—goodbye, and God bless you, little one." As he rode to his place, a fellow officer said, "Pickett,

take a drink with me. In an hour you'll be in hell or glory." Pickett refused and said, "I promised the little girl who is waiting and praying for me down in Virginia that I would keep fresh upon my lips until we should meet again, the breath of the violets she gave me when we parted. Whatever my fate, I shall try to do my duty like a man, and I hope that, by that little girl's prayer, I shall today reach glory or glory." Such men, such girls, and such ideals are our hope for better homes tomorrow. (*Baptist Hour* 01/25/1942, 31-32)

The *ethos* appeal here is demonstrated simply: The lionized Civil War hero Pickett modeled temperance in the face of death, eschewing alcohol as an impediment to the purity required for the attainment of glory, be that glory on earth or in heaven. That the story ties in its effect with the primacy of the home in this argument serves to strengthen the appeal. Essentially, Adams capably appropriated the rhetorical credibility of tradition—the best, most honorable aspects of Southern tradition—to help make his subtle, passing temperance argument stronger and to simultaneously make his argument more relevant in the shadow of the quickly-accelerating U.S. involvement in World War II. Seemingly, the success of this appropriation would hinge on the audience's cultural literacy given the Civil War reference (and the audience probably met this standard of cultural literacy); however, once again the historical aspect relating to Southern culture goes further by invoking the culture of the Southern *home* as the bedrock of good and heroic deeds preservative of this culture.

The final excerpt from the *Baptist Hour* is also found in one of Theodore Adams's sermons in this series, but rather than being demonstrative of a temperance-related

rhetorical appeal, it serves as a fascinating outlier that is unique among the data. In “The Miracle of Home,” broadcast on January 11th, 1942, Adams declares:

In our efforts to make our homes all that they ought to be, how much we need the help of the Master Teacher. Long ago he visited a home where there was much embarrassment in serving a wedding feast. There, in Cana of Galilee, Christ performed his first miracle. That day his mother spoke words that might well be heeded in every home in the land. “Do what he tells you,” she said. O, that those words might come home to everyone of us this morning. (*Baptist Hour* 01/11/1942, 12)

Almost certainly, this was a deliberate attempt to not mention alcohol. While deriving a lesson from the act of Christ's first miracle as conveyed in John Chapter 2, Adams completely neglects to mention the nature of that miracle, which was turning water into wine. Given Baptist doctrine regarding alcohol and the likely digression a mention of the role/effects it has within the Christian home, Adams may have seen it as unhelpfully distracting and possibly indicative of inconsistency to mention that Christ turned water into wine in this Biblical passage.

Though the relative dearth of temperance-related samples emanating from the *Baptist Hour* transcripts may call into question the study's authority to draw conclusions on this topic, the numerous and varied excerpts harvested from the *Christian Index* redeem the effort completely. The June 30, 1881 edition of the *Christian Index* features a letter written to the editors by reader J.J. Davis which perfectly captures the paper's editorial view of alcohol and what it means to society:

We have a dark, deep, bitter sea at our own doors, whose approach is dangerous, and whose contact is death! 'Tis the Dead Sea of intemperance! How dark, how bitter its waters! How poisonous its draughts! Its waters not only lave the shores of our own beautiful State, but of our whole country. Our citizens are thirsty,—yes, are burning with intense heat, and nothing seems to satisfy or slake their thirsts but fiery draughts, which allure but to destroy. (*Christian Index* 59.26, 2)

Davis continues, noting the *Christian Index* editors' (and the Georgia Baptist Convention's) recent endorsement of the Local Option legislation as the best strategy of minimizing intemperance in the state, and respectfully recommends a stronger tactic given the pressing nature of the problem:

We seem to have no power to resist its influence. I am wedded to no special plan to abate this evil, but it must be abated. Will local option do it? It has signally failed in the county where the writer lives. It is evaded. Nothing less, in my opinion, than prohibition will help the cause. We cannot hope to remove evil entirely—we know this is improbable—but we must remove the temptation as far away as possible. God help the people to devise the best means to abate this great evil. Don't let us be afraid to adopt strong measures. We are working for God and our country—for humanity and posterity. (*Christian Index* 59.26, 2)

This letter writer's rhetorical appeal is essentially to frame the problem as so extreme and urgent that most any method of effectively dealing with it should be employed. Though the *Christian Index* editors advocated for Local Option rather than total prohibition, it is possible that they included this letter to demonstrate the urgency

and popular sentiment behind temperance measures, even if their own rhetorical positioning served to attenuate that push somewhat for practical benefit. Perhaps this item's insertion constituted a token alternative (in other words, a more extreme) rhetorical overture, established so that the editors could more believably fabricate a dialectic of sorts within the arc of the paper's temperance coverage which would allow them to advance their own incremental anti-alcohol legislative agenda based on the appearance of a thoughtful, explicative discourse which they could say had occurred in their pages. Tellingly, this letter places the *Christian Index's* own *ethos*, and possibly the *ethos* of the Georgia Baptists as a whole, directly in front of a revealing light: Its very presence gives voice to the idea that conventional Baptist views of church-state separation had been superseded by the urgent nature of the intemperance dilemma, as evidenced by the fact that the letter—which was printed without comment from the editors—makes no mention at all of the traditional Baptist view of separation nor of the recently-published (also without comment) Georgia Baptist Convention annual meeting statement of past-GBC president D.E. Butler, protesting the group's decision to directly lobby the State Legislature for the Local Option law (*Christian Index* 59.22, 2). The cause of temperance, it seems, was so awash with urgency that remembering fundamental Baptist cornerstones like this often became very difficult.

Not difficult at all was using the effects of intemperance to demonstrate the need for alcohol's abatement. Many times, *pathos*-based appeals proffered virulent blanket condemnations of alcohol abuse by invoking the most sympathetic members of 19th-century society, women and children, and citing the very real threat to them posed by drunken males. As the March 3rd, 1881 edition of the *Christian Index* explains:

The sorrow of a wife with a drunken husband or a mother with a drunken son, are as near the realization of hell as can be reached, in this world at least. The shame, the indignation, the sorry, the sense of disgrace for herself and children, the poverty—and not unfrequently the beggary—the fear and the fact of violence, the lingering life-long struggle and despair of countless women with drunken husbands, are enough to make all the women curse liquor, and engage unitedly to expose it everywhere as the worst enemy of the sex. (*Christian Index* 59.9, 5)

Sharp, descriptive language and an assumption that the readership is familiar with women and children in such circumstances appear to constitute an attempt on the *Christian Index* editors' part to relate the polemic more personally to its readers. By republishing this item, which originally appeared in an upper-Midwestern (Grand Rapids, Michigan) newspaper called *Agricultural World*, it is also possible that the *Christian Index* editors were incorporating the types of reliable appeals closely linked to many of the mainstream temperance organizations (like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union) which commonly and effectively utilized emotion/compassion-based "humanitarian" appeals.

Though toying with various types of rhetoric appeared to be a definite area of interest for the *Christian Index* editors, they never backed away from nor even softened their condemnation of alcohol, nor did they spend much time explicating the doctrine-based intransigence fueling their contention that alcohol needed, at some point, to be completely removed from society once and for all. After excerpting a passage from a northern Christian newspaper which posited that applications of Biblical morality should necessarily change with time (and that institutions like slavery and the alcohol trade

would not hold up to this), the *Christian Index* editors lambast this notion without addressing the tacit conflict that puts their own desire for temperance in opposition to a (Northern) notion of Biblical morality which associates temperance with racial equality. They state, defiantly, on February 3rd, 1861:

For our part, we hope and pray that the world will never move a hair's breadth beyond what Christ tolerated. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. It would seem from the above that "the knowledge and faith of the people" in these days of progress would "to some extent modify," and in fact reform the practice of our Lord. We are not in favor of the reform. We are nearly nineteen hundred years behind the times, and there, by the grace of God, we hope to remain. (*Christian Index* 59.5, 5)

Tempering this idea with the more compassionate notion that, regardless of rigid Biblical imperatives, faith in God, if it is sincere, offers a respite from the perils of life and the consequences of human imperfection, the following week the *Christian Index* editors relay a news story of a man in Iowa whose wife died and who decided to spend his entire worth on whiskey for two years before killing himself, which he did several weeks prior to this item's publication. The *Index* article admonishes that the lack of a Biblical perspective was responsible for the man following the natural, destructive path his personality's predilections paved for him:

Such inconsolable grief is natural to persons of sensitive feelings, whose whole hopes are confined to this life. But if the man had turned his thoughts to "the continuing city" which is to come (Heb. 13:14), his hope would have revived under his great bereavement. (*Christian Index* 59.6, 1)

Here the binary becomes blunt—one is either in God’s perfect will and, as either a cause or a result, has sufficient faith, or one is not and does not. This primitive duality suggests that relative happiness and contentment result from being “in,” while the lack thereof is a direct result of being “out.” Though a theological analysis of this construct is beyond the scope of the present inquiry, it does suggest that the Baptist rhetors were perhaps constrained rhetorically by their conceptualization of (i.e., assumptions about) numerous dogmatic principles. Nevertheless, even if they were unwilling to reflect upon and thoughtfully unpack the dogma they reflexively believed was already well-sorted, they still showed some degree of rhetorical innovation as it applied to their immediate circumstances and the issues on which they regularly pontificated. This comes to light in some of the nuances inherent to their advocacy of various practical strategies for advancing the temperance crusade.

One such practical point involves an implied distinction between “good” and “bad” alcohol. Interestingly, the Georgia Baptists did not think all alcohol was immoral or injurious, and the most obvious exception they made here involved the use of wine in the administration of the common Christian religious rite known as Communion or the Lord’s Supper. Illustrative of this is the following short polemic from the March 3rd, 1881 *Christian Index*. It notes a story from the *Zion’s Advocate* newspaper which rebuked pro-temperance women in one church for substituting communion wine for water. The *Christian Index* editors, in their comments under the quoted excerpt, disbelieve the *Advocate’s* middle ground which posited that a person previously reformed from intemperance should abstain from taking the communion wine. Stridently opposing this notion, the *Christian Index* editors proclaim to their readers that, in this sort of case,

following the commands of Christ supersedes the rote avoidance of all alcohol. They proclaim:

And if any one should pretend that he had fallen into intemperance in this way, we should rather believe that his pretensions were false, than that Christ's ordinance is wrong. Furthermore, if we knew that there would be such a fall every day in the year, we should still remember that Christ said "This do," and we should do it, and let the consequences take care of them. Obedience is ours; results are God's. (*Christian Index* 59.9, 1)

Echoing the previously mentioned primacy of faith in the Baptist binary of "God vs. the sinful world," this declaration is interesting in that it discounts rhetoric entirely, possibly even implying a limited usefulness for rhetoric that might occur at some point within the temperance debate. Along these lines, this excerpt could almost be construed as more dialectic in nature in that the facts are presented as if they speak—finally and definitively—for themselves, leading the *Christian Index* editors to offer a judgement call (and an accompanying exhortation) based on their narrow interpretive lens, which they derive from a cut-and-dried application of the Biblical precepts they directly quote in the passage. Interestingly, they double down on this position in the March 31st edition, when they report on the rumor of a Kansas prohibition law that, if passed, would outlaw even Communion wine:

We think this [Kansas law banning all alcohol preparations, including religious and culinary, as reported by one of their fellow Christian newspapers] must be a mistake; but we have this to say, that if such should ever be the law in Georgia, we shall deliberately violet it in the celebration of the Lord's supper, and take our

chances for the penitentiary; but there is no danger of any such folly here.

(*Christian Index* 59.13, 1).

Again, this excerpt defines the limits of the Georgia Baptist's temperance message by decrying any legislative pro-temperance action that interferes with Baptist conceptions of religious liberty—quite ironic, given the loose adherence to traditional Baptist church-state separation doctrine. Essentially, this rumor represented a stark opportunity to reassert the primacy of religious liberty over most any other issue that might otherwise link the church and the government, and by mentioning it and commenting on it the way they did, the *Christian Index* editors seized that opportunity.

Whereas the two previous samples appear to survey the national dialectic on the parameters of the temperance cause/message, most of the data analyzed in this study found that Baptist polemicists used what they saw of this multifaceted temperance discourse as a scaffold, hanging rhetorical appeals on whatever levels and platforms that scaffold might, at any given opportunity, appear to provide. In some cases, this involved pronouncements relating to alcohol and the individual, as this excerpt from a January 6th, 1881 *Christian Index* article entitled and about “Brotherly Reproof” elucidates:

“In the evening, some of the men addicted to drinking, got together to celebrate their success in arresting the fire, by getting drunk... Mr. Thompson, a few days ago the courthouse in our town caught on fire...instead of you going home after so signal of providence...you went to the dram shop and got drunk! You brought disgrace upon yourself, your family, and your church, and insulted the God who had protected your house from the devouring element!” (*Christian Index* 59.1, 1)

Somewhat surprisingly, this quote is used in the *Index* story not just to demonstrate the condemnation into which a drunkard should ostensibly fall, but to actually *reject* the tactic of overt reproof the quoted pastor employed (i.e., calling the wayward member out publically). Still, by directly quoting (or rather, likely paraphrasing) the pastor's embarrassing rhetorical act, the editors are giving voice to a certain brand of condemnation, one they think the act of drunkenness should, without the intercession of grace (even grace they softly recommend), certainly warrant.

Overt condemnations were more easily accepted by Baptist rhetors when applied on a larger scale, however. In an article republished from a New York paper which shows "surprising" statistics that the North has more places to procure alcohol than the South, the *Christian Index* afterword cites the irony given the "moral lectures" the South regularly receives from the North, declaring, "We do not know how reliable these statistics are; we publish them as we find them; but if they are anything near the truth it would seem that the 'moral lectures' which we daily receive from toward the pole, ought to drift the other way" (*Christian Index* 59.1, 1). Not only does this excerpt foreshadow the oft-mentioned air of resentment left over from the Civil War and Reconstruction, but it may also assume that readers are, like the *Christian Index* editors, aware and equally tired of the North's perception of the South as immoral/intemperate. Whether or not this is an affirmation of the South's temperance efforts or a subtle motivator the editors slipped in to motivate the readership toward further temperance efforts is unknowable; however, it does signify that Baptists in the South were keenly aware of their place in the greater national movement toward alcohol policy reform.

The *Christian Index* editors were, in fact, so aware of how their temperance work compared with that of other efforts around the country that their pronouncements of what should be done about intemperance in Georgia continued to blur the lines of how they perceived church-state separation. In reporting on drunken Christmas revelry in Savannah and Athens, the *Christian Index* editors describe it as shameful and declare that the churches and community could and should stop it. Thus, this January 6th, 1881 excerpt constitutes not just a strong rhetorical impetus to curb alcohol use, but a direct recommendation that the “community” and “municipal authorities” should “prevent” it:

Suffice it to say, the conduct on the streets was disgraceful. The municipal authorities of Athens owe it to the decent portion of the community that such scenes should never be enacted here again – either wholly or in part. It is no use to say such things cannot be prevent. They can be prevented as well on one day as another. There is no more need to giving license to drunken men and rowdies on Christmas day than on any other day. (*Christian Index* 59.1, 5)

A coming together of church and state, along with a recognition of competing temperance efforts around the nation, fueled several items this study interrogated. In the *Christian Index*'s March 3rd, 1881 issue, the editors included a story from a northern paper (the *United Presbyterian*) in order to underscore to their readers the importance of the temperance cause to children, and more likely, to demonstrate how Georgia already having such a law, and now New Jersey considering it, would represent an effective step in an incremental strategy to reach total prohibition nationally. Their commentary following the article reads:

For a long time past we have had such a law [to ensure that games for children are illegal in establishments where alcohol is sold] in Georgia, and we happen to know that our grand juries take pains to see that it is enforced. If any citizen knows of an instance where the law is violated, it is his duty to report the case to the Solicitor-general. We are glad to see the Northern States copying some, at least, of our wholesome legislation. (*Christian Index* 59.9, 1)

In keeping with the usual animosity toward the North, the excerpt's final sentence likely serves as a tacit rebuttal to what was seen as the North's constant berating of the South as an immoderate, immoral wasteland.

Rumination about even more state-sanctioned temperance action accompanied several other temperance-related news items in the *Christian Index* during the first three months of 1881. One was the news of an Oregon proposal to license all adults wishing to purchase alcohol. Probably, the *Christian Index* editors included this April 7th, 1881 news item to offer evidence to the *Christian Index* readers that legislative "solutions" to intemperance could be efficacious:

This [Oregon law requiring that a five-dollar license be purchased by all wishing to buy alcohol] would save the boys at least; and we think that not a great many men would be willing to be known as licensed tipplers; travelers passing through the State would scarcely be willing to pay \$5 for a license, and a beautiful diminuendo would mark the receipts of the bar keeper. (*Christian Index* 59.14, 4)

After decrying proposals for blanket prohibition, the CI editors opine that the evils of intemperance could best be mitigated by pursuing local options to ban or regulate, and in cases where regulation is chosen, the process should be made onerous via

requirements for all sellers to have street-facing dispensaries with unobscured glass windows so that everyone inside could be clearly seen. This "proposal" is more of a polemic to champion the shaming of drinkers, but it also serves as the 1880's equivalent of a "think piece" of sorts, proposing a comprehensive policy remedy that would be, in theory, immediately practicable:

To these restrictions [proposals requiring unobscured glass windows for all places that sell alcohol] no reasonable objection could be raised. The sale and purchase of liquor by the drink is either honorable or dishonorable. If it is honorable, no one ought to object to its being done where it can be seen; if it is dishonorable it ought not to be done at all. (*Christian Index* 59.14, 4)

In its longer form, this carefully reasoned argument (replete with anticipatory defenses) demonstrates that the *Christian Index* editors had no problem with calling for the use of government to cultivate public morality. Rhetorically, it denotes an impressive (given some of the comparable arguments the *Index* published during this time) degree of sophistication in that it presupposes the readers' basic sense of logic and right and wrong vis-à-vis the human characteristic which sees consistency as virtuous.

The logic of consistency might be a useful rhetorical tactic, and even one that distracts from the long-standing Baptist cornerstone of church-state separation, but when conflated with worldly ideas antithetical to faith, Baptist polemicists during this period had no qualms about blindly choosing that which was, in their view, spiritually correct. As one letter to the *Christian Index* editors, published on May 26th, 1881, read,

The abolition of the whisky traffic would certainly be a great achievement; and while Baptists do not believe that they, as a denomination, should be politically blended with the State, yet I maintain that it is their duty and privilege as citizens to do all that they can to effect such an important end. We should not be content to sit still and say, "do as you please," but by all means we as good citizens, should co-operate with the advocates of so praiseworthy an enterprise. Let it be known and felt all over this State as far as THE INDEX goes, and as far as Baptist influence extends, that we are an ANTI WHISKEY PEOPLE. Fraternally,
H.T. Smith. Swainsboro, Ga., May 8th, 1881. (*Christian Index* 59.21, 2)

This letter writer, whose missive was shrewdly included by the editors to help reinforce what was, for them, a fine line of distinction between simply being a good citizen and working as an agent of the church to influence the government, urges *Christian Index* readers—as fellow Baptists—to remember that they are also *Georgia citizens*, a clever rhetorical move which persuades the audience to temporarily see themselves as a *different audience*, illustrating the concept of "second persona" that 20th-century rhetorical theorist Edwin Black would identify nearly a century later (Keith and Lundberg 14). This polemic urges readers to work as a political force outside the church in light of the Georgia Baptist's decision to lobby the state legislature only for the Local Option law, and it thereby represents dialectic in action: given that the Georgia Baptists favored more measured legislative actions (i.e., the Local Option alternative over total statewide prohibition) hypothetically due to their traditional denominational tenet of church-state separation, this rhetor therefore switches to a previously-established rhetorical tactic as a springboard to continue the discourse by

recommending a different path toward the same destination. Impressively, he does not waste time debating what should be the degree of separation between the church and the state, preferring instead to seek a way "around" this proverbial "wall." In so doing, he pivots from counting on *Christian Index* reader's *religious* literacy to counting on their *civic* literacy.

Rhetorical inventiveness like this aside, while the *Christian Index* may have publically championed *logos* and intellectual consistency in early 1881, the paper's editorial positions occasionally carved out nuances and exceptions to the point of almost seeming inconsistent (or at least obtuse). Republishing an item from a Northern paper describing how a benefactor provided free ice water in New York during the summer to keep people on the street from entering saloons, the *Christian Index* editors castigate the use of ice water as they believed it to be detrimental to health, but barely mentioned in their admonition is the idea that citizens working to do things—even wrong things—for the temperance cause is a net societal gain and a value to be emulated. This brief, admittedly mild reprimand by the editors, appearing in the June 6th, 1881 issue, instructs that, "[c]ool water is good; ice cold water, especially in large quantities, is injurious to man and beast... Still, it was a kind hearted man who suggested the idea and gave it effect" (*Christian Index* 59.24, 1). Probably such a reproof was not aimed at fostering a meaningful dialectic in the temperance-related discourse taking place in the *Index's* pages during this time, but perhaps the editors felt the debate could benefit from the interjection of more facts. Possibly, they assumed a lack of health literacy on the part of their readers and hoped this contribution to that knowledge would be a helpful supplement to the moral literacy (i.e., the responsibility to promote temperance) they

assumed—by not directly expressing a pro-temperance message—their readers already possessed.

A final trend that seemed to permeate the temperance-related polemics in the early 1881 issues of the *Christian Index* presents another interesting paradox—it simultaneously upholds as exemplary the temperance work done by advocates outside the South, yet sometimes associates these outside temperance agents and their efforts with either weakening enthusiasm for the cause or unhelpful and undesirable side effects. In the latter case, these effects seem to intersect with the larger pattern of lingering resentment about the War. Quoting the great English Baptist Charles Spurgeon, the *Christian Index* editors include another newspaper's excerpt to co-opt this popular theologian's *ethos* in helping to continue galvanizing the *Christian Index* readership to the temperance cause and to keep them active in its prosecution. The excerpt, featured in the June 23rd, 1881 edition, reads:

“I abstain myself from alcoholic drink in every form,” said Spurgeon, in a recent discourse on the miracle at Cana of Galilee, “and others would be wise to do the same.” And then [in light of statistics that show the moral societal degradation attributable to alcohol], [Spurgeon’s] emphasis ought to be felt in a peculiar degree in the house of God; for (as Dr. John Hall says,) “Rumshops make murders, and apathetic Christians make rumshops.” (*Christian Index* 59.25, 4)

The final quote by Dr. Hall about apathetic Christians being responsible for rumshops could be seen as a criticism leveled at Christians for having abrogated their responsibility to take part in political processes affecting the morality of society. It does seem questionable, given the brevity of the quote by Spurgeon, that this item would not

have appeared without the second man's quote (which conveniently urged political action). Maybe Spurgeon was merely an attention-getter here—a popular name the writers of the original piece, and later, the *Christian Index* editors, could usefully co-opt to lend additional legitimacy to their incitements. Regardless, by invoking the name of Spurgeon, the editors seem to assume that the *Index* readership was well-versed on current Baptist luminaries as well as on the major trends within the temperance debate. The same could be said for the invocation of another nationally popular name, this one just as well-known but likely far more controversial in the South, that of Woman's Christian Temperance Union president Francis Willard. Following an article about the success of Ms. Willard's pro-temperance tour throughout the South the following year, the *Christian Index* editors comment on June 16th, 1881:

We are glad to state, and the friends of temperance will rejoice to hear, that Miss Willard hopes to follow up the good work already done, by another tour next fall. She will find a hearty welcome, and the earnest assistance of all good men and women. (*Christian Index* 59.24, 5)

It would make sense to view this item, which was written in a terrifically gracious tone, as being included to impart the idea that temperance was a true "big tent" that everyone could and should get behind for the betterment of all. As if by osmosis, the *Christian Index* editors seem to subsume Willard's sophisticated rhetoric here as a helpful part of the dialectical discourse between those promoting temperance and equality, and those promoting only temperance. To an extent, this seems like a "level-set" that is meant to count on a certain degree of temperance literacy as a moral cause and as a social and political movement on the part of the *Christian Index* readers, as

well as to augment their literacy on the issue by illuminating how the issue of equality could and should be, at least for the time being, side-stepped for the greater good.

Perplexingly, however, the very temperance advocates that Francis Willard typifies are excoriated by the *Christian Index* editors in the April 7th, 1881 issue. Responding to a North Carolina ballot initiative for statewide prohibition and one North Carolina paper's lament that outside temperance campaigners could undermine the effort with their unrelenting stridency, the *Christian Index* editors advance the idea that Southerners are not at all the uneducable barbarians unwelcoming to outside temperance missionaries those in the North purportedly believe them to be, but that it is the outsiders' own smug nature that causes this problems:

We hope that the people of North Carolina will carry out their own wishes regardless of anything that may be said or done by the imported Orators or Female Temperance Lecturers. But the remark of the Recorder corresponds with our own observation, that all the missionaries that have ever come to the South from other parts of the country have done more harm than good. ... There are many whose ministrations would be both acceptable and profitable. The trouble is that men of this kind do not come here. (*Christian Index* 59.14, 4)

Notable here is the mention of gender. In the early 1880s, a great deal of the national temperance efforts were led by and temperance-related successes credited to women (Mattingly, 168). By contrasting the “men of this kind” who “do not come here” with the “Female Temperance Lecturers” who do, the *Christian Index* editors paint these Northern (typically, upper-Midwestern) temperance missionaries with just the type of

broad, misogynistic brush which they likely perceive many of their readers would appreciate. The condemnation continues:

Those who do come, so far as we have seen them, are to say the least extremists if not fanatics; they are ill-balanced men, who take one-sided views of things, and who if we do not agree with them in all that they say, imagine us to be miserable barbarians; and because they belong to the side that was stronger in war they walk with the step of conquerors, and seem to think that if we do not submit to their dictation on all subjects, we not only sin against God, but are disloyal to the government; and they so report us, and this irritates our neighbors, and they in turn say things to irritate us, whereupon we feel less kindly toward the missionaries than before, and they then make worse reports than before, and thus matters go on indefinitely. (*Christian Index* 59.14, 4)

On the surface, this statement is an analysis of a dysfunctional dialectic, but it also embodies a lament that it need not be dysfunctional and could, with better interlocutors on the outsider's side, be profitable. This is ironic, as the *Christian Index* editors, speaking, no doubt, for most Baptists in Georgia, essentially disagree with the outsiders only on the degree to which the government should try to foment morality via legislation and about which forms of morality or which definitions of morality it should concern itself. Possibly, this is an attempt to try and apprise *Christian Index* readers of the larger picture of the troublesome dynamic they may have only sensed or seen parts of in action.

The excerpt above, like the one immediately below, seems to connect the Northern roots of the temperance movement to the issue of race, and specifically, to

that of the social equality of races. In doing so, it also provides a helpful segue from the patterns related to temperance in the archival materials examined in this study to the patterns related to war. From the April 28th, 1881 issue of the *Christian Index*:

We have nothing to say for or against slavery, for that issue is decidedly dead; but we mention as a matter of historic fact, that when the negroes were slaves very few of them were drunkards; indeed, we never knew or heard of even one. [...] Freedom has its perils, and, according to the above testimony, there was in slavery at least one redeeming feature; it kept the negroes sober. [...] We agree with our negro brother, and sympathize with those of his people who have made such a bad exchange of masters. (*Christian Index* 59.17, 1)

In excerpting the report from a Northern paper, the *Christian Index* editors discuss the rampant problem of alcoholism amongst freedmen, and tacitly suggest that institutions of social order naturally promote morality. Along these lines, they seem to reckon, since slavery is no longer available to keep African Americans away from alcohol, at least Local Option laws could help this needed cause. Unmistakably, between these disturbing lines are found the echo of a lament for the previous social order that the institution of slavery maintained, and while from a rhetorical perspective this constitutes one of the more rudimentary appeals the editors employed, its subtle undertones may well have been effective on *Christian Index* readers who subscribed to the same perspective. As a sad historical footnote, Francis Willard herself echoed this belief in an 1890 newspaper interview, an unfortunate rhetorical misstep (likely calculated to placate her Atlanta audience at the time) which haunted her credibility

amongst the larger national temperance community for a number of years thereafter (Mattingly 76-78).

3.1.2 War-Related

The “coding” criteria of war, like that of temperance, also illuminated a range of issues that make up the “smaller stories” this research is fortunate enough to convey. The ratio of war-to-temperance coverage between the two archival collections, though not as out of balance as it was with the temperance criteria, tilts decidedly to one side, though this time it is the opposite side, with the 1942 *Baptist Hour* radio broadcasts being virtually saturated with references to and polemics based on America’s entry into the Second World War. Though far less as a percentage than what was found in the *Baptist Hour* transcripts, the analytic criteria of war was nonetheless prominent in the 1881 issues of the *Christian Index* newspaper, albeit for different reasons. Whereas the *Baptist Hour* primarily concerned itself with the present conflict, the *Christian Index* dealt with latent feelings of bitterness and resentment as its producers and readers had just a few years earlier emerged from the tumultuous aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction. If a trend emerges from these “small stories,” it is a continuum that moves from hopelessness to hope, both in content and in rhetorical posture. Scrutinizing the *Christian Index* excerpts first and then moving on to the *Baptist Hour* samples will facilitate the tracing of this noteworthy arc.

The very ugly side of the Georgia Baptist’s resentment about the War can be found in many places within the January through June issues of the 1881 *Christian Index* volume. One such instance occurs in the February 24th edition and takes the form of the following rant:

The South has been charged with scantiness of fortitude. Let us turn back a leaf. When the conquerors at war had taken away the weapons of the Southern soldiers and bound them by an oath to follow peace, then the squaws—the politicians shunning the fight, but ever ready to torture prisoners—were turned loose upon the South. How they invented new instruments of insult, how they overthrew the whole fabric of social and political life, how the African from the mud of the rice field was ordered to put his foot on the neck of scholars and statesmen, how Judas at home and Barrabas from abroad joined hands and became the fiduciaries of the public purse and the protectors of private rights, how the fair works of civilization in the South seem to sink, while the ooze and monsters of the deep rose over it—are not all these things written in the shameful chronical of that period? [...] We do not think it worthwhile for a Southern man to be ashamed of his people, nor of the facts of history. [...] Let us defend Truth. It's a Christian duty. (Christian Index 59.8, 4)

Delivered as an impassioned defense of what the *Christian Index* editors seem to construe as the North's perpetual blanket indictment of the South as a moral and commercial wasteland, this excerpt from a contemporary newspaper was reprinted in its entirety. The comment from the *Christian Index* editors which typically followed such items was conspicuous by its absence, suggesting that this polemic's inclusion in the issue was aimed at reminding the readers of their version of the facts about the War and Reconstruction, calling upon them to stand by these facts as an affirmative defense to the charges the editors felt were being unfairly leveled against them. Perhaps some readers had forgotten the official "talking points" (the South's version of the facts)

required for rebutting these arguments or maybe this was just a lesson to future generations on this version of the facts in an attempt to sustain these Southern attitudes and beliefs. Regardless, it is highly unlikely that the rhetorical posture exhibited by a piece like this would foster any sort of desire for a constructive dialectic, either between the *Christian Index* and other newspapers of the day, or among its readers and their Northern counterparts.

Also dismissive (by either intent or practical effect) of meaningful dialogue was an article in the following week's edition entitled "Mixed Races," which displayed the *Christian Index* editors' (and likely most Georgia Baptist's) unabashed, unapologetic racism toward African Americans and disdain for talk of social integration:

And yet it is one of the marvels of the age, that the heaviest odium that ever rested upon any people now rests upon the white citizens of these Southern States, because they recoil from that "social equality," so called, with their former servants of an inferior race, which would result in amalgamation. [...] We can well afford to await our vindication, for when it comes, it will leave nothing to be desired. It was the boast of the Ancian family at Rome, in the fifth century of the Christian era, that its members had descended unblemished from the Camili, the Manlii, and the Fabii of the Republic. Nor will it be less honorable for us to preserve, through this terrible crisis, our blood from "an indiscriminate paternity that corrupts without renovating the sources of national life. (*Christian Index* 59.9, 1)

Despite the fact that federal troops were withdrawn from the South several years prior, the *Christian Index* editors decry the new social order as if Reconstruction was still

in effect by direct threat of force. They offer that the only remedy was to stand back and see how badly race mixing would turn out, and they seem to encourage their readers to adopt this smug outlook, as well. This rhetorical appeal, propagated via a fallacy-ridden syllogism, counts on the lived experience of (white) *Index* readers to reinforce their racist beliefs that race mixing and social equality can only lead to a weakened nation.

Several weeks earlier, the *Christian Index* took a less overtly racist tone, but seemed instead to decry policy-driven equality as a practical impediment to true integration. Speaking of recent pronouncements on race by an African American Senator from Alabama, the *Index* editors write on February 17th, 1881,

This demand [by Senator Bruce, to leave social relations to organically evolve and simply to be treated equally before the law] of the negro is just, and is disputed by none. But there are those who go farther, and who are trying to force on the two races, relations which neither of them desires. These are few in number, but there are enough of them to disturb the peace of a whole nation. Some of these Ransy Sniffles are not far from the spot where these lines are written. We should be glad if the negro Senator would give them a lecture.

(*Christian Index* 59.7, 1)

This excerpt, which speaks to the South's acceptance of legal equality of African Americans provided that social separation of races, as an institution, would not be effectively challenged, represents slightly more of a dialectical thrust in that it accepts the premise of legal equality and merely questions the sincerity of pervasive African American entreaties which asks for equal recognition solely within the legal realm. Possibly, it also conflates the prevailing social order's status quo of "separate but equal"

with the societal role of the church, in how the church promotes and sustains that social order, and how that social order might help situate the church in society. The “Missions” page of the *Index* always featured news and touted the help that the Georgia Baptist Convention regularly rendered to its black member churches; however, passages like this and the ones above it make clear that the Georgia Baptist Convention’s interest in helping these African American congregations was fueled not as much by shared humanity as by the persistent antebellum paradigm of paternalism which Baptists in Georgia, including the *Christian Index* editors, were just not yet prepared to leave behind.

Despite the attitudes about race, social order, the place of the church, and the aftereffects of the Civil War and Reconstruction, some degree of cordiality and even a faint desire for reconciliation at times shines through in these *Index* samples. In a January 6th, 1881 article entitled “Suppose,” the editors extend plausible deniability to an implicit olive branch they offer by camouflaging it with the strawman fallacy of third-party blame:

The fury of the fanatics will die of its own excesses as in the case of the witch-killers; the fire of the war-spirits (who never saw a battle-field) will burn out after a while; the theorists will get on other hobbies; the politicians will exhaust their stock in trade; the professional liars will negotiate with other purchasers; and then if it should be to the interest of the Northern and Southern peoples to think well of each other; no evidence at all will be necessary. (*Christian Index* 59.4, 1)

This editorial comment comes after a lengthy excerpt of a Boston newspaper's commentary lamenting the pervasive old attitudes of the South and how, if only they

would embrace modernity, the union would be stronger. Shown above, the *Index's* rebuttal questions the Boston author's motives but shares some of his sentiments, supposing that politicians pander to the lower ideals on each side and thus keep old bad attitudes on each side from subsiding as quickly as they otherwise would. Even though this indictment does function as a strawman for them to hide behind—as neither the *Christian Index* editors nor, most likely, their readers appear ready to accept responsibility for their obstinate bigotry—a more dialectically-inclined posture nonetheless results by the Index editors' exhibition of what appears to be genuine empathy and shared objectives (for greater understanding).

Emerging slowly but surely, this pattern of warming again shows up in an excerpt from the January 27th, 1881 issue of the *Christian Index*:

[B]ut there are wise and good people North of us whose good opinion we do court, but who, from various causes, have been led to do us great injustice, and in so doing, they also do themselves injustice. It would be a blessed thing for all parties if the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth was known and accepted of all. (59.4, 4)

While the first part of this sample speaks to the latent, lingering resentment the *Index* editors believe the Northern newspapers are fostering by continually questioning the South's supposed manipulation of census data for greater representation after the War, the latter half quietly echoes a sentiment of unification, and this duality marks another (smaller) trend: In many of the instances where brighter future possibilities are mentioned, the mention is predicated on some sort of retributive attitude being brought

forth either expressly or implicitly elsewhere in the sample. The June 23rd, 1881 edition showcases this troubling occurrence:

Yet the world is shedding tears over the “treatment” of the “colored people” at the “South.” In the days of slavery, now happily gone, they were better cared for than any other people of their class in the world; and now they are in better condition in proportion to the amount of work they do than any class of laborers of whom we have any knowledge; such, at least, is our opinion. (*Christian Index* 59.25, 1)

In this excerpt, which responds to an article in another paper about the plight of the laboring classes in Europe and how their deplorable, impoverished living conditions led to mass emigration, the *Christian Index* editors use the opportunity to defend the South's oft-defamed reputation as mistreating African Americans, both in the days of slavery and after, equating their treatment relative to the work they do with some of the finest in the world. Though the editors are purportedly happy that the days of slavery are now behind them, the humanity and quality of life of their African American neighbors is still contingent upon the utility they provide (“in proportion to the amount of work they do”). It is not out of the question that the commentary here constitutes an exhortation which, implicit in its defense of the Southern treatment of African Americans, is possibly a challenge to the current state of dialectical discourse on the matter occurring external to and exclusionary of Southern voices. If this is the case, it is doubtful that any of the Northern newspapers that so frequently criticized the South would seriously accept such a critique, and a large part of this might have to do with the Southern frame of reference which they would most certainly lack. Not lacking this

frame of reference, however, would have been the *Christian Index* readership, and the *Index* editors likely counted upon their social literacy—their attitudes about African Americans in the South as they existed before and after the War—when crafting these comments.

With all the anger, resentment, and political and rhetorical posturing found in the paper during this six month period 136 years ago, it is easy to forget that the *Christian Index* was and is, first and foremost, a *religious* periodical. Reminding the reader of that, *Christian Index* editor-in-chief Henry H. Tucker penned an article in the June 16th, 1881 issue entitled “The Savior of the Country.” In a passage from this article that gets back to faith and its role in society, Tucker offers:

Just after the war, there was a short period during which, in Georgia, there was practically no government of any kind whatever. The Confederate Government had ceased to exist, the State Government was in a condition of syncope...the United States government was represented by no officials, the Confederate army had disbanded, the Federal army had no power...and the greater part of the State was in a condition of absolute anarchy. Enforcement of law, except as the people chose to enforce it, was impossible... (*Christian Index* 59.24, 4)

Rounding a corner to exude a contrasting tone, however, Tucker continues by saying:

Yet, as a matter of fact, there was comparatively little lawlessness... The people had been brought up for generations past, under the influence of the Gospel of Christ, and this had so moulded their character and habits, that the restraints of municipal law were not necessary to keep them for the time being, and in the main, and as a whole, in a fair condition of social order. (*Christian Index* 59.24, 4)

Offering an alternative to Northern paper's traditional perspectives on the immediate Post-War period in the South, Tucker describes how the Christianity-imbued culture sustained society throughout a period of complete governmental absence, illustrating (and exhorting) by example the importance of strongly and deeply ingraining Biblical values into society at all levels going forward. It may be that Tucker was attempting to replace what he saw as the typical rhetoric of the North, which was predicated on what he and most other Georgia Baptists saw as the unfair and untrue trope that the South was lawless and wild after the cessation of direct military action. His account offers an alternative basis for future rhetorical efforts on the subject, but more remarkable is that the ultimate separation of church and state is illustrated here—the church survived without any kind of state, as did the society as a whole. The church stood when the government had fallen, and lots of people in the South (those who, like him, had lived through it) witnessed this and made it part of their personal history, and part of their socio-cultural literacy. While Tucker rightly or wrongly presumes that his readers are used to hearing the same "Northern" version of events after the War that he was and, like him, wanted someone to speak on the alternative, he was undoubtedly onto something when he realized that the *Index* reader's historical literacy was useful to him for sowing his message about the importance of a culture imbued with Christian values.

The final waypoint along what seems like it could constitute a gradual march to redemption for Georgia Baptist attitudes resulting from the Civil War comes from the January 20th, 1881 issue of the *Christian Index*. Once again, its tone conveys an attitude of righteous indignation, but the words themselves combine faith and, possibly,

hope for the future. In reprinting and commenting upon a Northern paper's article on the dearth of education in South Carolina, the *Index* editors use an anecdote to echo a "why-haven't-you-cared-before" attitude, speaking to the lingering resentment the South holds toward the North since the War ended. Note, however, that if read neutrally and lacking this context, the excerpt would sound quite different:

One thing we are glad of, and that is that when we repent of our evil ways and abandon them, a merciful God will not upbraid us with the past. What a comfort that is to us bruised reeds! (*Christian Index* 59.3, 1)

On the surface, this sample makes it sound as if the Georgia Baptist's intractable attitudes stand in the way of any meaningful dialectic which could move discourse on unification forward. It also assumes, probably quite safely, that *Christian Index* readers have read and seen enough of this Northern attitude to be attuned to the somewhat subtle inference the editors make in condemning the original article. Underneath this sarcasm, however, is something different—a tenet of Christian faith that, though heavily obscured by politics, still causes these words to ring true in the most literal sense: forgiveness. Whether the editors realized it or not, they were exposing the blueprints for reconciliation which were hidden under their noses the entire time.

Even though the term "war" was used to describe an analytic criteria common to both the 1881 issues of the *Christian Index* and the 1942 radio broadcasts of the *Baptist Hour* sermons, the word, its application, and its numerous and varied resonances meant something markedly different to the World War II-era audience. From polemics casting the warring factions as Biblical analogs representing universal good and evil to pleas for a "Christian peace" which viewed the conflict and the expected Allied victory as a grand

opportunity for large-scale evangelism, the sermons broadcast during the *Baptist Hour* radio program during its 1942 January-to-March season all were tinged with omnipresent reassurances, frequent reminders of the power of prayer and faith, and a general human compassion and spirit of national unity generally missing in the 1881 editions of the *Christian Index*.

This is not to say that some of the *Baptist Hour* polemics were not pointed. Speaking during the March 1st, 1942 broadcast, U.S. Senator Josh Lee, in his message on “Christian Citizenship,” exhorted,

The pagan outrages of the Nazi regime are a challenge to every drop of red Christian blood in the world. Christian people everywhere should be rallying their forces to oppose the anti-Christian paganism of the Axis. Christian men and women of America, if Hitler is able to spread the Nazi curse over the world there will be no room for Christianity—no room for any religion but the state. Hitler has boasted that he would replace the Christian cross with the Nazi swastika and that people would turn from the worship of the blood of Jesus to the worship of the blood of the German race. This challenge to everything we hold dear should kindle a fire in the heart of every Christian and put Christianity on the march against the pagan forces of the Axis. (*Baptist Hour* 03/01/1942, 84)

This alarmist rhetoric might fall flat today, as modern audiences are well accustomed to voluminous hyperbole in marketing and political messages. But in 1942, a mere month after several thousand American soldiers, sailors, and Marines had suddenly and horrifically lost their lives in a surprise attack that many could never have previously fathomed, these words, coming from a United State Senator, likely carried

considerable weight. To an evangelical Christian audience in the South, this message was probably even more hard-hitting, as Lee directly associated the current conflict with the eternal battle between Christianity and its absence (paganism). These stark terms work to create a rhetorical “warrant,” a helpful 20th-century rhetorical concept defined by its originator Stephen E. Toulmin as the “general, hypothetical statements that can act as bridges, and authorise the sort of step to which [a] particular argument commits us” (91). The warrant here, conjured by the blatant terminology Lee employed, was just the thing a Baptist audience in the South in 1942 would already automatically believe—that a constant war between good and evil was always afoot and that God’s people would sometimes be called to play an integral part in this contest. Accepting the “claim” and the “data” (to use Toulmin’s terminology) because of the “warrant,” would likely cause most *Baptist Hour* listeners to heed the call (voiced by Lee and others) to whatever action might have been most useful to the war effort (Toulmin 90-91).

Not all of Senator Lee’s *Baptist Hour* polemic was painted with such glaring rhetorical colors. Employing a bit of *pathos*, he warns,

Surely, today, as the last pulsing hope of freedom has been crushed out of poor France by the ruthless heel of the dictator, she must be saddened even more to know that she contributed to her own downfall by surrendering those spiritual fortresses of faith. (*Baptist Hour* 03/01/1942, 87)

Here, the Senator partially blames France's quick fall to the Nazis on the lack of spiritual foundations in the French culture due to the indifference and neglect of its citizens, and this excerpt clearly echoes many of the sentiments expressed by the *Christian Index* polemics urging Baptists to be an integral part of a larger, decidedly-

Christian national culture. Likely, this is a cautionary tale to relay to *Baptist Hour* listeners, as it provides an example of citizens not deliberately infusing the culture with spiritual morality (i.e., Christian morality) and that culture's government ending up the weaker for it. While Lee's statement here does imply a link between the church and the government, that link is just ambiguous enough not to be a concern to those who would be worried that such talk might contradict traditional Baptist conceptions of separation.

Not all of the *Baptist Hour* speakers were as circumspect on this issue, though. Unpacking how the present conflict is affecting the relationship between the church and the state, C. Oscar Johnson annunciates his take on this dynamic directly in his sermon "Union of Church and State" in the March 8, 1942 broadcast:

The union of home, church, and state is so complete that we must remember the life of one depends upon the life of the other. Just now it is the state which seems to be calling for every bit of reserve we have to defend it to the limit, so that those ideals of the faith of our fathers shall not perish from the land which they discovered, conquered, and settled. (*Baptist Hour* 03/08/1942, 92)

This polemic makes the case, without mention of practicality versus spiritual correctness, that the church, the home, and the government are all three inter-reliant and that not fully supporting the government at such a critical juncture might not only forfeit many years' and many lives' worth of toil and sacrifice (expressed directly), but may also result in the collapse of all three institutions. This direct dialectical offering complicates (somewhat necessarily) the interrelatedness of these institutions, and simultaneously makes a strong appeal based on the logic that followed from the knowledge of this home-church-state dynamic. Less certain are the implications

Johnson's broadcast has for the finer points of Baptist conceptions of separation—the statement remains slightly ambiguous from a pure religious liberty point of view, as it seems to state how things actually are but remains conveniently silent on how they perhaps should be.

Johnson's evasiveness is excusable, the *Baptist Hour* polemicists may all have rightly reckoned, given the national exigence that the War so menacingly epitomized. Famous Southern Baptist pastor George W. Truett voiced this fear and confusion head-on in the March 29th, 1942 *Baptist Hour* broadcast when he said, "Wars and rumors of wars have cast their deep shadows around the encircling globe. Tremendous changes have followed...in the...war that now threatens the entire earth. These changes are governmental and political, financial and economic, social and educational, moral and religious. These changes mark an era in the world's life too significant now for us mortals to fully appraise" (*Baptist Hour* 03/29/1942, 5-6). But in his message "Dual Loyalty" on March 15th, 1942, C. Oscar Johnson extricates an issue that the present urgency was poised to crowd out, but that the central doctrine of Biblical Christianity constantly pushes to the forefront:

We are now engaged in such a conflict as the world has never known, but if we shall conquer all our enemies, and in the conquering of them, lose our own souls, we ask with the Master, "What shall it profit us?" (*Baptist Hour* 03/15/1942, 100)

Obviously based on the expectation that most *Baptist Hour* listeners are familiar with Mark 8:36 (the verse and the concept), in this rhetorical question, Johnson uses a familiar verse to equate winning the present conflict with "gaining the whole world" (the actual words from Mark 8:36), and losing the conflict to losing the soul of Christianity.

This appeal equates the current state of war with humanity's natural propensity toward greed, and tempers that with the same counterbalance used in the Bible—the preservation of the soul through Christian spirituality. It also opens the door to a conceptualizing of the present global upheaval as a Divine opportunity.

Professes polemicist Fred F. Brown in his February 1st, 1942 *Baptist Hour* sermon “The Arsenal of Civilization”:

Then, too, when this fearful holocaust of blood is finished, when victory comes to the democracies—as we are confident that it will come—will there be a Christian peace? The churches have the opportunity now to lay the foundations for a Christian peace—a peace that will honor Christ and bless humanity. Should we fail here, it will be one of the most ghastly failures in the history of Christianity.

(*Baptist Hour* 02/01/1942, 10)

Working from more of a positive tone than a negative, this exhortation embodies a simple but notable entry into dialectical discourse on the matter as it provides a corollary to a Christian-waged war: a Christian-waged peace. From this explicative point of view, the rhetorical overture is made that the opportunity for a Christian brand of peace must not be ignored. But in early 1942, a decisive US victory and a war-ravaged foreign mission field is a long way off, and Brown’s appeal was likely more than a distant forecast. Making it practical, Theodore Adams once again brings this concept, quite literally, closer to home:

War and hate challenge the very existence of our homes today. As we do our utmost as citizens to win the war, let us remember that in our homes today we are rearing the generation that in time must win the peace. We must give to

them Jesus' ideals of world redemption and world brotherhood. The Christian homes of today are our hope for a better tomorrow. (*Baptist Hour* 01/25/1942, 33)

Tempering the "strength" (of homes, which indirectly strengthens soldiers in present or imminent combat) message with a "peace" message of tolerance and inclusiveness, this excerpt possibly alludes to problems that one could easily imagine outlasting the war. This foresight is admirable, and, particularly significant to the purposes of this research project, it appears indicative of a patently practical mindset within the typically spiritual milieu encircling Baptist moral incitements. Overall, this sample represents an apt entry into the dialectic on the role the church and the church-influenced home ("the Christian home") can and should play both during and after the war. In keeping with the trend represented by the other polemics examined, these Words of Adams almost transcend typical Baptist convictions about separation of church and state by foregrounding Christ's doctrine of inclusiveness ("love one another") as the ultimate winner of any such future hypothetical theological debates. Finally, from a perspective of audience and literacy, this excerpt looks as though it relies on *Baptist Hour* listeners' knowledge of Jesus Christ as "the Prince of Peace," crafting an intentional remembrance of such in order to offset the possible mindset of "righteous home-front warrior" that the speaker's former words may have been previous cultivated.

The most prominent "small story" which emerged within this study's coding criteria of war is the common thread that runs throughout all the *Baptist Hour* polemics: comfort and reassurance. In the first broadcast of the year—the first since the horrific world-changing events of December 7, 1941—George W. Truett declares,

It is not surprising that in recent years, following that first great World War, and even beginning now to follow in the wake of the second World War, many people are asking questions about death. [...] What is to be said about it? We had better let it alone, because One who knows all about death has told us all we need to know about it... He has himself been in the grave, and he has come back therefrom, with the keys of death and the grave swinging at his girdle. He tells us we need not be afraid. [...] How glorious are his words: "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." [John 11:25] (*Baptist Hour* 01/04/1942, 9)

In this sermon, entitled "The Conquest of Fear," Truett speaks frankly and directly of death, as he obviously expects that his audience is predisposed to understand the fact that a considerable number of American lives will soon be lost in armed conflict. He comforts preemptively, but does so by redirecting the focus to scripture and urging scriptural adherence. In this way, he hearkens back to the *Christian Index* editors of 1881; however, Truett's approach is less brusque, less antiseptic. It is also less averse to injecting the very real human emotion of fear and the equally real (to the Baptist heart and mind) power of Christian spirituality into the appeal, doing so via the use of simpler, more streamlined language than the stilted artifice of the 19th-century Baptists. By alluding to John 11:25, he assumes a degree of literacy on the part of the *Baptist Hour* listenership that would see this scriptural reference as automatically permeated with the highest degree of *ethos* possible—the words of the Risen Savior, Jesus Christ.

3.2 Conclusion

Pondering the above findings instantly conjures a practical implication about the general worth of examining religious writings in the furtherance of rhetorical studies, a notion stated eloquently by Kenneth Burke in his essay “A Dramatistic View of the Origins of Language and Postscripts on the Negative,” where the celebrated theorist declares (in Section Three, “Negative Theology”):

Often, the study of theology is particularly rewarding to the secular student of language, first because much of the best linguistic analysis in the past was approached in theological terms, and second because theology, as a design, almost inevitably drives one to that thoroughness of statement we take as the culminating attribute of the linguistic faculty. (*Language As Symbolic Action* 456)

Burke’s second point here is especially relevant to this study: a consideration of the limits of language would indeed tend to be effectively fueled by a subject matter that deals with ultimate concepts like God and eternity. Speaking to the contrasts between those who study religious writings as a matter of belief and those who do so as a matter of critical inquiry, Burke draws the following distinctions:

But where the theologian says “God,” for secular ends we might rather say “overall term for ground” or “overall term for purpose.” Where the theologian says “love,” we might rather say “communication.” Where the theologian speaks of “sin,” we might ask how his terms serve as a rhetoric ideally preserving or modifying the social order. Etc. (*Language As Symbolic Action* 456)

For the practical ends sought by the language researcher (even one who happens to be a believer like myself), all of what Professor Burke says here seems true and profitable;

however, as suggested by the larger picture this study's findings have begun to paint, simple academic analogs for each of the words and concepts this endeavor has scrutinized are tremendously elusive—kinetic currents of motive, identity, power, and perception are afoot, and the larger linguistic context that surrounds each of the polemics inspected herein must be considered.

In considering those factors for this research, one thing appears to encapsulate more of the “moving parts” of this larger linguistic context than anything else, and that is culture. In Chapter Two's discussion of the history of the Temperance Movement, I point out that science and religion—the empirical and the faith-based—both travel through a “conduit of culture,” and the content of the polemics this work analyzes would seem to second that postulation. Culture doubtless stands as a) a major part of the context that surrounded the creation of the exigencies to which the polemicists attempted to respond, b) an integral consideration in the polemicist's crafting of their messages, c) a filter through which their audiences interpreted their words, and even today, d) a paradigm through which researchers, conscious of it or not, analyze these historical rhetorical happenings. In outlining this study's theoretical framework in Chapter One, I described the ecology theory of literacy which informs my critical lens, presenting literacy as “psychological in that it embodies the ways in which we represent the world to ourselves, as social in that it exemplifies the ways in which we represent the world to others, and as historiographical in that it expresses the concept of individual and social memory” (Barton 33). Regardless of role—rhetor, audience, or researcher—culture affects all three of these aspects and is likely inseparable from each.

One reason culture is such a good conduit for science, religion, and other bodies of knowledge is because it is, conceptually (or at least semantically), rather sizeable—one can say that many different things embody culture. However, for a deeper understanding that would more ably conclude this project, culture should be specified somewhat (yet not to the point that any of the linguistic contexts described above are excluded). Fortunately, the polemics themselves conveniently provide a helpful delimiter, laying between the lines at nearly every turn precisely what best specifies culture in a way most relevant to this research: denominationalism. Baptists, regardless of era, are affected by predominant culture like everyone else; however, they are mostly affected by *Baptist culture*, by the culture of their own denomination and the belief that it is superior and that all other Christian denominations are, if not inferior, at least sadly mistaken in their interpretations, beliefs, and practices of God’s plan for humankind. The aforementioned former chair of the Southern Baptist Radio Commission, Samuel F. Lowe, stated that the most effective acts of evangelism took place because of denominations (Lowe 47). Undoubtedly, many of the Baptist polemicists studied by this effort were like Dr. Lowe, seeing only the good things that their denomination did and failing to notice the usual negatives of sectarian divides. A mindset like this would explain the rhetorical posture that led the 1871 *Christian Index* writers to so often exude an “in-God’s-will/out-of-God’s-will” binary in their writings, and could also explain why their words seemed to suggest that they thought of themselves as the instant, final arbiters of who qualified as “in” or “out.” Seeing things through the narrow view of denominationalism may have also played a part in the uniformity of message in the 1942 *Baptist Hour* radio sermons (uniformly positive/comforting in those cases).

Perhaps denominational culture could also be responsible for the actual type of community literacy sponsor the Baptist church in the South was during the periods studied, with the Baptist polemic writers so immersed in this culture that they saw themselves 1) as Baptist message creators, who would 2) craft Baptist exhortations in a Baptist style, which 3) would be noticed by other Baptists (and would therefore need to conform to prevailing Baptist norms), and finally, that would 5) target not just non-believers, but non-believers who they saw as *potential Baptists*. Obviously, an unquestioning, life-long immersion in the insularity of the Baptist denominational culture would, within a person's perception of the world, create a blatant contrast to the prevailing culture outside the Baptist church. Given the all-encompassing nature of culture—even of a specific one like this—it makes sense that Baptist rhetors would find their worldview tremendously different in numerous fundamental ways from the worldview of outsiders and would therefore struggle to speak to these people with anything other than an inconsistent, rhetorically-unsure collective voice.

The practical manifestations of this unstable rhetorical posture show the Baptist rhetors studied to be, more than anything else, reactive. Though conflicted and inconsistent in many ways, they were typically more initially influenced by externalities and their need to apply scriptural precepts to those externalities than by the Scripture they held up as the ultimate model for social behavior and most laudable standard for the societal good. Perhaps this is attributable, in part, to Christ's Great Commission which commanded Christians to proselytize. This could be the case if we postulate that the Baptist's interpretation of the Great Commission in a collective sense (perhaps due to the external influence of the progressive movement in the late 19th century, and later,

the specter of an impending world war) also fueled their desire to continually assume this reactive stance. By contrast, the Amish, Quaker, and Mennonite Christian denominations largely ignore externalities or either view them as something to be left to God, with inner spiritual development being advocated as the greater priority where morality is concerned. Ironically, as Chapter Two's discussion of the history of the Baptists in America describes, Roger Williams' initial concept for the denomination was very similar to this, at least with respect to politics and government.

Nevertheless, as the results of this research illustrate, the Baptist polemicists in this study constantly defined themselves (or allowed themselves to be defined) by virtue of which parts of their doctrine they most vigorously chose to spotlight in response to what they saw as dire socio-cultural exigencies. Temperance was the most conspicuous example of this, as before the early-to-mid 19th century Baptists only preached against immoderate use of spirits. Once alcohol became a major social problem in the United States by the early-to-mid 19th Century, the reactive posture the Baptists assumed saw an "over-application" of this doctrine. From this point, they began to denounce all alcohol use to the extent that this precept was essentially re-defined, with key verses of Scripture cast in new contexts which were then vigorously defended as the "correct" or "original" context of these verses—all in order to most emphatically advocate "Capital-T Total Abstinence" from alcohol. Because of the previously-discussed cultural disconnect between Baptist denominational culture and dominant societal culture, most of the Baptist rhetors studied seemed to see this issue as an existential threat to the continued practice of their faith or possibly even to the continued existence of their church. Thus, every exigence along these lines became

urgent, and every corrective measure was, to one degree or another, steeped in rhetorical desperation.

3.2.1 *Future Research Implications*

The preceding study, while prying open some daylight in the realm of religious rhetorical studies, obviously comes away with more questions than answers. Rather than being an indictment of this effort's efficacy, I believe this fact validates the endeavor: the ferreting out of rhetorical patterns and trends in an insular, somewhat private and guarded religious group (and one that is often antagonistic to secular scholarly inquiry) could not, on as small a scale as this, have done any better than to illuminate avenues for future work. After reviewing the data a final time, I see small and large opportunities for interrogating various things that fell out of this project; however, several possibilities seem like they would establish the most prudent next steps in researching archival Baptist materials like the ones I surveyed here. Grouped by subject, these include:

- (*Language*) Studying editorial tone in the *Christian Index* to find its degree of variance from issue to issue and year to year
- (*Language*) Comparing several years' worth of April and May (or later, as it would be later, July and August) *Christian Index* issues to the contemporaneous meeting minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention annual meeting to determine how the Index reported on the meeting and how decisions made at the meeting affected the editor's decisions

- (*Sociology, Language*) Conducting a large-scale, comprehensive, longitudinal study of how the *Christian Index* talks about race, beginning with the first issues from 1822 and continuing through today.
- (*Political Science, Theology*) Surveying a larger sample of the materials used in this study, concentrating solely on the language Baptist rhetors used to explain emerging and evolving concepts of religious liberty and church-state separation to their audiences
- (*Psychology, Political Science*) Comparing several years' worth of *Baptist Hour* radio broadcast transcripts to the contemporaneous Southern Baptist Radio Commission meeting minutes to ascertain how the Commission learned about broadcasting and made programming decisions
- (*History, Political Science*) Digitizing all existing issues of the *Christian Index* and the *Baptist Hour* and using computer search algorithms to conduct micro-studies which would focus on specific mentions of other temperance-related themes and/or groups
- (*History*) Expanding this research study with the additional dimension of biographical context, identifying every author possible and contextualizing them given all information that could be gleaned

3.2.2 Final Thoughts

Although the *Baptist Hour* radio broadcast has been off the air for decades, the *Christian Index* is still published each week, just as it has been since 1822. Now produced in a digital format, it is delivered to its subscribers via email each week. Like many legacy publications that survive in the 21st century, the *Index* maximizes its reach

by making great use of social media, with the bulk of the effort appearing to focus on its Facebook page. During the final week of 2016, the *Christian Index* Facebook page posted much of the same type of year-in-review content that many organizations post; however, one end-of-year post was repeated several times. Described on the page as the paper's most-read story of 2016, it was simply titled, "A Young Pastor's View on Drinking Alcohol."

In this article, Reverend Eddie Wren, formerly the pastor of a Georgia Baptist Convention member church and now pastor of the First Baptist Church of Rayville, Louisiana, speaks out against what he calls "a growing trend of young pastors embracing the use of alcohol." Wren briefly recaps many of the typical arguments against total abstinence, saying, "I know all the arguments: having one drink is not a sin, having a drink will not send you to Hell, Jesus drank wine, the disciples drank wine, on and on it goes." Without delving very deeply into doctrine or theology, he then flatly states, "If one does a study of the Bible from beginning to end, he will find an overwhelmingly negative view of the use of alcohol" (Wren). To drive this point home, he then opines that his father's abuse of alcohol led to his parent's divorce, his father's loss of employment, and eventually, his father's death at age 40. Moving from *pathos* and *ethos* to *logos*, Pastor Wren next quotes a bevy of statistics from the organization Mothers Against Drunk Driving before finishing the article with five rhetorical questions, which include appropriations of Scriptural language ("Should we be ingesting anything God says bites like a serpent and stings like a viper?") and a tacit condemnation of the desire artificially alter one's mood ("If you are not drinking for an altered state, why drink alcohol? There is not a beer on earth...that tastes better than sweet tea or your favorite

soda.”) (Wren). If this example is any indication, though the times and the circumstances have certainly changed, Baptist polemics on this particular matter of moral imperative remain solidly frozen in time, rhetorically speaking.

In John Chapter 11, Verse 43, the Bible tells how Jesus raised Lazarus from the dead by calling out his name: “And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth” (KJV). In one of the most well-known Bible commentaries of the 18th century, pastor and theologian Matthew Henry deciphers the meaning of Christ’s action in this verse:

He now applies himself to his dead friend in the earth. He cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth. He could have raised Lazarus by a silent exertion of his power and will, and the indiscernible operations of the Spirit of life; but he did it by a call, a loud call, To be significant of the power then put forth for the raising of Lazarus, how he created this new thing; he spoke, and it was done. (Henry)

In his book *The Rhetoric of Religion*, Kenneth Burke writes “Words are to non-verbal things as Spirit is to Matter. That is, if we equate the non-verbal with ‘Nature’..., then verbal or symbolic action is analogous to the ‘grace’ that is said to “perfect” nature” (16). These quotations exhibit an idea so central to this study that, regardless of one’s religious or philosophical beliefs, it must be thoughtfully considered: If a supernatural realm exists—as both the 19th- and 20th-century Baptists were absolutely sure it did—the words we speak and the words we write transcend our physical world.

If there is a broader significance to this work than the findings related in the sections above, it is that human utterance is special, it is ethereal, possessive of a spiritual quality in and of itself that human understanding cannot begin to fully

apprehend. Be it a fleeting utterance from a loved one or faded words printed on a torn, dusty page, these contributions we make to discourse warrant our attention precisely because of this mystical quality. When I was young, I recall the pastor of my tiny fundamental Baptist church saying that next to our salvation through the acceptance of Christ, God's Word (the Bible) and prayer were the two most important things the Lord had provided for us. I immediately recognized that language was what they both had in common. In much the same way that light is concurrently a wave form and a particle beam, words and phrases are both practical and spiritual, and understanding where one function ends and the other begins is something between an inexact science and a fool's errand.

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