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**Folder Title:**  
National Baptist Convention 9/8/89 [OA 6268][1]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	3	3

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*Christina*  
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION  
NEW ORLEANS CONVENTION CENTER  
SEPT. 8, 1989/2:30 P.M.

REVEREND JEMISON, REVEREND CLARK AND RICHARDSON,  
DR. BEN HOOKS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS. FRIENDS.

((YOU KNOW, WITH SO MANY BAPTISTS HERE IN NEW  
ORLEANS, I ALMOST EXPECT TO HEAR: "WHEN THE SAINTS COME  
MARCHING IN")) ((PAUSE))

- 2 -

((THE LAST TIME I WAS HERE WAS LAST AUGUST 18TH. I  
WAS RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT AND I ADDRESSED THOUSANDS OF  
REPUBLICANS. NOW I AM ADDRESSING FIFTEEN THOUSAND  
BAPTISTS, BUT THE FEELING OF SPEAKING BEFORE SUCH A  
HUGE AUDIENCE IS THE SAME. BARBARA PUT IT ALL IN  
PERSPECTIVE FOR ME. SHE SAID: "NOW GEORGE, JUST  
IMAGINE YOU'RE STANDING IN FRONT OF ANOTHER SUNDAY  
SCHOOL CLASS."))



- 3 -

((BUT I NEVER HAD A SUNDAY SCHOOL CLASS THIS BIG.))  
((PAUSE))

WELL, I HAVE COME TO NEW ORLEANS TO TELL YOU  
SOMETHING, AND I WILL SAY IT PLAINLY: YOUR GOOD WORKS  
ARE THE INSPIRATION OF AMERICA.

AND YOU, IN TURN, DRAW YOUR INSPIRATION FROM THE  
FAITH OF GREAT CHURCH. IT WAS THE FIRST AMERICAN  
BAPTISTS IN RHODE ISLAND WHO LED THE CAMPAIGN FOR  
RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

- 4 -

IT WAS THE BAPTISTS WHO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN  
SECURING OUR FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN THE AMERICAN  
CONSTITUTION. IT WAS THE BAPTISTS WHO, AS PIONEERS,  
BUILT STURDY NEW CHURCHES ON THE EMPTY PLAINS AND  
PRAIRIES OF THE WEST. BUT IT IS ANOTHER TRADITION THAT  
WE HONOR IN NEW ORLEANS TODAY. WE HONOR YOUR PARENTS  
AND GRANDPARENTS, WHO WERE ALSO BRAVE PIONEERS --  
PIONEERS WHO BLAZED TRAILS INTO ANOTHER FRONTIER -- THE  
FREEDOM FRONTIER. ((PAUSE))

IT TOOK THIS CONVENTION, THE LEADERSHIP OF YOUR PASTORS AND PEOPLE, TO EXTEND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM TO ALL MEN AND WOMEN. ((PAUSE)) IT TOOK LEADERS LIKE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., WYATT TEE WALKER, E.V. HILL, JERRY MOORE, T.J. JEMISON, AND BEN HOOKS. AND IT TOOK NOTHING LESS THAN ANOTHER GREAT AWAKENING -- AN AWAKENING TO THE PROMISE OF CIVIL RIGHTS. ((PAUSE))

I HAVE WATCHED THIS MOVEMENT BLOSSOM IN MY LIFETIME, FROM MY DAYS IN COLLEGE TO MY DAYS IN CONGRESS. SO KNOW ONE THING: IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY AND OPPORTUNITY, YOUR HOPES AND DREAMS ARE AMONG THE HIGHEST ASPIRATIONS OF MY PRESIDENCY.

((PAUSE))

WE'RE ON A JOURNEY TO A NEW CENTURY, AND WE'VE GOT TO LEAVE THE TIRED OLD BAGGAGE OF BIGOTRY BEHIND.

- 7 -

OF COURSE, DISCRIMINATION IS NOT THE ONLY PROBLEM THAT WE FACE TODAY. JUST AS YOU LED AMERICA IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, SO YOU ARE NOW LEADING COMMUNITIES STRUGGLING WITH ANOTHER NATIONAL PROBLEM.

IS IT CRIME? NOT QUITE. IS IT HOMELESSNESS? NO, NOT BY ITSELF. IS IT DRUGS? YES, BUT IT IS EVEN MORE THAN THAT. AS SERIOUS AS ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS ARE, THEY ARE RELATED TO ANOTHER ONE -- THE DECLINE OF THE MOST BASIC OF ALL INSTITUTIONS -- THE FAMILY.

- 8 -

TOO MANY CHILDREN IN AMERICA ARE GROWING UP WITHOUT DIRECTION, WITHOUT VALUES, WITHOUT ESTEEM FOR THEMSELVES OR ANYONE ELSE. SO OUR GOAL IS SIMPLE, AND IT IS VITAL: WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO SAVE THE AMERICAN FAMILY. ((PAUSE))

- 9 -

FAMILY LIFE MUST BE OUR SOURCE OF STRENGTH. IT IS FOR BARBARA, ME, AND IT IS FOR YOU. STRONG FAMILIES ARE BOUND BY MORE THAN BLOOD; THEY ARE BOUND BY THE PRECIOUS MEMORIES OF CHRISTMAS MORNING, A TODDLER'S FIRST STEPS, A GRANDFATHER'S TALL TALES, AND THE LASTING PRIDE OF A GRADUATION CEREMONY. AND OUR FAMILIES ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY SOMETHING ELSE: SIMPLE ACTS OF LEARNING AND TEACHING; SIMPLE ACTS TO INSTILL THE VALUES OF FAIRNESS, HONESTY AND HARD WORK.

- 10 -

OF COURSE, THERE ARE MORE SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE. AND, DIFFICULT THOUGH IT MAY BE, MOST SINGLE PARENTS ARE RAISING HAPPY, WELL-ADJUSTED CHILDREN WITH THE HELP OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS, AND BY DRAWING ON THEIR OWN INNER STRENGTH.

BUT IMAGINE THE LONELY PLIGHT OF A SINGLE MOTHER WHO HAS NO HELP; WHO HAS NO MONEY; WHO HAS NO ABILITY TO KEEP HER KIDS FROM BEING LOST -- LOST TO THE UNHEALTHY LIFE OF THE STREETS. SO TO SAVE THE AMERICAN FAMILY ALSO MEANS PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR THESE PARENTS, WHO ARE STRUGGLING AGAINST TOUGH ODDS. NOR CAN WE IGNORE THE DIFFICULTIES OF POOR WORKING COUPLES WITH CHILDREN. THE CHALLENGE OF STRENGTHENING THESE FAMILIES REQUIRES BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EFFORTS.

AND CHURCH LEADERSHIP IS MEETING THE CHALLENGE -- IN MINISTRIES LIKE THAT OF E.V. HILL OF LOS ANGELES, WHERE HUNGRY FAMILIES FIND SUSTENANCE; IN MINISTRIES WHERE BAPTISTS ARE PROVIDING FAMILIES WITH EVERYTHING FROM HIGH CHAIRS TO A HAND-UP.

YOU KNOW THAT NO MATTER HOW CLOSE-KNIT YOUR FAMILY MAY BE, THE DECLINE OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY IS NOT JUST SOMEONE ELSE'S PROBLEM. IT IS EVERYONE'S PROBLEM.

WHEN ONE GENERATION IS RAISED WITHOUT VALUES, IT STARTS A CHAIN OF MISERY THAT WEIGHS DOWN FUTURE GENERATIONS. ABOUT HALF OF ALL BLACK FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN ARE HEADED BY ONE PARENT, AND MANY OF THESE PARENTS ARE OVERWHELMED. AND BECAUSE THEY ARE OVERWHELMED, MORE THAN FOUR OUT OF TEN BLACK CHILDREN LIVE IN POVERTY. AND BECAUSE OF THIS, IT IS BECOMING HARDER FOR YOUR CHURCHES TO REACH SO MANY PROMISING YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN.

HOW CAN YOU TEACH RESPECT FOR A HARD-EARNED DOLLAR, WHEN EASY DRUG MONEY FLOURISHES? ((PAUSE))

HOW CAN YOU TEACH THAT ACHIEVEMENT IS FOUND IN QUIET MOMENTS AND SUBTLE REWARDS, WHEN A MURDEROUS MATERIALISM // GLITTERS// WITH THE PROMISE OF GOLD CHAINS,// FAST CARS// AND FASHION CLOTHES? ((PAUSE))

HOW CAN YOU PERSUADE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TO HAVE FAITH IN THEMSELVES IF THEIR PARENTS HAVE LOST ALL FAITH? ((PAUSE))



- 15 -

**IN SHORT, WITHOUT STRONG FAMILIES, HOW CAN VALUES TRIUMPH OVER VICE?**

**THE ANSWERS CAN ONLY COME FROM THE HEART, FROM THE HEART OF EVERY PARENT. AND THE ANSWERS CAN COME FROM YOU, FROM THE PEOPLE OF OUR CHURCHES.**

- 16 -

**I HAVE COME TO NEW ORLEANS TODAY TO PLEDGE MY SUPPORT AND TO RECOGNIZE YOUR HEROIC EFFORTS. WE CAN WORK TOGETHER IN MANY WAYS TO STRENGTHEN FAMILIES, WITH GREATER CHOICE IN CHILD-CARE AND EDUCATION; AND BY REPLACING THE CRIPPLING FEAR OF CRIME WITH THE PROMISE OF OPPORTUNITY.**

**FIRST, LET ME BEGIN WITH CHILD-CARE. OFTEN, WHILE PARENTS WORK, LOVE AND CARE COME FROM THE EXTENDED FAMILY -- GRANDPARENTS, AUNTS AND UNCLES.**

- 17 -

AND IN MANY WAYS, THE CHURCH COMMUNITY IS THE GREATEST EXTENDED FAMILY OF ALL. I'VE SEEN THAT SPIRIT OF FAMILY AND LOVE PERMEATE THE DAY-CARE CENTER AT SHILOH BAPTIST CHURCH IN WASHINGTON.

- 18 -

YOUR GREAT CHURCH HAS ALREADY TAKEN A LOAD OFF THE SHOULDERS OF WORKING PARENTS, SOME SINGLE; SOME TOGETHER. AS WE WORK TO SOLVE THE CHILD CARE PROBLEMS OF THIS COUNTRY, I AM DETERMINED TO PROTECT SHILOH AND EVERY OTHER CHURCH-SPONSORED CHILD CARE CENTER IN AMERICA.

IN THAT SPIRIT, I OFFER A FEW WAYS GOVERNMENT CAN HELP.

I HAVE PROPOSED A CHILD-CARE TAX CREDIT, FOCUSED ON THOSE WHO NEED SUCH ASSISTANCE THE MOST -- LOW-INCOME FAMILIES.

BUT THIS APPROACH IS DIFFERENT FROM PAST PROGRAMS. IT WOULD EMPOWER PARENTS, NOT THE GOVERNMENT, TO CHOOSE THE BEST CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN -- BE IT A GRANDPARENT, A NEIGHBOR OR A LOCAL CHURCH. WE NEED TO GIVE PARENTS A CHOICE IN THEIR CHILDREN'S CARE, NOT TAKE IT AWAY.

YET SOME IN CONGRESS DO NOT AGREE. PERHAPS IT IS TIME WE SENT THEM A MESSAGE. JUST AS WE SHOULD SUPPORT SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES, SO WE SHOULD ALSO SUPPORT TWO-PARENT FAMILIES WHERE ONE PARENT CHOOSES TO CARE FOR THE CHILDREN AT HOME.

AND SOME WOULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST CHURCH-SPONSORED CHILD CARE. I SAY THAT'S WRONG.

WHEN IT COMES TO CHILD CARE, WE NEED MORE CHURCHES NOT MORE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. (PAUSE)

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**WHEN IT COMES TO CHILD CARE, WE NEED MORE CHURCHES INVOLVED NOT MORE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. (PAUSE)**

**WE NEED MORE CONGREGATIONS, WITH LOVE AND CONCERN HELPING TO TAKE CARE OF OUR CHILDREN -- NOT MORE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS TELLING US HOW TO DO IT. (PAUSE)**

**AND THAT'S WHY WE NEED A CHILD CARE POLICY THAT PUTS MONEY IN THE POCKETS OF PARENTS AND CHOICE IN THE HANDS OF PARENTS.**

BUT I ASK YOU TODAY TO HELP ME. JOIN THE BATTLE TO HELP DRIVE THESE DEALERS OUT ONCE AND FOR ALL. BECAUSE THERE'S ONE THING I'M SURE OF: \\ IF THE 15,000 PEOPLE IN THIS HALL - YOUR FRIENDS, YOUR FAMILIES, AND YOUR NEIGHBORS - WHEN AMERICA DECIDES THAT ENOUGH IS ENOUGH, THE DEALERS WON'T STAND A CHANCE.

YES, WE MUST BRING OPPORTUNITY TO THOSE WHO NEED IT MOST. BUT OPPORTUNITY WILL BE WASTED IF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN LACK THE MEANS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT. AND THAT MEANS EDUCATION.

TODAY'S JOB MARKET WILL SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS THAN FULL LITERACY, AND AN APTITUDE FOR SKILLED LABOR. AND THOSE WHO ARE INCAPABLE -- AND THEY ARE GREAT IN NUMBER -- WILL FALL FURTHER AND FURTHER BEHIND.

WHAT'S THE ANSWER? I SEE YOU POINTING THE WAY. FOR A CENTURY AND A HALF, YOUR CHURCHES HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE LIBERATING POWER OF LEARNING. NO ONE BETTER EXEMPLIFIES THIS TRADITION THEN THE REVEREND HENRY ROSE, BORN INTO SLAVERY AND LIBERATED AT AGE 21.

HENRY ROSE WALKED ALL THE WAY FROM TEXAS TO VIRGINIA, AND WORKED ON THE RAILROAD UNTIL A BAPTIST SOCIETY SPONSORED HIM AT A SEMINARY SCHOOL.

REVEREND ROSE WAS SO POOR THAT WHEN HE GRADUATED, HE HAD TO WEAR A BOOT ON ONE FOOT AND A SHOE ON THE OTHER. BUT HENRY ROSE HAD SOMETHING BETTER THAN A MATCHING PAIR OF SHOES. HE HAD KNOWLEDGE. HE HAD PRIDE. AND AS A BAPTIST MINISTER, HE FOUNDED FIVE CHURCHES AND TWO SCHOOLS, ESTABLISHING INSTITUTIONS WITH GREAT TRADITIONS OF SERVICE THAT LIVE ON TO THIS DAY.



THERE IS A LESSON FOR US IN THIS REMARKABLE MAN'S LIFE. IF HE COULD BEAT THE OVERWHELMING ODDS OF SLAVERY, OPPRESSION AND PREJUDICE TO LEAD A COMMUNITY, THEN ANY OBSTACLE CAN BE OVERCOME.

AND WE SHALL OVERCOME. WHEN WE GIVE PARENTS AND STUDENTS GREATER CHOICE. THIS MEANS MAGNET SCHOOLS; THIS MEANS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS LIKE "SAY YES TO EDUCATION," WHICH SENDS IMPOVERISHED MINORITY STUDENTS TO COLLEGE; AND THIS MEANS INCREASED SUPPORT FOR HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

BUT EDUCATION IS MORE THAN SCHOOLING; IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE COMMUNICATION OF VALUES. AND ONCE AGAIN, YOU ARE LEADING THE WAY.

- 31 -

JUST LOOK RIGHT HERE IN NEW ORLEANS, WHERE THE GREATER LIBERTY BAPTIST CHURCH IS PREPARING MANY YOUNG MEN FOR ADULthood THROUGH ITS BLACK MANHOOD TRAINING PROGRAM.  
((PAUSE))

BUT TO GET TO SCHOOL, TO GET TO WORK, TO GET TO A CHILD-CARE CENTER, FAMILIES MUST ALSO BE FREE TO WALK THE STREETS OF THEIR CITIES WITHOUT FEAR. AND TODAY, FREEDOM FROM FEAR MEANS FREEDOM FROM DRUGS. ((PAUSE))

- 32 -

THAT IS WHY TUESDAY NIGHT I ANNOUNCED OUR NATION'S FIRST COMPREHENSIVE, COORDINATED ALL-OUT ASSAULT; A WAY TO ATTACK THE DRUG MENACE ON EVERY FRONT.

I BELIEVE THE CONGRESS WILL EVENTUALLY WORK WITH ME, TO MAKE OUR NATIONAL STRATEGY THE LAW OF THE LAND. BUT, MY SURPRISE -- AND PERHAPS TO YOUR'S AS WELL -- BEFORE I EVEN PRESENTED MY PLAN TO YOU, THE PARTISAN ATTACKS HAD ALREADY BEGUN.

**THIS IS NOT THE ISSUE FOR PARTISAN POLITICS. THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR PARTISAN POLITICS. THIS IS THE TIME TO COME TOGETHER AND, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR HISTORY, PASS A NATIONAL STRATEGY TO FIGHT DRUGS.**

**WE CAN BEAT THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS IF WE FIGHT AS A NATION UNITED.**

**TO PROVIDE CHILD-CARE, TO IMPROVE EDUCATION, TO CREATE OPPORTUNITY AND TO DEFEAT DRUGS -- THESE ARE STEPS TO STRENGTHEN FAMILIES THAT REQUIRE NOTHING LESS THAN A SUSTAINED NATIONAL EFFORT, A NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP. I BELIEVE GOVERNMENT CAN AND SHOULD BE A STRONG PARTNER. BUT I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE SOLUTION TO THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS FACING US TODAY ULTIMATELY DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU AND YOUR COMMUNITIES DO.**

I LIKE WHAT'S BEEN TESTED AND FOUND TO BE TRUE.  
YOUR FAITH HAS BEEN TESTED. YOUR VALUES HAVE BEEN  
FOUND TO BE TRUE. AND IT IS YOUR FAITH AND YOUR VALUES  
THAT AMERICA IS TURNING TO TODAY.

SO I'M AN OPTIMIST. I BELIEVE WE CAN REACH OUT TO  
FAMILIES IN NEED. I BELIEVE WE CAN SEE A STRENGTHENING  
OF THE MANY PATTERNS OF FAMILY LIFE.

AND I BELIEVE WE WILL SEE A SHARING OF VALUES -- VALUES  
ROOTED IN THE CONVICTION THAT WE, AS INDIVIDUALS AND AS  
FAMILIES ARE ENGAGED IN A SINGLE, WONDERFUL ENTERPRISE  
CALLED AMERICA.

GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

# # #

Davis/Martin  
Sept. 4, 1989  
Draft: Seven  
Title: Baptists

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION USA, Inc.  
New Orleans Convention Center  
Sept. 8, 1989/2:30 p.m.

*Gov Rorer - possible*

Reverend Jemison, members of the staff and members of the board of directors.

((You know, with so many Baptists here in New Orleans, I almost expect to hear: "When the Saints Come Marching In"))

((PAUSE))

*140 Thorneau  
34-38-9234* ((The last time I was here, I addressed thousands of Republicans. Now I am addressing <sup>45000</sup> sixteen thousand Baptists, and I'm just as anxious to make a good impression today as I was then. But Barbara put it all in perspective for me. She said: "Now George, just imagine you're standing in front of another Sunday school class."))

((But I never had a Sunday school class **this** big.))

((PAUSE))

Well, every Sunday school student knows that it is written in the Bible that wherever two or three people gather together to worship, there is a church. And, in many ways, that is what we have here for a few days in New Orleans -- the biggest congregation inside the biggest church on Earth. ((PAUSE))

You draw your inspiration from the faith of a great church.

It was the first American Baptists in Rhode Island who, as sons of Pilgrims, led the campaign for religious toleration. It was

*↓  
Actually Mass.  
but kicked out.*

*Encyclopedia  
entry from  
Jason to  
mark*

the Baptists who played an important role in securing our freedom of religion in the American Constitution. It was the Baptists who, as pioneers, built sturdy new churches on the empty plains and prairies of the West. But it is another tradition that we honor in New Orleans today. We honor **your** parents and grandparents, who were **also** brave pioneers -- pioneers who blazed trails into **another** frontier -- **the freedom frontier.** ((PAUSE))

It took **this** convention, the leadership of **your** pastors and **your** people, to extend the struggle for freedom to **all** men and women. ((PAUSE)) It took leaders like **Dr. Martin Luther King**

**Jr., Wyatt Tee Walker, E.V. Hill, Jerry Moore and T.J. Jemison.**

And it took nothing less than another Great Awakening -- **an awakening to the promise of civil rights.** ((PAUSE))

I have watched this movement blossom in my lifetime, from my days in college to my days in Congress. So know one thing: in the struggle for equality and opportunity, your hopes and dreams are the **highest aspirations** of my Presidency. ((PAUSE))

It was just more than a year ago that I was privileged to give a nominating address here, one in which I promised our country would stand for a greater tolerance. I said, "We've come far, but I think we need a new harmony among the races in our country. We're on a journey to a new century, and **we've got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind.**"

Of course, discrimination is not the only problem that we face today. Just as you led America in the civil rights

Joc  
Watkins



movement, so you are now leading communities struggling with another national problem.

Is it crime? Not quite. Is it homelessness? No, not by itself. Is it drugs? Yes, but it is even more than that. As serious as all of these problems are, they are related to another one -- the decline of the most basic of all institutions -- the family. Too many children in America are growing up without direction, without values, without esteem for themselves or anyone else. So our goal is simple, and it is vital: We must work together to **save the American family.** ((PAUSE))

Family life is my source of strength, as it is for Barbara, and as it is for you. Strong families are bound by more than blood; they are bound by the precious memories of Christmas morning, a toddler's first steps, a grandfather's tall tales, and the lasting pride of a graduation ceremony. And our families are bound by something else: simple acts of learning and teaching; simple acts to instill the values of fairness, honesty and hard work.

Of course, there are more single parents today than ever before. And, difficult though it may be, most single parents are raising happy, well-adjusted children with the help of family and friends, and by drawing on their own inner strength. But imagine the lonely plight of a single mother who **has no** help; who **has no** money; who **has no** ability to keep her kids from being lost -- lost to the unhealthy life of the streets. So to save the

American family also means providing support for these parents, who are struggling against tough odds.

Nor can we ignore the difficulties of poor working couples with children. The challenge of strengthening these families requires both public and private efforts. And church leadership is meeting the challenge -- in ministries like that of E.V. Hill of Los Angeles, where hungry families find sustenance; in ministries where Baptists are providing families with everything from high chairs to a hand-up.

You know that no matter how close-knit **your** family may be, the decline of the American family is not just someone else's problem. It is **our** problem. When one generation is raised without values, it uncoils a chain of misery that weighs down future generations. <sup>1987 42%</sup> Almost half of all black families are headed by one parent, and many of these parents are overwhelmed. And because they are overwhelmed, <sup>30% in 1987</sup> four out of ten black children live in poverty. <sup>poverty rate for black families</sup> And because of this, it is becoming harder for your black churches to reach so many promising young men and women.

How can you teach respect for a hard-earned dollar, when easy drug money flourishes? ((PAUSE))

How can you teach that achievement is found in quiet moments and subtle rewards, when a murderous materialism // glitters// with the promise of gold chains, // fast cars// and fashion clothes? ((PAUSE))

How can you teach a young black man, living in poverty, to work for a better future, when he has a greater chance of going to prison than of going to college? ((PAUSE))

In short, without strong families, how can values triumph over vice?

The answers can only come from the heart, from the heart of every parent. And the answers can come from you, from the people of our churches.

I have come to New Orleans today to pledge my support and to recognize your heroic efforts. We can work together in many ways to strengthen families, with greater choice in child-care and education; and by replacing the crippling fear of crime with the promise of opportunity.

First, let me begin with child-care. Often, while parents work, love and care comes from the extended family -- grandparents, aunts and uncles. And in many ways, the church community is the greatest extended family of all. You have already taken a load off the shoulders of working parents, some single; some together. And in this same spirit, I offer a few ways government can help.

I have proposed a child-care tax credit, to be focused on those who need such assistance the most -- **the working poor.**

But this approach is different from past programs, because it would empower **parents**, not the government, to choose the best care for **their** children -- be it a grandparent, a neighbor or a



local church. We need to give parents a choice in their children's care, not take it away.

Yet some in Congress do not agree. Perhaps it is time we sent them a message. Just as we should support single-parent families, so we should also support two-parent families where one parent chooses to care for the children at home. And we should never, never discriminate against religiously affiliated child care. ((PAUSE))

I felt for myself, in Washington, D.C., the spirit of family and love that permeates the day-care center at Shiloh Baptist Church. And, if necessary, I am determined to protect Shiloh and every other church-affiliated child-care center in America with my veto pen. ((PAUSE))

But child-care for families is not enough. Families need opportunity: I want to renew my proposal for federal enterprise zones, to bring opportunity to the barren lots of the South Bronx, to the streets of Watts, to farm towns and to every community in need. And also I renew my proposal for tenant management of public housing. We can no longer deny these people the autonomy and the dignity they deserve. ((PAUSE))

These are ways to bring opportunity to those who need it most. But opportunity will be wasted if young men and women lack the means to take advantage of it. And that means education.

Today's job market will settle for nothing less than full literacy, and an aptitude for skilled labor. And those who are

Shiloh Baptist  
Church child  
development  
Center Visit  
Thurs  
May 9, 1989

incapable -- and they are great in number -- will fall further and further behind.

What's the answer? I see you pointing the way. For a century and a half, your churches have demonstrated the liberating power of learning. Annie Rose, a community leader in Alexandria, Virginia, tells a fascinating story about her father. You see, Annie Rose is 95-years-old, and her father, Henry Rose, was born into slavery.

Liberated at age 21, Henry Rose walked all the way from Texas to Virginia, and worked on the railroad until a Baptist society sponsored him at a seminary school. Annie Rose says her father was so poor that when he graduated, he had to wear a boot on one foot and a shoe on the other. But Henry Rose had something better than a matching pair of shoes. He had knowledge. He had pride. And as a Baptist minister, he founded five churches and two schools, establishing institutions with great traditions of service that live on to this day.

There is a lesson for us in this remarkable man's life. If a he could beat the overwhelming odds of slavery, oppression and prejudice to lead a community, then **any** obstacle **can** be overcome.

And we **will** overcome. Opportunity comes when we give parents and students greater choice. This means magnet schools; this means public and private partnerships like "Say Yes to Education," which sends impoverished minority students to college; and this means increased support for historically Black Colleges and Universities.

*the Remembrances  
of a Pioneer;  
Annie Rose,  
a Wealth of  
Living History  
by Jacqueline  
The Scott  
Washington  
Past  
12-6-87  
Sunday  
style*



But education is more than schooling; it is nothing less than the communication of values. And once again, you are leading the way. Just look right here New Orleans, where the Greater Liberty Baptist Church is preparing many young men for adulthood through its Black Manhood Training program. ((PAUSE))

But to get to school, to get to work, to get to a child-care center, families must also be free to walk the streets of their cities without fear. And today, **freedom from fear means freedom from drugs.** ((PAUSE)) That is why Tuesday night I announced an all-out assault, a way to attack the drug menace on every front.

Nowhere are drug dealers more vicious, more predatory, than in the inner-city. They've turned whole communities into war zones, making the routine of daily life miserable and dangerous for thousands of honest families. **It is time to get tough.** Let us join together to **sweep out** these merchants of death, to **reclaim our cities, to reclaim our streets.** ((PAUSE))

To provide child-care, to improve education, to create opportunity and to defeat drugs -- these are steps to strengthen families that require nothing less than a sustained national effort, a national partnership. I believe government can and should be a strong partner.

As I said here just a little more than a year ago: "A government that remembers that the people are its master is a good and needed thing. I respect old fashioned common sense, and have no great love for the imaginings of social planners. I like what's been tested and found to be true."

"Black churches:  
New Mission  
on Family"  
see A.P.  
New York  
Times  
by Tamar  
Lewin



Your faith has been tested. Your values have been found to be true. And it is your faith and your values that America is turning to today. Americans will always come back to our basic traditions, our values.

So I'm an optimist. I **believe** we will reach out to families in need. I **believe** we will see a strengthening of the many patterns of family life. And I **believe** we will see a sharing of values -- values rooted in the conviction that we, as individuals and as families are engaged in a single enterprise called America.

Thank you for all that you've done. And thank you for inviting me to New Orleans.

God bless you and God bless America.

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Davis/Martin  
Sept. 7, 1989  
Draft: Ten  
Title: Baptists

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION USA, Inc.  
New Orleans Convention Center  
Sept. 8, 1989/2:30 p.m.

Reverend Jemison, Reverend Clark and Richardson, Ben Hooks,  
board of directors. Friends.

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"Now George, just imagine you're standing in front of another  
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((But I never had a Sunday school class **this** big.))

((PAUSE))

Well, I have come to New Orleans to tell you something, and  
I will say it plainly: Your good works are the inspiration of  
America.

And you, in turn, draw your inspiration from the faith of  
great church. It was the first American Baptists in Rhode Island  
who led the campaign for religious toleration. It was the  
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religion in the American Constitution. It was the Baptists who,

as pioneers, built sturdy new churches on the empty plains and prairies of the West. But it is another tradition that we honor in New Orleans today. We honor **your** parents and grandparents, who were **also** brave pioneers -- pioneers who blazed trails into **another** frontier -- **the freedom frontier.** ((PAUSE))

It took **this** convention, the leadership of **your** pastors and people, to extend the struggle for freedom to **all** men and women. ((PAUSE)) It took leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Wyatt Tee Walker, E.V. Hill, Jerry Moore, T.J. Jemison, and Ben Hooks. And it took nothing less than another Great Awakening -- **an awakening to the promise of civil rights.** ((PAUSE))

I have watched this movement blossom in my lifetime, from my days in college to my days in Congress. So know one thing: in the struggle for equality and opportunity, your hopes and dreams are among the **highest aspirations** of my Presidency. ((PAUSE)) We're on a journey to a new century, and **we've got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind.**

Of course, discrimination is not the only problem that we face today. Just as you led America in the civil rights movement, so you are now leading communities struggling with another national problem.

Is it crime? Not quite. Is it homelessness? No, not by itself. Is it drugs? Yes, but it is even more than that. As serious as all of these problems are, they are related to another one -- the decline of the most basic of all institutions -- the family. Too many children in America are growing up without

direction, without values, without esteem for themselves or anyone else. So our goal is simple, and it is vital: We must work together to save the American family. ((PAUSE))

Family life is my source of strength, as it is for Barbara, and as it is for you. Strong families are bound by more than blood; they are bound by the precious memories of Christmas morning, a toddler's first steps, a grandfather's tall tales, and the lasting pride of a graduation ceremony. And our families are bound together by something else: simple acts of learning and teaching; simple acts to instill the values of fairness, honesty and hard work.

Of course, there are more single parent families today than ever before. And, difficult though it may be, most single parents are raising happy, well-adjusted children with the help of family and friends, and by drawing on their own inner strength. But imagine the lonely plight of a single mother who has no help; who has no money; who has no ability to keep her kids from being lost -- lost to the unhealthy life of the streets. So to save the American family also means providing support for these parents, who are struggling against tough odds.

Nor can we ignore the difficulties of poor working couples with children. The challenge of strengthening these families requires both public and private efforts. And church leadership is meeting the challenge -- in ministries like that of E.V. Hill of Los Angeles, where hungry families find sustenance; in

ministries where Baptists are providing families with everything from high chairs to a hand-up.

You know that no matter how close-knit **your** family may be, the decline of the American family is not just someone else's problem. It is **everyone's** problem. When one generation is raised without values, it starts a chain of misery that weighs down future generations. About half of all black families with children are headed by one parent, and many of these parents are overwhelmed. And because they are overwhelmed, more than four out of ten black children live in poverty. And because of this, it is becoming harder for your churches to reach so many promising young men and women.

How can you teach respect for a hard-earned dollar, when easy drug money flourishes? ((PAUSE))

How can you teach that achievement is found in quiet moments and subtle rewards, when a murderous materialism // glitters// with the promise of gold chains,// fast cars// and fashion clothes? ((PAUSE))

How can you persuade young men and women to have faith in themselves if their parents have lost all faith? ((PAUSE))

In short, without strong families, how can values triumph over vice?

The answers can only come from the heart, from the heart of every parent. And the answers can come from you, from the people of our churches.

I have come to New Orleans today to pledge my support and to recognize your heroic efforts. We can work together in many ways to strengthen families, with greater choice in child-care and education; and by replacing the crippling fear of crime with the promise of opportunity.

First, let me begin with child-care. Often, while parents work, love and care come from the extended family -- grandparents, aunts and uncles. And in many ways, the church community is the greatest extended family of all. You have already taken a load off the shoulders of working parents, some single; some together. And in this same spirit, I offer a few ways government can help.

I have proposed a child-care tax credit, to be focused on those who need such assistance the most -- **low-income families.**

But this approach is different from past programs, because it would empower **parents**, not the government, to choose the best care for **their** children -- be it a grandparent, a neighbor or a local church. **We need to give parents a choice in their children's care, not take it away.**

Yet some in Congress do not agree. Perhaps it is time we sent them a message. Just as we should support single-parent families, so we should also support two-parent families where one parent chooses to care for the children at home. And we should **never, discriminate against religiously-affiliated child care.**

((PAUSE))

I felt for myself, in Washington, D.C., the spirit of family and love that permeates the day-care center at Shiloh Baptist Church. I am determined to protect Shiloh and every other church-affiliated child-care center in America. ((PAUSE))

But child-care for families is not enough. **Families need opportunity:** I want to renew my proposal for federal enterprise zones, to bring opportunity to the barren lots of the South Bronx, to the streets of Watts, to farm towns and to every community in need. And also I renew my proposal for tenant management of public housing. We can no longer deny any of our people the **autonomy and the dignity they deserve.** ((PAUSE))

These are ways to bring opportunity to those who need it most. But opportunity will be wasted if young men and women lack the means to take advantage of it. And that means education. I believe the Congress will eventually work with me, to make our national strategy the law of the land. To my surprise -- and perhaps to your's as well -- before I even presented my plan to you, the partisan attacks had already begun. This is bad politics, bad policy and bad for America.

I challenge those who hunger for a partisan issue to take the high road instead, to work for our national strategy, not against it.

I challenge those who seek more spending and more taxes, to instead seek more cooperation and bipartisanship. We can beat the scourge, as long as we are a nation united.

Today's job market will settle for nothing less than full literacy, and an aptitude for skilled labor. And those who are incapable -- and they are great in number -- will fall further and further behind.

What's the answer? I see you pointing the way. For a century and a half, your churches have demonstrated the liberating power of learning. Annie Rose, a community leader in Alexandria, Virginia, tells a fascinating story about her father. You see, Annie Rose is 95-years-old, and her father, Henry Rose, was born into slavery.

Liberated at age 21, Henry Rose walked all the way from Texas to Virginia, and worked on the railroad until a Baptist society sponsored him at a seminary school. Annie Rose says her father was so poor that when he graduated, he had to wear a boot on one foot and a shoe on the other. But Henry Rose had something better than a matching pair of shoes. He had knowledge. He had pride. And as a Baptist minister, he founded five churches and two schools, establishing institutions with great traditions of service that live on to this day.

There is a lesson for us in this remarkable man's life. If he could beat the overwhelming odds of slavery, oppression and prejudice to lead a community, then **any** obstacle **can** be overcome.

And we **shall** overcome. Opportunity comes when we give parents and students greater choice. This means magnet schools; this means public and private partnerships like "Say Yes to Education," which sends impoverished minority students to



college; and this means increased support for historically Black Colleges and Universities.

But education is more than schooling; it is nothing less than the communication of values. And once again, you are leading the way. Just look right here in New Orleans, where the Greater Liberty Baptist Church is preparing many young men for adulthood through its Black Manhood Training program. ((PAUSE))

But to get to school, to get to work, to get to a child-care center, families must also be free to walk the streets of their cities without fear. And today, **freedom from fear means freedom from drugs.** ((PAUSE)) That is why Tuesday night I announced our nation's first comprehensive, coordinated all-out assault; a way to attack the drug menace on every front.

To provide child-care, to improve education, to create opportunity and to defeat drugs -- these are steps to strengthen families that require nothing less than a sustained national effort, a national partnership. I believe government can and should be a strong partner. But I also believe that the solution to the social problems facing us today ultimately depends on what you and your communities do.

I respect old fashioned common sense, and have no great love for the imaginings of social planners. I like what's been tested and found to be true.

Your faith has been tested. Your values have been found to be true. And it is your faith and your values that America is turning to today.

So I'm an optimist. I believe we can reach out to families in need. I believe we can see a strengthening of the many patterns of family life. And I believe we will see a sharing of values -- values rooted in the conviction that we, as individuals and as families are engaged in a single enterprise called America.

Thank you for all that you've done and for what you will continue to do to make America a better place. And thank you for inviting me to New Orleans.

God bless you and God bless America.

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Davis/Martin  
Aug. 22, 1989  
Draft: Two  
Title: Baptists

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION USA, Inc.  
New Orleans Convention Center  
Sept. 8, 1989/((time to come))

((Acknowledgements))

((With so many Baptists here in New Orleans, I almost expect to hear: "When the Saints Come Marching In")) ((PAUSE))

((You know, the last time I was in New Orleans, I addressed thousands of Republicans. Now I am addressing forty-five thousand Baptists, and I'm just as anxious to make a good impression today as I was then. But Barbara put it all in perspective for me. She said: "Now, George, just imagine you're standing in front of another Sunday school class.")) ((PAUSE))

((But I never had a Sunday school class **this** big.))  
((PAUSE))

Well, every Sunday school student knows that it is written in the Bible that wherever two or three people gather together to worship, there is a church. And, in many ways, that is what we have here for a few days in New Orleans -- **the biggest congregation inside the biggest church on Earth.** ((PAUSE))

But your convention is more impressive for its strength in the community, than for the size of its membership. I understand that, as the Bible says, there was a time when any small group could have organized a Baptist church and ordained ministers on

the spot. This perfectly suited the needs of the pioneers, as they built new churches on the empty plains and prairies of the West. But this Baptist tradition also suited the needs of another group of brave pioneers, **your** forebears, who blazed trails into another frontier -- **the frontier of freedom.**

They drew inspiration for their struggle from the insights of a great church. It was the first American Baptists in Rhode Island who, as sons of Pilgrims, led the campaign for religious toleration. It was the Baptists who played an important role in securing the freedom of belief in our American Constitution.

But it took **this** convention, the leadership of **your** pastors and **your** people, to extend this struggle for freedom to **all** men and women. The sixth decade of this century in this country was nothing less than another Great Awakening -- **an awakening to the promise of civil rights.** ((PAUSE))

I have watched this movement blossom in my lifetime. From my days in college, to Congress to the White House, know one thing: in the struggle for equality and opportunity, I **have always been with you.** And as your President, I am with you **all the way.** ((PAUSE))

It was just more than a year ago that I gave my nominating address here, and promised our country would stand for a greater tolerance. I said, "We've come far, but I think we need a new harmony among the races in our country. We're on a journey to a new century, and **we've got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind.**"

But discrimination is not the only problem that we face today. Just as you led America in the civil rights movement, so you are now leading communities to grapple with another national problem.

Is it crime? Not quite. Is it homelessness? No, not by itself. Is it drugs? Yes, but it is more than that. As serious as all of these problems are, they are manifestations of something else -- the disintegration of the most basic of all institutions -- the family. So our goal is simple, and it is vital: **We must work together to save the American family.**

((PAUSE))

In the largest context, we are all children of God. Then we are all members of an extended family called society, the American nation. But before that, we are members of **our** family, our parents, our children. And yet, our families are bound by more than blood; they are bound by the precious memories of Christmas morning, of a grandparent's sage advice and a toddler's first step.

This is my source of strength, as it is for Barbara, and as it is for you. No government program can create such a home life. But government can help protect families from the pressure of relentless economic and social change.

It is my belief that the ideal family for any child is one complete with a loving mother and a loving father. But today, in communities both white and black, such families are increasingly uncommon. No matter how close-knit your family may be, the

decline of the American family is not just someone else's problem. It is a social disaster for us all.

We need public policies and private efforts to make it financially easier for families to stay together. We must support communities and their churches, and rely on the extended family -- the supportive family of aunts, uncles and grandparents. And most of all, we must reach out to lift a load off the shoulders of the most harried, harassed and unappreciated person around -- **the single, working parent.**

I have come to New Orleans today to pledge my support and to recognize your heroic efforts. We can work together in many ways to strengthen families, with greater choice in child-care and education; and by replacing the crippling fear of crime with the promise of opportunity.

**First**, let us begin with child-care. You are already doing your part, saving thousands of families and redeeming thousands of children. Take the Reverend E.V. Hill of Los Angeles, who is feeding hungry families. Other churches, I hear, are supplying high chairs, bath sets, sweaters, a washing machine and money to young parents. Hundreds of Baptist churches are coming up with new ideas, making a difference. And in this same spirit, I would like to offer a few ideas of my own.

I have proposed a child-care tax credit, to be focused on those who need such assistance the most -- the working poor.

But this approach is different from past programs, because it would empower parents, not the government, to choose the best

care for the children -- be it a grandparent, a neighbor or a local church. **We need to give parents a choice in their children's care, not take it away.**

Yet some in Congress do not agree. Perhaps it is high time we sent them a message. America's child-care program shouldn't discriminate against two-parent families where one parent chooses to care for the children at home. And it should never, never **discriminate against religiously affiliated child care.**

((PAUSE))

I felt for myself, in Washington, D.C., the spirit of love that permeates the day-care center at Shiloh Baptist Church. I saw the ((local color to come.)) **And I am determined to use my veto pen, if necessary, to protect Shiloh and every other church-affiliated child-care center in America.** ((PAUSE))

But child-care alone is not enough. **Our second concern is education:** Strong families thrive on good schools. For a century and a half, your churches have demonstrated the liberating power of learning. Annie Rose, a community leader in Alexandria, Virginia, tells a fascinating story about her father. You see, Annie Rose is 95-years-old, and her father, Henry Rose, was born into slavery.

Liberated at age 21, Henry Rose walked from Texas to Virginia, and worked on the railroad until a Baptist society sponsored him at a seminary school. Annie Rose says her father was so poor that when he graduated, he had to wear a boot on one foot and a shoe on the other. But Henry Rose had something

better than a matching pair of shoes. He had knowledge. He had pride. And as a Baptist minister, he founded a church with a great tradition of community service in Alexandria that lives on to this day.

There is a lesson for us in this man's life. If a he could beat the overwhelming odds of slavery, oppression and prejudice to lead a congregation, then what is standing in our way today?

We **can** succeed, if restore the value of an American education. One way to do this is to give parents and students greater choice. This means magnet schools; this means public and private partnerships like the "Say Yes to Education" program, which sends impoverished minority students to college; and this means increased support for historically black colleges and universities.

But education is more than schooling; it is nothing less than the transmittal of values. And once again, you are leading the way. Here in New Orleans, the Greater Liberty Baptist Church is preparing many young men for adulthood through its Black Manhood Training program. In the Shaw neighborhood in Washington, Shiloh Baptist is once again pitching again. The people of this church are taking its ministry to the streets, drawing young men to a youth center with basketball, away from the lure of drugs.

This brings me to our **third concern**: Families must be free from fear. And freedom from fear today means freedom **from drugs**.



((PAUSE)) That is why Tuesday night I announced an all-out assault that attacks the drug menace on every front.

Nowhere are drug dealers more vicious, more predatory, than in the inner-city. They've turned whole communities into war zones, making the routine of daily life miserable and dangerous for thousands of honest families. **It is time to get tough. Let us work together to reclaim our streets and cities from these merchants of death.** ((PAUSE))

**Our fourth concern** is opportunity. Strong families need opportunity and economic empowerment. We should judge people by their skills, not by their background. That is why I favor expanding alternative certification of teachers and principals, so that more Americans can share their knowledge in the classroom.

I also renew my proposal for federal enterprise zones, to transplant opportunity from Watts to the barren lots of the South Bronx, and every distressed community in between.

And finally, I renew my proposal for tenant management of public housing. We can no longer deny these communities the **autonomy and the dignity they deserve.** ((PAUSE))

To provide child-care, to improve education, to defeat drugs and to create opportunity -- these are goals that require nothing less than a sustained national effort, a national partnership. I believe government can and should be a strong partner.

As I said here just a little more than a year ago: "A government that remembers that the people are its master is a

good and needed thing. I respect old fashioned common sense, and have no great love for the imaginings of social planners. I like what's been tested and found to be true."

Your faith has been tested. Your values have been found to be true. And it is your faith and your values that America so desperately needs today.

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With your support and your leadership, I know it will be the greater future. Thank you for inviting me to New Orleans, God bless you and God bless America.

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1<sup>st</sup> Lady(?)

# Christina's proof copy

Super Dome 2:00pm

Davis/Martin  
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Draft: Two  
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August 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO MARK DAVIS  
CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY 

SUBJECT: National Baptist Convention

The following is a little information that might be helpful for the final touches of the National Baptist Convention speech.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

President Jemison, Members of the Staff and Members of the Board of Directors...

PROGRAM:

Opening  
Scripture: psalm 84 verses 1-7  
Prayer  
Song - by the choir of 250 standing behind the President  
Introduction by President Jemison (which might be long)  
Presidential Remarks

AUDIENCE:

16,000 in attendance  
75 Board members on stage

TIDBITS:

Reverend Doctor T.J. Jemison's father, Reverend Doctor D.V. Jemison was also President of the National Baptist Convention. He was from Selma, Alabama.

The Convention is 109 years old.

Please contact me, if there is any more you need.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Joe Watkins to David Demarest, re: Thoughts on the Bush Strategy for Black America. (4 pp.)	08/02/89	<del>P-5</del>	

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File, Backup  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** National Baptist Convention 9/8/89 [1]

Open on Expiration of PRA  
 (Document Follows)

By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

<b>Date Closed:</b> 10/8/2004 <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2004-2265-S <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 06268
<b>MR Case #:</b> <b>MR Disposition:</b> <b>Disposition Date:</b>	<b>Appeal Case #:</b> <b>Appeal Disposition:</b> <b>Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



*Re: Peter Geronimis*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

THROUGH: SICHAN SIV  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOE WATKINS  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

DATE: AUGUST 2, 1989

RE: THOUGHTS ON THE BUSH STRATEGY FOR  
BLACK AMERICA

Since the President will be addressing a number of key black groups in the next few weeks and months, I thought that it might be helpful to share a few thoughts on some of the areas of critical concern to black Americans and how the President might begin the task of addressing some of those concerns. Needless to say, the following list is not all inclusive; however, it may provide the beginnings of a foundation upon which to build a more comprehensive strategy. Here are my picks for key items on the black agenda:

1 - FAMILY

Over the last few decades the black family has become an endangered species in America. Recent surveys show that in 1987 42% of black families were single-parent/female-headed households and that 52% of black children in 1987 lived in such households. Black female teenagers, according to the most recent numbers available, will be responsible for about 50% of all adolescent out-of-wedlock births and young black males make up a disproportionate share of the US prison population. The poverty rate for black families has increased from 20% in 1969 to 30% in 1987. These grim statistics only underscore the reality of the terribly precarious state of the black family in America.

Family is extremely important in our society and it is probably safe to assume that one's ability to compete successfully in this society is often directly impacted by family upbringing and support or the lack thereof. It is also probably safe to say that if the current trends continue, our society will be a most divided one, consisting primarily of haves and have-nots, with a disproportionate share of the have-nots being black.

On the bright side, the President has a real opportunity here to take the offensive by dedicating himself to the enhancement of black families. Besides encouraging churches and community-based organizations to help him in promoting the strengthening and

stabilization of black families, he might offer to take a second look at The Family Support Act of 1988. By amending one or two key provisions of that bill, the President would demonstrate his strong support for keeping the poorest families together. (Nota Bene: The current bill doesn't assign high priority to training low-income and young non-custodial fathers, and doesn't set minimum nationwide AFDC needs and payment standards). Perhaps Bill Roper's Low-Income Opportunity Board could undertake a study to find new ways of keeping two-parent low-income families together and then make those recommendations to the President.

## 2 - EDUCATION

The President has stated on a number of occasions that education is the best economic program and the best way to bring about economic parity for minority groups. As a longtime supporter of early childhood intervention through Project HeadStart, historically black colleges and universities and the Job Training Partnership Act, the President can proudly point to his record. However, the greater challenge in the next couple of years will be to reduce the high drop-out rates of black youths in inner-city schools (due partially to a pervading sense of hopelessness and the lure of fast money from the sale of illegal drugs), which only exacerbates chronic high unemployment and crime rates. Besides pointing to federal initiatives currently in place, another idea the President might consider in tackling this tough issue is to continue to encourage more public/private partnerships in city-wide school districts based on models like the "I Have a Dream" program, the Cities-In-Schools program or the "Say Yes to Education" program, which, interestingly, has a very large and easily replicated college student volunteer component. (Such programs could perhaps be incorporated into the 'YES' program). He might also point to Mr. Bennett's plan to combat the drug problem in this country (when it reaches a publishable conclusion) and explain how that will impact the black youth population in particular.

Another key issue will be college loans. Although the President has been a strong supporter of black colleges and universities for a long time that support should not be read as disinterest in the great number of black applicants to predominately white colleges and universities. The availability of scholarships and loans will continue to have a profound impact on the percentage of black youths seeking a college



education. While programs like ACCESS in Boston and the "Say Yes to Education" Foundation in Philadelphia provide last-dollar amounts to impoverished minority students who have been accepted to college, the availability of federal dollars will be an important indicator of this Administration's commitment to the black community.

### 3 - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND OPPORTUNITY

This area is absolutely critical to black Americans, the President and the Republican Party. As far as the black community and the President are concerned the creation of real economic opportunity and development are the most appropriate remedies to overcome grossly disproportionate poverty rates, to boost employment within the community, to boost income levels and to help blacks enter the American economic mainstream. Politically speaking, a measurably successful economic opportunity program could bring about a substantial return for the Republican Party beginning perhaps as early as 1990.

The President has often stated his support for minority business and his desire to encourage minorities to become entrepreneurially-minded. In this regard, there may be a couple of things that the President can do to plainly demonstrate his good intentions to blacks. Besides encouraging the cabinet departments to set and seek to meet minority business goals, the President might consider authorizing a White House Initiative on Minority Business Enterprise. Unlike President Reagan's White House Task Force for Minority Business Expansion, which was headed by Sam Pierce and housed at HUD, this group might be co-chaired by a leading black businessperson and a committed Fortune 500 CEO/Chairman (who might even be recently retired). Reporting more appropriately to the Secretary of Commerce, this group might have as its charge a mandate to find new and measurable ways of enhancing minority business opportunities and providing incentives for minorities to become entrepreneurs.

### 4 - HOUSING

Although this area is too hot to touch at present, there are some real opportunities to make some significant headway through creativity, such as tenant management possibilities. However, I repeat: this area is too hot to touch at present.



While he won't have easy answers to the aforementioned issues, the President will have the black community's attention as well as possibly gain their support if 1) he takes the bull by the horns by demonstrating that he understands the importance of these issues to the community and 2) shows that he is attempting to deal with them in a substantive way.

The Urban League, the National Baptist Convention and the National Black Leadership Forum await us.

Let me know what you think.

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August 24, 1988, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 1703 words

HEADLINE: Black Churches: New Mission on Family

BYLINE: By TAMAR LEWIN

BODY:

Dismayed by the disintegration of so many inner-city families, black churches have started many new community programs to reduce teen-age pregnancy, keep children in school, provide adolescent boys with role models and find adoptive homes for black infants.

In the process, many churches have been forced to overcome a traditional reluctance to grapple with sexuality, contraception and drugs.

'There is a crisis in the black family and everybody has heard the cry,' said Vanella Crawford, a project director at the Congress of National Black Churches. 'The black churches have realized that they have to go beyond feeding and clothing people and start getting at the problems that are destroying the black community.'

Those who work with black churches say it can still be a delicate matter to persuade them to overcome their reluctance to confront sex and drug issues.

'The church's message is still abstinence, so you're not going to see the pastor giving out condoms,' said Clarence Wood, the National Urban League's vice president for external affairs. 'But the black church has become very sophisticated about making its facilities available to programs that can respond to the needs of the community. The theological conflict is still there, but the needs are being met.'

The Lincoln Congregational Temple in Washington, for example, recently sponsored a baby shower for a 22-year-old single father who last spring stopped the baby's mother from putting the girl up for adoption.

'They gave me a high chair, a bath set, a sweater set, a washing machine, and some money,' said the young man, Clarence Cherry, who is a Muslim. 'I felt overwhelmed that these people are so concerned about us, and care so much, even though I'm outside their denomination.'

All kinds of families from outside the congregation have gotten help from Lincoln's 'Adopt-a-Family' program, through which troubled families are matched with sponsors who provide support but not money for a year. The program is the brainchild of Mr. Cherry's sponsor, Elsie Monroe, a 62-year-old church member, who not only organized the baby shower but also helped Mr. Cherry find a job and a lawyer to fight the custody battle.

Babies Are Most Vulnerable



(c) 1988 The New York Times, August 24, 1988

Lincoln is not the only black church trying to shore up the families of the nation's impoverished inner-city neighborhoods, where poverty, drugs and a lack of job skills combine to create despair and a dead-end for many children. Particularly vulnerable are the babies, three-quarters of all black infants nationwide, who are born to unwed mothers, half of them teen-agers.

Two years ago, Ms. Crawford's group began Project Spirit, which runs after-school programs for 6- to 12-year-old children at 15 churches in Oakland, Atlanta and Indianapolis. The children, most of whom do not have a parent waiting at home, are picked up at school and taken to the church. After a snack and a pause for prayer and songs, the children spend an hour on their homework, then 45 minutes on activities ranging from black history lessons to role-playing games to help them work out conflicts. The program also provides parent-training classes.

Since Project Spirit began in 1986, Ms. Crawford said, more than 300 churches have asked if they could be added as sites for the program.

Many other models are being tried throughout the nation.

In Chicago, at Holy Angels Roman Catholic Church, the Rev. George Clements was frustrated by his inability to get people in his parish to adopt homeless black children. So, after adopting a teen-age boy himself, to the dismay of the archdiocese, Father Clements set up "One Church, One Child," a program to encourage churches to motivate their members to become adoptive parents. Since then, 81 families at Holy Angels have adopted children, and the group has been responsible for 8,000 adoptions in 31 states.

#### Looking at Fatherhood

In New Orleans, 20 adolescent boys at the Greater Liberty Baptist Church joined members of the church brotherhood for a Black Manhood Training program: discussions on spirituality, sexuality, health, the importance of education and the special problems of black men. One exercise: analyzing the lyrics of "Poppa Was a Rolling Stone" and confronting the perception that black men are not responsible fathers.

The program, designed by Dr. Courtland Lee of the University of Virginia, culminates in a public ceremony, modeled on the Jewish bar mitzvah and African initiation rites, at which each boy talks about what it means to be a strong black man.

In Durham, N.C., the Church Connection, a project of the Lincoln Community Health Center, recruited six black pastors, each of whom chose several lay volunteers from his congregation for eight hours of training on adolescent development and sexuality, substance abuse and making referrals to community resources.

With help from the health center, the volunteers then organized health screening sessions, nutrition or family-life classes, or other health-related activities at the church. The volunteers can also refer adolescents to Lincoln for checkups, medical treatment, or contraceptives.

For many churches, the easiest way to handle the sensitive issues of sex and drugs is to invite outside groups to come into the church to deal with them,



(c) 1988 The New York Times, August 24, 1988

so that there is no pastoral imprimatur on anything that could conflict with the church's theological dictates.

#### Resistance Tends to Vanish

Many program directors find that once the program is in place, resistance from the congregation tends to vanish.

'We kind of walked lightly with the sexuality issue at first, because we knew there were some older members who thought anything dealing with sexuality was a sin and that these girls had sinned in the eyes of God, so what they needed was to be saved,' said the Rev. Joan Wharton, who runs a center for teen-age parents at the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore. 'But we found we didn't have to walk so lightly.' The center offers tutoring, child-care classes and a nursery where babies can play while their parents are taking part in the program.

Inner-city black churches like Bethel provided much of the leadership for the civil rights movement in the 1960's. But the very success of the movement in opening housing opportunities made such social activism less common in the 1970's, as middle-class members of the established downtown churches moved to the suburbs.

'With the migration to the suburbs, a lot of churches were empty six days a week,' Ms. Crawford said. 'But now they're taking up important positions in their communities again. We're coming 360 degrees around, and moving back into that kind of leadership on all the problems that affect the black community.'

Atlanta's Big Bethel A.M.E., the oldest black congregation in the city, offers a prime example.

'When I got here in 1980, most of our members had moved out of the neighborhood, and the church was mostly a one-day-a-week worship center,' said the Rev. McKinley Young, a 43-year-old who grew up in the Big Bethel congregation. 'Black churches knew there were problems with alcohol and drugs and teen pregnancy, but it was treated as something you didn't discuss. But my generation was trained to think the church was supposed to be on the line with the people. And the problems have become so pervasive, you can't ignore it anymore.'

So Mr. Young added all kinds of programs for the people in the community: Big Bethel now has a Project Spirit after-school program, a Saturday tutorial for older children, a food pantry and clothing service, two chapters of Alcoholics Anonymous meeting there as well as a group for grown children of alcoholics, and a drug information and referral hot line.

'Occasionally, someone will come in and light up a cigarette or say a word we're not accustomed to hearing in this building, but it hasn't been a big problem,' said Ronnie Elijah Brailsford, the assistant pastor at Big Bethel who is coordinator of the drug hot line.

Most community leaders in black neighborhoods say that perhaps the biggest problem they face is finding a way to help the vast pool of young black men who never get the education they need to find good jobs, and instead get sidetracked into lives of drug abuse and crime.



(c) 1988 The New York Times, August 24, 1988

'The statistics on black men's health risks, incarceration, homicide and drug abuse are so dismal it almost seems we're an endangered species,' said Andre Watson, director of the Black Male Youth Project at Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington. 'A lot of the boys in this neighborhood come from single-parent families, and don't have any male role models except for the guys hanging out on the street corners selling drugs.'

#### An Underlying Agenda

Mr. Watson's program aims to change that for 10- to 17-year-old boys in the Shaw neighborhood. On a hot summer afternoon, the project doesn't look like much: just a couple of dozen boys hanging out with three staff members in a noisy basement recreation room, playing Ping Pong, learning chess and clustering around the tabletop that holds the Foosball game, one of the biggest draws.

But the underlying agenda, helping the boys make a successful transition to manhood, could hardly be more ambitious.

'It's the basketball team and the trips that get the boys here, but what we care about is that they come to study hall every day after school so we can help them with their homework,' said Mr. Watson, who used to work at the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. 'And if they don't maintain a 2-point average, they're not eligible for the team or some of the trips. We have workshops on drugs, sexuality, career development and black history, done in a fun way. Our measure of success is that, even though this is a voluntary program and no one has to be here, the boys keep coming.'

Abdoah Billingslea, a 14-year-old participant who lives with his grandmother and his aunt, has another measure. 'I like it here because there's some things you get from a man that you can't get from a woman,' he said. 'And my grandmother's not so worried now, because she knows where I am every day, and I'm not on the streets.'

GRAPHIC: photo of Clarence Cherry and Elsie Monroe (NYT/Michael Geissinger) (pg. A18)

SUBJECT: FAMILIES AND FAMILY LIFE; BLACKS (IN US); PROTESTANT CHURCHES; RELIGION AND CHURCHES; URBAN AREAS; SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND TRENDS; CHILDREN AND YOUTH; ADOPTIONS; ETHICS; DRUG ADDICTION AND ABUSE; SEX

ORGANIZATION: ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH; URBAN LEAGUE, NATIONAL

NAME: WOOD, CLARENCE; LEWIN, TAMAR



4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

## The Associated Press

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May 9, 1989, Tuesday, AM cycle

*Child Care*

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 344 words

HEADLINE: Bush Visits Day Care Center to Show Opposition To Senate Measure

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Bush-Kids

## BODY:

President Bush visited a Baptist day care center Tuesday to dramatize his opposition to Democratic-sponsored legislation headed for Senate action.

Bush hinted that Washington's Shiloh Baptist Church child development center might be denied federal help under a bill by Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., because of its religious affiliation.

A spokesman for Dodd disputed the contention.

Dodd's measure, due for Senate debate later this week or next week, would provide \$2.5 billion to states to directly assist individuals and centers that provide child care.

Bush has proposed a rival measure that would give assistance to working parents rather than to child-care providers. His measure, so far ignored by Congress, calls for \$1,000 tax credits for low-income working parents for each child under age 4.

"My thought is to help the parents with choice. If they want to send a kid to this facility, fine, give them a little help - those that need it the most. If they want to go to some other kind of facility where there's no religious reference, fine, let them do that too," Bush told officials of the child care center.

Without mentioning it by name, Bush suggested the Dodd bill was overly restrictive and "leans over so far backwards on this separation of church and state that you just erode out the participation of one of the best forces in the community for teaching these kids values."

Jason Issacson, a Dodd spokesman, insisted funds under Dodd's bill would still be available to church-affiliated child-care centers which, like the Shiloh center, did not stress religious education.

He said that a majority of the nation's church-affiliated day care centers probably fall into this category and would thus be eligible for the grants.



The Associated Press, May 9, 1989

Bush met briefly with a group of children attending the Shiloh center and bantered with them.

One asked him who he was.

"I am the president of the United States of America," Bush said. The child looked dubious.

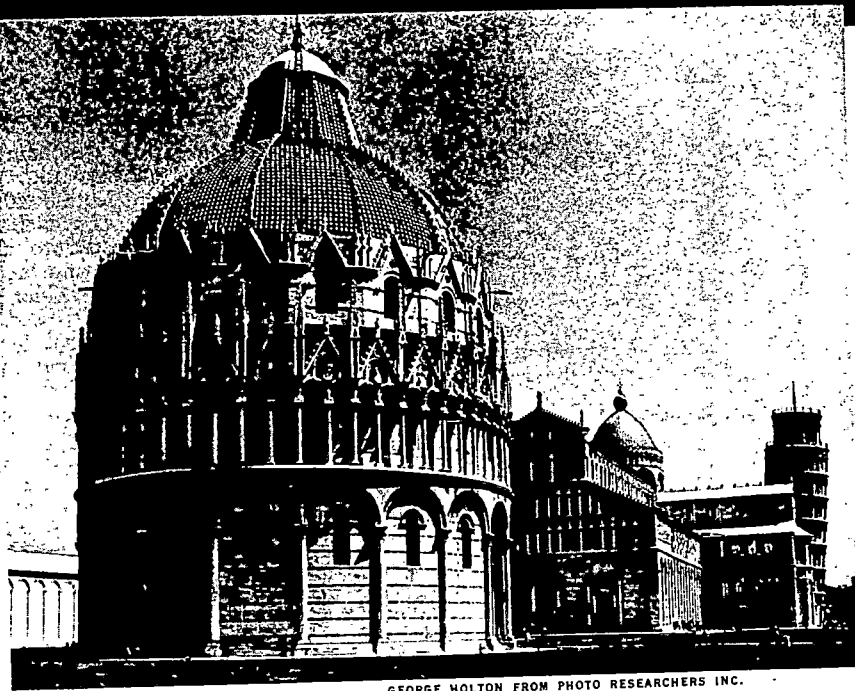
"Don't you believe that? There, see?" he said, showing the youth his presidential tie clasp.

the New Testament, the bene-  
are the inauguration of the new  
"rebirth" or "regeneration") and  
Holy Spirit (see John 3:3-8;  
). In later practice, in the West,  
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tivism in the New Testament pe-  
ated from it, and became the rit-  
t, usually administered at the be-  
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tion follows at once in infant bap-  
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irmation and first communion; and  
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struction and spiritual preparation  
into the church. The usual formul-  
Matthew 28:19, "in the name  
and of the Son, and of the Ho-  
as been argued that the usual Ne-  
rmula was "in the name of Chris-  
ns 6:11); but it is quite possi-  
n meant only "as a Christian," a  
tical sense of baptism "in" or "into"  
as a later interpretation. See  
ON.

C. GRANT, Union Theological Seminary

## Bibliography

- THE BAPTISTERY at Pisa, Italy, is an example of the large, separate structures built for baptisms during the Middle Ages. This round, Romanesque building dates from the 12th and 14th century. Behind the baptistery are the cathedral and the bell tower—famous as the leaning tower.



GEORGE HOLTEN FROM PHOTO RESEARCHERS INC

Baptista was elected president of Bolivia in 1892 and served until 1896. He failed to secure a Pacific port through negotiations with Chile, but his administration fostered education and started the first topographical survey of Bolivia.

**BAPTISTS**, bapt'ists, are a Protestant religious denomination that originated in the 17th century, as an offshoot of English Congregationalism, and formed part of the left wing of English Puritanism. The Baptists form the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, and Baptist churches are found throughout the world.

## DEVELOPMENT OF BAPTIST DOCTRINE

**Early History.** During the latter part of the century, small groups of radical Puritans became impatient at the delay in reforming the English church. Adopting as their slogan, "Reformation without tarrying for any," they broke from the established church and formed churches of their own. Known as Separatists, they differed from their fellow Puritans only in their conception of church government, insisting that a true church was composed of believers only, and that each believer had an equal voice in deciding church affairs. This, they contended, was the New Testament pattern of the church and therefore the only polity of any true church.

In Amsterdam, the Smyth company debated the meaning of membership in the Christian church, and the old question of baptism, long discussed by Separatists, was raised again. Smyth stated that according to Separatist belief, "the churches of the apostolic constitution consisted of saints only," and that baptism should therefore be reserved for those who could offer convincing proof of grace. This, he felt, was the true practice of New Testament churches, for he found no warrant in Scripture for infant baptism. Smyth's views on infant baptism were set forth in *The Character of the Beast*, a pamphlet issued in 1609. In that same year 36 adherents joined him in forming a new church on the principle of baptizing believers only. He baptized himself and others by applying water to the forehead.

In England another schism occurred, this time between the General and the Particular







outstanding leaders of the liberal

h century advanced, a new em-identified itself as Fundamentalist, stronger position in the United mission fields and displaced much evangelicalism. This movement, the importance of correct doctrine, viration of the Bible, and belief-ning of Christ to establish a mil-ice, engendered considerable con-duced several new divisions in

inciples. The real coherence and baptists is found in six cardinal icht they all generally adhere: *Authority of the Bible as a suffi-ith and practice.* Acknowledging der, no human authority, and no Baptists seek to derive their lity directly from the Scriptures. nts as authoritative tests of faith have been consistently rejected aptist groups, since the Bible it- as possessing the only valid

's baptism. This is the most con-ective principle of Baptists. As eveloped, insistence on immersion form of the rite was added to ief. Since the 1900's, however, mber of churches have adopted eceiving members of churches inations into associate or full hout rebaptism.

's composed of believers only. ld strongly to the conception of r "voluntary" church, limited in ose who can give clear evidence viction and experience.

iesthood of believers. By this s understand not only that the tian can rightfully serve as a fellows; they regard it as con- ch member of a church equal ights in determining the affairs In this democracy, the minister office by a vote of the con- e is not regarded as having any l or ecclesiastical authority.

onomy of the local church. Bap- in the catholic church but most nly visible expression is in local l according to the New Testa- d wholly independent of one denominational organization ons, societies, and conventions- are designed to serve specific ion concern to the churches and y authority over the churches. messengers sent to the meetings represent only themselves and

from which they come, since nnot delegate their sovereign associations, conventions, and re, are independent of the heir own terms of membership, to submit their actions to the ication.

n of church and state. From yth, Baptists have contended te is not by virtue of his office lligion or matters of conscience, pel men to this or that form

of religion or doctrine, but to leave Christian religion free to every man's conscience." In the United States the Baptists seized upon the Revolutionary War as an opportunity to establish this principle of complete religious freedom. Having set the example of religious freedom earlier in Rhode Island, the Baptists helped secure the same guarantees in the other states. They played an important role in securing the adoption of the "no religious test" clause in the federal Constitution as well as in securing the adoption of the First Amendment.

#### BAPTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the American colonies, Baptist churches were mainly indigenous, the product of the same leftward movement among Puritans that was taking place in England. The first church was organized in Rhode Island in 1638, soon after that colony was founded by Roger Williams.

**New England.** Williams had adopted Congrega- tionalist views soon after being ordained to the ministry of the Church of England. In 1631 he sailed for Massachusetts, where he was called to be minister of the Salem church. He soon became embroiled in controversy over the complete- ness of the separation of the Massachusetts churches from the Church of England, the au- thority of civil magistrates to punish other than civil offenses, and the validity of the title of the New England colonists to land taken from the Indians. In October 1635, Williams was sen- tenced to banishment from Massachusetts. To es- cape deportation, he fled, purchased land from the Narragansett Indians, and established the colony of Rhode Island in 1636.

The compact of the new community, which bound the settlers to obey laws duly enacted "only in civil things," was the initial expression of what became the American principle of sepa- ration of church and state. It is generally held that Roger Williams, convinced by Scripture that infant baptism was invalid, formed what is con- sidered to be the first Baptist church in America. Some Baptist historians, however, dispute this claim and hold that the honor of founding the mother church in America belongs to John Clarke, a New Hampshire physician, who estab- lished a church at Newport at about the same time. This church soon became, if it was not from the first, a Baptist church.

In March 1639, Williams was baptized by Ezekiel Holliman. There has been some con- troversy as to how the baptism was administered. If it was by immersion, then immersion was practiced in America prior to its introduction among English Baptists. A letter from Williams to John Winthrop, years after the formation of the church, mentions the recent introduction of "a new baptism and the manner of dipping." In this same letter mention is made of a Mark Lucar, who was immersed in London in 1642 and came to America two years later. From this it is argued that immersion was introduced by this London Baptist. Williams continued the leftward pilgrimage that characterized the Puri- tan movement, and after a brief identification with the Baptists, he withdrew from the group and classified himself as a "Seeker" awaiting the reestablishment of the true church.

The colony at Newport became a center of Baptist activity. It was from Newport that Obadiah Holmes went to Lynn, Mass., in 1651 to hold a religious service. Apprehended by the



EWING GALLOWAY

THE FIRST BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE, now a land- mark in Providence, R.I., was erected in 1775.

Massachusetts Bay authorities, he was sentenced to be "well whipped," and the sentence was carried out in the streets of Boston.

The Baptists, however, could not be per- manently suppressed. In 1663 a company of Welsh Baptists settled at Swansea, Mass., and established a church. Two years later a Baptist church was formed in Boston. The first minister was imprisoned several times and treated with such severity that his health was impaired. When a meetinghouse was constructed in 1678, its doors were nailed shut by order of the General Court. The members of a church in Kittery, Me., then part of Massachusetts, were so harassed that they moved in a body to Charleston, S.C., and organized the first Baptist church in the South. Persecution did not abate until some toleration was granted by the charter of 1692.

**The Philadelphia Association.** The other great center of Baptist strength was the Philadelphia area, the first two churches being formed in 1688 at Pennepack, Pa., and at Middletown, N.J. Within the next decade, additional churches were organized, and in 1707 the Philadelphia Baptist Association was formed. This fraternal body had no legislative or judicial authority over the churches or ministers, but cared for their com- mon interests and conducted missionary activities. Churches as distant as Virginia ultimately joined the association, but other associations were estab- lished when the churches became more numer- ous. In 1714 a number of General Baptists went to the American colonies. This group died out in the East but was later revived in the Midwest early in the 19th century.

**The Great Awakening.** Baptist growth was ac- celerated by the Great Awakening. Although the Baptists participated in the revival only in its



final Southern phase, they reaped large numbers of recruits in New England from among the Separates who had been thrust out of the established churches by the antirevivalist majority. The increase in Massachusetts was more than tenfold during a 40-year period, and in the Southern colonies the rate of growth was even greater despite severe harassment in Virginia. The opening of the trans-Appalachian frontier offered the greatest opportunity, for the self-generating Baptist churches and farmer preachers were especially suited to the needs of the West. Their success in meeting the religious demands of the frontier made the Baptists one of the great American denominations. See also GREAT AWAKENING.

**Moves Toward Unity.** Denominational organization began in 1707 with the Philadelphia Baptist Association. It has been estimated that by 1800 there were at least 48 associations. The initial impetus for a national organization came from an interest in foreign missions.

Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice had been sent to India as the first missionaries of the newly organized American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. During their journey they became convinced that only believers should be baptized, and when they reached Calcutta, they sought out English Baptist missionaries and were rebaptized. Rice returned to the United States to secure support for Judson from American Baptists. His efforts resulted in the formation of the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions. This body, formed in May 1814, soon became known as the Triennial Convention, because its meetings were held every three years. The American Baptist Publication Society was organized in 1824, the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1832, and the American and Foreign Bible Society in 1837. These national societies became the bond of unity among the Baptist churches.

**Divisions of the Church.** The unity thus achieved was soon impaired. Opposition to Sunday Schools, to missionary and Bible societies, and to the Triennial Convention itself soon developed among Baptists who considered them unscriptural. An extreme Calvinism manifested itself among some of the frontier churches, resulting in the formation of the Primitive, or "Hard-Shell," Baptists. A larger secession, centering in Ohio and Kentucky, derived from the "Christian" movement of Alexander Campbell. In New England, the Christian movement of Abner Jones made similar inroads.

The major split, however, resulted from the controversy over slavery. During the decade prior to 1845, various compromises between pro- and antislavery parties were attempted unsuccessfully. In May 1845 a convention representing the Southern Baptist churches met at Augusta, Ga., and formed the Southern Baptist Convention. The Northern churches continued their common activities through the old societies, and in 1907 they were united by the establishment of the Northern Baptist Convention, in Washington, D.C. (now the American Baptist Convention), with Charles Evans Hughes as its first president.

The close of the Civil War gave immediate impetus to the formation of Negro Baptist churches. The first state convention of such churches took place in 1866 in North Carolina.

In 1880 the National Baptist Convention of America came into existence. In 1915, however, the convention split into two groups, the parent segment becoming the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., and the smaller segment retaining the original name. The remarkable Baptist strength among Negroes resulted chiefly from the predominance of Baptists in the slave-holding states prior to the Civil War and from the ability of any small group to organize a church and ordain ministers on its own initiative.

Baptists have made notable contributions to education. Brown University was founded by Baptists in Rhode Island in 1764, and after the Revolutionary War Baptist educational institutions multiplied rapidly. The trans-Appalachian region produced the largest number, but not without opposition. Baptists from the South who settled in the new Western communities tended to be either indifferent or opposed to an educated ministry, and they especially distrusted missionaries from the East. Baptists from New England, however, inheriting the Congregationalist cultural tradition, established academies, colleges, and seminaries wherever they could. The culmination of the educational advance came in 1890 with the founding of the University of Chicago, intended to be a great national Baptist "super-university." Since the 1920's the ties of Baptist educational institutions with the denomination have become tenuous in the North and, to a lesser extent, in the South.

**Membership.** The Southern Baptist Convention is now the largest of the Baptist bodies in the United States. Its membership more than tripled during the first half of the 20th century, and by the mid-1960's it had more than 33,000 churches with a membership of about 10,600,000. The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., is the second largest group, with a membership in the 1960's of over 5,500,000 in more than 26,000 churches. The third largest group is the National Baptist Convention of America with about 2,700,000 members in some 11,500 churches. The American Baptist Convention claims about 1,500,000 members in nearly 6,300 churches. Several groups of "national-origin" Baptists in the United States and Canada have their own organizations. The largest are the Swedish Baptist General Conference with about 87,000 members and the German North American Baptist General Conference with about 53,000 members.

There are also a number of smaller groups, maintaining separate organizations. Most of these date from the colonial or early frontier periods and represent isolated and dwindling communities. An extreme Calvinism is represented by the Primitive Baptists, organized in North Carolina in 1827 and claiming about 73,000 members in the mid-1960's, and the Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists, organized in Virginia about 1826. Among the Arminian groups are the General Six Principle Baptists, formed in Rhode Island in 1653, with about 125 members in the mid-1960's; the Free Will Baptists, formed in North Carolina in 1727, with about 172,000 members in the mid-1960's; the Separate Baptists in Christ, dating back to a North Carolina association of 1758 and claiming about 7,500 members in the mid-1960's; and the General Baptists—a later offshoot of the transplanted English General Baptists—organized in Indiana in 1823, having about 63,000 members in the mid-1960's.

Three moderately Cal ucts of the geographical highlands. These are th small group who remaine of Regular and Separate c in Virginia in 1787 and with about 17,000 memb (a surviving fragment of 1801, perpetuating the n country districts after i elsewhere) with about 6 mid-1960's; and the Duck Associations of Baptists (c in 1825) and having abou Seventh Day Baptist Gene lished in Rhode Island in about 6,000 in the mid-19 as the Sabbath.

Several groups have 1900 that represent a mor of orthodoxy. The one exc Unity Baptist Association, 1 bers, formed on the principl The others are the America with about 720,000 memb mainly by churches in Ol Arkansas; the General Ass Baptist Churches, organized the 1930's, with a current r 155,000; and the Conserva tion of America, establishe current membership of abou

#### BAPTISTS IN OTHER C

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National Baptist Convention into existence. In 1915, however, split into two groups, the parenting the National Baptist Convention, and the smaller segment retaining the name. The remarkable Baptism of Negroes resulted chiefly from the Civil War and from the ability of Baptists in the slave-holding South to organize a church and move on its own initiative.

They made notable contributions to education. Brown University was founded by the Baptist community of Providence, Rhode Island in 1764, and after the Civil War Baptist educational institutions multiplied rapidly. The trans-Appalachian region had the largest number, but not the most. Baptists from the South who moved Westward communities tended to be different or opposed to an educated ministry, especially distrusted the ministry of the East. Baptists from New England, inheriting the Congregationalist tradition, established academies, colleges, wherever they could. The cultural and educational advance came in the founding of the University of Chicago, which was to be a great national Baptist university. Since the 1920's the ties between Baptist educational institutions with the South have become tenuous in the North, and strong in the South.

The Southern Baptist Convention is the largest of the Baptist bodies in the United States, its membership more than tripled in the last half of the 20th century, and in the 1930's it had more than 33,000 members. The Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., has a membership of about 10,600,000. The largest group is the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., with a membership of about 5,500,000 in more than 26,000 churches. The third largest group is the National Baptist Convention of America with about 11,500 churches. The Baptist Convention claims about 6,300 churches. The "national-origin" Baptists in the United States and Canada have their own churches. The largest are the Swedish Baptist Conference with about 87,000 members, the German North American Baptist Conference with about 53,000 members, and so a number of smaller groups and separate organizations. Most of the colonial or early frontier churches are present isolated and dwindling. In extreme Calvinism is represented by Primitive Baptists, organized in the mid-1820's and claiming about 11,500 churches in the mid-1960's, and the Two-Thirds Predestinarian Baptists, organized about 1826. Among the American Baptists are the General Six Principles Baptist Church in Rhode Island in 1653, with about 1,000 members in the mid-1960's; the Freedmen's Baptist Church in North Carolina in 1727, with about 1,000 members in the mid-1960's; the Baptist Church in Christ, dating back to the association of 1758 and claiming about 1,000 members in the mid-1960's; and the Baptist Church—a later offshoot of the trans-Atlantic Baptist movement—organized in 1853 and having about 63,000 members in the mid-1960's.

Three moderately Calvinistic groups are products of the geographical isolation of the southern highlands. These are the Regular Baptists (a small group who remained apart from the union of Regular and Separate churches that took place in Virginia in 1787 and in Kentucky in 1801) with about 17,000 members; the United Baptists (a surviving fragment of the union of 1787 and 1801, perpetuating the name "United" in back-country districts after it had been dropped elsewhere) with about 63,000 members in the mid-1960's; and the Duck River (and Kindred) Associations of Baptists (organized in Tennessee in 1825) and having about 3,000 members. The Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, established in Rhode Island in 1671, and numbering about 6,000 in the mid-1960's, observe Saturday as the Sabbath.

Several groups have been organized since 1900 that represent a more rigidly defined type of orthodoxy. The one exception is the Christian Unity Baptist Association, with about 650 members, formed on the principle of open communion. The others are the American Baptist Association, with about 720,000 members, formed in 1905 mainly by churches in Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas; the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, organized in the Midwest in the 1930's, with a current membership of about 155,000; and the Conservative Baptist Association of America, established in 1948, with a current membership of about 300,000.

#### BAPTISTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

While Baptists have their greatest strength in the United States, where they numbered more than 25 million by the mid-1960's, there were about 4 million Baptists in other countries.

**British Isles.** The 19th century was the great era of English Baptists, whose spiritual life had been quickened by the awakening of missionary interest. It was a time of great preaching and overflowing congregations. Several of the preachers achieved an international reputation—most notably, Robert Hall, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, John Clifford, and Alexander MacLaren. Churches multiplied, membership increased rapidly, and the Baptists played no small part in creating the "nonconformist conscience," which at the end of the century was strong enough to make or break a prime minister.

In 1832 an instrument of denominational cohesion was forged with the formation of the Baptist Union. In 1891 the union was reorganized to include the General Baptists, who had led a separate existence for more than two centuries. The churches of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were also brought into the new union. The first Baptist church in Wales had been organized in 1649 by John Myles, but the most influential of the early leaders was Vavasor Powell, a Welsh Baptist living in London, who established some 20 churches in the years after 1855. In Scotland the first Baptist church was formed in 1750, and the growth of the movement there was closely identified with the work of James and Robert Haldane. The movement in Ireland sprang from the activity of members of Cromwell's army.

From the earliest days, British Baptists have been divided on the question of communion with other churches. Closed communion—the restriction of the Lord's Supper to those who had been baptized as believers—was practiced by most of

the early Particular churches and by some of the General churches. Most General Baptists and some Particular Baptists, on the other hand, favored open communion—an invitation to all Christians to participate in the Lord's Supper. A similar controversy has centered around open membership. From the beginning, some churches that practiced only believer's baptism admitted persons to membership who had not been so baptized. Since they believed that baptism was only a symbol, they would not make it a wall of division from those who could give proofs of grace. This was the practice of a number of Particular churches. By the 20th century most Baptist churches maintained open communion, and the open membership churches were increasing.

Since 1900, the number of Baptists in the British Isles has steadily declined. This has been true also of the membership of the Church of England and the other Free Churches. Baptists in the British Isles numbered about 295,000 in the mid-1960's.

**Continental Europe.** Baptists on the European continent have no connection with the Anabaptists of the Reformation but are the product of English and American Baptist influence. In France a church was formed in Paris in 1835, after three years of missionary work. From this center, other French Baptist communities arose, and by the mid-1960's there were about 3,300 members, a 100 percent increase over a 25-year period. In Germany a church was organized in 1834 at Hamburg by John Gerhardt Oncken, who had spent some years in England. He was baptized with six others by Barnas Sears, an American professor of theology who was studying in Germany. Oncken's church spurred Baptist growth, which maintained a steady pace. By the mid-1960's there were some 550 Baptist churches in Germany with 95,000 members.

The German Baptists established moderately successful missions in Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, and Russia. By the mid-1960's there were about 83,000 Baptists in Rumania, 22,000 in Poland, 19,000 in Hungary, 4,300 in Czechoslovakia, 9,300 in the Netherlands, and 3,700 in Yugoslavia. The greatest success of the German missions resulted from work among Russian prisoners during World War I, and the growth of Baptist churches in Russia during the years following was phenomenal. Conservative estimates placed the number of Baptists in the Soviet Union at more than 2 million in 1950, but by the mid-1960's membership was calculated at about 540,000.

Swedish Baptists owe their origin to two sailors, Gustav Schroeder, who was baptized in New York in 1844, and Frederick Nilsson, who was baptized by Oncken in 1847. The Swedes also sent missions to neighboring countries, principally Norway and Finland. By the mid-1960's 500 Swedish churches claimed a membership of more than 29,000. In Norway about 60 churches had a total membership of some 6,700. In Denmark more than 80 churches counted a total of 7,000 members, and in Finland nearly 50 churches had a total membership of about 3,000. Baptist missions have also been established in Spain and Italy by Baptists from the southern United States. In 1905 the Baptist World Alliance was formed in London to unite Baptists throughout the world. Periodic meetings of the Alliance maintain the continuity of the Baptist movement.

**Canada.** The Baptist churches of Canada were started by New England immigrants, by men influenced by the Great Awakening, and by Scottish immigrants who were converts of James and Robert Haldane. Until the mid-20th century Canadian Baptists were organized into three separate conventions—in the Maritime Provinces, in Ontario and Quebec, and in western Canada. Now linked in a loose confederation, they number more than 1,600 churches and 175,000 members.

**Australasia.** In Australia the first Baptist church was formed in Sydney in 1834, and the movement was extended from there to New Zealand and Tasmania. In the mid-1960's there were more than 720 churches in Australasia with a total membership of over 55,000.

**Asia, Africa, and Latin America.** Missionary work has been carried on by Baptists in almost every part of the world. Baptist communities in Asia now total more than 870,000 members, and those in Africa more than 1 million. Communities have been established in several Latin American countries, with a total membership of 265,000, of which 230,000 are in Brazil.

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**BAR**, bār, is a region of France that lies between Luxembourg, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and Champagne. It is also known as *Barrois*. The region, situated between the Marne and Moselle rivers, is divided among the departments of Moselle, Meurthe-et-Moselle, and Meuse.

The principal city of Bar is Bar-le-Duc, an industrial center, with foundries, textile mills, and printing plants. Other cities in Bar are St.-Mihiel, Pont-à-Mousson, and Commercy.

When Julius Caesar conquered Gaul, Bar was inhabited by a people known as the *Leuci*. After over four centuries of Roman rule, Bar was conquered by the Franks. As part of the Carolingian

empire, it became an administrative district known as a county. The counts achieved virtual independence in the 10th and 11th centuries. Frederick of Ardennes was named the first hereditary count of Bar by Emperor Otto the Great in 951.

The political fortunes of Bar changed abruptly under Count Henry III (reigned 1297–1302). When Henry fought for Edward I of England against Philip IV of France, his county was invaded by French forces, and he was imprisoned. He was freed on the condition that he take all of Bar lying on the left bank of the Moselle in fief from Philip IV. Henceforth this part of Bar remained firmly tied to France. The rest of the region recognized the authority of the Holy Roman Empire. Early in the 15th century both parts were united under the dukes of Lorraine, who remained in possession until 1737, when Lorraine was granted to King Stanislas of Poland. Upon his death in 1766, Lorraine and Bar returned to France.

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**BAR**, bār, in law, a term used both in England and in the United States as a synonym for the legal profession. It arose in usage from the fact that a courtroom partition, usually a railing, separates the public from the judge, counsel, jury, and other principals in a trial. The term also applies to the area reserved to the principals.

In English superior courts, the king's counsel is admitted within the bar; other counselors sit or stand outside. The dock, or enclosed space, where accused persons stand or sit during their trial is also called the bar; hence the expression "prisoner at the bar." The term "bar" also refers to the railed-off space within the Houses of Lords and Commons.

**BAR**, bār, in music, a line drawn vertically across the staff, for the purpose of dividing a musical composition into equal measures of time. The term is very often improperly applied to the measures themselves.

The time assigned to the measure between two bars is either common or triple. Common time is equivalent to four quarter notes per measure, and triple time to three. The set of bars marking the end of a piece of music is called the double bar. Musical bars were first used about the mid-1400's.

**BAR HARBOR**, bār' hār'bər, a township in eastern Maine, is one of the most famous resorts in the United States. It is situated on Mount Desert Island about 115 miles (185 km) northeast of Portland by air. The township includes the unincorporated community of Bar Harbor, which fronts on Frenchman Bay of the Atlantic Ocean. It is the headquarters and gateway of Acadia National Park, a region of rugged coastal and mountain scenery. Bar Harbor is a yachting, golf, and skiing center. A motor ferry runs to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, Canada, in the summer. The Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory for cancer and biological research is here. The museum of the Bar Harbor Historical Society and the Robert Abbe Museum of Stone Age Antiquities are attractions.

The first permanent English settlement was made in 1763. The town was incorporated in 1796 as *Eden*; it was renamed in 1918. Government is by town manager and council. Population: 4,124.

**BAR-HEBRAEUS**, bār-hē-brī (1228–1286), Syrian scholar of the Jacobite church, a Christian headquarters in Syria. (See *CHURCH*.) Bar Hebraeus or *Barlāmion of the Hebrews*, is an abbreviation of his Arabic name, *Abū'l-Ḥasan*. He was born at Malatya (now in Turkey) studying medicine with his father, a physician who became a convert to Christianity. He became a monk at Antioch in 1246, a Jacobite bishop in 1246, and patriarch, Ignatius III, in 1264.

On the extensive travels required, Bar-Hebraeus collected diverse scholarly endeavors. His *Kitāb Hekhmetha* (*Cream of Wisdom*) is an encyclopedic scope that gives a survey of the Arabian commentaries on dialectic; *Chronicon syriacum*, from Adam to his own time; *Chronicum*, a history of the church; *(Storehouse of Secrets)*, a critical commentary on the Scriptures. He died at Hama, Persia, on July 30, 1286.

**BAR-JESUS.** See ELYMAS.

**BAR KOKHBA**, bār kōkh'bā, "the Lion," was a Palestinian Jew who commanded a revolution against Rome in the 1st century. He was born *Simeon Bar Kosiba* and organized and led the revolt of Emperor Hadrian and won the admiration of the learned Rabbi. He claimed Bar Kokhba as the promised Messiah. (See *AKIBA BEN JOSEPH*.) Su-  
Bar Kokhba liberated Jerusalem from the Romans. He was killed in 135.

Talmudic legend represents him as a man of great strength, autocrat of the Jewish community. He was found in Jordan in 1952 and in the cave in Israel, near the Dead Sea, confirm this description by their  
RAPHAEL PATAI, *Theodor*

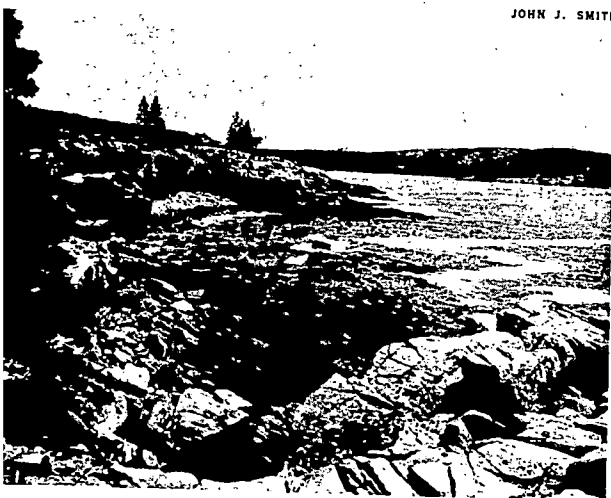
**BAR-LE-DUC.** See BAR.

**BAR MITZVAH**, bār-mitz'və, means "commandment," is a Jewish religious ceremony that marks the entrance of boys into the adult community. As adults they are obligated to observe the precepts (Law). The exact date at which the ceremony was introduced is unknown, but it was definitely established by the 1200's. At the ceremony, which takes place on the Saturday following the 13th of the month (the Ashkenazim) or on a weekday (the Sephardim), the boy is called to read a weekly portion of the Pentateuch, of Moses. A festive meal in the home of the parents usually follows. Appropriately given the boy by his parents and relatives on this occasion.

Traditionally, the boy delivers a "speech" at the feast, indicating his maturity.

Mount Desert Island, Me., near the town of Bar Harbor.

JOHN J. SMITH





**Principles of banking:** Two books that provide good general coverage of the principles of banking and finance are J.G. GURLEY and E.S. SHAW, *Money in a Theory of Finance* (1960); and R.S. SAYERS, *Modern Banking*, 7th ed. (1967). Much useful information on the workings of the financial system is contained in GREAT BRITAIN, COMMITTEE ON THE WORKING OF THE MONETARY SYSTEM, *Report* (1959, commonly known as the "Radcliffe Report"); and the U.S. COMMISSION ON MONEY AND CREDIT, *Money and Credit: Their Influence on Jobs, Prices, and Growth* (1961).

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(J.S.G.W.)

## Baptists

Baptists are Protestant Christians who share the basic beliefs of most Protestants and first received their name from their insistence on baptizing believers only and on Baptism by immersion only rather than by sprinkling or pouring. (This view is, however, shared by others who are not Baptists.) While Baptists do not constitute a single church or denominational structure, most of them adhere to a congregational form of church government. Some Baptists lay stress upon having no human founder, no human authority, and no human creed.

In the late 1960s there were nearly 28,000,000 Baptists in the world, with the vast majority of them concentrated in the United States, where they constitute the largest Protestant community. The 27 Baptist bodies in the United States have an inclusive total of 24,500,000 members. Of these, the large majority are included in four major conventions: the Southern Baptist Convention, with nearly 10,500,000 members; the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., with 5,500,000 members; the National Baptist Convention of America, with over 2,500,000 members; and the American Baptist Convention, with nearly 1,500,000 members. The multiplicity of Baptist groups in the United States is accounted for in part by the 19th-century controversy over slavery, in part by racial and nationality differences, and in part by divergence of opinion on questions of doctrine and organization. Baptists also have a basic suspicion of super-congregational ecclesiastical organizations as valid expressions of the church.

Outside the United States, major Baptist communities are found in the U.S.S.R. (545,000 members), India

(508,000), Brazil (243,000), Zaire (228,000), Burma (223,000), and Canada (177,000).

## HISTORY

**Origins.** Some Baptists believe that there has been an unbroken succession of Baptist churches from the days of John the Baptist and the Apostles of Christ. Others trace their origin to the Anabaptist movement (16th-century radical Protestant movement) on the European continent. While differing in their estimate of the possible Anabaptist influence, most scholars agree that Baptists as an English-speaking denomination originated within 17th-century Puritanism (a church reform movement that attempted to "purify" the remaining vestiges of Roman Catholicism from the Church of England) as an offshoot of Congregationalism. There were two major currents in early Baptist life: the Particular Baptists adhered to the doctrine of a particular atonement—that Christ died only for an elect—and were strongly Calvinist (following the Reformation teachings of John Calvin) in orientation; the General Baptists held to the doctrine of a general atonement—that Christ died for all men and not only for an elect—and represented the more moderate Calvinism of Jacobus Arminius (a 17th-century Dutch theologian who advocated the priority of divine grace and free will).

The two currents were also distinguished by a difference in churchmanship related to their respective points of origin. The General Baptists emerged from among the English Separatists (see below), whereas the Particular Baptists had their roots in non-Separatist independency (see below). Both the Separatists and the non-Separatists were congregationalist. They shared the same convictions with regard to the nature and government of the church. They believed that church life should be ordered according to the pattern of the New Testament churches, and to them this meant that churches should be self-governing bodies composed of believers only.

The point at which they differed was with regard to their attitude toward the Church of England. The Separatists took what is commonly described as a sectarian position; they contended that the Church of England was a false church and insisted that the break with it must be complete and uncompromising. The non-Separatists, more ecumenical in spirit, sought to maintain some bond of unity among Christians. While they believed that it was necessary to separate themselves from the corruption of parish churches, they also believed that it would be a breach of Christian charity to refuse all forms of intercourse and fellowship with them. While many non-Separatists withdrew and established a worship of their own, they would not go so far as to assert that the parish churches were devoid of the marks of a true church.

Most scholars find no evidence of decisive influence having been exerted upon the English Baptists by the continental Anabaptists, but they acknowledge that the General Baptist wing of the English Baptists exhibits Anabaptist influence at several minor points.

**Growth in England and abroad.** Although the Particular Baptists were to represent the major continuing Baptist tradition, the General Baptists were first in the field. In 1608 religious persecution had induced a group of Lincolnshire Separatists to seek asylum in Holland. One contingent settled in Amsterdam with one John Smyth (or Smith) a Cambridge graduate, as their minister; another moved to Leiden under the leadership of one John Robinson. When the question of Baptism arose during a debate on the meaning of church membership, Smyth came to the conclusion that, if the Separatist contention that "the churches of the apostolic constitution consisted of saints only" was correct, then Baptism should be restricted to believers only. This, he contended, was the practice of the first New Testament churches, for he could find no scriptural support for the baptizing of infants. Smyth published his views in *The Character of the Beast* (1609) and in the same year proceeded to translate them into action by baptizing first himself and then 36 others who joined him in forming a Baptist Church. Shortly thereafter, Smyth became aware of the

Particular  
Baptists  
and  
General  
Baptists

The  
question  
of Baptism



existence of a Mennonite (Anabaptist) community in Amsterdam and began to question his procedure in baptizing himself. Such an act could be justified, he concluded, only if no true church existed from which a valid Baptism could be obtained. After some investigation, Smyth arrived at the conviction that the Mennonites did constitute a true church, and he recommended union with them. This was resisted by Thomas Helwys and other members of the group, who returned to England in 1611 or 1612 and established a Baptist Church in London. The parent group in Amsterdam soon disappeared.

The Particular Baptists stemmed from a non-Separatist church that was established in 1616 by Henry Jacob at Southwark across the Thames from London. In 1638 a number of its members withdrew under the leadership of John Spilsbury to form the first Particular Baptist Church.

The two decades from 1640 to 1660 constituted the great period of early Baptist growth, for the Baptist preachers found their great opportunity to win adherents around the campfires of the Puritan leader Oliver Cromwell's army. The greatest gains were made by the Particular Baptists, and the General Baptists actually suffered numerous defections to the Quakers. After the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, both groups were subjected to severe disabilities, being forced to go underground until the Act of Toleration of 1689—in which the idea of a comprehensive Church of England was abandoned and "Nonconformists" were permitted to have their own places of worship—granted them a measure of relief.

During the following decades, the vitality of the General Baptists was drained away by the inroads of skepticism, and their churches generally dwindled and died or became Unitarian. The Particular Baptists took an opposite course, retreating into a defensive, rigid hyper-Calvinism that prevented any effective evangelism. Among the Particular Baptists in England, renewal came as a result of the influence of the Evangelical Revival, a new surge of growth initiated by the activity of the English Baptist clergymen Andrew Fuller, Robert Hall, and William Carey. Carey, in 1792, formed the English Baptist Missionary Society—the beginning of the modern foreign missionary movement in the English-speaking world—and became its first missionary to India. A New Connection General Baptist group, Wesleyan in theology, was formed in 1770, and a century later, in 1891, it united with the Particular Baptists to form the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

By the end of the 19th century, Baptists, together with the other Nonconformist churches, were reaching the peak of their influence in Great Britain, numbering among their preachers several men with international reputations. Baptist influence was closely tied to the fortunes of the Liberal Party, of which the Baptist David Lloyd George was a conspicuous leader. After World War I, English Baptists began to decline in influence and numbers.

Baptist churches were first established in Australia (1831) and New Zealand (1854) by missionaries of the English Baptist Missionary Society. In Canada, Baptist beginnings date from the activity of one Ebenezer Moulton, a Baptist immigrant from Massachusetts who organized a church in Nova Scotia in 1763; Baptist work there, and in the 13 Atlantic seaboard colonies, was nurtured by the Philadelphia Baptist Association (see below). In Ontario, the earliest Baptist churches were formed by United Empire Loyalists who crossed the border following the American Revolution, while other churches were established by immigrant Baptists from Scotland and by missionaries from Vermont and New York. The Baptists of Canada are united in the Baptist Federation of Canada.

**Development in the United States.** Baptist churches in the English colonies of North America were largely indigenous in origin, being the product of the leftward movement that was occurring among the colonial Puritans at the same time as that in England. While some migrated to the new world as Baptists, it was more typical for Baptist views to be adopted after arrival in the colo-

nies, as happened in the case of Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard, and Roger Williams.

**Colonial period.** The first Baptist Church in the American colonies was established at Providence in 1639 by Roger Williams shortly after his banishment from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. While Williams' general Calvinist theological position was roughly analogous to that of Spilsbury, prior to becoming a Baptist, he had adopted the narrower Separatist view of the church. Williams soon came to the conclusion that all existing churches, including that newly established at Providence, lacked a proper foundation, and that this defect could be remedied only by a new apostolic dispensation, in which new apostles, divinely commissioned, would appear to re-establish the true church.

The defection of Williams left the church with no strong leadership and thus made it possible for it to be reorganized on a General Baptist platform in 1652. There was scattered General Baptist activity throughout the colonies, but the only real cluster of General Baptists was in Rhode Island, where the churches formed themselves into an association, or yearly meeting, in 1670. The early General Baptists never gained great strength. Most of their churches decayed, and some, including the Providence church, were reorganized as Particular Baptist churches. The half-dozen churches that survived never entered the main stream of American Baptist life and exerted no real influence upon its development.

The earliest strong Particular Baptist centre in the colonies was at Newport, Rhode Island, where, between 1641 and 1648, a church that had been gathered by the physician and minister John Clarke adopted Baptist views. Except for a church that had a brief existence at Kittery, Maine, there were only two other Particular Baptist churches in New England for the better part of a century. One of these was at Swansea, Massachusetts, where a church was formed by a group of Welsh immigrants under the leadership of John Myles, who had previously attempted to found a church near Plymouth but had been arrested, tried, and fined on a charge of conducting a public meeting without having first obtained permission to do so; the other was organized at Boston in 1665. Another Particular Baptist church was established at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1683 or 1684.

The great centre of Particular Baptist activity in early America was in the Middle Colonies. In 1707 five churches in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware united to form the Philadelphia Baptist Association, and through the association they embarked upon vigorous missionary activity. By 1760 the Philadelphia association included churches located in the present states of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and West Virginia; and by 1767 further multiplication of churches had necessitated the formation of two subsidiary associations, the Warren in New England and the Ketochton in Virginia. The Philadelphia association also provided leadership in organizing the Charleston Association in the Carolinas in 1751, and this in turn fostered the formation of the Kehukee Association in North Carolina in 1765.

While this intercolonial Particular Baptist body provided leadership for the growth that characterized American Baptist life during the decades immediately preceding the American Revolution, that growth was largely a product of an 18th-century religious revival known as the Great Awakening. Though they participated directly in the Awakening only during its last phase in the South, Baptists attracted large numbers of recruits from among those who had been "awakened" by the preaching of others. In addition to strengthening and multiplying the "regular" Baptist churches, the Awakening in New England produced a group of revivalistic Baptists, known as Separate Baptists, who soon coalesced with the older New England Baptist churches. In the South, however, they maintained a separate existence for a longer period of time. Shubael Stearns, a New England Separate Baptist, migrated to Sandy Creek, North Carolina, in 1755 and initiated a widespread revival that quickly penetrated the entire Piedmont region. The churches he organized

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were brought together in 1758 to form the Sandy Creek Association. Doctrinally, these churches did not differ from the older "regular" Baptist churches, but what the older churches saw as their emotional excesses and ecclesiastical irregularities created considerable tension between the two groups. By 1787, however, a reconciliation had been effected.

In several of the colonies, Baptists laboured under legal disabilities of varying severity. The public whipping of one, Obadiah Holmes, in 1651 for refusing to pay a fine imposed for holding an unlawful meeting in Lynn, Massachusetts, caused John Clarke to write his *Ill News from New England* (1652). Fourteen years later Baptists of Boston were fined, imprisoned, and denied the use of a meetinghouse they had erected. Payment of taxes for support of the established church was a cause of continuing controversy in New England, while the necessity to secure licences to preach became an inflammatory issue in Virginia.

*In the 19th century.* The problem of travel had made it difficult for the Philadelphia association to serve as a bond uniting Baptists, and the rapid multiplication of churches made it impossible. It has been estimated that immediately before the American Revolution there were 494 Baptist congregations; 20 years later, in 1795, Isaac Backus estimated the number at 1,152. The initial expedient of the Philadelphia association had been to organize subsidiary associations, but during the war the churches, left to their own devices, proceeded to organize independent associations. By 1800 there were at least 48 local associations, and the great problem was to fashion a national body to unite the churches. The final impetus in this direction came from an interest in foreign missions. The first missionaries of the newly organized Congregational mission board were Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, who had been sent to India. On shipboard they became convinced by a study of the Scriptures that only believers should be baptized. Upon arrival at Calcutta, Judson went on to Burma, while Rice returned home to enlist support among American Baptists. As a result of Rice's efforts, a General Convention of the Baptist denomination was formed in 1814. Its scope was almost immediately broadened to include, in addition to the foreign mission interest, a concern for home missions, education, and the publication of religious periodicals. In 1826 the General Convention once again was restricted to foreign mission activities, and in the course of time it became known as the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. Other denominational interests were served by the formation of additional societies with similar specialized concerns, such as the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the American Baptist Publication Society.

The unity that was achieved through these societies was partially disrupted as a result of the slavery controversy. During the decade prior to 1845, various compromises between the proslavery and antislavery parties in the denomination were attempted, but they proved to be unsatisfactory. As a result, a Southern Baptist Convention was organized at Augusta, Georgia, in 1845. Although its constitution provided for boards of home and foreign missions, education, and publication, its energies were devoted largely to foreign missions. Consequently, the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the American Baptist Publication Society continued to operate in the South after the Civil War and enjoyed a large measure of support from the churches. Toward the close of the 19th century, however, the Southern Baptist Convention began to develop its own home mission and publication work and to protest the intrusion of the older societies in the South. The final separation between Baptists of South and North was formalized in 1907 by the organization of the Northern Baptist Convention (after 1950 called the American Baptist Convention), which brought together the older societies and accepted a regional allocation of territory between the northern and southern conventions.

*Development of Negro churches.* Negro churches constitute an important segment of American Baptist life. Following the Emancipation Proclamation (1863)—an

edict freeing the slaves of the United States—and the close of the Civil War, Negro Baptists began to organize their own churches. A state convention of Negro Baptist churches was formed in 1866 in North Carolina, and in 1880 the National Baptist Convention of America was organized. A dispute over the control of property and publications led to a division in 1916. The smaller of the two factions retained the original name, while the larger body became the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

*Developments in education.* From the beginning, American Baptists have displayed an interest in an educated ministry, and their interest in higher education increased steadily as they grew in numbers. The Philadelphia association in the 18th century collected funds to help finance the education of ministerial candidates. Hopewell Academy was established in 1756, and in 1764 Brown University was founded in Rhode Island midway between Nova Scotia and Georgia. Eight other institutions were established before 1825, 25 more were established between 1825 and 1850, 39 between 1851 and 1875, and 70 between 1876 and 1900. The educational advance culminated in 1891 in the founding of the University of Chicago, which was intended to be a great national Baptist superuniversity that would tie together the smaller Baptist colleges.

In the North, regional education societies were the usual channels through which support was given to education, while in the South the institutions more often were sponsored directly by state conventions or by the Southern Baptist Convention. After the Civil War, the American Baptist Home Mission Society established a number of Negro Baptist colleges in the South. These came to be administered by Negro boards of trustees, with the cooperation of the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Board of Education and Publication of the American Baptist Convention.

*During the 20th century.* After 1900 Baptists were troubled by theological controversies that led to the formation of several new Baptist groups. Some of the tensions arose over questions of structure of church organization, some arose over refusals to adopt an authoritative creedal statement, and some were the product of dissatisfaction with the affiliation of the American Baptist Convention with interdenominational and ecumenical bodies. Questions of organizational structure were involved in the formation of the American Baptist Association in 1905 by churches located primarily in Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas. Two other groups were products of the Fundamentalist controversy: the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, organized in 1932; and the Conservative Baptist Association of America (1947).

A phenomenon of the post-World War II period was the abandonment by the Southern Baptist Convention of its regional limitations. Because of increasing mobility of population, the Southern Baptist Convention felt it necessary to follow its members to the growing urban centres of the North and West; by the second half of the century Southern Baptist churches were to be found in almost every part of the United States.

*Growth outside the U.S.* While Baptists have been troubled by divisive tendencies during the 20th century, a parallel tendency has been toward greater unity and cohesiveness through the Baptist World Alliance. The 19th century was the great period of Baptist missionary endeavour. The penetration of Asia was led by William Carey in India, Adoniram Judson in Burma, and Timothy Richard in China, and by the late 1960s there was a Baptist community of nearly 1,000,000 adherents in Asia, chiefly in India, Burma, and mainland China. The initial Baptist presence in Africa began in 1793 when David George, a former slave from South Carolina, reached Sierra Leone by way of Halifax, Nova Scotia. More organized activity was initiated in 1819 by Negro Baptists of Richmond, Virginia, who sent Lott Cary to Sierra Leone in 1821 and then shifted his base of operations to Liberia in 1824. By 1970 Baptists in Africa numbered a half million communicants, with major concentrations in the Republic of Zaïre, Nigeria, and Camer-



oon. Of later origin is the Baptist community of 600,000 in Latin America.

The pioneer Baptist on the Continent of Europe was Johann Gerhardt Oncken, who organized a church at Hamburg in 1834. Oncken had become acquainted with Barnas Sears of Colgate Theological Seminary, who was studying in Germany, and with six others he was baptized by Sears. From this centre, evangelistic activity was extended throughout Germany, and missions were established in Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Belgium, The Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, and Russia. Baptist activity was initiated independently in France, Italy, and Spain. Swedish Baptist beginnings date from the conversion of Gustaf W. Schroeder, a sailor baptized in New York in 1844, and Frederick O. Nilsson, also a sailor, who was baptized by Oncken in 1847. From Sweden, Baptists penetrated Norway and Finland. Excluding the British Isles but including the U.S.S.R., there were nearly 870,000 European Baptists in the late 1960s.

It was this expansion of the Baptist community in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe that led to the formation of the Baptist World Alliance at London in 1905. The purpose of the alliance is to provide mutual encouragement, exchange of information, coordination of activities, and consciousness of the larger Baptist fellowship. Periodic world congresses are held, and a headquarters secretariat is maintained in Washington and London.

The most notable growth occurred in Russia, where a Russian Baptist Union was formed in 1884 as the result of influences stemming from Oncken. Another Baptist body, the Union of Evangelical Christians, was organized in 1908 by a Russian who had come under the influence of English Baptists. Persecution of Baptists, which had been severe, was relaxed in 1905, and within the remaining disabilities a moderate growth occurred. The Revolution of 1917, with its proclamation of liberty of conscience, ushered in a period of astonishing advance: by 1927 the Russian Baptist Union numbered some 500,000 adherents, while the Union of Evangelical Christians embraced more than 4,000,000. The Soviet constitution of 1929 subjected them to pressure once again, however, and in the late 1960s the two groups, which had combined in 1944 to form the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists in the U.S.S.R., reported 545,000 baptized believers.

#### ORGANIZATION, WORSHIP, AND DOCTRINE

**Organization.** Baptists insist that the fundamental authority, under Christ, is vested in church life in the local congregation of believers, which admits and excludes members, calls and ordains pastors, and orders its common life in accord with what it understands to be the mind of Christ. These congregations, which are manifestations of the whole church of Christ, are linked together in cooperative bodies, to which they send their delegates or messengers—regional associations, state conventions, and national conventions. The larger bodies, it is insisted, have no control or authority over a local church; they exist only to implement the common concerns—missionary, educational, philanthropic—of the local churches.

The pattern of organization of the local church has been undergoing change during the 20th century. Traditionally, the pastor was the leader and moderator of the congregation; more recently, there has been a tendency to regard him as the employed agent of the congregation and to elect a lay moderator to act in his stead at corporate meetings of the church. Traditionally, the deacons' functions were to assist the pastor and to serve as agents to execute the will of the congregation in matters both temporal and spiritual; more recently, there has been a tendency to multiply the number of church officers by the creation of boards of trustees, boards of education, boards of missions, and boards of evangelism. Traditionally, decisions were made by the congregation in a church meeting; more recently, church meetings have become less and less frequent, and there has been a tendency to delegate decision making to various boards. The relationship of local churches to the cooperative bodies has

been undergoing similar change, and this has occasioned continuing discussion among all Baptist groups.

**Worship.** Baptist worship is hardly distinguishable from the worship of the old Puritan denominations (Presbyterians and Congregationalists) of England and the United States. It centres largely around the exposition of the Scriptures in a sermon, and an emphasis upon extemporaneous, rather than set, prayers. Apart from the centrality of the sermon, hymn singing is one of the most characteristic features of worship. Communion, received in the pews, is customarily a monthly observance. Baptism is by immersion.

**Doctrine.** *History.* Initially, Baptists were characterized theologically by strong to moderate Calvinism. The dominant continuing tradition in both England and the United States was Particular Baptist. By 1800 this older tradition was beginning to be replaced by evangelical doctrines fashioned by the leaders of the evangelical revival in England and the Great Awakening in America and further elaborated by subsequent New England divines and frontier revivalists. By 1900 the older Calvinism had almost completely disappeared, and Evangelicalism was dominant. The conciliatory tendency of Evangelicalism and its almost complete preoccupation with heart-religion and the conversion experience largely denuded it of any solid theological structure opening the door to a new theological current, which in its later phases became known as Modernism. Modernism, which was an attempt to adjust the Christian faith to the new intellectual climate, made large inroads among the Baptists of England and the United States during the first two decades of the 20th century, and Baptists provided many outstanding leaders of the movement, including Shailer Mathews and Harry Emerson Fosdick. To many, these views seemed to pose a threat to the uniqueness of the Christian revelation, and they precipitated a counterreaction that became known as Fundamentalism (a movement emphasizing biblical literalism).

As a result of the controversy that followed, many Baptists developed a distaste for theology and became content to find their unity as Baptists in promoting denominational enterprises. By 1950 both Modernists and Fundamentalists were becoming disenchanted with the positions into which they had been forced in the heat of controversy, and it was from among adherents of both camps that a more creative theological encounter began to take place. While the majority of Baptists remained non-theological in their interests and concerns, there were multiplying signs that Baptist leadership was increasingly recognizing the necessity for renewed theological inquiry.

*Contents.* The unity and coherence of the Baptists is to be found in six distinguishing, although not necessarily distinctive, convictions they hold in common.

1. The supreme authority of the Bible in all matters of faith and practice. Baptists are a non-creedal people, and their ultimate appeal always has been to the Scriptures rather than to any confession of faith that they may have published from time to time to make known their commonly accepted views.

2. Believer's Baptism. This is the most conspicuous conviction of Baptists. They hold that if Baptism is the badge or mark of a Christian, and if a Christian is one in whom faith has been awakened, then Baptism rightly administered must be a Baptism of believers only. Furthermore, if the Christian life is a sharing in the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, if it involves a dying to the old life and a rising in newness of life, then the act of Baptism must speak in these terms. The sign must be consonant with that which it signifies. It is for this latter reason that Baptists were led to insist upon immersion as the apostolic form of the rite, in addition to their initial insistence upon the Baptism of believers only.

3. Churches composed of believers only. Baptists reject the idea of a territorial or parish church and insist that a church is composed only of those who have been gathered by Christ and who have placed their trust in him. Thus, the membership of a church is restricted to those who—in terms of a charitable judgment—give clear evidence of their Christian faith and experience. The basis

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of their church life is a church covenant wherein they covenant with God and one another to walk together in Christian obedience.

4. Equality of all Christians in the life of the church. By the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, Baptists not only understand that the individual Christian may serve as a minister to his fellows, but they believe that it also confers upon each member of a church equal rights and privileges in determining the affairs of the church. The church officers—pastor and deacons—have special responsibilities, derived from the consent of the church, which only they can discharge, but they do not have a priestly unique status.

5. Independence of the local church. By this principle Baptists affirm that a properly constituted congregation is fully equipped to minister Christ and need not derive its authority from any source, other than Christ, outside its own life. Baptists, however, have not generally understood that a local church is autonomous in the sense that it is isolated and detached from other churches. The local church is but one manifestation of the Catholic Church, and as individual Christians are bound to pray for one another and to maintain communion with one another, so particular churches are under like obligation. Thus, the individual churches testify to their unity in Christ by forming associations and conventions through which they can seek counsel and advice and cooperate in common concerns.

6. Separation of church and state. From the time of Smyth, Baptists have insisted that a church must be free to be Christ's church, determining its own life and charting its own course in obedience to Christ without outside interference. Thus Smyth asserted that the

magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, to force and compel men to this or that form of religion or doctrine, but to leave Christian religion free to every man's conscience.

Baptists were in the forefront of the struggle for religious freedom in both England and America, they cherish the liberty established in early Rhode Island, and they played an important role in securing the adoption of the "no religious test" clause in the U.S. constitution and the guarantees embodied in the First Amendment.

Few Baptists have been willing to become so sectarian as to deny the Christian name to other denominations. With the exception of the Southern Baptists, the vast majority of Baptists cooperate fully in interdenominational and ecumenical bodies, including the World Council of Churches.

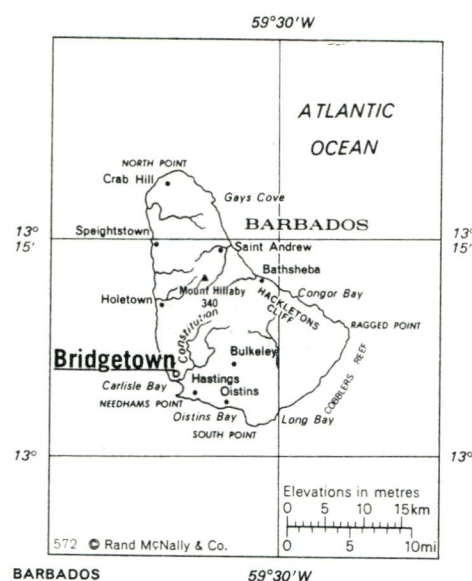
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(W.S.H.)

## Barbados

Barbados is an independent island in the West Indies situated about 100 miles (160 kilometres) east of the Windward Islands. Approximately triangular in shape, it has an area of 166 square miles (430 square kilometres) and a population of about 240,000. Its capital is Bridgetown, the only seaport.

Strictly speaking, Barbados does not form part of the Lesser Antilles island chain, although it is sometimes grouped with this archipelago. Its geographic position has profoundly influenced the island's history and culture. In the era of sailing ships, the prevailing winds made the island difficult of access; if outward-bound ships from Europe did not gain the island while heading west, they found it difficult indeed to turn and reach its shores by sailing eastward. As a result of this circum-



stance, conquest of the island was impracticable, and it remained a British possession without interruption from the 17th century to November 30, 1966, when it attained independence and membership in the Commonwealth of Nations. It has also developed a proto-British culture, thus earning the nickname Bimshire, or Little England; to many "Bajans" (as Barbadians sometimes refer to themselves) the fact that Barbados lies about 4,750 miles southwest of London is more significant than the fact that it is about 300 miles northeast of Venezuela. Its many British customs, however, provide an attraction for tourists; tourism has strengthened the island's economy at a time when the production of sugar—its main crop—has been declining.

**The landscape.** *Geology.* The rocks underlying Barbados consist of sedimentary deposits, including thick shales (laminated sediments in which the particles are predominantly of clay), clays, sands, and conglomerates, laid down approximately 70,000,000 years ago. Above these are chalky deposits, which were capped with coral before the whole island rose to the surface. A layer of coral, up to 300 feet thick, now covers the island, except in the northeast (a physiographic region known as the Scotland District) where erosion has stripped off the coral cover.

*Relief.* Mt. Hillaby, the highest point in Barbados, rises to 1,115 feet in the north central part of the island. To the west the land drops down to the sea in a series of terraces, many of which are green and gently rolling. East from Mt. Hillaby, the land declines sharply to the rugged upland of Scotland District. Southward, the highlands again descend steeply to the broad St. George River Valley; between the valley and the sea the land rises to 400 feet to form Christ Church Ridge. Coral reefs surround most of the island.

*Climate.* The climate is generally a pleasant one. The temperature does not usually rise above 86° F (30° C) or fall below 72° F (22° C). There are two recognized seasons of the year: the dry season, from early December till May, and the wet season, which lasts the rest of the year. The average rainfall is about 60 inches a year, but, despite the smallness of the island, it varies markedly from district to district. Barbados lies in the southern border of the West Indian hurricane zone. Hurricanes in 1780 and 1831 caused great devastation, and others of lesser intensity have visited the island—including one in 1955 that was the first in 57 years.

*Vegetation and animal life.* Only about 40 acres of the original vegetation remain; the pale green of sugarcane is the characteristic colour of the landscape. Tropical trees—including the flamboyant tree, or poinciana, and the frangipani—are widespread, while flowering shrubs adorn parks and gardens.

The few existing wild animals—such as monkeys, hares,

The coral surface

Central aspect of Baptist doctrine



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BYLINE: Compiled by View staff

BODY:

Just because his 14-year-old daughter, Linda, was given the National Young American Medal for Service award by President Reagan last week doesn't automatically make her unique, Irv Warsaw said. Lots of young people give service to their communities.

But when he reflected on the fact that Linda is "the only juvenile who is an officer of the court, she was one of a few kids featured in a Newsweek story last year about 100 American heroes of our time, and she's the winner of a national award for community service -- well, I'm beginning to think she is unique," the senior Warsaw said.

His daughter, a 10th-grader at Cajon High School in San Bernardino, received the award from the President ("I thought my heart was going to burst," Linda said.) for her efforts in organizing Kids Against Crime, a group dedicated to preventing crimes against children and improving awareness of children's rights.

In its two-year existence, Kids Against Crime has successfully organized a fingerprinting program for children, and a program that uses professional artists to show children how to describe suspects. And perhaps most importantly, Kids Against Crime has been teaching youngsters that they have a right to say "no" to sexual abuse.

"In my guts, ever since I was little, I always knew I wanted to do something to help people," Linda said. After the honor student graduates from high school, she plans to attend USC. She wants to be lawyer, so she can represent children who are victims of crime.

**Two Model Black Families Lauded for Strength and Pride**

The families of America must stick together -- that was the message from the second annual Coca-Cola Salute to the Black Family on Monday at the Sheraton Grande hotel, where about 350 people turned out to see two local families honored for their strength and spirit.

"Their struggle was hard," said Lucille Boswell, manager of consumer relations for Coca-Cola in Los Angeles and founder of the salute. "But it's wonderful to see them beat the struggle, to go to church as a unit, to serve as a role model for those who believe the family is crumbling."

Lonnie and Calvin Sims and their 13 children -- Jon, 27; Secrette, 26; Calvin, 24; Karene, 22; Peter, 21; Lisa, 19; Clifford, 18; Jacquelyn, 17;



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Sandra, 16; Jami, 14; Marc, 12; James, 11; Darrel, 9 -- were honored in the dual-parent category. "I think we can be an inspiration to other people, because we've shown family love toward one another," said Lonnie Sims, 53. "We've instilled a sense of pride in educational achievements."

Said Calvina, 46: "I think a strong belief in God has helped tremendously. Without that we wouldn't have been able to accomplish a lot of things."

Jacqueline Boddie-Washington, a 42-year-old divorced mother of three from Culver City, represented the single-parent category. A clerk typist at Los Angeles Southwest College, she described herself as "an involved person," and added that her children take after her. "I am a doer," she said. "And when I attended school I used to drag the kids with me. They are achievers and doers on their own now. And I instilled in them the work ethic, and that they take an active part in some organization at church."

She also wanted her 18-year-old twin sons to attend black colleges out of state, which they do. Kerry Washington is a sophomore at Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Ala., and Korey Washington studies at Morehouse College in Atlanta. Neither could attend the event Monday, but daughter Keira Boddie, 13, did.

Both families received \$500 gift certificates from Boys Market (a co-sponsor) and \$1,200 from Coca-Cola, in addition to commemorative plaques.

#### 15-Year-Old Is Making the Grade at Cal State Dominguez Hills

When Nick Mikulicich was an intellectually precocious 5-year-old, there was discussion in the public schools of promoting him into the ninth grade but his mother, Joan, demurred, deciding, "He needed to learn to be a kid, to be silly."

But when Mikulicich, whose IQ has been tested at 180, had completed seven grades at parochial school, he skipped eighth grade and went on to South High in Torrance, where he zipped through, taking college math courses along the way.

Today, at 15, he is a sophomore at California State University, Dominguez Hills, the youngest student on campus (still too young to drive) and on the road to a degree in three years. He hopes then to earn doctorates in molecular biology, medicine and law.

"I plan to work either in research or to teach molecular biology at the college level," Mikulicich said. He doesn't want to practice law, but simply thinks a law degree might be interesting and useful.

"More college students should be like him," said John Pohlmann, a lecturer in history. "With him in the class, I teach better. . . . He's not only knowledgeable, but hungry for ideas."

"He's fun," he added.

"He's just well-versed," his mother said, noting that he first toured Europe at the age of 8. Once, touring a local museum with his fifth-grade classmates, he promptly and correctly answered each question posed by the docent. Finally she said, "You should be conducting the tour. You know more about it than I do."



(C) 1987 Los Angeles Times, November 22, 1987

to which Mikulicich's classmates replied, in unison, "He knows more about everything than you do."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Linda Warsaw, 14, winner of a national service award. JAYNE KAMIN-UNCEA / Los Angeles Times

TYPE: Column



2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 10, 1989, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: DISTRICT WEEKLY; PAGE J1; COURTLAND MILLOY

LENGTH: 632 words

HEADLINE: For Whom the Bell Tolls

BYLINE: COURTLAND MILLOY

BODY:

I think of Derrick Conner, the slain 13-year-old Southeast Washington resident, and I fear for myself.

How can a black man not wonder what is going on when, suddenly, we begin killing our children over chump change and crumbs of crack cocaine? Our own blood! And the country turns its back and says, "Let them fight it out"?

Three hundred seventy-two human beings were slain in the District last year. More than 260 have had their lives taken already this year. There have been times that the D.C. morgue had to call local hospitals saying, no more bodies, please; we are full.

Add to that the homicides in Detroit, Atlanta, New York, Los Angeles -- once meccas of hope for black people -- and there are more dead black men in the streets of America than there were on the killing grounds of Vietnam.

Check the safety on your handguns, good brothers. There is foul play in the land. When this many black men are deemed expendable, can the rest of us be far behind?

"While I don't agree with the conspiracy theory to wipe out black folk, I do think that society has come to some very practical conclusions with results that are falling heavily on black men," said Douglas G. Glasgow, president of a Washington-based program called Early Action Response to Urban Needs. "As society reads it, there is an overabundance of labor, a changing marketplace that does not require the manpower that it once did. The impact of lack of education and lack of resources on black males during the last three decades makes them the logical choices for exclusion."

Glasgow was one of three panelists at the National Urban League convention on the subject of strengthening the black male's role in the family. Yet, serious questions remain as to whether there will be enough black men around for there to even be a black family.

Black male infant mortality is higher than for any other group. If a black male survives his birth here, he still must face a 1 in 15 chance of being gunned down in the street. And if he does manage to make it out of the "homicide danger zone," lives to be say, 30, then he can start worrying about dying of cancer, drug or alcohol addiction, or heart disease, if not death from outright worrying too much.



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To make matters worse, his home has become as hostile as the work force, that is, if he has been lucky enough to get a job.

"Unfortunately," writes Ronald L. Braithwaite, an associate director of the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research at Howard University, "there is a growing body of black women who deny that black men are the main targets of white oppression and who contrarily blame black men -- the victims -- for their own victimization."

Who, then, can the black man turn to for a helping hand? The society that put him in a bind in the first place? The black woman who unwittingly keeps him there? Or another black man, who is likely to hold a gun in the hand that is extended?

Glasgow has managed to remain optimistic.

"I can think of two strategies: One of them is that we have to find ways to ring America's bell," he said. "America has to be awakened to the fact that it will need black men to keep this country viable and competitive in the 21st century."

Black men must be afforded more options, he said. Cities such as Washington, where drug use is rampant, must be saturated with alternatives that emphasize the growth and development of the African American male.

Better job training and education, including early childhood psychological diagnosis and special therapeutic schools when necessary, are critical. There should be a mentoring program in every neighborhood.

But before society begins to realize those needs, Glasgow notes, it is the black man who must somehow wake up and realize that the bell already tolls for him.

TYPE: COLUMN

SUBJECT: BLACK; MEN; PHILOSOPHY; MURDER



3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 5, 1989, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: REAL ESTATE; PAGE E1

LENGTH: 893 words

HEADLINE: Where We Live;  
Burrville: Hidden Haven In Northeast

BYLINE: Rene Sanchez, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

When Shirley Sterling discovered Burrville in 1969, dirt roads still lined most of the tiny Northeast Washington neighborhood. Sterling was startled -- and delighted.

"It was surprising, because I didn't know there were still places like that in the District then," said Sterling, 45, who has called the community home for two decades now. "It was very settled, very quiet, just what I wanted."

Little has changed in Burrville since Sterling's arrival. The streets are paved, but the area's distinctive setting has been hardly touched either by modern development or the blemish of curbside drug dealing.

The neighborhood, built on sloping fields that overlook much of the land east of the Anacostia River, looks more like a village in the Deep South than part of a clogged East Coast metropolis.

Most houses, built in the first part of the century, are wooden cottages with spacious lawns and shady porches equipped with swings. There is no main street or any commercial establishments. Traffic, what little there is of it, is entirely local -- and if it isn't, longtime residents know.

"Just about everyone knows everyone here," said Sterling, who serves as president of the neighborhood's civic association. "There's not much turnover. Many families are now living in the same homes that belonged to their parents or grandparents."

Burrville hugs the Prince George's County line in the far northeastern edge of the city, next to the Deanwood and Marshall Heights neighborhoods of Ward 7. Its 2,500 residents live within a triangular patch of land bordered by Burroughs, Division and Eastern avenues.

Houses in the area, which local real estate brokers say range in price from \$ 20,000 to \$ 100,000, are mostly home to working-class black families.

The neighborhood has been known as Burrville for at least 125 years, and for most of this century has been a strikingly rural part of the city. Longtime residents say homes had no electricity and streets had no lights until the 1940s. Some elderly residents in the area also said they remember that neighbors fetched water from wells during their childhood.



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Willis Greene, who has lived in Burrville for most of his 60 years, said the community once was a site for cattle farming, and later became a country retreat for black families weary of the tight quarters of Georgetown and LeDroit Park.

Greene's earliest memories of life in Burrville are racing with friends through the abundant fields in the area -- and getting pasted head-to-toe with cockleburrs. The plant grew so plentiful in the area it was nearly impossible to escape outdoors, he said.

"You'd be covered with them when you ran out there," Greene recalled, laughing. "Some of us think that's why they call this place Burrville -- because of all those cockleburrs."

Greene lives on the same street he did as a boy, and said it still offers the same pleasures.

"It's certainly refreshing, even after all this time," he said. "I can sit on my front porch, or on my back porch, and just relax. This is mostly a very family-oriented place. Houses have been passed through generations."

Yet these days Burrville residents have a few more serious problems to contemplate while swinging on their porches.

Absentee homeowners have allowed some properties to deteriorate so long they've been boarded up. Commercial vendors are expressing more interest in the area, and the civic association is trying to keep out drug dealers, who for the first time have reached the community's doorstep.

Burrville's streets remain tranquil, but a few of its borders have become treacherous in the past few years. One corner -- where Division and Burroughs avenues intersect, near Woodson Senior High School -- is one of the chief crack cocaine markets in the Sixth Police District, and has been the site of numerous shootings.

Local activists in Burrville, joining forces with their neighbors in Deanwood and Marshall Heights, have held marches and meet monthly to plan how to keep their communities safe.

"We're trying to keep tight control, but it seems that just like every other neighborhood, we're being bombarded," said Sterling, who also heads the Advisory Neighborhood Commission in the area.

Nevertheless, a playground is being built in the area, which still is full of children but has none of the fields of long ago. And one pillar of the community remains Burrville Elementary, which opened in 1912 and is one of the city's oldest schools.

The school, led by Principal Walter O. Henry, who has held that position for 21 years, was the first in the city -- and one of the few in the Washington region -- to have its students wear uniforms a few years ago.

Its annual achievement test scores, ranking well above national averages, are some of the highest in Northeast. And its PTA, which holds an annual gospel-singing extravaganza for the community, is strong. Hundreds of parents in the neighborhood attend its monthly meetings, and say they treasure the



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continuity the school has given Burrville.

"We stick together," said Eloise Goodwine, the PTA president. Like many other residents, her roots in the community are deep -- both her mother and grandmother attended the school she now helps lead.

"People look after each other out here, it's a very family-style atmosphere," Goodwine said. "We feel quite fortunate for that."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, LONGTIME BURRVILLE RESIDENT WILLIS GREENE AND HIS WIFE CONSTANCE WALK ALONG JAY STREET NE. GERALD MARTINEAU; MAP, BRAD WYE

TYPE: DC NEWS

SUBJECT: NEIGHBORHOODS; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ORGANIZATION: BURRVILLE



4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 3, 1989, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A27

LENGTH: 700 words

HEADLINE: The Mail on Black Males

BYLINE: William Raspberry

BODY:

Sometimes I feel like those door to door proselytizers. You know, the ones who have glimpsed Truth and who are convinced that if you will only listen to them and think about what they are saying, you too will see the light.

It was my notion that it would be plain to everyone, once it was pointed out, that (1) much of what has gone wrong in America stems from the deterioration of the family and (2) that one reason for the deterioration -- particularly in the low-in-black community -- is that black boys learn tragically early to view themselves as expendable.

My proposal: Let's find ways to save the boys.

There's no need to prove that boys are in special trouble. The merest glance at a college, high school or even grade school classroom will make clear that the boys are disappearing. A review of the crime, imprisonment and homicide statistics will make clear where they are disappearing to. The more they wind up in jails or graveyards, the less they will be available to form families. Fatherless households already constitute the poorest category of Americans.

But though many readers share my view that we need to find ways to rescue the boys from their uselessness, a surprisingly large minority take a different view.

Three themes run through their letters. The first is a double-pronged feminism: it is sexist to talk about saving boys rather than saving children. Moreover, my notion that we should train young men to become family providers is backward. As one reader put it, "It is the expectation of males as providers and women as partners who have the option of being providers that is causing men -- especially black men -- so much trouble."

The second theme is that it is up to young men to save themselves. They can stop being lazy or lawless or irresponsible whenever they choose.

Well, if it's sexist to urge special help for the boys (who are demonstrably in special trouble), then the Biblical parable of the lost sheep amounts to reverse discrimination. The point is not to abandon the 99, but to restore the entire flock.

What of the notion that a man's proper role is that of provider? Maybe, as the reader suggests, it is mere socialization. I suspect it runs a lot deeper than that, making it hard for any man who has never functioned as a provider to feel like a man. The inability of so many young black men to see themselves as



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providers -- or even as necessary to their families -- may be one explanation for their irresponsible behavior.

Nor does it make sense to me to expect that boys who have never experienced responsible fatherhood can, on their own, become responsible fathers.

The third, and saddest, theme is typified by a letter from a woman who describes herself as "a black single female head of household." She challenges my "bring back the family" notion at its heart.

"I have a family," she says. "How can one bring back that which is here? Be accurate. What you intend to say is, 'Put a black man in the residence of every black woman and her children.'"

"Are you out of your mind? Any bearable black man who is outside a family is so by his own choice. Women who, in order to be physically safe and mentally secure, have removed themselves and their families from the proximity of abusive, destructive males will passionately resist the efforts of anyone to impose this unwanted element on their families and into their lives.

"The theory that improving the employment rate of men is the sine qua non of a healthy community is a simplistic and totally erroneous response to a complex societal puzzle. It ignores the reality that black men in alarming numbers are physical and psychological batterers and abusers of women.

"Daily, black women attempt to avoid, even flee, situations in which they are demeaned, belittled and stripped of their dignity and humanity. In truth, if the black American community is to survive, black women and girls must learn trades and skills which will enable them to become healthy, independent, self-respecting, competent individuals.

"What should be done to cause/enable black men to become intelligent, responsible, supportive, desirable family members?

"I don't know, and really don't care."

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: BLACK; FAMILY LIFE



5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1989 The Washington Post

August 2, 1989, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 1071 words

HEADLINE: Racism and Poverty

BYLINE: Robert J. Samuelson, Newsweek, Inc.

BODY:

"A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society" -- a massive study released last week by the National Research Council -- isn't pleasant reading. It took dozens of scholars four years to complete and is intended to update two earlier reports ("An American Dilemma" by Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal in 1944 and the Kerner commission report in 1968). There's lots of good news about how race relations have improved since the 1940s. But the basic message is dispiriting: our race problem today is so stubborn because poverty, not discrimination, is its main cause.

Some of the good news bears repeating, because many younger Americans don't know much of the gruesome past. In 1940, 77 percent of blacks lived in the South under forced segregation. By law, they were required to drink from separate fountains and attend separate schools. Informal segregation was also pervasive. In this age of Michael Jordan, can anyone believe that blacks came to the National Basketball Association only in 1950? Until World War II, three-quarters of the few black college graduates went into two segregated professions, the clergy and teaching.

Outlawing legal segregation allowed many blacks to enter the mainstream. President Reagan's last national security adviser was black. In 1940, there were 300 black engineers; by 1980, there were 36,019. The black middle class has expanded. The share of black families with annual incomes above \$ 35,000 (adjusted for inflation) was 13.1 percent in 1967, 20.9 percent in 1979 and 22.3 percent in 1987. But this progress has not erased black poverty. Between 1967 and 1987, the share of families with incomes under \$ 10,000 rose from 28.3 percent to 30 percent.

Suppose someone had a plan -- training programs, child care or whatever -- to make all the working-age poor (blacks, whites and others) productive and self-supporting. Suppose the plan cost \$ 100 billion annually, but success was guaranteed in 20 years. My hunch is that most Americans would support it. We don't like poverty. It's a source of national shame. It encourages crime. Yet, nothing like this is on the public agenda. The main reason, I think, is not stinginess or indifference. It's skepticism.

People doubt government's power to create such a transformation, and without good prospects of success, they won't gamble vast amounts. Looking just at blacks, we know the main explanation for the widening gap between the middle class and poor. It's family breakdown. Half of all black families with children under 18 are headed by women, up from a quarter in 1960. Half of black children live in these female-headed families; two-thirds of these children are (by the government's definition) in poverty.



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Theories abound why many black men abandon their children. Welfare (it's said) gives women an alternative and relieves men of responsibility. Although "Blacks and American Society" belittles this idea, there's probably something to it. Black men often can't provide for families even if they do stick around; their employment rates have fallen and their crime rates have risen. Since 1970 many low-skilled but good-paying jobs have vanished and wage growth has slowed. In 1972, almost three-quarters of black men over 20 were employed; the share now is two-thirds.

Short of an economic miracle, there are no easy ways to make heroic gains against these trends. By themselves, more schooling and more social services are no answer. (Indeed, black poverty has persisted despite gains in school attendance. The average black today is a high school graduate; in 1960, most had finished only junior high.) People become self-supporting and productive mainly through their own efforts. What government can do is help those who help themselves. To aid all the poor (not just blacks), we should:

**Reward Work.** The working poor should keep all they make in the market. This means offsetting the taxes they pay -- mainly Social Security and sales taxes -- through a more generous earned-income tax credit. Congress is moving in this direction. But the size and coverage of tax relief should be expanded greatly. Now, only workers with children (including single parents) qualify. Coverage should also go to single workers and poor, childless couples.

**Emphasize Education.** What matters is education, not schooling. Degrees that don't reflect real skills and knowledge are worthless. Strict competency tests for high school diplomas and teaching jobs are critical. Without pressures for higher standards, more money for schools will be wasted. Lowering standards to prevent dropouts may raise attendance rates, but it won't improve students' prospects.

**Get Serious About Crime.** Blacks are the most frequent victims of black crime. For the young, crime discourages work and undermines schools because it's so profitable. It feeds drug use -- which promotes more crime -- and terrorizes neighborhoods. Getting serious about crime means more police, more prosecutors and more prisons.

The trouble with these simple ideas is that they cost money (though not that much in a \$ 5 trillion economy) and will at best produce only gradual gains. But doing nothing is more dangerous. The menacing connection between economics and emotion is this: Poverty breeds racism. As "Blacks and American Society" shows, there are still vast gaps in attitudes between blacks and whites. Many whites think racism and discrimination are things of the past, while many blacks blame whites for holding them down.

There's much hypocrisy (among whites) and self-delusion (among blacks) in these attitudes. Yes, whites support racial equality in opinion polls. But many whites shun neighborhoods with large numbers of blacks. So housing segregation remains widespread. Meanwhile, blacks delude themselves by thinking that their problems would recede if only whites cared more and tried harder. Affirmative action, for example, won't cure black poverty. It won't turn unskilled blacks into computer programmers.

A society in which blacks and whites don't have similar life opportunities belies the American Dream. Given that, poverty and racism are almost bound to



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feed on each other. As long as black poverty stays high, many whites will assume that all blacks are like poor blacks. And many blacks will continue to think in group terms, holding whites responsible for all black ills. It's this connection that makes our race problem so disheartening.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: RACIAL DISCRIMINATION; BLACK; POVERTY



August 15, 1989

Suggested Policy Themes  
For The National Baptist Association Speech

o PARENTAL CHOICE

1. Child Care Tax Credit

- help for those who need it most
- non-discrimination against parents who care for kids at home
- non-discrimination against religious child care
- aid directly to parents

✓ 2. Educational choice

- Magnet schools
- Aid to Historically Black Colleges and Universities

o ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

1. Judging people by skills, not by background: expanding on the President's Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals proposal
2. Tenant management of public housing
3. Enterprise zones

o TAKING BACK THE STREETS

1. A common sense approach to crime:
  - If you commit a crime, you'll be caught.
  - And if caught, you will be prosecuted.
  - And if convicted, you will do time.
2. Death penalty

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1ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1988

April 5, 1988, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: Maryland, Virginia

LENGTH: 408 words

HEADLINE: New study: Employment can reduce city's chronic poor

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Poverty

BODY:

A large number of the District of Columbia's poor residents work and a variety of jobs are available to help overcome long-term poverty, but barriers still prevent many of the city's chronic poor from obtaining and keeping jobs, a study released Tuesday said.

According to the report, more than one person out of six in the city -- 104,000 residents -- are poor, and among that group, as many as 40,000 are seeking work and capable of holding a job.

The report, released by the Greater Washington Research Center, culminates an 18-month study of whether substantial numbers of city residents can earn their way out of long-term poverty.

The study, conducted on behalf of the Committee on Strategies to Reduce Chronic Poverty, concludes that a modest reduction of the district's poor population can be achieved through improving job opportunities.

The report also said barriers such as lack of transportation and inadequate child care services hinder city residents who live below the poverty line.

"While potential jobs are available ... significant barriers impede the ability of many poor people to earn their way out of poverty," said Oliver T. Carr, head of one of the Washington area's largest development companies and co-chairman of the committee.

"With more than two-thirds of the potentially available jobs in the suburbs, it is difficult for poor district residents to learn of these jobs or get to them. When they do," Carr added, "many do not have the good basic skills necessary for the better paying jobs."

The committee, which includes representation of the city and its school board, cited a lack of affordable and competent child care as another contributor to chronic poverty.

"If we are going to require a mother with dependent children to work without making adequate child care available, we face the risk that her children may not get the stimulation necessary for full emotional and economic development," said Rev. Henry Gregory, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church in

CHILD CARE

BUSH VISITED CTR.



Proprietary to the United Press International, April 5, 1988

Northwest Washington and co-chair of the committee.

"This risks extending poverty into another generation, resulting in increased long-term poverty that has the most troubling consequences for our future."

The committee called for a joint effort by the public and private sectors to help tackle long-term poverty in the Washington area, and said they would spend the next several months sharing the report and collecting advice.



Joshua

~~Josh~~ Smith

230-3440

André Carrington

Whitehead

"Josh"

Mickey behind