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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

THIRD EDITION

EDITED BY
Edward L. Queen II
Stephen R. Prothero
Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr.

FOREWORD BY
Martin E. Marty

Encyclopedia of

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Third Edition

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Edward L. Queen II,
Stephen R. Prothero,
and
Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr.
Martin E. Marty, Editorial Adviser

Book Producer: Marie A. Cantlon, Proseworks, Boston

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AUTHORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Principal authors

EDWARD L. QUEEN II directs the D. Abbott Turner Program in Ethics and Servant Leadership at the Center for Ethics at Emory University, where he also directs research activities for the university's Institute of Human Rights and serves on the faculty of the Departments of Religion and Jewish Studies.

STEPHEN PROTHERO, chairman of the Department of Religion at Boston University, is the author of *Religious Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know—And Doesn't.*

GARDINER SHATTUCK, a priest of the Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island, is a lecturer in the history of Christianity at Andover Newton Theological School of Massachusetts.

Contributors

TONY FELS is an associate professor of history at the University of San Francisco in San Francisco, California.

MATTHEW GLASS a freelance writer and researcher, teaches in the Religion and Culture Department at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

LAURIE F. MAFFLY-KIPP is an associate professor of religious studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

TINA PIPPIN is a professor in the Department of Religious Studies at Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia.

RICHARD H. SEAGER is a professor in the Department of Religious Studies at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York.

ROBERT H. STOCKMAN is the coordinator of the Institute for Bahá'í Studies in Wilmette, Illinois.

BRON R. TAYLOR is the Oshkosh Foundation Professor of Religion and Social Ethics and director of environmental studies at the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh.

ANDREW WALSH is associate director of the Leonard C. Greenberg Center for the Study of Religion in Public Life at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut.

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

One of the coeditors of this encyclopedia used to hear me urge graduate students to pay attention to an observation by Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. That European scholar observed that one book is about one thing, at least the good ones are. We were to carry that observation over to course papers, articles for learned journals, dissertations that were to become books, and, of course, books themselves.

Well and good, one would hear from time to time in response: That works for short papers or books with narrow themes. Write on "Roofing Technology among Folk Architects in Southwest Virginia, 1878–1881" and there will be no mistaking the "one book, one thing," theme. What about comprehensive works that include disparate materials? What about, for instance, the *Sears, Roebuck* catalog, the register of students in their dormitories, or, of course, the phone book? Easy: Mention them; think about them; it is simple to grasp what is the "one thing" that these "many-thinged" inclusive works were about.

What is complex about such works for anyone who wants to remain clear about the plot of each is their pattern of organization. This encyclopedia, like most others, is alphabetically ordered. What does that pattern do to reality? I had a colleague who was more at home with what that year was being considered representative of the postmodern. He thought that I, who found the postmodern a less congenial concept, was resisting it. That concept, as he would explain it, rendered everything arbitrary, disconnected, remote from reality as a person using common sense would grasp it.

One day I mentioned having dealt with the yellow pages of the Chicago phone book. Now, "religion" and "religious institutions" are a significant part of the reality that surrounds us. How does religion make its presence felt? First of all, it appeared in that case in a book called *Chicago Consumer Yellow Pages*. Not all religious people like to think of their commitment as representing "consumption." (Let it be said that some schools of thought do think that all religious participation represents "rational choice" among faiths as market options, but that is a different topic for a different day.)

Next, a section called "Churches" follows "Chiropractors" and antecedes "Cigars." That ought to suggest something arbitrary and disconnected. Continuing along that line, we note that "Churches—Islamic" has to be a less-than-congenial category for Muslims, who see "Churches" to be a specifically Christian classification. And, I had finally noted, alphabetization formed and forced strange company. Think of what gets clustered under the letter *u*:

Ukrainian Catholic
Ukrainian Orthodox
Unitarian Universalist
United Church of Christ
United Holy Church of America

United Methodist
United Pentecostal
United Protestant
Unity School of Christianity
Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches
Universal Life
Unification Church

This sequence led to the observation that here were mainly black, mainly white, liberal and conservative, straight and gay (MCC), Christian and non-Christian, held together by nothing except names that begin with the letter *u*. "Gotcha, Marty," pounced the colleague; "we catch you here in a postmodern moment!"

Agreed. Ways of organizing reality do seem arbitrary, unconnected. One could as well learn about the religion of a city by driving along its avenues and noting the names on church signs in front of edifices. Or by knocking on doors and asking about the religious choice of consumers beyond them. Or by turning on tape recorders and listening to what people have to say about their faiths or non-faiths. Little of what they say might match what the signs in front of church buildings say. Still, the alphabet helps one make sense of the sets of realities that confront observers. On such terms, *Encyclopedia of American Religious History* has a secure and helpful place. "Consumers" who buy or borrow and use it will not have access to all the ways of learning about American religion, but they will be better off by far than those who have no way of satisfying curiosity or gaining access to information they need.

The yellow pages, however, deal only with present-day representations of religious realities. How did they come to their present-day situations? Historian R. H. Tawney provided an autobiographical explanation of what motivated his life work: He found the world to be so odd, and wanted to know how it got that way. All those different ways of looking at this world and, perhaps, worlds beyond it, ways typed in one illustration by organizations that begin naming with a "U," look odd to those who belong to other organizations. They may even look odd to those affiliated with them today. Why do Unitarian Universalists think of "God" and "Jesus" so differently than do United Pentecostals? Answer: because they have different pasts, different histories. That's it: The curious, the information seekers, whether they think of themselves as historically minded or not, need and welcome historical information of the sort this book provides.

Having pointed to the obvious in two of its forms, there remains a third kind of obviousness that needs pointing out, one that this encyclopedia so well exemplifies. The code name for that is not "alphabet" or "history" but "pluralism." This revised edition of *Encyclopedia of American Religious History* is in its own way a celebration of an ever-richer pluralism. The publishers and editors, having asked me to reread many of the updated articles to serve as one more checker of accuracies or blocker of inaccuracies, also included dozens of entirely new entries to appraise. Some of them represented catch-up work. All revising editors revisit the original material to see what they might have slighted or missed completely in an earlier edition. But in the present case they also included phenomena or personalities who had not been on the scene, had not yet made a name for themselves, had not roused curiosity way back in 1996, the time of the first edition.

With the publication of the second edition, I must note that there is more of everything going on in religion, and that this expansion led to an expansion of the number of entries in the new edition. There is never going to be a moment in dynamic America when everything is in place, settled, historically located, completely comprehended. There will always be more, but each generation can only reckon with what is presently before it.

To say that such an encyclopedia as this suggests ever-expanding pluralism is not to exhaust what goes on between these covers. It is, after all, not very interesting to talk about "mere" pluralism. Let an encyclopedist say that there are 1,200 or 1,500 organized, visible denominations and new religious movements in the United States and you have not served the hearers well. Will they be more impressed if they hear that there are 12,000 or 15,000? Once a chronicler or encyclopedist gets past a dozen or a score, the sight of what we are calling "mere" pluralism would overwhelm.

What citizens do about the welter of religious movements is what is interesting and worthy of remarking and referencing. How are they searching for and holding to truth among these options? How are they keeping from engaging in holy wars of the sort many religious societies pursue? What inspires measures of tolerance, civility, cooperation, ecumenism, and interfaith dialogue in our culture? The reader cannot get answers to all that by reading a single entry. But the more one consults this work, the more she or he will learn about the shapers and dissenters, the healers and the wounders, the dominators and the victims, who have contributed in positive and negative ways to the shaping of today's pluralism.

One way to test this observation (call it a thesis) is to start sampling. Turn to any letter of the alphabet and read five articles in a row. You will have been launched on a pilgrimage that will help explain the oddness of "religious America" in a time that was supposed by many to have been "merely" secular, nonreligious, profane. And you will have met characters from the past or movements shaped long ago, and found reference points and landmarks that will help you make sense of the odd reality around you, be it organized on classic or modern or postmodern lines. You will find yourself more informed as you make connections between them or make more sense of the disconnections. In either case, welcome to the endlessly fascinating American religious scene, approached on these pages in accurate and lively ways.

—Martin E. Marty

INTRODUCTION

Slightly over a decade ago, the first edition of this encyclopedia appeared. It was recognized by the New York Public Library as one of the top 100 reference books of the year and also chosen by the History Book Club and the Reader's selection as monthly choices. The book clearly filled an obvious need and since that time has provided innumerable readers with the information they needed in a timely fashion.

Since the encyclopedia's initial publication, information about religion in America has become even more central to understanding politics, society, and culture. This growing importance is reflected in the expansion of the encyclopedia to three volumes and the inclusion of a short history of religion in America. Religion, a phenomenon that social scientists of the 1950s and 1960s declared was disappearing and becoming increasingly irrelevant, now seems central to much that occurs not only in the United States but in the world. During the presidential campaigns for the 2008 election, candidates' religious views (or lack thereof) dominated much of the coverage, whether it was Mitt Romney's Mormonism, Mike Huckabee's career as a minister, or Barack Obama's connections with Islam. This encyclopedia is designed to provide the thoughtful and questioning individual with information about important topics, events, and individuals in American religious history. It seeks to provide the users with important information to help them make sense of what they read in the newspaper, to grasp an individual's significance, and often to make sense of contemporary events, whether the ongoing fights over evolution, the conflict with the Branch Davidians, or contemporary American Islam.

As historians, we do not have particular strengths in prognosticating the future. We do have, we believe, a good sense of the way religion has interacted with the wider themes of U.S. history and world history. With any luck, we have identified trends and provided the information a concerned reader might need in order to understand the historical background of a current trend. Part of this has been a desire to ensure that the encyclopedia provide the information its users require and need. Part of it also involves self-protection. We know that many users will come to the encyclopedia in order to understand something that is happening at the moment. If the information is not there, one can well imagine the response: "What kind of encyclopedia is this, it does not even have. . . ."

The latter part, however, also speaks to a different issue. While the volume needs to be useful, it cannot be rooted solely in the present. Even if one were to assume a new edition every five years or so, a lot can happen in that span of time. Issues or movements that seemed of overwhelming importance at one time (think Promise Keepers) fade in importance to be overtaken by new concerns. The encyclopedia's authors, therefore, have organized some of the articles around themes of importance in American religious history. Church-state, religion and science, and education are just a few of the topics that have been perennial in American religious history and undoubtedly will continue to be so (at least that is what the editors believe). If we cannot conceive of all possible permutations of these topics (who, other than a very few research scientists, was focused on stem cell research when the first edition of this volume was published), we hope to give the reader a context in which to place new issues as they emerge.

A new and valuable element of this edition of the encyclopedia is the inclusion of a short history of religion in America. It does not purport to exhaust the events in that history. It highlights the themes within it. This history also provides an opportunity to provide information that fits neither within the encyclopedia's entries nor lends itself to a topical entry. Rather than exhausting the reader with a recitation of significant events and individuals, it attempts to capture the dominant ethos of religion in a particular period while locating it within the swirl of historical events. The history provides the opportunity for the reader to grasp more fully how movements, ideas, and individuals that seemingly have little to do with religion greatly affect it.

Religion in the United States does not operate in a vacuum. It is immersed in the general flow of American history and culture, indeed of world history. Events throughout the world act upon and are acted upon by religions in America. From the rise of Islamist movements to the trafficking of people, there are implications both for America, for American religion, and for religious Americans. This encyclopedia tries both to capture that reality and to explain it to the reader.

Space and imagination mean that some things are not included. Some may disagree with our selections, while others may challenge our emphases or even our interpretations. We hope that such individuals will respond charitably, judge the volumes based on the whole, and overlook minor omissions and errors.

As always, we thank those who helped to bring the encyclopedia into being initially and have helped to see it through its now third edition. Preeminently, we acknowledge Marie Cantlon's dedicated work throughout the nearly two decades that have passed since Edward Queen drafted the proposal for the first edition.

—Edward L. Queen II

A SHORT HISTORY OF RELIGION IN AMERICA

Any attempt to write a succinct and coherent history of religions in America first must find some narrative threads to weave that history together. Failure to do so results in a narrative that reflects the infamous, albeit wrongheaded, description of history as simply, "One damned thing after another." That is not history but chronicle. And while chronicle has its place, history struggles with explanation and understanding. It attempts to answer the question of how did the present, given all the possible options, come to be the way it is. This question is particularly powerful regarding the history of religions in America, because the contemporary reality of the country—the most religious of all the developed nations, the most religiously diverse, the country with the greatest amount of religious freedom, the marked absence of violent religious conflict—needs to be explained. While one could write the history of religion in America by focusing on the conflicts caused by difference (and there have been such conflicts: Quakers hanged on Boston Commons, the Mormon Wars, the Ku Klux Klan), the interesting point is that not only have such conflicts not been the norm, they always have been subsumed into a much larger story of religious acceptance. Admittedly, this acceptance sometimes has been grudging at best, but one must acknowledge that it is better than ongoing violence and unceasing animosity.

To make sense of this history, one must consider the following facts. As each religious tradition found its way to what is America, it did so in the absence of a centralized authority that would undertake the (re)creation of religious necessities here. No government was building churches, synagogues, temples, or mosques. No state was hiring and paying religious leaders. No governmental body ruled on who could (or could not be) a religious leader. While this reality changed somewhat in several colonies during the 17th and 18th centuries, after 1830 it was the reality for all. And even in those colonies that had governmental support of religion for a period of time, in the initial phase religion was a "do-it-yourself" affair. When they arrived at Plymouth, the Pilgrims not only had to decide to build a meetinghouse, they actually had to build it. Commitment to religious worship was necessary for there to be such worship. This pattern would be repeated by all who arrived on these shores, whether Baptists or Methodists, Jews or Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. There would be no churches, mosques, temples, synagogues, or gurdwaras, no religious buildings of any kind, unless people chose to take on the tasks of building them, paying for them, and maintaining them.

This brings us to a second reality that marks American religion. Groups of individuals who chose to create a religious life in this country looked around at what was successful and mimicked those successes. Some have described this by saying that everyone in America is a "protestant," meaning that religions in America have taken on the character of low-church, nonsacramental Protestantism. They all are, at some functional level, congregationally based and dependent on the individual commitment of their members. Religion in the United States runs on the voluntary principle (see VOLUNTARYISM).

To a great extent, this is explained by the fact that no religion in the country operates with state-sanctioned authority. Religions lack the coercive power to enforce their decisions and must, on some real level, rely on persuasion. Ultimately, they cannot afford to alienate their members, because the members themselves are freely able to exercise their choices and leave. There always is another congregation, another denomination, and even another religion that is more compelling, convincing, or comfortable.

This environmental background is the canvas onto which each religion coming to the United States must paint itself and is strengthened by the legal realities. The constitutional limits (see CONSTITUTION) on legal establishment and protections of free exercise provide a significant background of the canvas. This background provides boundaries on religions, preeminently eliminating their ability to rely on the government's police or taxing powers to further their goals. It also provides them with tremendous freedom. The government's police powers do not extend to exercising judgments on beliefs, internal governance, or membership. In fact, the default option for the United States is that something that calls itself a religion actually is a religion and entitled to those protections, absent compelling evidence to the contrary.

The "novelty" of America, however, is only part of the story, albeit a most important one. Novelty speaks both to the reality under which religions operate in America and the new religions and new forms of old religions created in America. Religions arrived in America with histories of belief and practice. Many also arrived immersed in particular cultures and languages. Religions, therefore, not only had to find ways to establish their familiar structures and institutions, many had to struggle to maintain cultural and linguistic traditions. Religions required places where the traditions could be taught and practiced. The different environment of America forced new thinking about the format and content of instruction. The lack, throughout most of American history, of a situation where culture mutually reinforced a particular religion further highlighted the issue of choice. Just as individuals or groups who arrived in America had to choose to (re)create their religious lives in the United States physically, they also were faced with the issue of having to choose what distinctive elements of their religions needed to be taught, communicated, and replicated. These issues included questions of language, cultural history, and, often, practices. The challenges of these particularities powerfully challenged "universal" religions. For these traditions, local practices and variations in traditions presented numerous challenges. The Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) in America struggled with this issue for decades. In Europe, Italian and German Catholics had little occasion to interact or know of the other's distinct practices. In the United States, Irish, French, Italian, German, and Hispanic Catholics (to name just a few) looked at each other and saw the practices of their ostensible coreligionists as alien and their languages unintelligible. In response, they demanded parishes that presented Catholicism in a way that looked familiar to them. (see CAHENSLYISM) Such demands, however, ran counter to the idea of the Church as universal. The hierarchy's response was to impose uniformity on the American church, even to the point of alienating large numbers of Eastern Rite Catholics. (see ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY) Such a decision never would have had to have been made in France or Italy. Those differences did not exist. ISLAM in the United States also has struggled with this issue, as Muslims from Malaysia, India, Pakistan, and the Arab countries (again to name a few), along with African Americans, encountered each other in ways unknown in their countries of origin. In the United States, every tradition that arrived on these shores has been forced not only to construct the physical reality of religion but also the tradition itself. They have, in fact, had to construct American versions of their traditions. In doing so, they have been forced to decide what mattered and what did not. They have been forced to choose. Choice means that every tradition that has found its way to the United States has had to undergo the process of modernization. Even those versions of religious groups that consider themselves to be most "traditional" are modern creations. The act of choosing to be a certain way, in fact even the option of choice, is not a significant reality for traditional societies. It is the mark of modernity. The realities of America have made every tradition become modern.

How this happened is the story of religion in the United States. It was neither what those Europeans who first settled the Western Hemisphere had known nor what they desired to establish in what they saw as a new land. In fact, they desired the opposite. The Europeans wanted to reconstruct in their American colonies the world they knew. They wanted the order, structure, and religious uniformity of the various European regimes imposed upon the Americas as well. Europeans steadfastly struggled to re-create in the Americas the world they had known in Europe and their understandings of that world (see New France; New Spain).

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The year 1492, therefore, looms large in the history of the United States. In that year, Christopher Columbus departed on the voyage that led to the settling of the Western Hemisphere by Europeans and the eventual founding of the United States; it also was the year that the Jews were expelled from Spain, an event that eventually led to the United States becoming one of the most religiously diverse countries in the world.

Columbus's departure in 1492 must be seen in its religious context in order to understand the realities of early European settlement in the Americas. It is illustrative that when Columbus departed from Spain, he actually had to leave from the port of Palos instead of the main port of Cádiz because the former was filled with ships transporting the expelled Jews from Spain. In 1492, the Reformation still lay 33 years in the future, Copernicus had yet to publish his claim that Earth revolved around the Sun, and the European world had barely begun to incorporate the learnings of the Renaissance.

The world of the late 15th century was dramatically separated from us intellectually and politically. It also was a world that created the environment in which the Western Hemisphere was settled and bequeathed an understanding of religion and religious matters that set the stage for religious conflict and intolerance in the New World. The greatest source of that conflict would be the collapse of the unity of western European Christianity created by the Reformation. The division between Catholic and Protestant Christianity that emerged in the 16th century had a major affect on the United States well into the 19th century and, in some ways, through most of the 20th. It is to that break we now turn.

Many date the beginning of the Reformation to October 31, 1517. On that day a young monk named Martin Luther posted on the door of Wittenberg's Castle Church (Schlosskirche) his Ninety-five Theses calling for significant changes in the Catholic Church. The Reformation, however, owed its emergence (and its eventual success) to a wide set of sources—intellectual, cultural, political, and social. Preeminently, the Reformation emerged from European humanism, an intellectual movement that affected all of the leading religious thinkers of the time, regardless of whether they became Protestant or remained Catholic. Humanism brought a new ethos of questioning and a growth of knowledge to Europe. Corruption in the church led to regular and ongoing calls for renewal and reform. The emergence of proto-national identities led to resentment against foreign monarchs, and even the Catholic Church, because, in places like Germany and England, it was viewed as composed of foreign meddlers.

Historians usually speak of four different Reformations. While connected, they were intellectually and structurally distinct. These are the Lutheran Reformation (see LUTHERANISM), the Calvinist Reformation (see REFORMED TRADITION, THE), the English Reformation, and the Radical Reformation (see ANABAPTISTS). The last three had the greatest effect on what became the United States, although in some regions of the United States, particularly the Upper Midwest, Lutheranism would exert a marked influence both religiously and culturally.

In the early years, the English and Calvinist Reformations had the most import and the greatest influence, particularly as those who emphasized Calvinist (see CALVINISM) thought increasingly became embroiled in conflict within the Church of England over its beliefs and structures. While Luther created the spark that ignited the Reformation, for the United States the flames spreading from John Calvin's Geneva, John Knox's Scotland, and Elizabeth I's England were much more important for American history.

The various strands of the Reformation differed markedly in their emphases and in the manner in which they took effect in the various regimes. Additionally, they varied in their views of government, church organization, and doctrine. These elements occasionally put them as at odds with each other as with the Catholics.

Despite important differences, certain shared elements among the major Protestant groups can be identified. First, all rejected the claim that the bishop of Rome, the pope, was the head of the church. Additionally, they tended to disregard traditional understandings of church leadership. Although some of the reformers retained bishops, most notably the Church of England and Lutheranism, the position lost much of its religious and, more important, secular authority. While bishops in England retained some secular authority—they continue to sit as members of the House of Lords—the power they had prior to the Reformation was lost following the expropriation of church lands by Henry VIII and the fact that they owed their positions to royal appointment.

Theologically, the reformers emphasized the priority of scripture over tradition and argued that the Bible should be available to the common people. In fact, translating the Bible into the vernacular was one of the most important undertakings of the reformers. Luther's translation not only gave the common people the scripture in their language, it also served to create the modern German language. In the English-speaking world, the King James Version of the Bible proved nearly as important (see BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION).

Most of the early reformers denied that individuals could do anything to effect their salvation. With varying degrees of emphasis, they insisted that salvation was a gift from God that no individual merited but which God passed along solely as a manifestation of God's mercy. John Calvin articulated the strongest view of this doctrine, known popularly as predestination. Calvin claimed that God had chosen whom to save and whom to damn before the creation of the world.

While the groups of the Radical Reformation shared many of these views, with the possible exception of the last, they also differed markedly from other reformers. Preeminently, much of the Radical Reformation opposed state control of religion and committed itself to nonviolence. (There were, however, some exceptions to this rule.)

While the churches of the Radical Reformation, with the exception of the Quakers in colonial Pennsylvania (see Friends, Religious Society of; Pennsylvania [colony]), had little direct influence on political life in what would become the United States, they did exert some indirect influences, mostly on the early Baptists in the colonies and through their vision of the noncoerciblity of conscience. Also, their presence and growth in the English colonies and later in the United States both reflected and expanded the levels of toleration in the United States. Although persecuted to near extinction by both Catholics and Protestants on the European continent, they thrived in the United States, and the Amish and Mennonites, as the largest representatives, continue today.

The Radical Reformers' general opposition to political engagement separated them from the developments in much of Europe during that time, except as victims. The growth of the Protestant forces and the adoption of Protestantism by numerous rulers in the German states, the Swiss cantons, other regions of the continent, by Henry VIII in England led to numerous religious wars and much violence. On the European continent, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) devastated the German states, killing nearly 30 percent of the population. In England, Protestantism under Henry VIII and his immediate successor led to violence against those who opposed Henry's reforms and to increasing antagonism between England and Spain. With the ascendance to the throne of Mary, Catholicism once more became the favored religion, and Mary's persecution of Protestants created what would become the basis for long-term anti-Catholicism in the English colonies and later the United States. The torments suffered by Protestants persecuted by Mary led to the writing of one of the most important books in the English language for decades, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. The memory of those martyrs that the book seared into the imaginations of its readers played a major role in anti-Catholicism in the English colonies.

Another factor that strengthened anti-Catholicism among the English colonists was the increasing equation of Catholic with treason. While the rivalry and conflict between England and Spain (and later France) had multiple sources, religion became the basis for articulating the nature of the conflict. To be a Catholic in England during the reign of Elizabeth (and even later) placed one under suspicion of being a foreign agent, if not a traitor.

Europeans brought these conflicts and hostilities with them to the New World. The first permanent European settlement in the United States, St. Augustine, in modern-day Florida, was founded in 1565, 48 years after the start of the Reformation. Shortly afterward, the Spanish commander Pedro Menéndez de Avilés attacked a settlement of French Protestants (Huguenots) near the mouth of the Saint Johns River in Florida. Slaughtering the inhabitants after their surrender, he later excused his actions saying he did it "not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans."

This act, later revenged by the French, who had taken it as a national assault, not a religious one, reflects the violence that the Europeans knew on the Continent and in England and the mindset they brought to the New World. Violence and intolerance on a religious basis was the norm and could be used to mask all manner of cruelties and crimes, from piracy to enslavement. While some may be surprised to find religion and piracy linked, it was quite common in the 16th century for English pirates to defend their attacks on Spanish shipping from the New World as part of the fight against Spain and Catholicism. John Hawkins, Francis Drake, and others well represented this tendency. Drake in particular saw his piracy (or privateering) as religiously driven. He carried copies of *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* aboard his ship and is reported to have spent his free time coloring the woodcuts of his personal copy.

Europeans attempted to import this understanding of religion and society into the New World. While the violence of Europe was never matched in the New World, the mental universe of the age played a major role in the way in which laws were drawn and societies organized, as well as the way individuals viewed those who differed religiously.

Knowing that the United States began amid such hostility and violence makes the story of American religion all the more amazing. In the United States, religious tolerance did not advance with a decline in religion. It has marched on with its growth in numbers, variety, and vitality. The advance has not been easy or direct. There have been detours, defeats, and declines. New ideas, immigrants, and insights have provided distinctive challenges and confusions. The path never has been clear. At the time of this writing, ever more questions exist. Challenges are presented by religious violence and the growth of religious movements violently opposed to toleration and democracy. Confusion swirls over scientific teachings that seemingly underlie religious doctrine. And concerns remain about how to incorporate more seemingly new and exotic religious traditions. These volumes should help the reader place these contemporary issues within the wider historical context, recognize that they really are not new problems, and, then, draw on the historical knowledge to formulate answers to contemporary concerns or at least understand them better (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS).

When the European's first found their way to the Western Hemisphere, they discovered peoples already living here. These peoples, who became known as "Indians," varied greatly in their religious, social, and cultural organization. Some were exceedingly simple in terms of social structures and technology, such as those living in the Great Basin area of the United States (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS [INTERMONTANE/CALIFORNIA]). Others, such as the Aztec and Inca Empires, had established complex social, technological, and cultural orders. They were among the few indigenous peoples to have developed a written script. The absence of writing among many of the Indian peoples means that much of our knowledge of their precontact social organizations and religious practices comes from archaeology, oral histories of the Native peoples, and reports from early European explorers and colonizers.

Given the absence of a written record, our knowledge remains imperfect, and our understandings limited and too often colored by people's projections and political ideologies. This knowledge improves only slightly with the arrival of the first Europeans. Most not only were unconcerned about the cultures of the peoples who lived in the Western Hemisphere, they were actively hostile. This hostility had both religious and practical roots. Religiously, the Europeans looked upon the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere as pagans at best, servants of the devil at worst. Most lacked both interest and concern for the peoples who lived in the New World. Although there would be some notable exceptions, most explorers and colonists viewed the Native peoples as obstacles to be removed or resources to be exploited. One, therefore, must read accounts of the religious practices written by early Europeans with some suspicion, although recent archaeological discoveries tend to support many of the written accounts.

This hostility proved most unfortunate for the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere. It led to the murder of individuals and the destruction of cultures that had arrived nearly 17,000 years earlier. Scholars generally accept that the first peoples to arrive in the Western Hemisphere crossed from Siberia over the Bering land bridge. Over the course of time, their descendants spread over the entire region from the farthest reaches of northern Canada to Tierra del Fuego in the south. Their religions and social organizations manifested nearly as much variety as their locations.

Indian peoples had numerous religious forms, varying from shamanism to animism. Still others had complex religious hierarchies and physical structures, including elaborate temple mound complexes. While the native peoples in what is now the United States organized no vast and elaborate empires such as the Spaniards found among the Aztec and Inca, there did exist several complex and elaborate cultures. In the American Southwest, the Pueblo people as well as the Zuni and Hopi had developed complex settled cultures (the oldest continuously inhabited city in the United States is Taos Pueblo) with elaborate religious systems (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS [SOUTHWEST]). The Pueblo, in particular, had religious practices that struck the earliest Spanish explorers as similar to their own, with a ritual calendar, altars, and priests.

Although the largest Mound Builder culture, the Hopewellian, had disappeared before European exploration, the Mississippian culture, while declining, continued among the Natchez. The Natchez, as well the Indian peoples of the northern Pacific coast and the American Southwest, developed cultures with settled villages and hierarchical societies. The Mississippians, like the Hopewellians before them, were capable of organizing people to develop public projects involving the construction of immense effigy and temple mounds. As the naturalist William Bartram, who visited the area in 1775, wrote, “It is altogether unknown to us what could have induced the Indians to raise such a heap of earth in this place . . . It is reasonable to suppose, however, that they were to serve some important purpose in those days, as they were public works, and would have required the united labour and attention of a whole nation.”

Research since Bartram’s time has given us a much better sense of what induced them “to raise such a heap of earth.” The Mississippian cultures were sedentary and agricultural, ruled by an extensive hierarchy of priest-chiefs. Their towns were laid out around a central plaza and the main mound, which was the residence of the main chief. Lesser chiefs resided on smaller mounds, and, among the general populace, social status was reflected in the proximity of one’s house to the main plaza. The Natchez, located primarily in the vicinity of the modern-day Mississippi city of that name, maintained an elaborate and complex religious and social structure into the historical period, up until their defeat by the French in a series of wars in the 1730s.

At the top of the hierarchy was the Great Sun, who ruled the tribe as an absolute monarch and, apparently, a representative of the divine on Earth. The Great Sun was never allowed to touch the ground. He was carried about in a litter, and, when he walked, mats were spread before him. Along with the Great Sun were lesser “suns” composed of his immediate family. Below the suns was a class of “nobles,” and then an intermediate class known as the “honored.” The lowest (and most numerous) class known as *miche-miche-quipy* (literally, “those who smell different”) in the Natchez language, which has been translated into English “stinkards.”

Religion among American Indians, in the pre-Columbian period, just as among the Europeans, not only functioned as a vehicle to worship the divine, but often became a source for creating and establishing complex social hierarchies, mandating human sacrifice, and increasing one group’s power over another. Illustrations of the last could be multiplied significantly. At the same time, religion, through stories of the creation of the world and of people, often provided the basis for explaining differences between peoples and for creating social identities. Most Indian peoples referred to themselves by names that, in their language, meant either the “people” or the “true people,” with the implication that others lacked such a prestigious identity and were, therefore, somewhat less than completely human. Others were devoid of the special creation that marked the “true people.”

While Indian peoples seemingly did not undertake "religious wars" as were common in the Christian and Muslim world, the perception of inferiority made it easier to rationalize intertribal warfare, particularly since most the conflicts consisted of raids designed to obtain supplies, women, slaves, and, after European settlement, horses. Clear evidence from the historical period shows that certain Indian peoples understood religious power as a useful tool in their conflicts with other tribes (see ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE, NATIVE AMERICAN).

One of the earliest Catholic missionaries in the modern United States, Fray Juan de Padilla, who had visited the area of modern-day Kansas with the Spanish conquistador Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, returned to the place where he had once erected a cross as a missionary to the Wichita. Feeling that God had called him to serve all the Indian peoples, he also attempted to take Christianity to the neighboring peoples, the Kansa. The Wichita, who viewed Fray Padilla as a source of magic and religious power, opposed this desire, and, when he insisted on aiding their enemies, they stoned him to death. In 1544, Fray Padilla became the first Christian martyr in the United States.

There are other examples of certain tribes viewing religion as a major source of power in their wars. One of the best-known examples was the efforts of the Salish-Kootenai (Flatheads) to obtain Jesuit priests, whom they believed would provide them with religious power against their opponents, the Blackfoot. To accomplish this, they sent a series of delegations from modern-day Montana to St. Louis, Missouri, requesting "Blackrobes," Jesuits. The request was granted in 1840, and Father Pierre de Smet and several companions traveled to the Bitterroot Valley, establishing several missions there.

At the time of European exploration, religion played a major role as an impetus for colonization and settlement. The Europeans arrived in the New World with a series of complex motives, seeking the wealth of the Indies, expanding power, and conversion of souls. With the emergence of the Reformation, all of these rationales combined with the issue of which religion would dominate, as Europeans brought to the Americas their religious conflicts and antagonisms. Exploration and settlement took on an even larger religious component, as each Protestant colony was viewed as a blow against Catholicism, and vice versa.

But even before Europeans brought their religious wars to the Western Hemisphere, religion played a role in conflicts between Europeans and Indian peoples. While the Europeans perpetrated most of the religiously based violence, the Indian peoples resisted the attacks and challenges to their traditional beliefs and practices, and many missionaries met violent and cruel deaths as they attempted to bring the Christian religion and European culture to the indigenous peoples living in what became the United States (see ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE, NATIVE AMERICAN).

As exploration moved into colonization, the Americas became part of the wider conflict within Europe over religion and between the various European powers. To a great extent, these conflicts are inseparable, and the settlement of what eventually would become the United States must be understood within that context.

Many of the early attempts to settle North America were both short lived and designed more as military outposts rather than full settlements. Additionally, some settlements, such as the one by French Huguenots at Fort Caroline (near today's Jacksonville, Florida), were destroyed as part of the wider European conflict. Although the Spanish commander who sacked the settlement proclaimed that he did it not to the victims as Frenchmen but as to infidels and Lutherans, the French found this rationale singularly unconvincing. In their retaliatory raid against the Spanish settlement in 1565, the commander proclaimed that he did it, not to Catholics or Spaniards, but to dogs and swine. Violent conflict and fear of it marked the period of North American settlement. This conflict would not only be fought between the European settlers but also between the Europeans and the Native peoples who fought not only for their own reasons but also served as proxies in the European-based conflicts. This should provide a caution as one details and analyzes the colonial era. While religion played a major role in these conflicts, and religious intolerance was rampant, conflicts often had multiple causes, including great-power rivalry and imperial ambition on the macro level and class conflict, envy, and revenge on a personal level. More important for future developments in the United States, the massive scale of North America made it difficult to enforce legally prescribed religious uniformity, although many colonial governments strove mightily to do so.

As the European powers began the process of settling what would become the United States, Europe found itself in the midst of massive social, political, and religious upheavals. Intellectually, it slowly was internalizing the learnings and developments of the Renaissance, including the very nature of the solar system. Nicolaus Copernicus had published his arguments for a heliocentric (Sun-centered) solar system in 1543 and was followed by Galileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Chief Two World Systems* (1632). As is well known, Galileo later was condemned by the Catholic Church for teaching this view and would spend the last years of his life under house arrest. Opposition was not limited to Catholics, however. Martin Luther, the Protestant reformer, when he heard of Copernicus's publication, is reported to have said, "There is talk of a new astrologer who wants to prove that the Earth moves and goes around instead of the sky, the Sun, the Moon, just as if somebody were moving in a carriage or ship might hold that he was sitting still and at rest while the Earth and the trees walked and moved. . . . The fool wants to turn the whole art of astronomy upside-down. However, as Holy Scripture tells us, so did Joshua bid the Sun to stand still and not the Earth." Even greater changes were in the offing. Machiavelli published *The Prince* in 1515. Only in 1628 would William Harvey announce his discovery of the circulation of blood. Isaac Newton would publish his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* laying out the theory of gravity only in 1687, less than a century before the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Intellectually, the period was one of great ferment, and innumerable ideas were challenging traditional beliefs about the universe, government, and even the economy. Despite the tremendous movements during the 16th and 17th centuries toward creating the mental universe of the modern world, the overwhelming majority of the people were basically premodern. Demons were real, and while it might be convenient to view the native inhabitants of the Americas as heathens and children of Satan the better to despoil them of their land and riches, it also was honestly believed by many, just as many believed in the reality of witchcraft and readily accepted the biblical injunction that, "Thou shall not suffer a witch to live" (Exodus 22:17).

The centuries from Columbus's landing in the Western Hemisphere to the Declaration of Independence, not only saw tremendous intellectual ferment, they also experienced intense religious ferment. The Protestant Reformation broke the religious unity of western Europe. With this break, there came about an abundance of new religious groups, many of a radical stripe, and religious conflict in Europe was not solely that of Catholic versus Protestant but even various Protestants against each other and, although to a lesser extent, Catholics against Catholics.

With the Protestant Reformation came a sundering of many political connections as well. In fact, religious conflict and political conflict often were inseparable. Catholics in Protestant realms, particularly in England, were suspect. Many feared that they not only desired to return the country to the Catholic fold but also were agents of Catholic Spain or France. Similar views of Protestants marked the Catholic kingdoms and principalities. In such an environment, religious difference easily became equated with disloyalty, if not outright treason.

These fears were not necessarily unfounded. In 1569, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, England experienced the Northern Uprising. This rebellion in the north of England had as its goal the restoration of Catholicism and the release of the imprisoned Mary, Queen of Scots. English Catholics viewed this Catholic cousin of Elizabeth as the legitimate heir to the English throne. In 1570, Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and issued a papal decree releasing her subjects from their allegiance to her. This decree, which clearly was a call for an uprising against the English monarch, only strengthened the connection between Catholicism and treason in the mind of English Protestants and greatly increased the regime's suspicion of all English Catholics.

In response, Parliament passed numerous laws against Catholics and the practice of Catholicism. In 1581, Parliament declared it treason to reconcile with (return to) the Catholic Church and in 1585 declared any Catholic priest in England guilty of treason and made it a capital offense for anyone to shelter or assist a Catholic priest.

For English Protestants the clearest proof that the pope and Catholic Spain had combined to conquer Protestant England was the expedition of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The armada carried an army, whose goal was the invasion of England, the overthrow of Elizabeth I, and the restoration of Catholicism. The lighter and more maneuverable English ships, led by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, and a timely storm that scattered the Spanish fleet (and which the English viewed as proof of divine favor) effectively ended the invasion plans. It also served to strengthen English anti-Catholicism and led to greater enforcement of the anti-Catholic laws and surveillance of suspected "Catholic agents."

Under Elizabeth's successor, James I of England (James VI of Scotland), the flames of anti-Catholicism were fueled by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. This was a conspiracy by several Catholics, of whom Guy Fawkes is the best known, to blow up the Houses of Parliament during their opening session. At the time, not only would all the parliamentarians be in attendance, but so would the king and the royal family. A successful attack would have killed most of the kingdom's Protestant leadership, opening the way for a Catholic restoration. Thwarted shortly before it took place, the plot led to the execution of most of the conspirators and increased persecution of Catholics. For centuries afterward the English would commemorate Guy Fawkes Day as a celebration of Protestantism and anti-Catholicism, during which effigies of Guy Fawkes are burned in massive bonfires.

In Catholic Spain, the most Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, aggressively had begun enforcing religious uniformity in the late 15th century. Their policies continued throughout the kingdom during the following centuries and were extended to the colonies with the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in New Spain and Cuba.

As in England, Spain fused religion and loyalty to the regime. Spain, however, started this process much earlier, beginning in 1492 with the expulsion of the Jews and increasing legal pressures on Muslims, culminating in the 1502 edict demanding conversion or exile and the 1610 decree that expelled everyone suspected of harboring hidden Islamic practices.

In such an environment, Protestantism made little headway. While one of the leaders of the so-called Radical Reformation, Michael

Servetus, was a Spaniard by birth, he preached and taught mostly in France and then, after his escape from Lyon, in Geneva. There, after having escaped execution in Lyon (where he was burnt in effigy), he was burned in the flesh, executed by the city-state's Protestant government. Some small Protestant groups were located in Spanish towns, where they were uncovered by the Inquisition and their members executed or imprisoned. Even one Spanish archbishop was caught in the Inquisition's net at this time and accused of Protestant tendencies. Spain also enforced this religious uniformity within its New World colonies. It forbade the immigration of Protestants, Jews, Muslims, and New Christians (Jewish and Muslim converts to the fourth generation, under the laws of *limpieza de sangre,* or purity of blood) into the colony. Spain attempted to enforce these laws as strongly in the colonies as they were in Spain itself.

Given the liabilities under which the descendants of Jews and Muslims labored in the Iberian Peninsula, it should come as no surprise that many attempted to settle in the new colonies (see JUDAISM; ISLAM). This often could be accomplished readily by bribing a governmental official, ship's captain, or even a sympathetic sailor.

As early as 1508, bishops in Havana and Puerto Rico complained that the New World was being filled with *hebreo cristianos* (Hebrew Christians), *nuevo cristianos* (New Christians), *conversos* (converts), *Moriscos* (Moors), and heretics. Following the Protestant Reformation, Protestants themselves occasionally found their way to Spain's colonies and often into the hands of the Inquisition.

Although the first auto-da-fé in New Spain occurred in 1528 when two men were burned at the stake in Mexico City for being *judiazantes,* or Judaizers, the Inquisition was not established formally in Spain's New World colonies until 1569. In that year, King Philip II issued a decree establishing tribunals in New Spain (Mexico and those parts of the modern United States then under Spanish control) and Peru. In New Spain, the Inquisition directed much of its activity at those believed to be crypto-Jews, the descendants of converts from Judaism who continued to practice their Jewish faith in secret. During the 16th and 17th centuries, roughly 1,500 people in Spain's American colonies were accused of Judaizing, and more than 100 were executed. An additional 200 or so died in prison. Undoubtedly many of these convictions resulted from false confessions extracted under torture. Contemporary research in the United States, however, has led to the discovery that numerous families retained their crypto-Judaism up to the present. Numerous descendants of these "hidden Jews" have been "uncovered" in the American Southwest, particularly New Mexico. The families of these hidden Jews seemingly conformed outwardly to Catholic and Spanish practices while retaining in private elements of Judaism, including lighting candles before sundown on Fridays (the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath), refraining from eating pork, and even avoiding participation in Mass by feigning (or inducing) illness. In the modern United States, many of the descendants of these "crypto-Jews" have felt secure enough for the first time to seek out the details of their families' histories and return to Judaism. This powerfully illustrates not only the complex religious reality in the United States bequeathed to it by its history but also the living reality of that history within the country even today.

While the "crypto-Judaizers" came to colonial America with the hope of escaping some of the vigilance in Europe, others intentionally came to bring that violence (and to get rich in the process). British sailors, who under the guise of defending Protestantism from Spanish Catholic attacks, preyed on Spanish shipping, particularly gold ships from New Spain and Peru, also ran afoul of the Inquisition in New Spain. Although individuals such as Sir Francis Drake were viewed as heroes in England, the Spaniards saw them as pirates and heretics. Those shipwrecked or captured in Spain's New World colonies found little sympathy. In 1657, the privateer John Hawkins, forced by the loss of several ships and lack of provisions, abandoned most of his crew ashore on the Mexican coast. Many of these individuals fell into the hands of the Inquisition as "Lutherans," the generic term for Protestants at that time. At least four were sent to Spain, where they were burned as heretics, and another three were sent to the stake in Mexico itself. Nearly 100 were tried and sentenced as galley slaves, with some of the younger boys being sent to monasteries.

France during the early years of colonization also was a kingdom divided along religious lines. The French Protestants, the Huguenots, were well represented in the aristocracy, including the House of Bourbon. On the Catholic side was the Catholic League led, by the House of Guises, and composed of numerous Catholic princes supported by the king of Spain and the papacy. During the 1560s, France was embroiled in an on-again off-again war between its Catholics and Protestants. Nearly all these conflicts ended in negotiated settlements, allowing some religious freedoms to the Huguenots and guaranteeing them royal protection from Catholic mobs. Such protection was rarely long lived, and the Huguenots often found themselves under attack. Fearing the growing power of the Huguenots, Catherine de' Medici, the mother of King Charles IX, plotted the assassination of the Huguenot leader, Admiral de Coligny. When the attempt failed, Charles, convinced by his mother that the Protestants would seek revenge, authorized a concerted attack on French Protestants. The result, known as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, began in Paris on August 24, 1572. The massacre was a combination of a planned attack by the king's guard and the army and mob violence. Over the course of a few weeks, thousands of Huguenots were slaughtered. Modern historians claim that the number killed in Paris alone was about 3,000, with an additional 10,000 to 20,000 deaths throughout the rest of the country. Protestant commentators of the time, however, spoke of more than 100,000 Protestants "martyred" by the Catholics. The slaughter purportedly was so great that no one ate fish for weeks because the rivers were clogged with corpses. This event, known to history as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, soon entered the realm of Protestant mythology as a preeminent example of Catholic perfidy and violence and strengthened anti-Catholicism throughout the Protestant realms of Europe and in British North America.

The massacres did not end France's internal conflicts, however, and in 1598 the Edict of Nantes granted the Huguenots numerous religious privileges (and physical safety), although it retained Catholicism as the religion of the kingdom and forbade practices that might offend Catholics. While the edict was a shining example of religious tolerance at its time, the privileges held by the Huguenots progressively diminished during the 17th century as the French monarchy consolidated its power. King Louis XIV revoked the agreement in 1685, and shortly afterward a royal decree outlawed Protestantism in the kingdom. Tens of thousands of French Protestants left the kingdom; many would settle in British North America.

While most of the other kingdoms and principalities of the European continent played insignificant roles in the early colonization of the modern United States, events in eastern and central Europe during this time eventually affected the settlement and development of England's American colonies. Just as in England, Spain, and France, many of these events involved religious conflict between Catholic and Protestant. The major example was the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), which engulfed most of the continent, and the Spanish wars in the Netherlands. Less familiar, but no less significant, were the conflicts among the various Protestant groups (although these mostly were polemical not physical) and the persecution of and attacks on radical reformers by both the dominant Protestant groups and Catholics.

The radical reformers are best represented in the United States by the Quakers and Anabaptist groups such as the Mennonites and Amish. Less directly, the Unitarians also have their roots in the Radical Reformation, tracing their historical lineage back to Michael Servetus and Faustus Socinus, both of whom rejected the teaching that Jesus was himself God. Throughout the European continent and in the British Isles, followers of Servetus and Socinus (Socinians) were persecuted for denying Jesus' divinity. Anabaptists and Quakers were oppressed because they rejected the union of religion and state power, as well as most forms of inherited authority, the very bases of aristocratic society. Nearly hunted to extinction on the continent and, in the case of the Quakers, severely persecuted in England, both groups eventually found havens in one or more of the colonies of British North America, most notably in Pennsylvania.

In middle Europe, victories by Catholic armies in Bohemia (the modern-day Czech Republic) during the Thirty Years' War and the success of the Catholic Reformation resulted in the Catholic Church retaining or reclaiming much of the region, including several of the German states, Croatia, and modern-day Austria. In the Baltics, the conversion of the Teutonic Knights to Protestantism resulted in the dominance of Lutheranism in what would become modern-day Latvia and Estonia. Despite its later reputation as a major source of religious intolerance, particularly against Jews, Poland during the 16th and early 17th centuries was a center of enlightenment and tolerance on the Continent. When the Polish king Zygmunt August was pushed to impose religious uniformity on his realm, he replied, "I am the King of the people, not the judge of their consciences." This period of tolerance collapsed during the next two centuries, as Poland found itself weakened by internal conflicts and foreign wars. The most devastating of these events, both because it weakened Poland—leading to its partition in the 18th century by Russia, Prussia, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire—and created Poland's reputation as an intolerant and violently anti-Semitic country (see ANTI-SEMITISM), was the Chmielnicki revolt or uprising of 1648–49, also known as the Chmielnicki massacre.

The uprising began when the hetman (leader) of the Ukrainian Cossacks, Bohdan Chmielnicki (Bohdan Khmelnytsky), with the support of the Tatar khan of Crimea, gathered Cossacks and the Orthodox Ukrainian peasants against the Poles and the spread of Catholicism (see ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY). The revolt soon took a viciously anti-Semitic direction, as the peasants directed much of their ire at Poland's Jewish population, who they viewed as allies of the Polish Crown. The Chmielnicki revolt devastated the Jewish population. Estimates of the number of murdered Jews range as high as 200,000, and many of those who survived fled Poland, leaving their possessions and lands to the fury of the mobs. These impoverished Jews soon found themselves in the Russian Empire, where they experienced increasing religious and social persecution over the next two centuries. This persecution would provide the impetus for much of Jewish immigration to the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

As Prussia, Austria, and Russia carved up Poland between 1772 and 1795, the country increasingly viewed itself as a Catholic island in an Orthodox sea. Poles became increasingly hostile to non-Catholics and people other than Poles. Anti-Semitism grew dramatically, and Poland's anti-Semitism would lead many of its Jews to immigrate to the United States during the 19th century, while its poverty brought Polish Catholics here as well.

Southeastern Europe, dominated by the Ottoman Empire, retained its allegiance to

Orthodox Christianity, although with large Muslim populations. Farther east, by the mid-16th century, what would become modern-day Russia began, under the rule of Ivan IV the Terrible, to emerge from its dominance by the Muslim Mongols-Tatars (the Golden Horde). Ivan strengthened the power of the czar and expanded Russian control. During this period of centralization, the power of the Russian Orthodox Church also increased, and, in at least two instances, the head of the Russian Church exercised royal power as well.

The centralization of political power in Russia was matched by a growing process of centralizing religious authority in the patriarch of Moscow. During the mid-17th century, Patriarch Nikon strove to bring the practices of the Russian Orthodox Church into greater conformity with those of the Greek Orthodox Church. Among the (seemingly) minor changes was his insistence that Russian Christians cross themselves with three fingers rather than two. These changes met with tremendous resistance among many believers, who viewed them as heretical. Opponents of these changes, known as "Old Believers," suffered extensive persecution over the next three centuries, from torture and execution to double taxation and a "beard tax." Many immigrated to some of Russia's more remote areas, where they continued their existence until the 20th century. In the modern-day United States, for example, the town of Nikolaevsk, Alaska, is inhabited primarily by Old Believers.

By the late 18th century, Russia began a process of Westernization under the leadership of Peter the Great that also created serious religious conflicts. His adoption of the Julian calendar led to another schism in the Russian Orthodox Church ("Old Calendrists"). Additionally, Peter's refusal to acknowledge a replacement for the metropolitan (patriarch) of Moscow led to further religious conflicts. While Russia placed a few settlements in Alaska, converted some of the Native Alaskans (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS [NORTHWEST]), and developed a lucrative trade in furs extending south to California, it exercised no long-term control over significant parts of the population. The historical conflicts within the Russian Orthodox Church, including those created by the communist revolution in 1917, however, followed the church to the United States's shores and led to innumerable internal tensions and battles. Additionally, throughout the 19th century, as Russia increasingly centralized governmental and religious power through violence and oppression, numerous religious outsiders, particularly Jews, immigrated to the United States in search of economic, political, and religious freedom, while Orthodox Russians came seeking relief from the poverty and oppression that they suffered as well.

Unfortunately, many histories of the United States disregard the Ottoman Empire as a powerful force in the minds of Europeans during the period of colonization. This lapse not only distorts the perspectives of those Europeans who colonized the Americas, it also ignores the awareness that Europeans and Americans had of the "Turks" (Muslims) both during the period of colonization and the early republic.

The Ottoman Empire and the presence of Muslims on the European continent were very real in the 17th century. In 1607, the year when the British established Jamestown, their first permanent settlement in the modern-day United States (see VIRGINIA [COLONY]), the Ottoman Empire controlled huge sections of eastern and middle Europe, including all (or nearly all) of modern-day Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia, Albania, Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria. It also controlled much of Hungary, Armenia, Croatia, and parts of Poland and Russia. In 1683 Ottoman armies besieged Vienna, and the Ottoman Empire continued to play a major role in European history and politics until the end of World War I.

Beyond Europe, the Ottoman Empire ruled North Africa and most of the Middle East. Although dominated by Islam, the Ottoman Empire, for most of its history, was much more tolerant of religious minorities than most of Europe. Despite this relatively better situation, non-Muslims (*dhimmis*) were subordinate subjects, operating under various constraints. They were forbidden to bear arms, could not be witnesses against Muslims in courts, and often were forced to wear identifying clothes or symbols. They suffered serious limits on their ability to build or repair places of worship, and Christians could not ring church bells. Finally, all *dhimmis* had to pay a head-tax, or *jizya*.

This complex European background explains much about the United States's development over the centuries. Immigration was driven extensively by the hard realities of Europe's political, economic, and religious realities. These realities were in many ways inseparable. The poverty under which most eastern European Jews suffered in the 19th century and which helped drive them to immigrate to America, derived primarily from religious persecution.

Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries clearly was a place where religious tolerance was neither valued nor the norm. Religious uniformity was viewed as necessary for social peace. Conflicts between and among religions were part of the wider struggle between countries. European colonizers brought those experiences with them when they arrived on the shores of what eventually would become the United States, and, initially, most colonies attempted to impose a religious uniformity at least as rigid as that in the home countries. Despite this history of religious conflict and enforced religious uniformity and the desire among both the various European regimes and most of the early colonizers to reproduce it, the settlement of the United States led to radically different result.

COLONIZATION

The areas of Spanish and French colonization in the modern-day United States, while geographically immense, lacked extensive immigration. Both kingdoms attempted to ensure that the religious uniformity they struggled to impose at home also was imposed in their North American colonies. French colonization, however, initially reflected the indeterminate nature of the French religious situation in the 17th century. The first French colony on what is now United States soil, Fort Caroline, in what became South Carolina, was established in June 1564 by a group of about 250 French Huguenots. Destroyed the following year by Spaniards from St. Augustine, the colony was never rebuilt. French colonization moved west and north, primarily along the Mississippi River and its tributaries. This happened because New France drew most of its economic power from the fur trade, and access to navigable rivers was essential to the transport of goods and their traders. Its settlements in the modern-day United States were mostly small and existed to serve the trading nature of French colonization.

While French missionary priests, particularly the JESUITS, undertook heroic acts to convert the Indian peoples to Christianity and to minister to the scattered French population, outside of New Orleans there was relatively little organized and sustained religious activity. Seriously outnumbered by the population of British North America and defeated in its religio-imperial wars with the Netherlands and Britain, the French colonial enterprise suffered a major setback in 1763 when France was forced to cede Canada to Britain and Louisiana to Spain. Although France regained Louisiana Territory in the Treaty of Paris that ended the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, Napoleon's sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803 virtually ended France's colonial activity in North America.

New Spain, including La Florida, had a much more regularized administrative and legal system, including laws affecting religion and religious practices. As discussed above, the Spanish Crown attempted to export the laws of Spain to its New World country. As part of that attempt, the Spanish Crown also continued its struggle against the descendants of converted Jews and Muslims, whom it suspected of harboring Jewish or Muslim tendencies, almost turning religion into a racial category by forbidding the descendants of "New Christians" from immigrating to its New World colonies through four generations.

The presence of the Inquisition in Spain's American colonies and its vigilance in Spain did much to prevent public manifestations of religion other than Catholicism. The one exception was among the Native inhabitants. Although there were attempts to coerce the Indians into Catholic practices, these were relatively unsuccessful, except in those few places with a significant military and colonial presence. Throughout much of Spain's New World colonies, a process of syncretism developed in which Indian religious practices and beliefs fused with Catholic ones. Religious and civil authorities responded to this syncretism in varying ways. Some opposed it vigorously. Others took a more sympathetic view, hoping that it could facilitate the Indians in their adoption of Christianity.

In the larger settlements in Mexico and South America, the Spanish colonizers managed to produce a fairly settled and extensive Catholic presence. Such, however, proved to be less of the case in its colonies in what would become the United States. While the Spanish presence in California and other parts of the Southwest left an indelible impression on the culture and architecture of that region, the influence was less powerful in Florida. The dearth of large-scale settlement throughout Spain's colonies in the modern-day United States meant that its long-term influence on the region's religious development was relatively small, although probably greater than traditionally thought.

The settlement of and developments in the British colonies that eventually would become the United States traditionally have received the greatest attention in elaborating its religious history. While some of this attention has led to an unfortunate disregard of much that occurred in the French and Spanish settlements, overall it has been appropriate. The colonies of British North America eventually exerted the greatest influence on the religious development of the United States, although much of that development would have been opposed by the earliest British colonists.

The first permanent English colony in what became the United States was Jamestown, in Virginia (May 14, 1607). Although earlier settlements had been attempted, most famously Roanoke in North Carolina, these foundered from lack of planning and support. Roanoke, settled in 1585, would become the source of much legend and mystery. The home of the first English child born in America, Virginia Dare, the colony suffered from a dearth of supplies during its first year. When its founder returned to England to obtain supplies for the colony, the outbreak of war with Spain prevented his return for three years. When the English returned in 1590, they found the colony deserted and the single word *Croatan* carved in a tree. Although what happened to the colonists never was determined, legends grew up about their merger with local Indians (either the modern-day Lumbees or Melungeons) and stories of "Christian" Indians living in the swamps of North Carolina.

All the early English colonies had a strong religious component and mission. Additionally, most imposed some standard of uniformity on their inhabitants. The impetus for much of the colonization initially came from the desire to limit the power and expansion of Catholic Spain and France.

Religion in many ways was foremost on the minds of these colonists and their patrons. Captain John Smith, in his written advice for establishing a successful colony, concluded by claiming, "the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind of the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted out.

Additionally, the charter of the Virginia Company, granting it permission to establish a plantation, proclaimed that one of its goals was to help bring the Native peoples from darkness and ignorance to the "truth, and knowledge and worship of God." Despite Jamestown's struggles in its early days, worship according to the Church of England was held regularly. Following the colony's reorganization, its new regulations, drafted by Governor Sir Thomas Gates in 1612, contained explicit laws regarding religious people's religious obligations. Their significance makes them worth quoting at length here.

> 2 That no man speake impiously or maliciously, against the holy and blessed Trinitie, or any of the three persons, that is to syay, against God the Father, God the Son, and God the holy Ghost, or against the knowne Articles of the Christian faith, ypon paine of death.
>
> 3 That no man blaspheme Gods holy name upon paine of death, or use vnlawful oathes, taking the name of God in vaine, curse, or banne, vpon paine of seuere punishment for the first offence so committed, and for the second, to haue a bodkin thrust through his tongue, and if he continue the blasphemeing of Gods holy name, for the third time so offending, he shall be brought to a martiall court, and there receiue censure of death for his offense.
>
> 4 . . .
>
> 5 . . . Nor shall any man vnworthily demeane himselfe vnto any Preacher, or Minister of the same, but generally hold them in all reuerent regard, and dutiful intreatie, otherwise be the offender shall openly be whipt three times, and ask publike forgiueness in the assembly of the congregation three seueral Saboth daies.
>
> 6 Euerie man and woman duly twice a day vpon the first towling of the Bell shall vpon working daies repair vnto the Church, to hear deuine Service vpon pain of losing his or her dayes allowance for the first omission, for the second to be whipt, and for the third to be condemned to the Dallies for six Moneths. . . .

While many tend to associate such laws more with MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY and Puritan New England (see PURITANISM), it is important to note that they were indeed the laws of the Virginia colony. Despite easing of the most draconian penalties in later years, colonial Virginia always had an established church, and its restrictions on those not of the Church of England (see ANGLICANISM) were great, although more easily enforced in its towns than among the plantations and on the frontier.

Religious uniformity and a state church (the Church of England) were or became the norm in all the southern colonies. One initial exception was North Carolina. The political philosopher John Locke actually drafted the colony's original basic law, which did not provide for an established church. Residence in the colony, however, was limited to those who believed in God and did not deny the Trinity. Unlike New England, however, the dispersed nature of southern settlement made it much more difficult to enforce uniformity, and the backwoods of Virginia, North Carolina, and even South Carolina became populated with Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, and MORAVIANS.)

Adding to the complex religious mix of the British colonies were the Africans forcibly brought there. Although the first Africans were brought to Virginia in 1619 as indentured servants (as were most whites), slavery based on color soon developed (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; SLAVERY). It was strengthened when the Virginia House of Burgesses adopted a law declaring that conversion to Christianity did not affect an individual's condition of servitude. Slave owners also tried to deny Africans their religious heritages. While identifiable elements of indigenous African religions and Islam were retained, mostly in those regions, particularly the indigo and sugar plantations of South Carolina and Louisiana, where high mortality rates led to ongoing importation of enslaved Africans, most of these elements would be incorporated into the Christianity that most enslaved Africans eventually adopted (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; SLAVERY).

In New England, there early developed a much more structured pattern of settlement. Most of the early New England colonies also had much more focused religious goals. While many of the early settlements consisted of individuals with shared religious views, they also included individuals who had a financial stake in their success. These competing interests often made it difficult to maintain as much religious or social order as many desired.

The first colony in New England, Plymouth Plantation (1620), was settled by the Pilgrims. The Pilgrims had come to the New World to escape persecution in England and to establish an ordered (and orderly) community in the New World. To this end, they joined themselves together in a social contract, the Mayflower Compact, and demonstrated their complete independence (and their anti-Catholicism) from all "popish" festivals by beginning construction of a common house on Christmas Day.

The Pilgrims worked hard to maintain their community's unity but had to struggle against those who did not share their religious beliefs. Many of the non-Pilgrims sent to increase the colony's population often threatened its practice. Among these was Thomas Morton, who sold guns to the Indians, held orgies at his settlement of Merrymount several miles from Plymouth, and encouraged servants to leave their masters. Even many of the Pilgrims' early ministers proved a threat. John Lyford had lied about his ordination and was a convicted adulterer and fornicator. The Pilgrims, incensed, ran him out of the colony. The small size of Plymouth, however, made its actions relatively unimportant compared to its much larger neighbor, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, established during 1629 and 1630.

Much larger than Plymouth and with much more at stake, Puritan Massachusetts and its sister colony, Connecticut, had greater impetus to enforce religious uniformity. The Separatists at Plymouth had no fears about their removal to the New World, but the Puritans, who desired to win England to their views, had much incentive to ensure that their colonies served as models for the old country. The practical realities were enhanced by their theological views of the need for an ordered society, consonant with the will of God.

The first governor of the colony, JOHN WINTHROP, made this explicit in the sermon he penned in 1630 while still aboard their ship, the *Arbella*. Entitled "A Modell of Christian Charity," the sermon not only clearly articulated the Puritans' view of how society should operate. It also contains one of the most famous lines in American history. For the colony to succeed, Winthrop stated that all its members

> must be knitt together, in this worke, as one man. Wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection. Wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. Wee must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekeness, gentlenes, patience and liberality. Wee must delight in eache other;

> make other's conditions our oune; rejoice together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, allwayes haueving before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, as members of the same body. Soe shall wee *keepe the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace.* The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his oune people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our wayes. Soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdome, power, goodness and truthe, than formerly wee haue been acquainted with. Wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when hee shall make us a prayse and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'the Lord make it likely that of *New England.*' For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are uppon us. Soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee haue undertaken, and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. Wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the wayes of God, and all professors for God's sake. Wee shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause theire prayers to be turned into curses upon us till wee be consumed out of the good land whither wee are a goeing.

This society was not, however, the theocracy that many have claimed it to be. Ministers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony had less formal power than anywhere in Europe and did not constitute a recognized class with special privileges. This absence of inherited privileges was a significant factor in the life of the colony. Although the Puritans firmly believed that there were greater and lesser people (and titles such as goodwife, mistress, and master constantly affirmed these divisions), the range was much less than in England. Sumptuary laws governed the nature of individual dress, limiting the colors, amount of gold, and jewelry a person could wear. These laws both affirmed social distinctions and limited ostentatious displays of wealth and power. When combined with the Puritan doctrine of human sin and human equality before God, they resulted in much less overt social differences in Massachusetts Bay than in the home country.

The desire to maintain harmony, stability, and social order was great. The magistrates enforced laws against blasphemy and punished those who failed to attend church services. The settlement patterns enforced in Puritan New England also served to strengthen social stability and cohesion. Land was allocated to each colonist for farming, but people lived in towns, traveling out to their farms each morning and returning in the evening. Towns centered on the meetinghouse, the church building, which functioned as the center of the community's social and political as well as religious life. The independent settler separated from the community that is the American stereotype was not acceptable in Massachusetts Bay. Such a settler, loosed from the bonds of family, church, community, and government, was bound to lapse into barbaric and irreligious behavior. The godly life could be lived only with others.

Conflicts over the nature of that life, however, were such that the harmony desired by the colony's political elite was never realized. These conflicts emerged early in the colony's life. The first of these was the so-called ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY. Occasioned by the religious instruction that ANNE HUTCHINSON provided in her home and involving conflicts between the growing merchant class and the colony's political and religious elite, the Antinomian Controversy was typically Puritan in that it was fought over theology and the role of social harmony in theology.

Similarly, the expulsion of ROGER WILLIAMS from the colony was a response to theological differences, the implications of which were seen as inherently destabilizing. Williams's belief that the government had no right to enforce the first half of the Decalogue—the first four of the Ten Commandments dealing with worship—was seen as an assault upon the social stability of the colony. Indeed, many viewed any failure of the state to enforce these laws as an invitation to divine destruction. To outlaw blasphemy was not only an act of religious faith but also helped ensure social survival.

The Puritans had their conflicts with other "socially disruptive" groups, such as Baptists, Quakers, and witches (see SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS), who were punished for violating the order of the community. Baptists and Quakers were whipped, and Quakers were even hanged. Witches were punished severely, and in the one significant outbreak of witch-hunting, the Salem witchcraft trials, 19 individuals were executed and nearly 150 imprisoned.

For those who found such views incompatible either with their view of religion or society, other options presented themselves. For those opposed to social order in general, the backcountry—the frontier—offered a refuge, and some took advantage of that opportunity. Still others eventually founded their own colonies, several of which offered less restrictive religious environments. Even in New England by the 18th century, other forces had begun to push against the breadth of the Puritan establishment.

Perhaps the most notorious of these colonies, at least to the Puritans of New England, was Rhode Island. After his expulsion from Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635, Roger Williams spent a period of time residing with the Narragansett Indians. From them, he purchased land and began his own settlement. This settlement, Providence, grew quickly as individuals at odds with the standing order in Massachusetts and Connecticut found their way there, and in 1643 Williams traveled to England to obtain official recognition for the colony. He received a charter from Parliament the following year. The first compact of Providence Plantation expressly stated that, "We . . . do promise to submit ourselves, in active or passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good by the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the inhabitants . . . only in civil things." This exercise in religious freedom was extended when Rhode Island received a royal charter in 1663.

Rhode Island quickly became a refuge for malcontents and exiles from Massachusetts Bay, including the followers of Anne Hutchinson, who founded Portsmouth. This "Rogues Island," as Bay Colony leaders were wont to call it, received much abuse and hostility from its larger neighbor. Trade between the colonies was limited; Rhode Island was refused membership in the New England Confederation, and at one point Massachusetts Bay adopted an ordinance forbidding residents of Rhode Island who had criticized the government of Massachusetts Bay from entering that colony.

The hostility did not limit immigration. Rhode Island soon found among its inhabitants Baptists, Quakers, numerous Nonconformists without labels, Catholics, and as early as the 1650s Jews. For the last, Rhode Island was the only colony where they could openly and legally practice their religion. This openness to varied groups and to their freedom of practice and conscience did not mean, however, that Williams or other founders of Rhode Island felt that such differences were irrelevant. Williams vocally opposed Catholicism and Quakerism, maintaining that they were completely wrong. As a convinced Separatist, he refused to have communion or social interactions with those whom he felt were in religious error, a group that often even included his wife.

This model of religious interaction, of rejecting the government's right to interfere in matters of conscience while maintaining a critical and even condemnatory view of religious views one felt to be in error, remains one of the leading models in the United States to this time. It presents an important understanding of tolerance—that religious beliefs and (most) practices are not subject to coercion, but that those practices are always subject to criticism, condemnation, and dismissal. The development of Rhode Island also demonstrates how the size of North America (especially absent a central authority) created a space in which those seeking an alternative model of religion or society readily could carve one out.

This was different from the models adopted in Pennsylvania and Maryland (see MARYLAND [COLONY]), the other two colonies in which religious tolerance was part of the founding. For Pennsylvania, at least in the mind of its founder and lord proprietor, WILLIAM PENN, conscience not only ought not to be coerced, but one should be fairly disinterested in the beliefs and practices of one's neighbors, as long as they were not disruptive of good order.

Founded in 1681 by William Penn as a haven for Quakers, Pennsylvania quickly became a model for both religious tolerance and commercial success. Although Quakers were the majority in the colony and predominated in its political and economic systems, Pennsylvania soon contained within its borders the most diverse array of religion in the colonies. In Pennsylvania, European Christianity and the faiths of the Native Americans lived together in relative harmony. Additionally, different types of Christians who were slaughtering each other in Europe lived peacefully in the Quaker commonwealth. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Roman Catholics lived and worshipped alongside Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, Schwenkfelders, and the Moravian Brethren. Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM) and the German Reformed Church also found a home in Pennsylvania. Bound by commercial success, these groups managed to live peaceably together, mostly through ignoring their differences as each struggled to organize their churches absent governmental support.

If Pennsylvania found a way to create civil peace by allowing a variety of practices and encouraging commerce, Maryland took a different route, expressly forbidding the giving of offense. Founded as a refuge for English Catholics, Maryland's status and governance remained tentative, given the level of English anti-Catholicism and the fact that Protestants always outnumbered Catholics in the colony.

The first settlers arrived in March 1634 with two priests, 20 mostly Roman Catholic gentleman, and 200 mostly Protestant laborers and artisans. In order to preserve the peace, complete religious freedom was allowed to all Christians, and Catholics were warned against antagonizing their fellow colonists and practicing their religion too publicly. As the article on the colony makes clear, hostility toward the Catholics and the Catholic proprietor generated much conflict within the colony. To minimize these conflicts, the Protestant governor, William Stone, convinced the colonial assembly to pass an "Act Concerning Religion" (Act of Toleration of 1649). This act allowed religious freedom for all those not denying the Trinity and made it illegal to disparage anyone's religion. It was unsuccessful, and in 1654 an uprising overthrew the government and proceeded to outlaw "popery, prelacy, and licentiousness." Although the Calverts were restored as rulers in 1658, another rebellion in 1688 following the "Glorious Revolution" in England led to a revocation of the Calverts' charter, the imposition of Protestant rule, and a series of laws strictly limiting Catholics' rights.

By the beginning of the 18th century, British North America was a religiously mixed bag. Although many laws reflected the views that the European colonists had brought with them, including a dismissiveness of the religious practices of the indigenous peoples, the reality of the variety of practices in the colonies, the presence of an ungoverned frontier, and the differences in colonial governance made it exceedingly difficult to enforce the laws completely. Alongside these facts that presented a different reality than that in Europe, there was a powerful intellectual current flowing into the New World. With it would come demands for independence and self-government and the creation of a radically different legal relationship between religion and the government. The ENLIGHTENMENT would give birth to the United States, and both would produce the first modern state with religious liberty enshrined in its basic law.

THE EMERGENCE OF AN AMERICAN IDENTITY

By the 1760s, the thirteen colonies of British North America had been radically transformed by numerous events. Britain's victory in its wars with France had added the province of Canada to its North American empire. The wars also had forced representatives of the various colonies to soldier and work together in order to meet the challenges presented by the wars. The Puritan Revolution (or the English Civil Wars, 1642–51) and the Restoration that followed it had created a situation in which England was forced to concede greater tolerance to nonconforming Protestant groups. As a result, the American colonies, particularly in New England, came under similar pressures. The numerical growth within and geographical expansion of the colonies also weakened the ability of the magistrates to enforce social and religious conformity. While many declaimed against these changes, they reflected the reality of an expanding society no longer circumscribed by the act of choosing to enter into a special covenanted community. One story, probably apocryphal although often reported, illustrates this. A Massachusetts minister out for a Sunday afternoon walk happened upon one of his church members unloading a catch of fish. The minister chastised the man for laboring on the Lord's Day, reminding him that his forebears had come to the colony to serve God. The man replied, "My grandfather may have come for God, I came for cod."

One of the major changes in the life of the colonies was the increasing influence of the intellectual currents of the Enlightenment. These eventually altered the thirteen colonies' views both of the nature of government and the understandings of religion. This combination of intellectual changes and material facts played a major role in the eventual shaping of the relationship between government and religion in the United States and introduced an entirely new understanding of citizenship.

Four historical events played major roles in the transformation of the American colonists' functional experiences of religious tolerance. These were (1) the growth, expansion, and diversity of the colonial population; (2) the English Civil War, the Restoration, and the Glorious Revolution; (3) the connection created by the French wars; and (4) the influence of the Enlightenment on colonial elites.

As mentioned earlier, one of the major differences between Britain's American colonies and the reality of Europe was the openness of space and the ability to settle pretty much anywhere one desired. Some colonies were aggressive in recruiting colonists from throughout Europe, regardless of their religious affiliations; others opened their borders to whoever desired to come, placing no or few limitations on their settlers. Still others simply found it difficult, if not impossible, to police their borders. Many of the boundaries between the colonies were undemarcated and unsettled. The vast wilderness also made travel and supervision difficult. Small groups, not to mention individuals, could live unmolested. The colonies that did not hinder settlement for religious reasons served as a window for those living in colonies more restrictive of their inhabitants' religious practices. By the time of the American Revolution, the religious reality of British North America increasingly had begun to resemble a stew in which it was impossible to isolate and separate the various parts. As much as they might have desired and attempted to enforce uniformity, the magistrates were hindered by the sheer numbers of differing religious groups and the ease with which they could enter a colony.

One additional point must be made, namely that by 1700, magistrates had come to deal fairly leniently with the violators of their religious laws. Although Massachusetts had laws allowing for the execution of Quakers, it executed only four, and one of these, Mary Dyer, only after she continued to reenter the colony after repeatedly being arrested and expelled and previously having received one reprieve from the gallows. In 1661, under pressure from the government of England, Massachusetts was forced to suspend the use of corporal punishment against Quakers.

Even the Salem witchcraft trials, which universally are held up as an example of the religious intolerance of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and resulted in the egregiously unjust execution of 20 individuals, were condemned by the colony. In 1697, only five years after they took place, the Massachusetts General Court expressed its official repentance for the executions, and Samuel Sewall, one of the judges at the trials (and later the author of the first printed antislavery pamphlet in the Americas), issued a public statement of guilt and repentance. (For the remainder of his life, he set aside one day each year for fasting and prayer to atone for his guilt in the trials.)

Serious changes in the mental outlook of the colonists were under way. These changes came from numerous sources. As suggested above, some of these changes emerged from the growing reality of having to live alongside others of different religious views. Others emerged from historical developments in England. The first of these was the English Civil Wars (or Puritan Revolution). The English Civil Wars, including the execution of the king, the creation of the Commonwealth, and then the restoration of the monarchy (1660), were additional key events.

In many ways, the English Civil Wars were the culmination of the events that had led to the establishment of the Puritan colonies and Separatist colonies such as Plymouth. The conflict with the English monarchs and the hierarchy of the Church of England over the nature and form of the church, including the issue of bishops, had serious political implications. James I had seen these readily when he stated, “No bishops, no crown.” In fact, one of the reasons that James commissioned the Bible translation that bears his name, The King James Version, was his discomfort with the 1599 Geneva Bible used by the Puritans and nonconforming Protestants in place of the then authorized Bishop’s Bible. James was particularly displeased with the fact that the translation used the word *tyrant* or *tyranny* more than 400 times, usually negatively.

Additionally, the emphasis on religious and political equality that permeated the text and that many Puritans internalized (albeit partially), witness the granting of the franchise to all adult male members of Massachusetts Bay Colony immediately upon its establishment in the New World, disturbed both James and his successor, Charles II. For them, religion was designed to reinforce the political hierarchy, at whose apex they sat. The Puritan understandings of society as ordered liberty eventually would play a major role in the creation of the United States, but more important its practices played a major role in the development of the habits that made America’s transition to self-government relatively smooth.

The limits of that order were being reset constantly during the colonial period. One area in which it constantly was reset was that of religion. Interestingly, attempts by the British monarchs to exert their authority in England or to weaken political independence in the American colonies and limit the power of the Puritans, particularly in New England, invariably had results markedly different from what they intended.

The greatest effect was presented by the English Civil Wars and their aftermath. While initially the English Civil Wars were a major victory for the Puritans, the struggle against the monarch and his presumed Catholic leanings resulted in a general grouping of all Protestant believers collectively. Allies on the battlefield in England with Baptists, Separatists, and other Nonconformists, the Puritans had a difficult time withholding equal religious protections, particularly given the strength of Baptists and Separatists in Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army. These attitudes also played a role in the shifting of perceptions in the New World. An antipathy to Catholicism and a shared struggle against an absolutizing monarchy played a role in causing Americans to view other Protestants more positively.

More amazingly, following the restoration of the monarchy in 1681, the desire of James II to weaken Puritan power and the desire of monarchs from William and Mary on to weaken the independence of the colonies led them to make a series of decisions that forced greater religious tolerance on the colonies. During his short reign, James II attempted to deprive the colonies of their independence. He appointed a royal governor for all the colonies, Edmund Andros, who abolished the colonial legislatures. In Massachusetts he undertook to force the Church of England on the Puritans, expropriating the Old South Meeting House and turning it into an Anglican Church. Such policies galvanized colonial opinion, particularly in New England, against Andros and his policies. In an attempt to further his fellow Catholics' legal standing in England, James issued the Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, granting religious tolerance to Catholics and nonconforming Protestants.

James II's Catholicism proved his undoing. In 1688, he was deposed and replaced the following year by William and Mary as king and queen of England. While their accession was greeted as a great Protestant victory, the new monarchs continued their predecessor's policy of weakening local, colonial government, including imposing royal governance on New York. Over the next several decades, this was seen in numerous ways. Several colonies made the Church of England the established church: Maryland (1702), South Carolina (1706). Puritans and others who once found themselves at odds with each other, now found themselves united against a common enemy, the Church of England and its symbol as a model of British power over the colonies. On the other hand, upon their succession William and Mary signed the Bill of Rights Act of 1689, which rejected the power of the monarch to abrogate the laws of Parliament and affirmed numerous rights and liberties of Englishmen, including Parliament's power to impose taxes (no taxation without representation). As the United States moved toward revolution in the 1700s, the appeal to the rights enumerated in this document played a major role.

One additional factor in the movement toward political unity and a growing acceptance of religious difference was the shared experiences of the various wars against France and Spain and their Native American allies. The North American theater of these wars—Queen Anne's War (1702–13, known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession), the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–42), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48), and the French and Indian War (1754–63, Seven Years' War)—brought Americans of all stripes together in the various colonial militias and served to create a realization that, despite religious differences, it was possible to live and work together.

Most important, however, were the mental changes that formed the basis for social tolerance and legal equality among religions. These mental changes occurred from two directions. The first was the growth of a form of religious thought that rejected the claim that government could coerce the human conscience. This view, early articulated by Roger Williams, led to the conclusion that the government had no legitimate reason for enforcing religious laws, the so-called first tablet of the Decalogue, the Ten Commandments. The second intellectual development was the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment had a major influence on those individuals most instrumental in establishing both America's independence and the legal bases for the new republic, the U.S. Constitution (see CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN; CONSTITUTION, U.S.).

Perhaps the most important concept that eventually drove the United States toward its model of religious tolerance and even religious liberty was the growth of the idea of the "freedom of conscience." This view, which had been incipient in much of Christianity's history, increasingly came to the fore during the Reformation. Both Martin Luther and John Calvin (the latter playing a major role in American religious thought) had emphasized the issue of conscience and the inability of the government to make and enforce binding laws "concerning religion and the worship of God," as Calvin wrote. For Calvin, as for the early Puritans, this did not mean that the government could not enforce laws designed to protect the social order, including public offenses against religion. As a principle, however, it introduced the question of what was the legitimate role of the government in enforcing religious practices.

These views became increasingly stronger among Puritans as they faced the challenges of responding to authoritarian monarchs and to monarchs who imposed false (in their minds) religion on their subjects. As the Puritans found themselves increasingly harassed and persecuted by the British monarchy, they began to adopt views about resistance to authority that eventually led them to support rebellion and revolution. This also included the incorporation of the doctrine that the government had no power over the conscience of human beings. While it might be able to force certain practices or behaviors, it had no legitimate right to force an individual to make a particular religious formulation. No human law, the Puritan theologians declared, could bind the individual conscience.

While the Puritans were slow to move from these understandings to a complete view of separation of religion and government, other religious denominations in the United States did so more quickly. Among the most articulate and aggressive in doing so were Baptists. Preeminent among these was JOHN LELAND (1754–1841). Although Leland's life mostly postdates the American Revolution, he well represents those who made the religious argument for religious liberty. At the time of its adoption, the First Amendment to the Constitution applied only to the federal government, not the states. Several states retained their religious establishments, and Leland was active in leading two states, Virginia and Massachusetts, to end their religious establishments. He also was a staunch advocate for the Constitution and played a major role in its adoption in Virginia. Beyond his personal role, Leland was representative of the understanding of the relationship between religion and government that eventually predominated among many Protestants, particularly Quakers, Baptists, and Methodists, but also among Presbyterians and other groups.

Leland's opposition to government support for religion emerged completely and directly from his religious views, his reading of the Bible. The religious nature of this is clearly obvious when he wrote, "Had a system of religion been essential to salvation, or even to the happiness of the saints, would not Jesus, . . . have left us one? If he has, it is accessible to all. If he has not, why should a man be called a heretick because he cannot believe what he cannot believe, though he believes the Bible with all his heart. Confessions of faith often check any pursuit of truth, confine the mind in a particular way of thinking, and give rise to frequent separation."

True religious knowledge, Leland argued (drawing from the well of the Reformation), is available to all. Given in the Bible and by Jesus (as Leland believed as a Christian), this knowledge needs no enforcement and is not improved upon by human creeds and confessions. In fact, to force someone to state a belief in a doctrine of which that individual is not convinced is to force that person into sin. Even if a creed were true, Leland argued, "should I subscribe to it before a magistrate, in order to get indulgence, preferment, or even protection—I should be guilty of a species of idolatry by acknowledging a power, that the Head of Church, Jesus Christ, never appointed." Religious coercion, Leland claimed, rather than serving the divine will, actually thwarts it. It does not put God first, but the government, with all its coercive mechanisms. It is idolatry, the most grievous of sins.

Government, for Leland, should have nothing to do with religion, except to protect someone from abuse for his beliefs. "Government," he wrote, "has no more to do with the religious opinions of men than it has with the principles of mathematics." "Let every man . . . worship according to his own faith, either one God, three Gods, no God, or 20 Gods; and let the government protect him in so doing."

In fact, the latter alone is the prerogative of the government, not the judging of human hearts and beliefs, but only their actions. "The legitimate powers of government," in Leland's view, "extend only to punish men for working ill to their neighbors, and no way affects the right of conscience." Government's power does not even extend to the right to grant tolerance to religious belief and worship. Government should actively protect everyone in their thinking and speaking. Leland calls for liberty, not tolerance. "The very idea of toleration, is despicable; it supposes that some have a pre-eminence above the rest, to grant indulgence; whereas all should be equally free, Jews, Turks, Pagans and Christians."

Such views played a major role in the eventual ratification of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. They also were a significant factor in the decisions by the various new states to dismantle their religious establishments. Such views did not stand alone. Any understanding of the conceptual shift in the United States regarding the relationship between religion and government and the history of religious intolerance and tolerance, requires a grasp of the Enlightenment and the role it played in shaping the worldview of those who drafted the Constitution.

Neither the United States as we know it nor the nature of religion itself in the country would exist without the Enlightenment. The United States was the first to have a government organized according to Enlightenment principles, and the Enlightenment played a major role in constructing the understandings of human being and religion that made modern-day religious freedom not only possible but the norm. One could argue that the Enlightenment, despite its suspicion of, if not hostility to, organized religion led the United States to become the most religious of the leading industrialized countries.

John Locke's writings can serve as representative of the ideas that led to the American approach to the relationship between religion and the state, as well as the general social attitudes that have dominated throughout U.S. history. These views are seen most clearly in his *Letter Concerning Toleration*, published in Holland in 1690.

Locke's view of religious tolerance rested on many elements in his thought. Preeminently, however, it emerged from his view of the creation of the state. Locke, like Thomas Hobbes, reasoned that the state emerged from the need for human beings to attain some level of security. Absent some level of security, life was, as Hobbes described it in his book *Leviathan*, "nasty, brutish, mean, and short." To attain the necessary level of security to live a productive life and, eventually, an ordered commonwealth, human beings gave up, in Locke's view, the minimum amount of power necessary for the protection of their life, liberty, and property. Since the state only has the power given to it by the people, it does not, as Locke stated in *Two Treatises on Government,* have the authority to undertake an activity or require anything that individuals could not delegate to it.

For Locke, individuals clearly lacked the authority to give the power of determining religious truth to others. God had not, in Locke's view, granted any person the authority to coerce others in religious matters. The state, therefore, never could have any legitimate right to exercise such coercion. Whence would comes that authority? The state, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed, obtains no power from any individual to coerce others religiously, for no individual can give that power. The power individuals relinquished to the state were the minimum necessary for the protection of their life, liberty, and property. In order to protect these things, there is no need to force a particular set of religious beliefs on others. As THOMAS JEFFERSON later wrote in his *Notes on Virginia* (1784), "The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg.

Even if an individual desired to delegate her or his own personal religious choices to the state, such an undertaking would make no logical sense. How could one grant another the power to make one believe what one did not believe? Even the idea of simply coercing outward behavior instead of internal belief presented some problems. Why should an individual grant to the state the right to make that individual into a hypocrite and a liar? If I say or pretend to believe things I do not believe, then I am both of those. Such a position makes no sense and is wrong, achieving exactly the opposite goals from those they are designed to achieve. Any action contrary to conscience is, in Locke's words, "neither well in itself, nor can it be acceptable to God. To impose such things, therefore, upon any people, contrary to their own judgment, is, in effect, to command them to offend God."

From these starting positions, Locke derived the conclusion that governments lacked legitimate authority to coerce individuals in matters of conscience. Religion was a matter of inward conscience, and true religion emerged only from the free acquiescence of the individual to the religious truths of which she or he were convinced. Religious tolerance (and eventually religious liberty) derived from liberty of conscience. Religion exists in its own sphere, protected from the state's coercive reach. Liberty of conscience, for Locke, seemingly had even greater privileges than the rights to life, liberty, and property.

Since the state had no legitimate authority to coerce in matters of religion, then religious tolerance, if not religious liberty, was demanded. All religious beliefs and practices must be allowed to the extent that they do not threaten public order or peace or harm the rights and privileges of others.

While Locke laid out what would become the basis for American understanding of religious liberty, even he recognized two challenges that needed to be overcome both intellectually and in practice. Interestingly, both of these challenges would continue to emerge throughout U.S. history and, in various formulations still operate even today.

While Locke's view led him to the conclusion that all religious practices and views should be tolerated, to the extent that they did not threaten peace and security or hinder the rights of others, what of those whose religions by their very nature seemed to present such a threat? In his time, Locke was convinced that all Protestants and even Jews should be tolerated and extended the right of religious liberty. For Locke, however, a greater challenge was presented by Catholics, Muslims, and atheists (see ATHEISM).

Locke, given his level of knowledge (and the realities of the times), felt that religious tolerance need not be extended to Catholics because they owed political allegiance to a foreign ruler, the pope. Since no state was under any obligation to tolerate those who owed their loyalties to foreign power, Catholics legitimately could be denied such protection. (The issue of Catholics owing loyalty to a foreign potentate emerged repeatedly in American history, extending even into the 20th century when it came up as late as the presidential candidacy of John Kennedy.) Locke reached the same conclusion regarding Muslims, since, in his limited understanding and knowledge, they owed their allegiance to the caliph or sultan of the Ottoman Empire. It is important to note that Locke argued for denying protection to the practitioners of these religions, not because of their religion, but on political grounds.

Atheists also threatened the stability of the state, but for different reasons. For Locke and for many others, atheists were suspect because they were untrustworthy. Since atheists lacked any fear of future punishment, their behavior and their word always were open to suspicion and doubt. This was particularly true in the taking of oaths, whether in swearing loyalty to the state or in serving as witnesses (to offer two examples). This view remained vestigial in the United States for decades, if not centuries, as many states continued to require religious oaths for witnesses at trials. Only in the 20th century did courts finally declare that such a legal requirement was unconstitutional. People were, however, aware of the problem it presented. Jefferson, as noted above, pointedly included atheists in his declaration of those who presented no threats to the government. Addressing the issue of atheists and oaths, he wrote: "If it be said, his testimony in a court of justice cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the stigma on him. Constraint may make him worse by making him a hypocrite, but it will never make him a truer man."

More broadly, the Enlightenment presented a radically different way of thinking both about the world and about the role of the human being within it. Developments in science, including the writings of Isaac Newton, increasingly presented the world as an orderly and structured place that human beings could comprehend and did not require miracles and the ongoing intervention of God. These views also had their effect on religion. Certain branches of Anglicanism increasingly emphasized the reasonableness of their faith, using the ambiguity of the Anglican creed to support their views. Other denominations were also affected. One can see these effects on the writings on John Leland and his discussion of conscience. The Enlightenment entered Presbyterianism through the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) with the presidency of the Scots clergyman JOHN WITHERSPOON.

The influence of the Enlightenment on religions in the United States would have a powerful effect on the development of those ideas here and on the long-term relationship between religion and democracy. Unlike Europe, where religion would be viewed as allied with monarchy and tyranny, in the United States religion usually (although not uniformly) would move readily and smoothly with the democratic ethos and the resulting growth of the country.

In the United States, therefore, there was not the growth of the radicalism of some Enlightenment thinkers on the European continent. Denis Diderot exemplified this radical perspective with his statement that, "Men will never be free until the last king is strangled with the entrails of the last priest." Such views never had significant supporters in the United States. In America, religion seemed to be a source of freedom and democracy, not its opponent. This is not to say that individuals holding such views were unknown in the United States. Ethan Allen of the Green Mountain Boys and a hero of the American Revolution wrote the first atheistic book in America, *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* (1784), and Thomas Paine published the *Age of Reason* (1794–96). Such views rarely found congenial hearers in the United States because the positions they espoused appeared so contrary to observed reality.

If the anticlericalism of the European Enlightenment found few supporters in the United States, a more moderate version of Enlightenment thinking about religion did play a major role in the American colonies and the early republic. This was deism. Deists extended the Enlightenment view that the universe was orderly and rational to their understanding of God. This universe had been set in motion by a rational God who did not intervene in its day-to-day workings. In fact, God was bound as well by this rationality and morality. Religion was valuable because it strengthened morality and made good people. Religious founders, particularly Jesus, were viewed as moral exemplars rather than divine messengers.

Deism in British North America played a major role in the development of the views that gave rise to the American Revolution and to the content of the U.S. Constitution. The deists' belief in human rationality, human improvement (if not perfectibility), and universal moral standards (including natural law and natural rights) that were applicable to all people at all times deeply influenced American views of constitutional government and of religious tolerance and liberty. The influence of these deistic views is obvious in the language of the Declaration of Independence (of its 56 signers, 52 were deists). Deists also predominated in the Continental Congress and among the generals in the Continental Army.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE EARLY REPUBLIC

At the beginning of the American Revolution, the country was in tremendous ferment about the very nature of government and government's relationship to religion and the individual. The ideas of the Enlightenment, the conflict between established religions and nonconforming religions, and the conflict about increasing encroachments by Parliament on the natural rights of Englishmen (particularly relating to taxation) served to establish a rough consensus regarding the role of the relationship between the state and religion. The consensus was that coercion was wrong, but questions regarding establishment and government-supported religion remained quite unsettled. Additionally, the extent to which tolerance should be extended to Catholics remained open for debate. The tensions regarding Catholics and their loyalty were only intensified by the French and Indian War. Overall, however, by 1775 the British colonies in America had moved far from their initial settlements, and the Revolution provided the occasion for a dramatic restructuring of the relationship between government and religion that came to fruition in the drafting of the U.S. Constitution and the First Amendment.

The American Revolution and the support for the cause of independence among all religious communities in the colonies, from Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM) to Jews, Catholics to Baptists did a great deal to minimize interreligious hostility and suspicion. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the wealthiest man in the colonies and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a Catholic, and Haym Salomon, a Jew, provided more than $200,000 for the war effort. Additionally, the support of Catholic France for the cause of independence also played a role in minimizing anti-Catholic views. In September 1774, several members of the Continental Congress, including John Adams and George Washington, attended a Catholic mass, and George Washington forbade any celebrations of Guy Fawkes Day, the traditional English anti-Catholic event, in the Continental army.

The defeat of the British at the Battle of Yorktown and the Treaty of Paris that recognized the thirteen colonies' independence led to a period of transition, as the new country sought the appropriate balance between the new states and a more centralized government. The initial organizational scheme, the Articles of Confederation, proved inadequate to the needs of the new country, and many called for their revision. A meeting of delegates from throughout the colonies was set for summer 1787, with the goal of revising the Articles of Confederation and correcting its major flaws.

Shortly after the delegates arrived, this initial goal changed, and the delegates moved toward a completely new document. This document eventually became the U.S. Constitution. James Madison, later the fourth president of the United States, was the guiding figure behind the document, and it reflected his concern with establishing a central government sufficiently strong to effect its ends yet with sufficient constraints to minimize the likelihood of it becoming oppressive.

The body of the Constitution mentions religion only in one place, but what it says about the relationship between religion and the new state is very important. It announces a radically new approach to religion in governmental life. Article VI declares "no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States." In this simple announcement, the Constitution undid centuries of European thought (and that of much of the world). It rejected the view that loyalty to the state depended on shared religion. With one simple phrase, the Constitution made every citizen politically equal and, structurally at least, proclaimed that no one religion had more value than any other religion.

For many, however, this was not enough. The Constitution did not prevent the national government from establishing a religion. Some viewed this as a major flaw in the document, and many opposed ratification of the Constitution absent greater protection of this and other liberties. These individuals demanded the inclusion of a "bill of rights." These individuals won the day, and the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, were adopted, including, after numerous revisions, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Regarding religion, the First Amendment states: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ." With its ratification, the United States became the first nation in recorded history to prevent itself from establishing religion or from acting to constrain the religious beliefs of its residents. By doing so, the national government of the United States established what would become the norm for religion and governmental relations in the modern world.

The Constitution, however, applied only to the federal government. The various states were left free to construct their relationship to religion in any number of ways. The same intellectual ethos and cultural realities that led to the adoption of the First Amendment affected the political lives of many of the states. Following the Revolution and beginning with Virginia, the states had begun to remove their varying levels of religious establishment. The last state to repeal the last vestiges of an establishment was Massachusetts, which finally did so in 1830. No state admitted to the Union after the original 13 ever had a religious establishment.

The establishment of the American republic presented a blank canvas upon which the citizens of the new United States could paint. Its governmental system and its new approach to religion (at least at the level of the federal government) as well as its openness to new social forms and to immigrants, along with its vast western frontier, seemed to hold limitless possibilities. The question remained as to what would fill in the canvas? How would it look and what themes would dominate?

These questions consumed 19th-century America until the Civil War. The first half of that century saw the emergence of new religions, perfectionist movements, and innumerable efforts at reform, of which abolitionism is only the most familiar. It was, in the title of Alice Felt Tyler's book, a period of "freedom's ferment." Not only were most of these movements driven by religious motivations, the nation itself would soon be in conflict over its religious nature.

While the First Amendment may have answered that question legally on the federal level, it did not answer it at the state level, nor did it answer it socially. As the states adapted to the new emphasis on voluntaryism in religion, slowly removing the last vestiges of their religious establishments from Virginia in 1786 to Massachusetts in 1830, the country also experienced a revitalization of religious feeling. This revitalization was driven by a new form of democratized Protestantism. This Protestantism dispensed with the old predestinarianism of traditional Calvinism, whereby the individual could do nothing to effect her or his salvation, and replaced it with ARMINIANISM. In the Arminian view, God offers salvation freely to all. One only has to accept it. Human action could bring about salvation, a view that would have been anathema to the early Puritan settlers of New England, the Presbyterians of the southern mountains, and most early English Protestants. Not only could individuals work to effect their salvation, they also could work toward the perfection of both their individual lives and of the social and political world. These ideas were spread by what is known as the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, which ran roughly from 1790 to 1830 and played a major role in the developments of American life in that period. These ideas also played a major role in the struggle over the role and nature of religion in American life. If disestablishment provided the opportunity for the creation of new religious forms and increased religious experimentation, the creation of a democracy also raised challenges about how to maintain it. For many individuals, democracy depended on this new form of Protestantism. The argument was made that Protestantism was the source of the values of democracy and civilization. While these individuals tended to see their approach to religion as nonsectarian (since it was not a particular form of Protestantism), others, particularly Catholics, saw it for what it was, Protestantism, and resisted its imposition on them. At the same time, some of these Protestants saw Catholicism and immigrants (and particularly Catholic immigrants) as a threat to democracy. These new immigrants, reared amidst monarchs and into a religion that opposed freedom and democracy, brought with them undemocratic views. As Catholics, they owed allegiance (so these Protestants thought) to a foreign monarch, the pope, who not only was the head of the Catholic Church but also was a secular ruler over a large swath of modern-day Italy until 1867. Such individuals were a threat to democratic values. As a result, the 19th century saw the emergence of a form of anti-Catholicism that surfaced periodically throughout American history even into the 21st century (see NATIVISM).

The religious ferment of the time also gave rise to new religions, such as Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS) and the Oneida Community (see COMMUNITARIANISM), as well as a revitalization of others such as the SHAKERS. Many of these new religions developed very different forms of social arrangements and even marital and sexual arrangements (see SEXUALITY) than those familiar to most Americans. How and to what extent should these be tolerated? When do religious practices become a threat to society? When can they be outlawed by the state? These issues would be struggled with until well into the 21st century. While a partial answer would be that the government cannot outlaw practices because they are part of a particular religion, it can adopt generally applicable laws that may outlaw certain religious practices. This answer lay in the future, and, even if it had existed, it did little to stem the extralegal if not illegal attacks and harassment inflicted by groups of individuals.

Finally, the move toward PERFECTIONISM gave rise to innumerable reform movements, including anti-dueling, women's rights, temperance, and abolition (see WOMEN, RELIGION AND; ABOLITIONISM). Nearly all of these movements had deep religious roots and invariably were articulated in religious language. Many of them, particularly abolition, met with resistance and even violence. Supporters of these movements would be attacked, beaten, jailed, and even murdered.

The first half of the 19th century saw a proliferation of responses to the new realities created by the United States, both legally and socially. The absence of an established religion and the vast open space of the country, particularly after the Louisiana Purchase in 1808, as well as the very nature of its democracy led to a freedom to adapt, modify, and alter existing religious forms and practices as well as to create totally new forms.

Additionally, following the emergence of the Napoleonic empire and its replacement by a restored monarchy in France, concerns over the how to maintain the American republic and its purity increasingly came to fore. Many came to view this new form of Protestantism as the source of that maintenance.

The creation of the United States and the adoption of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights did not completely address the nature of the country or the role of religion in it. As mentioned above, several states retained their religious establishments (although it must be admitted that they were minimal). Additionally, many saw the expansion of deism and particularly the developments from the French Revolution as clear indicators of the spread of infidelity. Some fear religion itself was under attack and soon would be undermined by atheists and infidels. This was particularly true on the frontier, which lacked a settled town life and suffered from a dearth of ministers and churches. One traveler commented on this state of affairs by noting that on the Kentucky frontier one was more likely to come upon a cabin with a copy of Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason* than one with a copy of the Bible.

These concerns and fears were exacerbated by the French Revolution. The French Revolution heightened the political conflicts within the United States, with the Federalist Party, primarily controlled by New Englanders and descendants of the Puritans, viewing the Democratic-Republican Party, headed by Thomas Jefferson, as an American version of the French Jacobins, who had violently attacked traditional religion and directed the Reign of Terror. During the closing years of the 18th century as the United States and France moved toward war, the Federalist-dominated U.S. Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798. These laws were directed against immigrants (primarily French), who were viewed as hostile aliens, and the Democratic-Republicans, whose support for the French Revolution was viewed as seditious. Behind the laws lay the suspicion that there was a vast conspiracy to undermine the existing government. The view that there exists a conspiracy driven by some secretive group bent on world domination has driven much of the religious and social intolerance in the United States, whether directed at Catholics, Jews, or communists. The fear of some unknown and unseen force determined to crush true religion and democracy remains a periodic and regular theme in the history of religious intolerance in the United States.

The first major "conspiracy" identified in the history of the United States involved none of those groups, but was directed at the source infidelity and atheism in the United States. The existence of this insidious threat to the new country was proclaimed on May 9, 1798. On that day, Jedidiah Morse told his congregants at

New North Church, Boston, that he possessed documents that demonstrated the existence of an international conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States.

This conspiracy was directed by a secret cabal known as the "Bavarian Illuminati," and its goal was the destruction of Christianity, morality, and private property. This group had fomented the French Revolution and now focused on the United States. These charges were picked up by the Congregationalist and Presbyterian clergy in New England, including the president of Yale University, Timothy Dwight, who railed against those who spread the "malice of atheism and the sin of the enemies of Christ." While these charges eventually were drowned by mockery from the Jeffersonian newspapers and then swamped by the Jeffersonian electoral sweep in 1800, the episode illustrates a response to new and alien ideas (and individuals) that has popped up with some regularity in U.S. history. It also illustrates the intensity of the conflict over the nature of the new United States, a conflict that dominated American politics through most of the 19th century.

BUILDING THE RIGHTEOUS EMPIRE

The concern over religion was addressed to some extent by the emergence of the Second Great Awakening. The awakening started as a mild form of religious refreshening in New England in the late 1790s. Led by Timothy Dwight as part of his attack on freethinking and infidelity, Lyman Beecher, and Nathaniel William Taylor, the early stages of the Second Great Awakening were staid and serious events emphasizing that success depended on God's grace, not the work of human beings. The results, however, would be greater religious seriousness and a reformation of morals.

Such was not the case as revivals moved out into the western frontier, at this time upstate New York, Ohio, and Kentucky. There they became much more emotional affairs accompanied by what many viewed as aberrant behaviors, such as fainting, weeping, and shouting. Many dismissed such occurrences and roundly condemned them. They criticized the overemphasis on the spirit and the excessive demonstration of religious fervor. These criticisms could be quite pointed. Regarding the Cane Ridge Revival in 1801, which brought more than 10,000 people together for days of preaching and worship, a critic claimed that more souls were conceived than saved during the time.

This emotionalism and the democratizing ethos that dominated the latter half of the Second Great Awakening were packaged by Charles Grandison Finney. His approach to revivalism played a major role in the development of much of American Protestantism. For Finney, a revival was a process of bringing an individual to an awareness of her or his need for conversion, then presenting the opportunity to experience that conversion. God's grace, Finney argued, always was there and available, one simply needed to bring people to an acceptance of it, to convince them to choose it.

For Finney and those influenced by him, however, the choice not only was about accepting God's grace but also about how one lived. Both individual and social perfection were possible. The movement, known as Perfectionism, grew out of several strands, but its main source was the Methodist tradition. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, had taught that it was possible for Christians to reach a point in their individual lives at which they received sanctification from God and were free from all intentional sins. The process of sanctification could purify their motives to the point where they could become as "perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect."

Spread in the United States by Finney, Phoebe Worrall Palmer, and Asa Mahan, a follower of Finney's who wrote *The Scripture Doctrine of Perfection* (1839), Perfectionism soon had a major foothold not only in Methodism but also among Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers. This emphasis on perfectionism soon moved from the individual level to the social as well. A perfected society could be established by perfected individuals through the processes of moral suasion and, possibly, through the political process. It, therefore, was a duty of Christians to work to end the evils that existed in society, whether drunkenness, dueling, or slavery.

By aggressively working to improve society, Christians could help usher in the millennium, the thousand year reign of Christ. These views played a major role in the formation of the innumerable reform societies that marked much of the 19th century. The growth of missionary work, both in the United States and internationally, the TEMPERANCE, antislavery, education (see EDUCATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL), and other movements emerged from this impulse and blended with other early strands of social improvement. The role of religion in driving social reform dominated American public life to such an extent that when he visited the United States in 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville would remark that in the United States religion was "the foremost of the political institutions." As the United States moved westward and its goods and people moved out into the wider world, they saw themselves as establishing a "benevolent empire" that would bring the gifts of democracy, civilization, and education to all. This benevolent empire perceived itself as Protestant and democratic. For many, the terms were almost inseparable. Protestantism (or, as many in the 19th century would have said, Christianity, for to them Protestantism was true Christianity), in their minds, had given the world freedom and democracy, and both would expand together.

There remained one major concern, however, the antidemocratic and obscurantist force of Catholicism. For many 19th-century American Protestants, Catholicism remained a religion that stood in opposition to free thought and free men. Anti-Catholicism was not new to America. It had arrived with the first British settlers, and part of the British colonial project was the creation of a Protestant bulwark against French and Spanish Catholics on the continent. This anti-Catholicism ebbed and flowed until the election of John Kennedy as president in 1960 brought an end to socially acceptable and overt anti-Catholicism.

The anti-Catholicism the first English colonists to North America brought with them was part of the political and social environment in England. Once established, most colonies enacted into law the anti-Catholic statutes of their homeland. Among no group of colonists was anti-Catholic sentiment more complete than the group of Puritans who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony. For them, anti-Catholicism was a mission. Religiously one of their main goals was to purify the Church of England of its remaining "popish" elements. The colony outlawed public performance of the Mass and expelled priests and Jesuits found in the colony. Those who dared return faced the death penalty. Most other colonies placed similar limits on Catholics, denying them the right to vote and to hold public office. In fact, New Jersey limited Catholics' right to any state office until 1844 and New Hampshire until 1876.

This anti-Catholicism weakened somewhat during the American Revolution due to American Catholic support for the Revolution and the military and economic assistance of Catholic France. This tolerance continued into the post–Revolutionary War period. The new U.S. Constitution prohibited any religious test for national political office, and the First Amendment to the Constitution allowed for the free exercise of religion and forbade the national government from creating any religious establishment. Despite this new-found tolerance, however, suspicions of Catholicism based on political and social reasons did not disappear. Few feared the native

American Catholics, whose spiritual leader, Bishop John Carroll was as committed to the republic as to his faith. The fear was of foreign Catholic immigrants who, raised among princes and prelates, came to the new country with no knowledge of republican government or independent thought. Many argued that such immigration must be ended to avoid the destruction of the republic.

The immigrants to whom the anti-Catholics of the 1830s objected were overwhelmingly Irish. By that decade, the development of what has been called the "Protestant (or Benevolent) Empire" in America had begun. Into this land of "pure" religion and republican virtue poured a seemingly vulgar, superstitious "horde" from Ireland. These individuals, many Protestant Americans believed, arrived ignorant of democratic culture, unfamiliar with republicanism, and unschooled in independent thought. They also, in the minds of many American Protestants, owed their allegiance to a foreign potentate, the pope. These Protestants feared that this allegiance would result in their voting being dictated by the church and soon would destroy American freedom and democracy.

Finally, there was a long history of suspicion of Catholic immorality and debauchery in convents and monasteries. Nuns were suspected of being at the mercy of licentious priests, and Protestants viewed celibacy as an insult to the natural order. Catholic immorality did not stop there, in the eyes of many Protestants. Catholicism itself was viewed as being in opposition to the reforming ethos of the time. Catholicism seemed to be opposed to temperance, sabbatarianism, women's rights, antislavery, and all the other objects of reforming zeal. Additionally, on the European continent, the church consistently allied itself with reactionary and antidemocratic forces and stood opposed to the values of democracy, freedom of speech, and religious liberty.

To counter the growing influence of Catholicism and to warn Americans of its threats, there appeared many popular newspapers and journals whose purpose was "to inculcate Gospel doctrines against Romish corruptions . . ." Among these papers were the *Protestant*, the *Anti-Romanist*, *Priestcraft Unmasked*, and *Priestcraft Exposed*. Public lectures and meetings on such topics as "Is Popery Compatible with Civil Liberty?" drew large and enthusiastic crowds.

The anti-Catholicism of the 1830s was strengthened by three key events. The first was the publication of Lyman Beecher's *Plea for the West*. In this pamphlet, Beecher called for an organized attempt to convert the Mississippi Valley region to Protestantism in order to prevent the realization of a papal conspiracy to conquer the region for the Catholic Church. Such stories soon raised suspicions of Catholics everywhere. One result was an 1834 anti-Catholic riot in Charlestown, Massachusetts. A mob, spurred by rumors of immoral convent activities and inflammatory sermons by Protestant ministers, including the visiting Lyman Beecher, attacked the town's Irish quarter, sacking and burning the Ursuline Convent and its girls school.

The 1830s also saw the beginning of an indigenous anti-convent literature; previous examples had been brought in from England or the Continent. The 1835 publication of Rebecca Reed's rather tame *Six Months in a Convent* was followed by the salacious *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* in 1836. The latter volume repeated every centuries-old rumor of sex, sadism, and murdered babies behind convent walls. These books reignited the nativist fires that had been dampened by the shock at the destruction of the Ursuline convent.

Despite the virulence of the anti-Catholicism of the 1830s, the movement did not receive an organized form until 1841. In that year, the American Republican Party was founded on an anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant basis. Although short-lived (it disbanded in 1846), the American Republican Party had a major impact during those five years and played a leading role in the Philadelphia "Bible riots."

One of the major reform movements of the early 19th century focused on education. Convinced that a republic required an educated electorate to survive, many individuals focused on increasing the number and quality of common schools. While educational reformers such as HORACE MANN felt that education should be nonsectarian, they did not think it should be devoid of religious content. As a result, the Bible and other religious texts often constituted a significant portion of the curriculum. What these reformers saw as nonsectarianism, however, Catholics saw as Protestantism. The use of the King James Version of the Bible and the Lord's Prayer in its Protestant version made it clear to many Catholics that this indeed was Protestant instruction.

When Catholics demanded either the use of their version of the Bible and Lord's Prayer or excusing Catholic children from such religious instruction, violence often erupted. Anti-Catholic groups in Philadelphia charged Catholics with trying to ban the Bible from public schools. The American Republic Party and others organized a series of public meetings and demonstrations that led to massive rioting throughout the city. The fighting lasted from May 4 to July 7, 1844. Gunfire and artillery duels rocked the city, eventually leading to the imposition of martial law. Churches and schools were burned, shops looted, and hundreds injured. At least 30 people were killed in the violence. Only after the governor sent in a militia force of more than 5,000 was the rioting finally quelled. In New York City, similar anti-Catholic agitation by the party brought the threat from Archbishop John Hughes that "If a single Catholic Church is burned [here]," the entire city will be torched.

These developments did not end immigration, however. In fact, as the situation in Ireland deteriorated, immigration actually increased during the mid-1840s and into the 1850s. The Irish potato famine between 1845 and 1851 was the driving force in this increased immigration. New anti-Catholic organizations arose to replace the earlier ones. Charles B. Allen founded the Organization of the Star Spangled Banner in 1849 as an anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant organization. Reorganized by James W. Barker in 1852, it soon became the leading nativist and anti-Catholic society in the country. Members pledged never to vote for a foreign-born or Catholic candidate. Wealthier and more powerful members of a community were placed under the obligation to work to remove aliens and Catholics from positions of authority and to deny them jobs and public office.

Dedicated to secrecy, the organization was dubbed the Know Nothings. By 1854, the political branch of the movement, the American Party, dominated state politics in Massachusetts and New York. But the chaos of American politics during the antebellum period attracted voters as much as opposition to foreigners and Catholics. Following the 1856 presidential election, the American Party, unable to deal with the issues of slavery and union, found anti-Catholicism an insufficient unifying issue and disbanded.

While the Civil War gave Americans more immediate concerns than fear of a Catholic takeover, it provided other reasons for anti-Catholicism. Traditional Irish-Catholic support for the Democratic Party, Pope Pius IX's rumored support for the Confederacy, and the silence of the bishops on slavery made Catholicism suspect to many Republicans. In the late 19th century, the Democratic Party was labeled the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." This slogan served Republicans as a vote-getting appeal until 1932.

Immigrants and Catholics were not the only sources of concern during the 1800s. The variety of religious experimentation, from Perfectionism within the mainstream denominations to completely new religious movements, such as the Mormons and the Oneida Community with its adoption of "plural marriage," challenged many traditional views and approaches, as did the enormity and variety of the social reform movements. Many of these developments met with opposition, hostility, and, occasionally, violence.

Among the most controversial were new religious movements, many of which not only made novel religious claims but also altered traditional understandings of property, sex, and gender relations. The Shakers, Oneida Community, and Mormons are perhaps only the best known of these movements, but there were many others. These ranged from the failed Transcendentalist experiments at Fruitlands, established by Bronson Alcott in 1843, and the slightly longer-lived Brook Farm to the Amana Colonies in Iowa established in 1855 by the Community of True Inspiration, which lasted in their communal form until 1930.

Brook Farm, established in 1841 by GEORGE RIPLEY, near present-day West Roxbury, Massachusetts, included among its members Nathaniel Hawthorne (see LITERATURE AND RELIGION) ISAAC HECKER, and Charles Dana. Regular visitors were RALPH WALDO EMERSON, WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, MARGARET FULLER, BRONSON ALCOTT, THEODORE PARKER, Horace Greeley, and ORESTES BROWNSON. Although the schools run by the community were moderately successful, its agricultural and industrial enterprises were not. A reorganization of the community as a Fourierist phalanx (see UTOPIANISM) failed to improve its finances, and when its main building was destroyed by fire in 1846, the community disbanded. Hawthorne based his novel *The Blithedale Romance* on his time at Brook Farm.

While Fruitlands and Brook Farm were subject to little more than ridicule in some of the newspapers and in the writings of former residents (Louisa May Alcott described her time at Fruitlands in *Transcendental Wild Oats*) and the Amana Colonies were widely admired for their plain living and industrial enterprises, including their appliances, other new movements received much more hostile responses. These more hostile responses met the Oneida Community.

The Oneida Community was established by JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES, a young biblical scholar and graduate of Andover and Yale. Deeply affected by the Second Great Awakening and its perfectionist elements, Noyes developed a distinct reading of scripture. His studies convinced him that Christ's second coming already had occurred. It was exemplified by the destruction of the Second Jewish Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E. This return meant that the prophecies of perfection that had been foretold by Jesus during his earthly ministry, including the communion of goods and Jesus' declaration that in heaven they are neither given nor give in marriage, were to be realized. In 1845, Noyes established his first community at Putney, Vermont. Local hostility and demonstrations forced him to relocate the community to Oneida, New York, two years later. In what was then a fairly frontier area, Noyes developed his community around the principles of communal property, "complex marriage," male continence, and mutual criticism. The members of Oneida also lived fairly simple lives. Their diet was primarily vegetarian, and alcohol, tobacco, and profanity were forbidden. The community also accepted the equality of men and women, and female members wore a distinctive costume consisting of a short skirt over pantlets that made movement and work easier.

Financially, the community was successful given its commitment to hard work and celebration of labor. They founded the Oneida Steel Company and made most of their money manufacturing traps, although it would expand into other forms of metalwork. Renamed the Oneida Company, it manufactured tableware.

While their discipline and hard work gained them a grudging acceptance, their views of sex and marriage led to hostility and attacks. This view, which Noyes called "complex marriage" accepted seriously the biblical injunction cited above, that when the Son of Man came again, there would be no marriage. Unlike Mother Ann Lee, who had interpreted the injunction to mean there would be no sex, Noyes interpreted it literally, namely that there was no longer any marriage in the traditional sense. In fact, all members of the community were married to each other. Men and women therefore were permitted intercourse with all other communal members of the opposite sex. Exclusive sexual and romantic attachments were discouraged and subject to much rebuke during criticism sessions. Unwanted pregnancies were minimized through training young men to use a form of *coitus interruptus* to avoid ejaculating. They were educated into this practice by post-menopausal female members of the community, who also were to serve as spiritual advisors to the younger men. For Noyes, sex primarily served spiritual ends. It was one way to move to perfection. Since Noyes believed that perfection was a steady process, those who had been undertaking it longer than others, older people, spiritually were superior to those younger. In order to improve oneself spiritually, one should limit sexual encounters to those spiritually superior through a process known as "ascending fellowship." One did this until one had reached a level of spiritual perfection, at which time one's obligation was to become a source of spiritual education for others. In this process, "descending fellowship," one's sexual partners were those striving to improve their spiritual development.

While criticized for immorality and "free love," life in the Oneida community, including sexuality, was quite regularized and controlled. Noyes himself vigorously condemned "free love," claiming that it led to anarchy and chaos. The community itself also practiced a form of eugenics, known as stirpiculture, where certain couples were approved to have intercourse with the goal of producing a child.

The Oneida Community managed to exist for many years relatively free from conflict with its neighbors. By the 1870s, however, it found itself under increasing pressures. Part of this resulted from the increasing visibility of the women's rights movement and the advocacy of free love among some of its supporters, particularly Victoria Woodhull (see HENRY WARD BEECHER), and other Perfectionists. As a result, Oneida found itself tarred with the brush of free love and immorality. Under increasing legal and social pressures, the community ended the practice of complex marriage, while continuing to affirm its biblical sanction, and its communal property holdings, in 1876.

If Oneida suffered from legal threats and protests, the Mormons would suffer from physical violence and murder. Mormonism, or to use its formal name, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, appeared publicly in 1830 when JOSEPH SMITH published the BOOK OF MORMON and established the first congregation. Smith had come into possession of the book during the 1820s after the angel Moroni appeared to him and directed Smith to the golden tablets on which the book was inscribed. The tablets, located on Hill Cumorah near Manchester, New York, were written in unknown hieroglyphics but were buried with the Urim and Thummim (the prophesy stones from the Jewish high priest's breastplate), which gave Smith the power to translate the unknown language. Smith began the translation in 1827 and worked on it for three years before publishing it in English.

Throughout the 1830s Smith received additional revelations and began to develop Mormonism into a separate and exclusivist movement. Increasingly, the revelations seemed to suggest that Mormonism was to be modeled on the lives of the ancient Israelites. Smith directed that all Mormons gather in a single community, initially in Kirtland, Ohio, and dedicated there a "temple" that incorporated many elements from the Jewish temple ritual. Additionally, Smith soon introduced "plural marriage," polygamy, into the Mormon doctrines.

These developments, as well as other distinctive doctrines, including the corporeality of God, ongoing revelation, baptism of the dead, and eternal marriage, increasingly separated Mormonism from other forms of Christianity. Smith's personality and teachings led to numerous conflicts with non-Mormons, and he experienced several attacks in Ohio, including being tarred and feathered in 1832. He also was arrested several times.

In 1837, Smith decided to move the Ohio colony westward to join another Mormon community already established in Missouri, perhaps not realizing that the Missouri Mormons faced even greater hostility than their Ohio brethren. In fact, of the governor of Missouri, Lillburn Boggs, had just issued his so-called "Extermination Order." In this document the governor declared the Mormons to be "in the attitude of an open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made open war upon the people of this state. . . . The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description."

Shortly after the governor issued this order, a mob led by a renegade Missouri militia colonel attacked and slaughtered 19 Mormon men and boys, including a nine-year-old who was murdered in cold blood after he had been found hiding under the bellows of a blacksmith's shop. This event, known as the Haun's Mill Massacre, would enter Mormon history as one of innumerable instances where Mormon faithful were "martyred" for their beliefs.

Smith further inflamed the tensions in a public speech promising vengeance against Mormonism's oppressors. Leaving Missouri, roughly 5,000 Mormons moved again, eastward this time, as they crossed back over the Mississippi in winter 1838–39 and settled in southern Illinois. They called their new home settlement Nauvoo—an anglicized spelling of a Hebrew word purportedly meaning "to be beautiful."

At first, things went well for the Mormons in Nauvoo. Whigs and Democrats vied for the 15,000 Mormon votes in the election of 1840, and political connections helped Smith secure a charter for Nauvoo that essentially made it autonomous. The city soon became perhaps the largest, and certainly the fastest-growing, in Illinois. It boasted its own militia, the Nauvoo Legion, and a 165-foot-high temple, built at a cost of roughly 1 million dollars. But the Mormons' growth, and the religious government of the Nauvoo community, alarmed their neighbors, whose republican ideology recoiled from Nauvoo's hierarchical government, collectivism, and authoritarianism. Smith had long sought to control every aspect of his followers' lives, and at Nauvoo he seemed to grow increasingly despotic. For many outsiders, the centrality of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the governance of the city was the biggest source of fear and hostility. The community was essentially a theocracy, with religious leaders, particularly Smith, controlling civil affairs.

This may have been enough to cause some persecution, but outsiders feared the Mormons for even deeper reasons. Not only did Joseph Smith declare himself King of the Kingdom of God and announce his candidacy for president in the election of 1844, but disaffected Mormons spread the word that Smith intended to establish the "political kingdom of God." While Mormons believe that this kingdom must be established to prepare the way for Christ's return and for the establishment of his apocalyptic world government, Mormon theology decreed that they establish the kingdom through peaceful, legal means. Worldly governments would be allowed to collapse under the weight of their own corruption. But since this doctrine was cloaked in such secrecy (as were many elements of

Mormon doctrine), fine points were lost (or intentionally disregarded) by outsiders, who already suspected the church because of rumors of "plural marriage," or polygamy.

Apostates from the church and outside critics circulated rumors that Smith was plotting to overthrow the U.S. government and replace it with a kingdom ruled by a mysterious "Council of Fifty." Smith lent credence to the rumors when he ordered the destruction of a Nauvoo newspaper office run by an ex-Mormon. This seeming display of Mormon tyranny (despite the fact that attacks on newspapers were not unheard of throughout the country at that time), added to the tales of polygamy and corruption and led some of the Mormons' neighbors to take violent action.

The Illinois militia marched on Nauvoo, forcing Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum to surrender to authorities. Their arrest was insufficient for the Mormons' enemies, and on June 27, 1844, a mob dragged the Smiths from the jail in Carthage and lynched them. Additional murders on both sides of the conflict followed, and in September 1846, the Mormons engaged their enemies in the full-fledged Battle of Nauvoo. Seeing no chance for peace in the region, Smith's successor, a former Vermont Methodist named BRIGHAM YOUNG, prepared the community for another westward migration, first to a staging area in Iowa and then across the continent to the Great Salt Lake.

There, in relative isolation, the Mormons once again would strive to realize their vision of a godly community. The state of Deseret became the central locus of Mormon life, and with Smith's successor Brigham Young serving as territorial governor, the new community prospered. While outside attacks continued and the federal government outlawed polygamy in the territories in 1862, political chaos as the country moved toward the CIVIL WAR and the Mormon's geographic isolation limited their contact with non-Mormons and minimized conflicts until the 1870s, at which time almost open warfare between the Mormons and the federal government broke out.

Given the violence that conflicts over gender, sexuality, and marriage created during the first half of the 19th century, other developments of that time, such as the increasing use of women as public speakers, may not seem overly controversial. In the 1830s, however, they were novel for most churches (and for society as a whole) and appeared to violate biblical injunctions against women teaching in public. When ANGELINA and SARAH GRIMKÉ addressed a "mixed" audience in Boston in 1837, the Congregationalist ministers of Massachusetts issued a pastoral letter condemning females "who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers." In May the following year at the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, the Grimké sisters and other female abolitionists were taunted and jeered by a mob that eventually set fire to the hall housing the convention.

Abolition, the opposition to slavery and the call for its immediate end, generated the greatest amount of hostility and violence. American abolitionism had its roots in religion, with Quakers, Baptists, and Methodists all opposing it during the 18th century. John Wesley had condemned slavery as the sum of all villainies. While Methodists and Baptists eventually made temporary peace with slavery, this peace was challenged by the growth of abolitionism, and both denominations, as well as the Presbyterians, eventually split over the issue (see PROSLAVERY THOUGHT; CIVIL WAR).

If American abolitionism as a movement had a beginning, it can be said to be 1831, when William Lloyd Garrison began publishing *The Liberator.* Garrison and his followers demanded immediate abolition of slavery and the equal treatment of freed slaves. Garrison, in addition to THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, the Grimké sisters (one of whom, Angelina, was married to Weld), and FREDERICK DOUGLASS decried slavery as a moral evil and offense to God. Slaveholders exercised an evil control over human beings, and the fact of slavery gave rise to even more evils. The Grimké sisters, who came from a slave-holding South Carolina family, were particularly powerful spokeswomen for the cause because they knew the evils of slavery intimately.

But calls for abolition and black equality met with tremendous hostility. In most southern states it was illegal to send *The Liberator* through the mails, and Garrison himself was a wanted man. Crowds regularly attacked abolitionist speakers. In Alton, Illinois, the Presbyterian minister and newspaperman Elijah P. Lovejoy was such a vociferous critic of slavery that a mob attacked his home and printing establishment, destroying the equipment and savagely murdering him.

This violence called forth divine vengeance in the person of JOHN BROWN. Brown, who had a history of opposition to slavery, while attending a memorial service for Lovejoy, purportedly stood up and proclaimed, "Here before God, in the presence of these witnesses, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery." Brown condemned slavery as an offense against God and declared that slave masters were destined to be punished for their sins against God and humanity. Brown eventually came to view himself as the instrument of God's vengeance on those who enslaved their fellow human beings. He would enact this vengeance in Kansas during that territory's vicious battles between pro- and antislavery forces and eventually led an attack on the federal armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now Harpers Ferry, West Virginia) with the hope of inspiring a massive slave rebellion that would end the evil of slavery once and for all.

This did not happen, and Brown was captured, tried, and executed on December 2, 1859. The manner in which many interpreted the religious dimensions of Brown's actions can be seen readily in the words penned by HENRY DAVID THOREAU the day of Brown's execution. "Some 1800 years ago, Christ was crucified. This morning, Captain Brown was hung. He is not Old Brown any longer; he is an angel of light." Sixteen months later, the Civil War would begin, and Union soldiers would march to battle singing about John Brown's body mouldering in the grave.

From real battles fought over the Bible to the most destructive war in American history, the early 19th century was marked by intense religious conflicts. These conflicts went to the very heart of what America would be and who truly could claim to be an American. These conflicts provided no clear answers. Anti-Catholicism would wane, only to reemerge several more times. Anti-immigration agitation would diminish for a few decades only to reappear and become much more successful in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Slavery would be abolished, but white Americans failed to accept African Americans as their equals, and many would struggle to return them to a state close to slavery. Yet the Perfectionist impulse that emerged during this period, with its emphasis on social reform and social movements, created a reality that many came to view as distinctly American. It would continue to agitate Americans, usually from a religious base, to realize the country's unfulfilled goals of equality, tolerance, and freedom. This realization would take more time and more effort and would meet with many obstacles and always would seem just out of reach.

The 1860 election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN as president of the United States brought to a head all the religious, social, and political conflicts that had agitated the country for the previous four decades. The division in the country resulting from this election had been prefigured by the splits in several denominations—the Baptists and Methodists in 1845 and the Presbyterians (over numerous issues including abolitionism) in 1837 and yet again in 1861. One's position on slavery had become determinative for much of one's loyalties, religious and political. As the country split and a shooting war replaced the culture wars of the previous decades, other concerns receded into the background.

THE CIVIL WAR

For both sides, the Civil War soon took on the ethos of a religious crusade, one in which both sides invested both Christian (primarily) symbolism and the symbols of CIVIL RELIGION. On the Union side, the words of Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address reflect a deep understanding of this civil religion. "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." While JULIA WARD HOWE's words for the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" reminded everyone of the reasons for the war and its deeply religious, indeed Christian, aim. This is seen most clearly in two of its verses, one of that is rarely sung today and another that has been changed in most contemporary renditions.

I have read a fiery Gospel writ in burnished rows of steel;
As ye deal with My contemners, so with you My grace shall deal";
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with His heel,
Since God is marching on.

. . .

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me:
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free;
While God is marching on.

In his inaugural as president of the Confederate States of America, Jefferson Davis made a not dissimilar appeal, proclaiming that: "The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the Government of our fathers in its spirit."

Both sides claimed to be upholding the true American spirit and undertaking, with reluctance, an armed conflict that pitted the forces of right, reason, and religion against chaos and tyranny. For the Union, the war often was framed as a contest between those committed to tyrannizing their fellow humans and to destroying the country. Among the Confederacy, the war was viewed as a conflict against an alien invader whose very form of life was committed to destroying all that was noble, virtuous, and true. The grasping nature of capitalism in the North was, it was argued, antithetical to true humanity and religion. This view would be extended greatly after the Civil War into the "Myth of the Lost Cause" (see LOST CAUSE, MYTH) as the South struggled with giving meaning to its catastrophic defeat. This defeat lay in the future, however, and the two sides entered the Civil War convinced of three things: the rightness of their cause, their certain victory, and that the war would be shortlived. These certainties would be tested for the North and destroyed for the South through four long, hard years of war. Casualties were immense, more than 600,000 dead. Some one-day battles, such as Antietam and Shiloh, saw casualty figures in excess of 20,000.

The pain and horror of the war had a marked effect on the soldiers. Religious organizations were active in responding to their needs by caring for the disease, stress, and loneliness facing the soldiers. Numerous denominations and other organizations engaged in an ongoing process to serve the soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies.

These organizations focused primarily on providing medical and nursing care; maintaining morals, morale, and sanitation; and assisting liberated or runaway slaves. The United States Sanitary Commission, a private organization despite its name, while nominally nonsectarian, had a prominent Unitarian minister, the Reverend Henry W. Bellows, as its chairman and formal representation from a variety of religious leaders on its board.

Roman Catholic nuns played a major role in providing nursing care among the soldiers. Nuns made up nearly 30 percent of the women who served as volunteer nurses. These women, although looked upon with suspicion by some reformers such as the Quaker Dorothea Dix, were particularly welcomed by the soldiers and the medical corps.

The Christian Commission, comprised of more evangelically oriented Christians than the United States Sanitary Commission, distributed religious tracts and Bibles to the soldiers, as well as offering religious services. It also collected and distributed medical supplies, clothing, food, and other personal items for soldiers. Organized in November of 1861 during a meeting of YMCA (see YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION) representatives, the Christian Commission's mission was to promote "the spiritual good of the soldiers in the army, and incidentally their intellectual improvement and social and physical comfort." The commission's board members included four bishops (two Methodists and two Episcopalians). One of the Methodist bishops, Matthew Simpson, was reported to be President Lincoln's favorite preacher and was a close personal friend of Secretary of War Stanton and Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase. Another commissioner, the Reverend Herman Dyer, had been a college mate of Secretary Stanton. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Schuyler Colfax, also served on the commission's board. Its annual meetings were held in the House wing of the Capitol and attended by the president, the chief justice, cabinet secretaries, senators and representatives, and senior members of the army and navy.

Such connections gave the Christian Commission ready access to the troops. In the camps, the Christian Commission delivered food, clothing, and "wholesome" reading materials. Members of the Christian Commission viewed the concrete aid and support to individual soldiers as the essence of true Christianity. Such actions demonstrated what Christianity was about. "Soldiers," one field member wrote,

> could not oppose a Christianity that manifested such concern for their bodily comfort. Farina, oranges, lemons, onions, pickles, comfort-bags, shirts, towels given and distributed in the name of Jesus, though designed for the body, gave strength to the soul. To the quickened senses of a wounded soldier parched with fever, far from home and friends, an onion was a stronger argument for the religion which bestowed it than the subtle reasoning of Renan, and a pickle sharper than the keenest logic of Colenso!

In the field hospitals, the Christian Commission members served as nurses, aides, and orderlies. They provided bandages and other medical supplies, along with food and companionship.

Religion not only was a source of material support for the soldiers, it also was a source of internal and emotional support. Major religious revivals took place in both armies, with estimations of total conversions reaching nearly 300,000 soldiers. Many of these conversions were the fruit of seeds planted among the soldiers in their youths, particularly by their mothers. Contemporary accounts tell of many such stories. Following his conversion, one soldier was heard to say, "O that my mother were here!" When bystanders inquired as to why, he answered, "Because she has so long been praying for me, and now I have found the Saviour." Another soldier suffering from serious wounds directed a friend to, "Tell my mother that I read my Testament and put all my trust in the Lord. . . . I am not afraid to die."

As the Union army advanced into the Confederacy, the numbers of refugees, contrabands (slaves liberated during the Union advance), and, later, the freedmen provided the Union army and the federal government with an immense challenge. The responsibility to care for these individuals fell to the army, and it had to find some way to meet their needs. Although commanders employed various methods to respond to this issue, most turned to religious organizations for help.

In no area was this more expansive than in the provision of aid to the freedmen. This work began in September 1861 when the American Missionary Society sent a group to work with freed slaves housed near Fort Monroe in South Carolina. This work continued through the war and at its conclusion became formalized with the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau under the direction of Major General Oliver Otis Howard. A man of staunch piety, he was known as the "Christian Soldier," Howard was committed to educating and aiding the recently freed slaves. A circular issued over his name in 1865 (although drafted by LYMAN ABOTT, his assistant and a minister) declared, "The utmost facility will be afforded to benevolent and religious organizations in the maintenance of good schools for refugees and freedmen until a system of free schools can be supported by recognized local governments."

To achieve this end, the Bureau was to cooperate with,

> private benevolent associations of citizens to aid the freedmen, and with agents and teachers, duly accredited and appointed by them, . . . hire or provide by lease buildings for purposes of education whenever such associations shall, without cost to the government, provide suitable teachers and means of instruction and . . . furnish such protection as may be required for safe conduct of such schools.

By the end of its existence, the Freedmen's Bureau had paid nearly $6 million to private benevolent organizations, mostly the American Missionary Association and the American Freedmen's Union Commission, for educational work among the freedmen.

Both of these organizations had express religious commitments. The AMA demanded a fervent piety of its teachers and felt that it would be "suicidal to subject our missionaries and teachers (both in one) to any body of men not of a religious character; and we cannot separate the educational from the religious element." Less expressly sectarian, the AFUC also required that its teachers demonstrate a genuine spirit of love for God and man and, like the AMA, refused to hire Roman Catholics.

If the war saw Americans of all religions killed together, some prejudices did not fall away quickly. While proximity minimized many of these prejudices, they would continue to haunt the country for another century. The Civil War also produced a in the person of the president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, one of its deepest religious thinkers ever and one of its most reflective exponents of PUBLIC RELIGION. Lincoln, although deeply committed to the war and the ends for which it was fought, was not inclined to believe that he knew clearly the mind of God. When a group of ministers arrived in the White House to meet with Lincoln to inform him that they knew God's will for the nation, Lincoln is reported to have quipped that since he was the president, it might have been better for God to have informed him.

Lincoln also refused to claim that God solely was on the side of the Union. The depth of his thought regarding both the war and America's purpose in the world can be seen in many places, including the Gettysburg Address. But it probably is best seen in his Second Inaugural Address. There Lincoln, like so few, saw the terrible complexities of war and national interest when he said:

> "Both sides [North and South] read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes."

One of the few American political leaders with a sense of the tragic in history, Lincoln would reflect critically on the events that had given rise to the war. Reflecting on the possibility that it indeed might be divine punishment for the evils of slavery, Lincoln would state in the Second Inaugural:

> "If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

The devastation wrought by the Civil War may seem to have borne out Lincoln's fear. In its effects on the South, it could be said that the wealth piled by slavery was indeed sunk. One-half of the South's farm machinery and one-third of its farm animals were destroyed in the war. The currency of the country was declared void and unredeemable. Its social and political structures were torn asunder. The elite of the country was disenfranchised, many were deprived of their citizenship or imprisoned. Combined with this, was the loss of those killed in the war (at least 250,000 or about 9 percent of the white male population), and those who emigrated after it, unable to face the prospect of life in a defeated country.

While the number and length of imprisonments were relatively short, Jefferson Davis, the longest imprisoned, served 18 months, the number disenfranchised and killed was enormous. Some of the Confederate high command, like Robert E. Lee, never regained the rights of citizenship while alive. Others, like Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederacy's secretary of state, and John C. Breckinridge, its secretary of war, emigrated to Europe. Six thousand Confederates went to Brazil, 2,000 to Mexico, and others to Venezuela and British Honduras.

The states of the former Confederacy were a conquered nation, unwilling hosts to an army of occupation. The unthinkable had happened. The cause was lost indeed, and the "infidel Yankee" and the formerly enslaved blacks were in the ascendant. The clouds no longer loomed on the horizon, the whirlwind had arrived.

White southerners were forced to make sense of how this could have transpired. What forces led to the defeat? Unable to accept that their cause had been wrong, southerners turned to theological interpretations. These interpretations became the core of the Lost

Cause Myth. Like much of American religion, this myth had both a Christian and "civil religion" element. In the more explicitly Christian elements, the myth saw the South's defeat as part of God's plan for the United States. Recognizing that the South remained the locus of true religion in the country, it had to be prevented from seceding so that the South and its citizens could be the source of religious revival for the wider United States. God had an important purpose for the Southern people and had to chastise them for their sins—like the Israelites of old—so that they could better serve God's will. Does not God chastise and test those whom God loves? Certainly! The South, therefore, had to remain in the Union in order that its pure orthodox religion could be used as an antidote to the theological liberalism, modernism, and unbelief rampant in the North.

RELIGION IN THE GILDED AGE

America in the Gilded Age definitely could have used some sort of antidote, although the one the South offered was no cure for the real ills. Between the end of the Civil War and WORLD WAR I, several major movements affected the United States and played major roles in its development. Preeminent among these was the massive influx of immigrants into the country. Between 1865 and 1918, almost 30 million people immigrated to the United States. These immigrants—Polish and Italian Catholics, Norwegian Lutherans, Russian Jews, Greek Orthodox, Bohemian freethinkers, Chinese Confucianists—would transform the American religious and cultural landscape. From New York City to Chicago, from the prairies of the Upper Midwest to the Pacific coast, these immigrants came with their religious, linguistic, and cultural traditions. These immigrants increased and expanded the religious diversity. In doing so, they faced a dual struggle. They had to find their place in the United States and had to find a place for the United States and its radically different social and political structure in their traditions.

In post-bellum America, these challenges were particularly acute for Roman Catholics. The Civil War had ended the anti-Catholic political movements of the antebellum era and the shared experience of fighting alongside each other had minimized the power of anti-Catholicism in general. When the Second Plenary Council of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States convened in Baltimore in 1866, President Andrew Johnson and other political notables attended its closing assembly.

Developments across the Atlantic in the Catholic Church, however, were moving in directions that would increase the suspicion that Catholicism was incompatible with republicanism and democracy. These movements from a Catholic Church that increasingly found itself both intellectually and physically under attack would show, to many at least, that the church was a vigorous opponent of freedom. Individuals could draw this conclusion from such official pronouncements as the *Syllabus of Errors* a papal encyclical issued in 1864. The following views were among those condemned by the *Syllabus.*

- Every man is free to embrace and profess that religion which, guided by the light of reason, he shall consider true.
- The Church has not the power of using force, nor has she any temporal power, direct or indirect.
- The Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church.
- In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion should be held as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship.
- Moreover, it is false that the civil liberty of every form of worship, and the

> full power, given to all, of overtly and publicly manifesting any opinions whatsoever and thoughts, conduce more easily to corrupt the morals and minds of the people, and to propagate the pest of indifferentism.

This encyclical was followed in 1868 by the convening of the First Vatican Council (see VATICAN COUNCIL I). This council had a major focus on strengthening the authority of the church and the papacy. It succeeded by approving the document *Pastor Aeternus* promulgating the doctrine of papal infallibility. The combination of that doctrine with the pope's continued assertion of his right to temporal authority and, indeed, that the Church's authority supersedes that of the state, would provide ammunition for anti-Catholics in their attacks on the church.

While the church would have its share of external challenges in the coming decades, larger challenges came from inside the church. Unlike other countries, the United States was the only place where large numbers of Catholics from different cultures actively interacted with one another. Different traditions, emphases, and languages struggled for control in Catholic parishes. The dominance of Irish Catholics among the bishops generated a great deal of suspicion. Germans, Italians, and others charged discrimination based on real and perceived affronts. These charges often brought in their fellow countrymen from Europe and, given the church's suspicion of the social and political environment in the United States and even the American Church hierarchy, complaints from Europe often received undeserved attention. One result was the struggle over what was known as CAHENSLYISM.

The American bishops generally supported the centralizing tendency in the church, feeling it aided them in organizing the complexities of the American situation. They differed with their European colleagues, however, in their view of the relationship of the church to the non-Catholic world.

This led to what is known as the "Americanist Crisis" in the church (see AMERICANISM). Led by Archbishop JOHN IRELAND and supported by the leading prelate of the American Church, JAMES GIBBONS, they believed that while all Catholics in the United States should conform to a single Catholic culture, this culture should be open to the possibilities and promises of the country. This singular culture would be both American and Catholic.

The Americanists, as they were known, also seemed to have the support of Pope Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903). By the mid-1890s this support began to dissipate. The papal encyclical *LONGINQUA OCEANI* (January 6, 1895) stated that, despite the church's growth in the United States, the church would be in a better position if it received legal and financial support from the government.

In January 1899 the pope officially condemned the "Americanist heresy," which purportedly taught that the Catholic Church should adjust its teachings to accommodate the modern world and to become more democratic. Fear of alienating the church's hierarchy led to a retrenchment by the American Church that resulted in over 50 years of intellectual and cultural insularity. If Catholics in the United States had to adjust culturally, linguistically, and religiously to the realities of this country while constantly looking over their shoulders at the European hierarchy, other immigrants shared many of the same difficulties. In the period following the Civil War, Orthodox Christians and Jews shared the same difficulties (absent centralized control) but with the added challenge of being very distinctive Christians or non-Christians in a demographically overwhelming Protestant Christian country.

Orthodox Christianity first made its way into what would become the United States as a result of Russian economic and imperial expansion into Alaska and, to a lesser extent, America's Pacific coast. Russian Orthodox missionaries gained numerous converts among Eskimos and Aleuts, but the expansion stopped there. Only with the tremendous expansion of immigration in the 19th century did Orthodox Christianity begin to grow substantially in the United States. Despite the fact that there were more than 5 million Orthodox Christians in the United States by 2007, American Orthodoxy has not received much attention by scholars. This is unfortunate because it represents a richly textured history and, along with the ANCIENT EASTERN CHURCHES, an American connection to the oldest churches in Christian history.

The richness of this history and texture, however, also makes it difficult to write a coherent history of the Orthodoxy in the United States. Unlike the Catholic Church, there is no central hierarchy. While the Orthodox patriarch in Constantinople (now Istanbul) is the titular head of Orthodox Christianity, the various churches themselves are autocephalous ("self-headed," or self-governed). Currently, the recognized autocephalous Orthodox Churches include the Greek Orthodox Church (in various patriarchates, including Constantinople); the historical patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; the national churches in Russia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Albania, Cyprus, Poland; and the Church of the Czech Lands and Slovakia. The Russian Orthodox Church recognizes the ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA as autocephalous, although the ecumenical patriarchate does not. Additionally, several churches, including the Macedonian and Montenegrin Orthodox, have declared themselves autocephalous but are not recognized as such by the other churches.

These developments, however, lay in the future. For in 1865 most of Orthodox Christianity found itself under the control of the Ottoman Empire, with the major exceptions being the Russian and Georgian Churches (which after 1811 had come under control of the Russian Church) and the independent part of Greece. (The Polish as well as the Czech and Slovak Churches have been numerically small.) Nearly all were under the control of the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople. (The Serbian Church regained its autocephalous status only in 1879, the Romanian Church in 1885.) During this time, most Orthodox Christians also found themselves living in a part of the world undergoing tremendous upheaval. Demands for freedom and independence among the peoples of the multinational empires of Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottomans led to numerous uprisings and rebellions. Beginning with the Greek rebellion in 1821 and ending with the collapse of all three empires as a result of World War I, central, eastern, and southern Europe experienced nearly a century of wars and conflicts. The borders of these empires constantly were in flux. Some of these areas, particularly in Greece, Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro, achieved independence through combinations of local uprisings and support by external powers, often the Russian Empire, which increasingly defended its aggressive foreign policy by claiming to be the protector of Orthodox Christians. This chaos led many individuals to immigrate to the United States—Greeks, Serbs, Russians, and Romanians from Europe, Syrians and Lebanese from the Middle East. They brought their Orthodoxy with them. Even more than Catholics, however, for many of these individuals, religious identity was intimately linked with ethnic identity, with language and culture. This sense of identity hindered attempts to create a unified Orthodoxy in America. Another hindrance emerged from the continuing power of political conflicts in the home countries. Greeks in the United States would split between monarchists and antimonarchists. Macedonians split between Bulgarian and Serbian sympathizers. And many would look suspiciously upon the actions of the Russians.

The Russians, however, had an advantage in developing Orthodoxy in the United States. Russia was the one international power where Orthodoxy was the state religion, and the Russian Church had the resources to support Orthodox Christianity throughout the world. Such support meshed with the ideology of pan-Slavism, which increasingly dominated the Russian royal court and included not only support for Orthodox Christianity but also provided a rationale for Russian incursion into Ottoman territories.

The Russian Orthodox Church initially had some success with these endeavors. Although opposed by the Greek community, it did manage to incorporate Slavic, Syrian, and Georgian Orthodox communities into ethnic parishes within Russian-dominated archdiocese. Money from the czar also helped to build churches in the United States, including one of most beautiful churches in the country, the Louis Sullivan designed Holy Trinity Cathedral in Chicago (consecrated in 1903).

This movement toward a consolidated Orthodox Church in the United States under the control of Russians collapsed from two causes. First, as countries in eastern Europe began to achieve their political independence—Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria—resistance to religious subjugation, whether of Greeks or Russians, became part of their nationalist project. The Serbian Orthodox Church was seen as an integral part of Serbian identity. The same was true for the other churches. As they obtained (or regained) their autocephalous status in their newly independent countries, it seemed unreasonable for them to be subject to other churches in the United States. These churches increasingly separated from Russian control and organized in specific archdiocese, usually under the authority of the national church.

More devastating, however, was the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Communist dictatorship that followed (see COMMUNISM). The replacement of the Orthodox Christian Russian Empire with an expressly atheistic regime ended financial support for Orthodoxy abroad and cut American Russian Orthodoxy off from the homeland. It also led to divisions in Russian Orthodoxy in the United States. Three separate entities emerged. One small group continued its ties to the Moscow patriarchate, isolated and persecuted by the Communist government. A second group affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. The largest group, however, affiliated with the "free" Russian Orthodox Church. In 1920, the patriarch of Moscow, Tikhon (who previously had served as bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church's North American Diocese and had consecrated Holy Trinity in Chicago), issued a decree authorizing dioceses outside what had become the Soviet Union to organize themselves autonomously until they could resume normal communications and relations with the church in Russia (see ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA). Shortly thereafter, a council of hierarchs, clergy, and parish delegates from the United States and Canada decided that the church in North America was unable to maintain administrative ties with the church in Russia and created the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America (the Metropolia). By that time, Patriarch Tikhon had been arrested by the Communist government. Stripped of his position by the Communists in 1923, he continued to serve until his death in 1925. In 1981, Patriarch Tikhon was glorified as a saint by the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia as part of the "Great Glorification of the New Martyrs and Confessors of the Soviet Yoke." This was recognized in 1989 by the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia.

Following World War I and the reshuffling of national boundaries that followed, orthodoxy in the United States also went through a period of reorganization. The weakness of the Russian Church—the (re)emergence of national churches—led to the development of ethnic dioceses and archdioceses. Also, the effective end of immigration from central, eastern, and southern Europe in 1924 led to a process of consolidation and organization. Local parishes increasingly focused on education, striving to ensure that youth received not only religious instruction but also language and cultural training they felt was central to maintaining identity and religion in a country where, despite being part of the Christian majority, their practices and traditions often were viewed as alien.

The struggle to find a way as a member of "different" religious tradition played a major role in the history of Jews and Judaism in the United States. Like Slavs, Italians, Norwegians, and others, Jews immigrated in droves to the United States following the American Civil War. Between 1880 and 1920, the Jewish population in the United States grew from 250,000 to nearly 3.5 million. These immigrants overwhelmingly came from eastern Europe and differed greatly from the Sephardic and German Jews who had predominated in America. Like Catholics, Jews had to deal with cultural and linguistic variations that were relatively unknown in their countries of origin. Unlike Catholics, they had no central source of authority, and synagogues and organizations began to divide by region, variations in practice, and even over the very nature of Judaism. By 1888, Judaism in the United States had become separated into the branches of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform that exist today (see CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM; ORTHODOX JUDAISM; REFORM JUDAISM).

Eastern European Jews came to the United States not only with the tradition of Orthodox religion, but a large minority came with a background in radical politics. Increasing political and economic pressures on the eastern European Jewish community had transformed large segments of that community into urban industrial workers. This not only weakened religious practice but pushed many into the various socialist movements of eastern Europe. Simultaneously, increasing anti-Semitism drove many toward nationalistic expressions, preeminently to ZIONISM—the movement for the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

Both of these strains were viewed with suspicion by the older members of the Jewish community in the United States. They feared that the apparent radicalism of these immigrants would damage the standing of the community, especially at a time when America was experiencing its first true manifestations of anti-Semitism, driven by the emergence of "scientific racism" and the class politics of America's Gilded Age.

Additionally, the Zionist inclinations of some of these new immigrants flew directly in the face of what the American Reform movement stood for, having renounced the desire for the restoration of a Jewish state in Palestine. In 1897, the CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, the organization of Reform rabbis, adopted a resolution officially condemning Zionism.

These eastern European Jews not only transformed American Judaism, they were themselves transformed by America. Orthodoxy itself, one might argue, is an American phenomenon. Previously, there was only Judaism. Orthodoxy as a self-conscious position became necessary only when other options (other than conversion) emerged. And in America there were options. Religiously, the result of the immigration was not only an expansion in the number of Orthodox congregations in the United States but also growth in the numbers of Conservative and Reformed, as the immigrants, or their children, moved into these less restrictive environments.

There was also a massive increase in the numbers of religiously unaffiliated Jews. The breakdown of traditional community structures caused by immigration and the absence of a legally defined status for the Jews in the United States was disruptive for many immigrants. The maintenance of the Jewish dietary laws, religious practice, avoidance of work on the Sabbath (Saturday) slid away as one tried to "fit in" to American society. For example, a 1935 survey of New York City youth between the ages of 15 and 25 discovered that 72 percent of Jewish males and 78 percent of Jewish females had not attended a religious service in the past year.

A small number of Jews arrived at this position via the route of classical Reform. Having stripped away from Judaism nearly all of its traditional religious elements, some found only emptiness and wandered off in other directions. FELIX ADLER founded the Ethical Culture Society (see ETHICAL CULTURE) on just such a basis.

A larger number came to that position through radical politics and secular Zionism. These people did not, however, leave their Jewishness. In fact, the latter movement was deeply connected with the affirmation of Jewish culture and Jewish identity. Zionism revived Hebrew as a spoken language, revitalized the study of Jewish history (albeit with an ideological intent), and emphasized pride in Jewish cultural identity.

Socialism also could be fused with a sense of Jewish identity, as the number of Yiddish worker's circles and the *Jewish Daily Forward* (a Yiddish-language socialist paper) attest. Both Zionism and socialism could be fused in movements such as Ha Shomer Hatzair, which, while committed to a militantly secular version of Zionism, strongly affirmed connections with Jewish history and identity.

Most immigrants, or their children, who drifted into irreligion did so for none of these reasons. They did so because it was easy. In America, where no one imposed any practices and where other options existed for affirming one's Jewish identity, religion seemed much less relevant, especially when following the religious laws seemed to limit social advancement.

Despite these pressures, the various branches of Judaism in the United States achieved significant success in establishing and developing the organizational and institutional structures necessary to sustain Judaism as a religion. Reform Judaism was by far the most active and successful in this regard. Much more attuned to the contemporary situation and dominated by ISAAC MAYER WISE, Reform Judaism had established the three main pillars of the denomination by 1890. These were the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) in 1875, Hebrew Union College (HUC) in 1877, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1889.

Conservative Judaism lagged slightly behind Reform. To some extent this lag was due to the expressed goal that the UAHC and the HUC would not be denomination specific. Variations in practice, however, between Reform Judaism and more traditional Jews ended that, and in 1887 a group of more traditional Jews opened Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City to train rabbis. Graduates of this school formed an alumni association in 1901 that in 1913 became the Rabbinical Association of America. Not until 1913 did this movement receive an institutional form, with the creation of the United Synagogue of America. Designed to serve as an umbrella for all congregations, it eventually became viewed as simply another denomination within Judaism, a fact which it finally acknowledged in 1990 by renaming itself the UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM.

Orthodox Judaism, however, had a much more difficult time organizing modern institutional structures in the United States. Much of this difficulty resulted from the reluctance of more traditional Jews from eastern Europe to adopt new models. Any alteration in "tradition" invariably was viewed with suspicion. Additionally, internal conflicts and disagreements thwarted attempts in various cities to appoint a chief rabbi along the European model. These conflicts were sufficiently overcome in 1897 to establish a rabbinical training academy in New York City, the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, although the school struggled for years. The leading association of Orthodox

Jewish synagogues was created in 1898, as the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (now known as the Orthodox Union). They also established the Union of Orthodox Rabbis in 1901.

Judaism in the United States, until the effective end of immigration in 1924, remained in a constant state of flux. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants poured into the country requiring housing, jobs, and education. The more established Jewish communities struggled to assist them in meeting those needs and adjusting to the American context, which differed radically from the Russian "Pale of Settlement," whence many of these immigrants came. The dynamic nature of the community, as it became 14 times its previous size, overwhelmed existing structures, while new organizational forms would be constantly struggling to keep up. Despite this struggle, however, the period between the Civil War and World War I demonstrated at least the ability of the United States to absorb those whose religious and cultural traditions were outside the American mainstream.

While the United States had the ability to incorporate peoples from a wide variety of traditions, that ability was not always acted upon. If one were to turn one's attention to the western coast of the United States and the immigration from Asia, the refusal to do so becomes quite visible, as the resistance to immigrants from China, Japan, and India often manifested itself with express racism and violence.

When most people think of 19th-century immigration to the United States, images of Ellis Island teeming with eastern, central, and southern European immigrants come to mind. Most think of Italians, Poles, Jews, and Greeks settling in America's growing cities or Norwegians and Danes in the Upper Midwest. It is easy to forget that during the 19th century, the United States saw a very different process of immigration from Asia, including from China, Japan, Korea, and India. These immigrants also settled in this country and brought with them their religious and cultural traditions. In doing so they met with even greater hostility, resentment, and violence than European immigrants and were the subject of legal attempts to prevent their entry into the country.

While stories abound of Chinese admirals, Muslim sailors, and even Japanese reaching America centuries before Columbus, and some immigrants from Asia arrived throughout the period of colonization, most Asian immigrants, like those from central, eastern, and southern Europe, began coming in the mid-19th century. The first wave of these immigrants, mostly Chinese but Japanese and Koreans as well, came with the discovery of gold in California (1848). Successive waves following the Civil War came to serve as laborers on the railroad and moved on to work the regions fruit and vegetable farms.

As did all other immigrants, they brought with them their cultural and religious traditions, establishing temples, cultural associations, and businesses serving the community. Given their status as recent arrivals, they also tended to move into businesses underserved by the wider community. Their successes in these enterprises often created jealously and hostility, which was exacerbated by racism and religious hostility.

In the years before the Civil War, the American Party had gained prominence for its opposition to immigration, primarily from Catholic Europe. Although hostility towards Catholic immigration persisted throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, nativists on the West Coast saw greater menace in immigration from Asia.

While one could argue that Catholic immigrants at least seemed to share a common European, Christian culture with Protestant, white Americans, Asian immigrants seemingly had little in common, either culturally or religiously. These religious and cultural elements formed a large part of their collective identity, and, as was true for most all other immigrants, they had little desire to sacrifice this heritage as they brought their BUDDHISM, Confucianism, and TAOISM with them. For those Americans who understood the United States to be a Christian country, the arrival of such a large number of non-Christian immigrants was troubling. The appearance of Buddhist and Confucian temples and shrines gave the impression that alien religions were taking over the country.

The 1868 Burlingame Treaty between China and the United States guaranteed Chinese the right to open, voluntary immigration; immigration opponents quickly moved to oppose it. Although these immigrants could not become citizens because the Naturalization Act of 1790 and its successor of 1795 limited naturalization to whites, their children born in the United States were citizens under the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT (ratified 1868). The increasing numbers of immigrants led to growing hostility, and the 1870s saw the formation of numerous "anti-coolie clubs," boycotts of Chinese-American businesses, and state anti-immigration laws. In 1879, the California Constitution called for the creation of Chinese ghettoes and denied Chinese Americans equal protection and the right to vote, the latter in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment. That same year, a referendum revealed that 94 percent of the state's residents opposed Chinese immigration. Hostility to Chinese, as well as other Asian immigrants to the United States, was driven primarily by the fact that they were not white and not Christians. They seemed to be foreigners of the most disturbing type, worshipping strange gods in strange ways, and many American communities, particularly in the West, wanted them gone.

The history of the violence directed against Asian, particularly Chinese, immigrants in the 19th century deserves attention because it illustrates the destructive power of religious violence, from which the United States mostly has been spared. Some might ask whether religious or racial hostility drove this violence. To a great extent this question is unanswerable. Asian immigrants were targeted because of who they were and, to a great extent, because they were, in the eyes of most Americans, not Christians but pagans, heathens, and idolaters.

Early Chinese immigrants sought work primarily in mining and railroad construction. The opposition and discrimination they encountered in these fields, and the desire to establish their own businesses, however, led them to move into other areas. Many turned to laundry work, to obtain their livelihoods. Laundries had low start-up costs and little contact with whites. By 1900, roughly one in four employed Chinese-American males worked in, or owned, a laundry. Initially, Chinese Americans faced little competition in household industries, since white men viewed such labor as demeaning "women's work." But as these Chinese laundries prospered, whites grew resentful. Not content to establish their own businesses, they also sought to drive out the Chinese.

The Anti-Chinese and Workingmen's Protective Laundry Association was one of several groups that arose in late 19th-century America designed to limit the economic opportunities of Chinese immigrants. Incorporated in San Jose, California, in 1876, the Association sought to drive Chinese workers from one of the few sectors of the economy open to them. In doing so, it used economic motives to play on fears of Chinese immigrants rooted in racial, cultural, and religious prejudices.

The association's mission was "to carry on the laundry business in all of its branches, in opposition to the Chinese laundry men and wash houses of the City of San Jose and vicinity, and in the employment of white men and women in the said business, and the accumulation of property and capital for the purpose of carrying the business on successfully to the exclusion of Mongolian labor under the articles of this incorporation." While not the first attempt to restrict Chinese-Americans' economic opportunities, it dramatically escalated earlier attempts and soon forced many Chinese-American laundries in San Jose and the surrounding areas out of business. Boycotts became a popular weapon and reached as far east as Wichita, Kansas, where an 1886 boycott of Chinese-American laundries drove most of them from the city.

San Francisco, which often served as the epicenter of anti-Asian sentiment in the United States, passed a series of laundry ordinances requiring laundries owned by Chinese Americans to pay higher taxes than their competitors and restricting the types of buildings used as laundries. These ordinances were just a few of many discriminatory laws passed by the city in the early 1870s. Others regulated the size of housing in which immigrants lived and worked, while the "Sidewalk Ordinance" even forbade the use of poles, a common Chinese technique for carrying heavy loads, on sidewalks.

The association and its sympathizers did not limit themselves to advocating for discriminatory laws and boycotts. In San Francisco in 1877, a mob destroyed several Chinese-American laundries during a three-day rampage. The riots and physical attacks on Chinese increased in virulence throughout the 1880s, despite the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States. Chinese communities were harassed, attacked, and even expelled throughout the West, destroying millions of dollars of Chinese-American property. California, Washington, Nevada, Wyoming, and Colorado were among the states that saw attacks on settled Chinese communities. One of the most violent attacks occurred in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, when an attack by 150 armed white men against Chinese miners left 28 dead and hundreds of Chinese driven out of town.

The Rock Springs riot catalyzed further anti-Chinese violence. In October of that year, Seattle's Chinatown was burned. The next month a mob in the hundreds led by the mayor, the sheriff, the head of the Young Men's Christian Association, and other notables expelled the Chinese from Tacoma and then moved on to force similar expulsions in smaller towns. One eyewitness wrote with glee that "Tacoma will be sans Chinese, sans pigtails, sans moon-eye, sans wash-house, sans joss-house, sans everything Mongolian. . . ." The violence became so great that President Grover Cleveland sent the army to Seattle and Tacoma to suppress the riots.

Apologies to the Chinese emperor followed, and reparations eventually were paid to the Chinese government for the property destroyed, although individuals did not receive the money. Most interestingly, Chinese Americans responded to the discriminatory acts with a series of lawsuits, particularly against the discriminatory ordinances in San Francisco. The most prominent case involved Yick Wo, a laundryman who refused to pay a fine assessed against him for operating a laundry in a wooden building. In its decision (*Yick Wo v. Hopkins* [1886]) the U.S. Supreme Court ruled for the first time that a law neutral on its face when applied in a discriminatory manner violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Eventually, lawsuits filed by Chinese Americans and their allies succeeded in overturning all but the Sidewalk Ordinance.

While the Chinese Exclusion Act managed to curtail drastically the number of Chinese immigrating to the United States, other Asians continued their immigration, in fact began it. Only in 1884, when an agreement was signed between the Japanese government and Hawaiian sugar growers, were Japanese laborers legally allowed to leave the country. A similar agreement was signed by the Korean and United States governments in 1882. While the initial waves of immigrants from both countries landed in Hawaii, some eventually made their way to the mainland United States, and immigration increased throughout the rest of the century and into the 20th. The result was similar to that experienced by the Chinese. The combination of racial and religious prejudice and economic fear led to demands for limits on immigration and the creation of organizations, led primarily by labor unions, designed to achieve that goal. One such organization, the Asiatic Exclusion League, also known as the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, was established by a series of West Coast trade union representatives in 1905.

The Asiatic Exclusion League's immediate goals were to spread anti-Asian propaganda and to lobby for legislation limiting Asian immigration. Many Americans shared these aims, and within three years of the league's founding, it reported 231 affiliated organizations, almost 200 of which were labor unions.

One of its first campaigns agitated for the segregation of all Asians in San Francisco's public schools. Success in this effort emboldened it to lobby for more restrictive legislation against Asians and to publish a newsletter. The league suffered a major setback when reports of the harassment and discrimination against Japanese Americans in San Francisco appeared in the Tokyo press. When reports made their way to Washington, President Theodore Roosevelt, who personally opposed such discrimination, authorized the army to protect Japanese Americans and threatened a federal lawsuit against the San Francisco school board. Despite this setback, the league continued to enjoy broad public support, although its strength was in organized labor.

The Asiatic Exclusion League expressed the racism and xenophobia prominent in both Canada and the United States during the latter part of the 19th century. Anti-Asian sentiment led to discriminatory laws and immigration policies, to harassment, and violence.

Such xenophobia found widespread expression in popular media. In late March, 1910, *Collier's National Weekly,* one of the most respected and widely read periodicals in the United States, published an article entitled "Hindu Invasion." Tucked between articles on current events and politics, the piece sounded a dire warning about the dangers of immigration from India. "Hindu Invasion" was just one of many similar articles that appeared throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These articles warned that the "Hindus" threatened America's national identity because of their inability, and unwillingness, to assimilate. Their culture, habits, and, above all, their religion, such articles argued, made them too different ever to be real Americans.

The "Hindu Invasion" followed an announcement by the Asiatic Exclusion League that the Hindu population of California had reached 10,000 and was growing rapidly. During one week in February alone, the league declared, 327 "turbaned immigrants" had arrived from India. The league demanded "relief from this Hindu invasion, which is beginning to assume alarming proportions." The article's author, certain that most Californians endorsed such a move, acknowledged that fear of economic competition played a large role in opposition to immigrants. Although it declared that the Hindus were "indifferent laborers," their willingness to work for low wages—a practice that undercut the wages white workers demanded—made them popular with employers. The article speculated that employers, particularly on the railroads, were importing the immigrants in order to circumvent labor laws.

Economics was not the biggest concern, however. Far more was endangered by the "Hindu invasion." The article implied that California, and eventually the entire nation, would soon be swamped. It declared that Indians outnumbered all other Asian immigrants and that "Hindu towns" were popping up across San Francisco. A photograph of several turbaned men in San Francisco accompanied the article. The caption claimed that while a few years ago the sight of a turban would have drawn a crowd, it had become commonplace. The article also quoted an immigrant who, when asked where he was from, replied, "I am Indiaman," adding ominously, "By and by you see plenty more."

The numbers alarmed the author of "Hindu Invasion" because of their character and their religious practices. He quoted crews on the ships transporting the immigrants to America as calling them an "unmitigated nuisance." They came from a variety of different castes and religions, each with its own intricate rules and customs to which they rigorously adhered. For religious reasons, primarily the limits on social interactions between castes and with non-Hindus, many refused to eat the food aboard ship and insisted on preparing their own meals. If denied this option, they would choose to starve rather than break caste. The author interpreted this, not as a sign of religious devotion, but rather as a mark of stubbornness, complaining that the Indians "make no effort to adapt themselves to their surroundings." The caption of an additional photograph accompanying the article, showing a group of turbaned immigrants aboard ship summarized the nativist argument: "They manifest no interest in the country or its customs . . . [they are] sullen and uncompromising in adhering to their habits." The Hindus, the article strongly implied, never would adapt to the United States and its traditions, but would, by sheer numbers, force America to adapt to them.

Warning against America being transformed by strange peoples with odd (if not outright dangerous) beliefs and religions has been a constant refrain of nativists from the beginning of the republic. While absurd, it does point out a very real fear of changes in an idealized picture of the way the "world always has been," despite the fact that from colonial times America always has been changing and adapting to new arrivals and new ideas.

Following the Civil War, the United States experienced innumerable new ideas and radical social changes. Religiously one of the most significant of these events was the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, which was held September 1893 in Chicago, Illinois, in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition. It is no exaggeration to state that it was the broadest gathering of religious leaders in the world's history up to that time, exceeding even the religious disputations organized by the great khans. Representatives from the United States included JOHN CARDINAL GIBBONS, KAUFMANN KOHLER, Lyman Abbot, Julia Ward Howe, Frederick Douglass, PHILIP SCHAFF, and the United States' first documented convert to ISLAM, MUHAMMAD ALEXANDER RUSSEL WEBB. Delegates from across the globe included representatives of Orthodox Christianity, the BAHÁ'Í FAITH, Zoroastrianism, Islam, Shinto, TAOISM, BUDDHISM, HINDUISM, and the Confucian tradition. Several of the Buddhist and Hindu representatives would prove to have a major influence on the United States. Among the Buddhist representatives were ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA and the ZEN master Stoyen Shaku, who, following his return to Japan, would send his student D. T. SUZUKI to the United States to continue his work. The Hindu representatives included SWAMI VIVIKENANDA. Dharmapala, Suzuki, and Vivikenanda all played a major role in introducing Asian religions into the United States.

While these missionaries achieved only modest success in terms of converts, they had a notable influence on American intellectual life and built on a cultural current that reached back at least to the transcendentalists (see TRANSCENDENTALISM). This influence found a visible religious presence in the emergence of THEOSOPHY. The encounter with these religions on an intimate basis also affected many Protestant missionaries (see MISSIONS, FOREIGN). Some Protestants increasingly accepted the religious legitimacy of these traditions and challenged the emphasis on conversion within the mission enterprise. This debate soon split the Protestant missionary movement, with many asking whether there might not be elements of truth in Asian religions and whether collaboration might not be more appropriate than conversion.

In 1925, E. S. Jones, a Methodist missionary who had gone to India in 1907, published *The Christ of the Indian Road*, in which he argued that Christians could learn a great deal from Hinduism. Those seeking a new approach to foreign missions embraced Jones and others like him, but many others denounced them vociferously. In 1912, Mabel Potter Daggett staked out the reactionary position with her article "The Heathen Invasion of America." Daggett argued that Hinduism was anti-woman and claimed that swamis were robbing unsuspecting American women of their money, sanity, and, sometimes, even their virginity. The fear that exotic religions threatened American womanhood was a familiar theme in American religious literature. Throughout the 19th century, critics had claimed that Catholics imprisoned women in convents; they denounced Mormon polygamy as unjust to women; and they worried that new sects exercised hypnotic power over feeble female minds.

Critics leveled the same charges against Asian religions with similar success. Just as Maria Monk had spawned a host of "convent tales" with her "exposé" of Catholic iniquity, Daggett inspired a series of imitators, most notably Katherine Mayo, whose 1927 work *Mother India* attacked Hinduism for its perceived offenses against women.

Mersene Sloan's *The Indian Menace* undoubtedly was the most influential of these books. Sloan had harsh words for Hinduism, describing it as "superstitious bondage to forms of idol-worship" and calling for laws barring swamis from entering the country. Like Daggett and Mayo, he also described incidents of yogis swindling wealthy women and blamed "eastern cults" for "the prevalence of present-day sex debauchery." Sloan saved his sharpest criticism, however, for his fellow Protestants. "It is amazing," Sloan wrote, "how people who profess to follow Jesus Christ as the only and sufficient world-saviour look to and welcome, even run after, the 'Light of Asia' as the world's hope." He argued that openness to Asian religions threatened the foundation of Christian faith, for it implied "a failure of the New Testament to completely meet human needs." Sloan denounced interreligious gatherings such as the Parliament of Religions at which "high-brows from modern colleges" and "mollycoddle jellyfish" modernists asserted the equal validity of all religions. "All roads do not lead to Heaven. Christ is *the* door, not just one of a number," he insisted.

The Indian Menace was part of the longstanding fight to define the religious character of America. Sloan's book, although focused on a different subject, echoed earlier fears of "exotic" religions. His book also anticipated arguments that reemerged in the 1970s, when many critics would accuse Asian "cults" such as the Hare Krishna movement (see INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS), of brainwashing unsuspecting Americans. Perhaps even more important, however, he reflected a growing rift in American Protestantism between those who understood Christianity as one world religion among many and those who maintained its exclusive claim to truth and salvation. Finally, Sloan also articulated a rear-guard (and eventually losing) conception of religious freedom when he wrote, "The men who established our institutions knew nothing of the diabolical things parading under the guise of religion. Provision for free exercise of religion did not anticipate such hideous perversions as are now so active." Throughout the remainder of the 20th century, the courts would articulate a radically different view of "free exercise," making it increasingly clear that the government had no role in determining what constituted a "true" religion, despite the growing presence of religious traditions and practices that many viewed, not only as alien, but also harmful and destructive (see ANTI-CULT MOVEMENT).

The prototype of the successful Hindu missionary or "swami" that Sloan would have banned from the United States was Swami Vivekananda, who had come to address the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago as an ambassador for the Ramakrishna movement. His subsequent nationwide tour made him an instant celebrity and helped make Hinduism more than an alien exotic in the United States.

Vivekananda was a crowd favorite in Chicago. One convert testified to his charisma, characterizing him as a "forceful, virile figure." Another witness described the effect of his speeches, declaring that the, "silver-tongued Swami served for Hindustan in the capacity of John the Baptist, and his proved to be the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

Vivekananda toured the United States after the parliament, giving public lectures and talks. During an 1894 stop in New York City, he established the Vedanta Society, the first Hindu organization specifically designed to attract Americans of European descent, in part by training them as Hindu missionaries and teachers.

The following year, he led the first yoga class ever held in the United States. His fame eventually became so great that he became the subject of a Broadway play. Vivekananda returned to India after several years, but the Vedanta Society continued in his absence.

As a member of the first generation of Asian missionaries to America, Vivekananda represented a turning point in American religious history. The United States was no longer an exporter of religion, namely Christianity, but an importer. Vivekananda's reception, along with the entire World's Parliament, revealed both Americans' openness to other religions and their lingering suspicions and prejudices. In his speeches to the parliament, Vivekananda explicitly criticized Christian missionaries for misrepresenting Hinduism to Americans and felt compelled to defend Hinduism from charges of polytheism and idolatry.

The Vedanta Society drew people who had long been attracted to Asian beliefs, particularly adherents of NEW THOUGHT, Theosophy, and Unitarianism. It also encountered numerous critics who denounced the "Asian menace." Many criticisms consisted of innuendoes that pointed out that Vivekananda's converts were overwhelmingly female and often quite wealthy. The insinuations behind this observation were clear and would be repeated over the coming decades.

An Indian journalist and activist, Krishnalal Shridharani, blamed the problems on Americans themselves, arguing that in their ignorance Americans stereotyped all Asians as contemplatives and so fell for every spiritual scam. Not all Indians, he pointed out, were swamis or yogis. Like people everywhere, they were composed of individuals of different character. Not all were completely otherworldly, but lived in the same material world as Americans, with physical desires, personal weaknesses, and political views.

Immigrants to the United States not only tended to bring their religions and cultures with them, they also brought their political views and positions. These views often had importance in American domestic politics. Throughout the 19th century, the conflict in Ireland played a major role in American foreign policy. When Asian immigrants arrived in the United States, they also brought their political struggles with them. Americans' ignorance of the world hindered their ability to understand these struggles and even the participants. A powerful example of this was the emergence of the Ghadar Party. Established in June 1913, the Ghadar Party was an anti-British political movement of Indian immigrants living on the west coast of the United States and Canada. The movement, also known as the Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast, took its name from an Urdu and Punjabi word meaning "mutiny" or "revolt," and it sought the overthrow of British rule in India. The party published its weekly paper, *The Ghadar*, in San Francisco.

The overwhelming majority of its membership came from the Punjab, and most were Sikhs (see SIKHISM). Despite this Sikh dominance, the party was strongly secular and inclusive. Religion, however, did play an indirect role in the party's origins. American observers were generally oblivious to the Indians' identities and often labeled the party a collection of "Hindoos," despite the predominance of Sikhs. This ignorance, along with discrimination against Indian immigrants, largely rooted in religious prejudice and fears that they would corrupt Christian America, prepared the ground in which the party's nationalist propaganda took root. Many Indians linked the oppression they encountered in the United States and Canada to British control of India.

The Ghadar movement received a huge boost following the *Komagata Maru* incident in 1914. The *Komagata Maru*, a Japanese steamer, arrived in British Columbia carrying 376 Punjabi immigrants. When Canadian authorities refused to allow the Indians to land, citing exclusion laws meant to limit Asian immigration, a standoff ensued. This prompted Indians in Canada and the United States to organize demonstrations against this treatment. When Canadian officials moved against the ship, violence broke out, with the Indians hurling coal and bricks at the police. The *Komagata Maru* eventually was forced to return to India with most of the would-be immigrants. When it arrived in Calcutta, British authorities put the passengers under armed guard, prompting further violence that left 20 passengers dead.

In response, 60 members of the Ghadar Party in the United States sailed from San Francisco in hopes of initiating a rebellion in India. British spies were among the hundreds who joined in the attempt, and authorities arrested nearly all the Ghadarists the moment they arrived in India. Despite this setback, between 1913 and 1917, the party launched a wave of bombings and assassinations against British institutions and officials in India. Although grandiose plans for a revolutionary army never materialized, the party established branches throughout Asia, Africa, and the Americas from which it spread its message.

During World War I German agents, keenly aware of Indian nationalist societies like the Ghadar Party, were eager to help them subvert the British Empire. Germany funded the party and encouraged its militancy. The British repeatedly demanded that the U.S. government suppress the party's activities, arguing that the United States violated its neutrality by allowing Germany to conspire with the Indians on American soil.

By the time of the U.S. entry into the war in 1917, fear of German subversion combined with hostility towards immigrants and radicals changed the government's view of the party's efforts, and authorities undertook to arrest several Indian nationalists. Eventually more than 100 were taken into custody, and 25 were eventually tried for conspiracy, including nine Germans, nine Americans, and 17 Indians. The "Hindu Conspiracy Trial," as it became known, captivated the public. Many sympathized with the defendants, who compared their struggle with the American Revolution. The defendants produced articles from the *The Ghadar* quoting Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson. Following a trial lasting five months, the defendants were found guilty of violating America's neutrality. Much to the displeasure of the British, however, the Indian defendants were not deported, but rather sentenced to short prison terms. Although the party would continue in existence until 1947 in various forms, it never regained its pre–World War I strength. While it existed, however, it both helped to spread the nationalist sentiment that contributed to

India's independence and served an important function for expatriate Indians by offering them a way of strengthening their identities and resisting the hostility and prejudice they faced in the United States.

These conflicting views of Asian religions and Asian immigrants themselves reflects the divided consciousness of America's Gilded Age. The growth of industry and the transformation of American cities as a result of the influx of individuals moving from America's rural areas and owing to foreign immigration well represented the flux in which the country found itself. During this time, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and others who have since become known as "robber barons" amassed vast fortunes. American workers and farmers increasingly overwhelmed by economic forces over which they had little control began to agitate for unionization and for more aggressive governmental responses.

While many of these movements were influenced by European radicalism with its antireligious bias, other movements, such as the Populists and the wing of the Democratic Party led by WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, had a strong religious component. Bryan's rhetoric was filled with Christian imagery as witnessed by what is arguably one of the most famous speeches in American history, Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech from the 1896 Democratic Party convention. There, Bryan declared, "we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of the nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

Within organized religion the split also was visible. On one hand there were those such as RUSSELL CONWELL, the founder of Temple University and a Baptist minister. Best known for his "Acres of Diamonds" lecture in which he said to his audience, "you ought to get rich, and it is our duty to get rich. How many of my pious brethren say to me, 'Do you, a Christian minister, spend your time going up and down the country advising young people to get rich, to get money?' 'Yes, of course I do.' They say, 'Isn't that awful! Why don't you preach the gospel instead of preaching about man's making money?' 'Because to make money honestly is to preach the gospel.'"

Although the main thrust of Conwell's argument was that success depended less upon what one had and where one went than upon the application of oneself and one's skills to the current situation, the lecture has been remembered more for statements such as:

> "Money is power, and you ought to be reasonably ambitious to have it. You ought because you can do more good with it than you could without it. Money printed your Bible, money builds your churches, money sends your missionaries, and money pays your preachers, and you would not have many of them, either, if you did not pay them. I am always willing that my church should raise my salary, because the church that pays the largest salary always raises it the easiest. You never knew an exception to it in your life. The man who gets the largest salary can do the most good with the power that is furnished to him. Of course he can if his spirit be right to use it for what it is given to him. I say, then, you ought to have money. If you can honestly attain unto riches in Philadelphia, it is our Christian and godly duty to do so."

For many, such claims seemed to be nothing more than a Christian baptism of the excesses of the Gilded Age. Despite Conwell's insistence on money honestly gotten and his opposition to inherited wealth, the message that many took away was that wealth was proof of godliness and poverty. A listener could hardly think otherwise when Conwell declared:

> Some men say, 'Don't you sympathize with the poor people?' of course I do, or else I would not have been lecturing these years. I won't give in but what I sympathize with the poor, but the number of poor who are to be sympathized with is very small. To sympathize with a man whom God has punished for his sins, thus to help him when God would still continue a just punishment, is to do wrong, no doubt about it, and we do that more than we help those who are deserving. While we should sympathize with God's poor-that is, those who cannot help themselves-let us remember that there is not a poor person in the United States who was not made poor by his own shortcomings, or by the shortcomings of some one else. It is all wrong to be poor, anyhow.

At the other end of the religious response to poverty and the social dislocation of the Gilded Age was the emergence of the Christian movement known as the SOCIAL GOSPEL. Having its origins in the teachings of SOLOMON WASHINGTON GLADDEN, a Congregational minister in Columbus, Ohio, the Social Gospel believed that the teachings of Christianity could be applied to the social problems faced by the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Other influential leaders of the movement included JOSIAH STRONG and CHARLES M. SHELDON, the author of *In His Steps*. The individual most associated with the Social Gospel, however, was WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH.

A Baptist minister in the Hell's Kitchen area of New York City, Rauschenbusch was deeply challenged by the poverty he saw around him. The suffering of the residents forced him to ask what was the role of Christianity in responding to poverty and degradation? In books such as *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907) and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917), Rauschenbusch argued that the power of Christianity is not solely about saving individuals from sin but is about a radical transformation of the individual and of the world. In *Christianity and the Social Crisis* he would write, "no man shares his life with God whose religion does not flow out, naturally and without effort, into all relations of his life and reconstructs everything that it touches. Whoever uncouples the religious and the social life has not understood Jesus. Whoever sets any bounds for the reconstructive power of the religious life over the social relations and institutions of men, to that extent denies the faith of the Master."

Sin was more than just the immoral actions of an individual. It was a power that acted within history and distorted not only individual behavior but corrupted the entire social order. The Christian message was not merely about individual salvation, it was about defeating those powers and principalities that prevented human beings from realizing God's kingdom on Earth. Christians had a duty to ensure that the social and economic systems served to further the realization of that kingdom of which Jesus spoke in the Lord's Prayer when he asked, "Thy will be done on Earth as it is in heaven." This kingdom had as its goals the realization of "justice, freedom, fraternity, labor, joy."

The message of the Social Gospel received a widespread audience through popular books like Sheldon's *In His Steps* and *If Christ Came to Chicago: A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer*, written by the British journalist William T. Stead. Stead, who had been influenced deeply by William Booth, the founder of the SALVATION ARMY, visited Chicago during the Columbian Exposition of 1896 and was appalled by the city's political corruption and its underground economy of brothels, saloons, and gambling dens. The book, which sold 70,000 copies on its first day, combined a deep religious concern with detailed social analysis, including a color-coded map detailing the locations of illegal establishments and an appendix with the names and addresses of proprietors and owners of these establishments.

Even more important due to the challenge it presented to its readers was Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps* (1896). This novel is ostensibly the story of a series of individuals in the city of Raymond, including its minister, who have been challenged to live their lives by answering the question, "What would Jesus do?" Rather than focusing on small personal actions it challenges a newspaper editor to question the types of stories his newspaper runs and the advertisements it accepts. A wealthy heiress struggles with the realization that the nature of impoverishment she sees daily cannot be what Jesus would allow to happen. What then should she do with her fortune her, her wealth? What would Jesus do? As she proclaims to another character, ". . . what does this contrast in [social and economic] conditions mean to you as you ask this question of what Jesus would do? It maddens me to think that the society in which I was brought up . . . is satisfied year after year to go on dressing and eating and having a good time, . . . spending its money on houses and luxuries and, occasionally, to ease its conscience, donating, without any personal sacrifice, a little money to charity. . . . I can gratify almost any want or desire, yet when I honestly try to imagine Jesus living the life I have lived, . . . and doing for the rest of my life what I am doing, what thousands of other rich people do, I am under condemnation for being one of the most wicked, selfish, useless creatures in all the world. I have not looked out of this window for weeks without a feeling of horror toward myself as I see the humanity that passes by this house." The implication of all of these books was that the current social situation is not consonant with true Christianity and that true Christians should not be contented to hand the social and economic spheres over to demonic forces but should work to Christianize the social order. They should do this not only, or perhaps even primarily, by saving the individual soul through the process of conversion, instead, they should strive to ensure that the society in which they lived was one that reflected God's will and served to build the kingdom of God on Earth.

In the Gilded Age, the question of what that kingdom should be and who it included was most complicated. Immigration from all corners of the globe, the rise of industry to an extent previously unseen, cities growing to unheard of magnitude—the physical world seemed so new and different from what people previously had known, and the challenge of what it all meant and how individuals should act was great. Beyond these social changes, the world was confronted with tremendous intellectual changes as well. The preeminent challenge was presented by the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859).

If industrialization made religious individuals unsure of their place in the social and economic world, *The Origin of the Species* (the title was changed for subsequent editions) carried the potential of unsettling humanity's place in a divinely created universe (see EVOLUTION). (It eventually would be a source of regular religious conflict in the United States well into the 21st century.) Initially, much of the response among religious, primarily Christian, leaders in the United States was muted. For many, evolution was seen simply as "God's way of doing things." Others simply rejected or ignored the new claims (and many others probably never heard of them). Evolution increasingly became dominant in the scientific world, and its popularizers, such as Thomas Huxley, known as Darwin's bulldog, used it as part of a wider attack on religion. Huxley debated the merits of evolution against Samuel Wilberforce, the lord bishop of Oxford (1860). The tendency of some popularizers not only to use the doctrine of natural selection to dismiss the biblical story of creation but also the qualitatively distinctive nature of human being served to increase the suspicion of and hostility to evolution. It no longer was a scientific theory that one could ignore or mock, it looked like an enemy to true religion.

The nature of this enemy became increasingly manifest with the development of the doctrine of Social Darwinism and the emergence of what is known as "scientific racism." Social Darwinism took Darwin's understanding of natural selection as it applied to speciation and turned it into a social theory. Not only was nature bloody in tooth and claw, so was the social world of human beings. Those who proved successful in the great economic conflicts deserved their successes and should be rewarded, while those who failed should not be helped. Failures demonstrated their evolutionary unsuitability, and to aid them only would serve to weaken the human stock.

Such views owed much more to Herbert Spencer, Thomas Malthus, and Ernst Haeckel than Darwin, who believed that the moral sense also evolved as a part of natural selection. (Darwin believed this development was so important that he argued that societies in which moral sentiments were developed highly would overrun those in which social solidarity was less developed.) Social Darwinism also had its roots in the writings of Darwin's cousin Francis Galton, in his *Hereditary Genius*, and preeminently by Arthur de Gobineau, in *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1855).

In Galton's view, since intelligence and talent were inherited, careful attention to human breeding was socially necessary. Care, therefore, should be taken in order to ensure that less fit individuals did not out produce those who were more fit. Social institutions such as welfare and mental institutions increased the survivability of "inferior" humans and increased the risk that society soon would be overwhelmed by their numbers.

What Galton argued for in terms of individuals, Gobineau made into a racial doctrine. For Gobineau, the three races of the world, which he referred to as black, white, and yellow, were distinct and separate. The white race, for Gobineau, was inherently superior, but it was at risk through a process of racial mixing, which only produced "degenerates." In fact, there was a need to undertake a concerted effort to save the white race, which already had degenerated severely with Spain, Switzerland, Austria, northern Italy, most of France, Germany and Britain consisting of a degraded mixed race.

In the United States the influence of Social Darwinism was quite diffuse; strains of it did play a role in arguments over imperialism as Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War left the United States in control of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Interestingly, the racialist element played a role for some antiimperialists who, following Gobineau, argued that imperialism increased racial mixing and led to degeneration. While those who emphasized the struggle element within Social Darwinism argued for increased American expansion. Perhaps one of the clearest examples of such a view was Senator Albert Beveridge's "In Support of an American Empire" speech delivered to the Senate in 1900. There, Senator Beveridge declared, "We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago [the Philippines]. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world."

The explicit racialism of a Gobineau did find its way into certain circles in the United States and would pave the way for eugenics as public policy in the 1920s and 1930s. The leading popularizer of this racialist view of Social Darwinism in the United States and, interestingly, one of its leading conservationists, was Madison Grant. In his *Passing of the Great Race* (1916), Grant not only spoke of the three distinct races but also subdivided the Caucasian (white) race into three subgroups: Nordics, Alpines, and Mediterraneans. Of these three, the Nordics were overall superior. While the Mediterraneans may have had superiority in intellect and definitely in artistic capacity, the Nordics were "a race of soldiers, sailors, adventurers, and explorers, but above all, of rulers, organizers . . ." The Nordics were natural rulers and would do so if they would eliminate their racial degradation through racial mixing, miscegenation.

Additionally, there was a wider need to improve the race's hygiene through careful attention to the consequences of public policies that encouraged the increase in inferior and weak individuals. As Grant wrote in the *Passing of the Great Race*, "A rigid system of selection through the elimination of those who are weak or unfit—in other words social failures—would solve the whole question in one hundred years, as well as enable us to get rid of the undesirables who crowd our jails, hospitals, and insane asylums. The individual himself can be nourished, educated and protected by the community during his lifetime, but the state through sterilization must see to it that his line stops with him, or else future generations will be cursed with an ever increasing load of misguided sentimentalism. This is a practical, merciful, and inevitable solution of the whole problem, and can be applied to an ever widening circle of social discards, beginning always with the criminal, the diseased, and the insane, and extending gradually to types which may be called weaklings rather than defectives, and perhaps ultimately to worthless race types."

Such views increasingly became part of the cultural currency of the late 19th century, even if they did not gain predominance. There existed many powerful counterviews. The leading opposition voice included the antiimperialist league to which Mark Twain lent his powerful pen, including an essay entitled "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" (1901). There, Twain wrote, "Extending the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and has paid well, on the whole; and there is money in it yet, if carefully worked—but not enough, in my judgement, to make any considerable risk advisable. The People that Sit in Darkness are getting to be too scarce—too scarce and too shy. And such darkness as is now left is really but of an indifferent quality, and not dark enough for the game. The most of those People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious."

Others who often are considered in the popular mind as being "Social Darwinists," such as Andrew Carnegie, supported numerous policies that ran counter to such views. Carnegie was a vocal antiimperialist and a pacifist. Additionally, in his view, quality was a factor of effort and talent, not genetics, and Carnegie's PHILANTHROPY focused on enabling those with such talent to improve themselves and rise from any unfortunate situation that may have resulted from birth. While some have likened Carnegie's emphasis on human effort to a Darwinian struggle, a survival of the fittest, Carnegie did not believe that struggle to be against others. In fact, for him, successful individuals had an obligation to improve the social order. His opposition to a genetic model also can be seen in his opposition to inherited wealth. As he wrote several years before his retirement, "Let us cast aside business forever, except for others. We can settle in London and I can [take] part in public matters, especially those connected with education and improvement of the poorer classes. . . . Man must have an idol and the amassing of wealth is one of the worst species of idolatry! No idol is more debasing than the worship of money! Whatever I engage in I must push inordinately; therefore should I be careful to choose that life which will be the most elevating in its character."

One of the predominant objects of Carnegie's philanthropy was Tuskegee Institute, one of the leading educational institutions for African Americans in the United States. Led by BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, Tuskegee played a major role in struggling to improve the lives of those who had been freed following the Civil War and their descendants. In the late 19th century, African Americans were in great need of support and assistance.

Following the end of the Civil War and slavery, there was an initial flurry of activity to aid the "freedmen." The states of the former Confederacy were occupied and began the period known as Reconstruction, which lasted until 1877. The Constitution was amended to prohibit slavery (Thirteenth Amendment), make all individuals born in the United States citizens and require their equal protection (Fourteenth AMENDMENT), and eliminate race, color, or previous servitude as a barrier to voting (Fifteenth Amendment). The Department of War established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, the Freedmen's Bureau, on March 1865 to oversee all relief and educational activities relating to refugees and freedmen, including provision of food, clothing, and medicine. The bureau also assumed custody of confiscated lands or property in the former Confederate states, the border states, District of Columbia, and Indian Territory.

Many of the former Confederate states passed legislation designed to relegate the former slaves to permanent second-class citizenship. These actions, including repeated acts of violence against freed blacks, convinced many in the North that southerners were unwilling to govern appropriately and led to an increasing application of direct federal control over the former states in rebellion. Military governors were appointed with the responsibility of overseeing voting registration and equitable application of the laws while federal troops provided security.

The end of slavery and federal protection allowed blacks in the South the freedom to pursue education and to worship absent white control. Schools for blacks run by the Freedmen's Bureau, Northern missionaries, and even some of the historically black denominations such as the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH sprung up throughout the South. Colleges were established many run by denominations and others with a significant religious component, such as Tuskegee Institute. Blacks also left white-dominated denominations, creating the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (see CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH) and the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION. Under the protection of federal bayonets, African Americans made extensive progress during Reconstruction, actively participating in the political process.

The drawn-out process of Reconstruction, the ongoing hostility of white Southerners to political equality for African Americans, and the social upheavals of the Gilded Age progressively weakened both the support for Reconstruction and black political equality. The increasing acceptance of scientific racism, such as articulated by Madison Grant, meant that many were inclined to accept that certain races were inherently inferior and should be dominated by superior races. As some northerners struggled with the challenges presented by immigration from central, eastern, and southern Europe, and many sought ways to limit it, they increasingly sympathized with the desire of white southerners to subjugate African Americans. Additionally, exhaustion with the lengthiness of Reconstruction and its cost, as well as political conflicts, weakened the support for it. Finally, in 1877, the last federal troops were removed from the South, and the Democratic Party, primarily representing the planter class, strove to reestablish its control, including disenfranchising African Americans and increasingly segregating them. They were supported in these efforts by the U.S. Supreme Court in a series of rulings that weakened many of the Civil Rights laws passed by Congress. The final blow came with the Court's 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in which it ruled that legally mandated racial segregation in public accommodations, specifically railway cars in the *Plessy* case, was not unconstitutional so long as the accommodations were equal. This "separate but equal" doctrine would dominate the legal status of race relations in the United States until the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). It also opened up a new era of racial discrimination and inequality that would haunt the United States for nearly a century, only to be undone with the successes of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT during the 1960s and 1970s.

As the United States moved into the 20th century, it was a country experiencing massive transformations and pulled in numerous directions. Increasing economic and social opportunities abounded. Immigrants from Europe found a level of religious and personal freedom inconceivable in their homelands. They also found economic opportunity. Simultaneously there were many who looked askance at these strange people and their unfamiliar religions. Race increasingly dominated American discourse. The growth in science challenged traditional beliefs, and the accumulation of foreign territories following the Spanish-American War dramatically altered America's self-understanding.

Such was the situation when the European nations found themselves in the midst of a massive war into which the United States eventually would be drawn. From this war, the United States would emerge as a world power and be forced to address numerous social and religious challenges.

WORLD WAR I

World War I saw a burst of religious activity designed to aid the soldiers serving in Europe. As had happened during the Civil War, a coordinating body was established to oversee this work, and it included members from numerous denominations and even different religions. The Roman Catholic Church, which for theological reasons could not join, organized its efforts through the National Catholic Warfare Council and engaged in service activities among Catholic soldiers. In doing so, it also worked productively and successfully with the U.S. military and with the other religious organizations, including the YMCA and the Salvation Army. On an individual level, the soldiers themselves developed a level of solidarity and camaraderie that overcame many of their suspicions and ignorance of other religions.

President Woodrow Wilson had declared that the war was being fought to "make the world safe for democracy." With the end of the war and the beginning of peace negotiations, Wilson had pushed for an agreement that would achieve these ends. For Wilson such a peace would have removed the various colonies from their current masters and set them on the road to full and free independence. It also would have freed those individuals living in multinational empires, whether Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, or Russian, to create their own independent states. Finally, Wilson stated that a general "association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." This league of nations would be essential for the maintenance of world peace and would prevent future wars.

This vision of President Wilson's, however, would not be realized. It would be crushed by a series of domestic and international events. Central to its failure, however would be the ethos of isolationism that emerged as a result of the war and the merging of the scientific racism of the late 19th century with traditional forms of nativism. The resurgence of nativism resulted from a sense of fear that ran through much of the American populace of the time. These ranged from a fear of political radicals, anarchists and communists—to the fear that the vast numbers of immigrants who had entered the United States in the later 19th century would undermine its distinctive character. Other fears resulted from the transformation of American society brought about by industrialization and urbanization. Modern ideas and modern thoughts, from evolution to biblical criticism, seemed to be destroying the world in which many Americans had grown up and with which they were comfortable. Additionally, the agricultural depression that hit the United States in the early 1920s, well before the so-called Great Depression of 1929, placed large numbers of Americans at risk. Overwhelmed by debt, crushed by vast unknown forces, these Americans looked for the sources of their misery and found them in alien and unseen powers, which, they felt, had undermined their traditional lives and their means of livelihood. In such an environment, preachers of religious intolerance found an eager audience. Individuals eager to find the causes of their misery, their poverty, the war, and the loss of their traditional understandings of the world readily were convinced that they were caused by alien and foreign forces. As a result, this period saw a massive resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, opposition to ideas such as evolution and other intellectual movements that seemed to undermine traditional religion, and, as the depression deepened and expanded, a growth in movements that blamed the economic collapse on Jews and others.

Political radicals were the first group to feel these attacks. These individuals wanted to overthrow the political and economic system, destroy religion, and undermine traditional morality, including marriage. The growth of radical movements in the late 19th and early 20th century, often led by immigrants, in response to the inequities and oppressions of early industrialization had created an air of fear and tension. The outbreak of World War I only increased these tensions. The radicals felt that the war had been created by munitions manufacturers and capitalists. Poor working people had no stake in the war. In fact, workers simply were pawns in the hands of plutocrats who were sending them to their deaths in order to line the capitalists' pockets.

The radicals were not merely protesters but also believed in using violence to overthrow the political system. The late 19th century had seen numerous attacks on individuals, including the assassination of President McKinley by the anarchist son of Polish immigrants. The violence continued into the 20th century. In 1914 and 1915, the United States experienced numerous bombings directed at public buildings, including courthouses and police stations. Even churches and individual homes were attacked. In 1915, President Wilson responded to these attacks by condemning "hyphenated Americans who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life." He continued, "Such creatures of passion, disloyalty and anarchy must be crushed out."

The bombings did not stop. Following America's entry into the war, they increased dramatically. In 1917, one of the leading anarchist groups staged a series of bomb attacks throughout numerous American cities. The Russian Revolution gave added impetus to these attacks, as the radicals felt that it signaled the beginning of a worldwide revolution. They saw themselves as bringing that revolution to the United States.

Congress responded with a series of laws designed to stop the bombings and to prevent individuals from undermining the war effort. Several leading anarchist organizations were raided. Yet the bombs continued. On June 2, 1919, numerous bomb attacks took place in cities throughout the United States. Several of these were in Washington, D.C., including an attack on the house of the Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. These coordinated attacks were an express declaration of war on the government. A note found on the body of one of the bombers (who had been killed when his bomb detonated prematurely) declared, "War, Class war, and you were the first to wage it under the cover of the powerful institutions you call order, in the darkness of your laws. There will have to be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will have to be murder: we will kill, because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction; we will destroy to rid the world of your tyrannical institutions."

In response to the public clamor that the government do something about these attacks, Congress and President Wilson authorized Palmer to act. Palmer, who already had survived two assassination attempts by this time, directed the Bureau of Investigation (the precursor to the FBI) to plan a series of raids against known radicals. Known as the Palmer Raids, these took place throughout the next year, and thousands of anarchists and communists were arrested. On one night alone, more than 4,000 were taken into custody. Some were tried and convicted of crimes. Many, however, were immigrants to the United States, and they simply were deported. In December 1919, for example, nearly 250 of the leading radicals in the United States of Russian origin, including Emma Goldman, were deported to the Soviet Union.

While the Palmer Raids would later be described as an extreme response to a minimal threat, at the time they were almost universally welcomed. Most Americans saw them as necessary to protect America from foreign-born radicals intent on destroying the American way of life. They viewed these individuals as threats to American institutions, including religion, which the radicals derided as a human creation designed to keep the poor from demanding their rights. The radicals also opposed much of traditional morality, including marriage. As a result, they generated significant hostility from many Americans. Finally, the fact that many of them were foreign-born was emphasized by many Americans. These foreign radicals were viewed as intent on destroying everything about the United States. Many Americans began to look for some way to defend and support "true" American values of morality and Protestant Christianity in order to combat these foreign views. For many, the defense of these views would fall to the revived, or second, Ku Klux Klan.

BETWEEN THE WARS

The second Ku Klux Klan emerged during the years following 1915 and was brought into existence by a series of events and grew in response to the dramatic social and cultural changes of the 1920s. The revived Ku Klux Klan owes its existence to two events, a violent rape and murder, which led to the lynching of an innocent Jewish man, and a movie, *The Birth of a Nation.*

In 1913, a young factory worker, Mary Phagan, was found murdered in the basement of the factory in Marietta, Georgia, where she worked. Although significant evidence pointed to the factory's janitor, the police fixated upon Leo Frank, the plant's manager. Frank, who was Jewish, had recently come to the Atlanta area from New York to manage the plant for his uncle. Frank's Jewishness became a major element in his prosecution, and the investigation and trial were tainted with prejudice and anti-Semitism. A local Baptist minister declared, "My feelings, upon the arrest of the old negro watchman, were to the effect that this one old negro would be poor atonement for the life of this innocent girl. But, when on the next day, the police arrested a Jew, and a Yankee Jew at that, all of the inborn prejudice against Jews rose up in a feeling of satisfaction, that here would be a victim worthy to pay for the crime." In his newspaper, *The Jeffersonian,* Tom Watson, a former Populist turned virulent racist and anti-Semite, railed against Frank. Convicted at trial and sentenced to death, Frank had his sentence commuted by Georgia's governor, John M. Slaton, who declared that he would rather live in "obscurity the rest of my days, . . . than to feel that I had that blood on my hands."

The commutation led to a major uproar. Tom Watson wrote, "Our grand old Empire State HAS BEEN RAPED! . . . Jew money has debased us, bought us, and sold us—and laughs at us . . . Hereafter, let no man reproach the South with lynch law: let him remember the unendurable provocation; and let him say whether lynch law *is not better than no law at all.*" A group of prominent individuals from Marietta, Georgia, created the Knights of Mary Phagan and plotted to kidnap Frank from the state prison farm and murder him. The Knights of Mary Phagan struck on August 17, 1915. Armed, they forced their way into the prison and drove Frank to Frey's Gin, where the local sheriff had prepared the site. There, they viciously lynched Frank.

This savage murder led to a major response by America's Jewish community, leading to the formation of the Anti-Defamation League with the goal of stopping, "by appeals to reason and conscience and, if necessary, by appeals to law, the defamation of the Jewish people. Its ultimate purpose is to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike and to put an end forever to unjust and unfair discrimination against and ridicule of any sect or body of citizens."

The lynch mob, however, saw itself as the heir to the original Ku Klux Klan as it was portrayed in the recently released movie, *The Birth of a Nation.* Produced and directed by D. W. Griffith and based on a novel, *The Leopard's Spots,* by Thomas Dixon, the movie portrayed the post–Civil War Klan as a noble organization that served to protect and defend white civilization in the South after the Civil War. In the movie, the Klan was seen as an upright Protestant organization that restored order and good governance and eliminated the corruption and depravity brought about by Reconstruction. The movie also established the model for the costumes of the revived Klan and for the practice of cross-burning.

The revived Klan of the 1920s emphasized not only its commitment to maintaining the second class status of African Americans but also was anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and nativist. The Klan expanded throughout the United States during this time, reaching a peak membership of more than 4 million, primarily in the Midwest, but also with significant inroads into the Northeast. Despite its racial and nativist components, in some areas the Klan also supported progressive politicians. In Alabama, the Klan-supported governor Bibb Graves led one of the most socially active administrations in the state's history, expanding education, roads, and supporting organized labor. This political power, however, led the Klan to even greater excesses, as it attempted to enforce morality by destroying brothels, reporting youths found making out in cars, and flogging men and women for immoral behavior. In many ways, the Klan acted like the Saudi morals police of its time. These excesses increased criticism and opposition. In Alabama, the editor of the *Montgomery Herald* published a series of exposés on the Klan that led to a Pulitzer Prize. The Klan increasingly became a criminal band, using extortion and force to make money and protect its membership. When the leader of the Midwestern Klan, David Stephenson, was indicted for rape and murder in Indiana, the entire edifice collapsed, leaving a legacy of violence and hatred that continues to this day.

These forces affected public policy. In 1924, Congress passed legislation effectively ending immigration to the United States. The horrors of World War I moved Americans into a period of isolationism that reflected their hostility to immigrants and aliens. The war also led to a major reaction against the unquestioning support most American religious leaders had provided for it. Pacifism became the dominant force in American religion and would seriously hinder the ability of many to understand the rise of fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany as evils that needed to be resisted (see PEACE REFORM).

The currents of critical biblical scholarship and evolution that had begun during the 19th century became increasingly dominant in religious battles between Modernists (see MODERNISM) and Fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM [PROTESTANT]) during the 1920s. Fundamentalists fought against what they saw as a diminution of traditional Christian doctrines. Opposed to biblical criticism and any concession to evolution, they fought to remove their opponents from seminary faculty and denominational leadership. During this time, Christian fundamentalism as a religious phenomenon developed the characteristics that presently identify it, primarily a belief in the inerrancy of scripture, dispensationalism, and a refusal to collaborate with those not in complete agreement with their beliefs.

In the 1920s, the Christian fundamentalist attempt to eliminate modernist influence in the Protestant denominations failed. Both the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions, the Presbyterians, and the Disciples of Christ rebuffed the attempts. On the wider national stage, the Scopes "Monkey Trial" would hold fundamentalism up to mockery, which would send the majority of the movement and its leaders into a form of self-imposed exile and a reluctance to engage the wider world that lasted until the 1970s.

In May 1925, John Scopes, a high school science teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, was charged with violating a recently adopted state law that made it "unlawful for any teacher in any of the Universities, Normals and all other public schools of the State which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the State, to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals."

The AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU) had offered to pay for the defense of any individual willing to challenge the law. A group of Dayton, Tennessee, businessmen, sensing that the notoriety surrounding such a trial would give the town a boost, convinced Scopes, a local high school coach and substitute science teacher, to challenge the law. Following Scopes's indictment, the case quickly expanded into a battle between evolution and its opponents. William Jennings Bryan was called in to serve as a special prosecutor, and the defense team included the ACLU's lead attorney, a former State Department counsel during Bryan's tenure as secretary of state, and America's leading criminal lawyer, Clarence Darrow.

Although Scopes was convicted (later overturned on a technicality), the real loser at the trial was fundamentalism and the antievolutionists. The acerbic pen of one of America's leading journalists, H. L. Mencken, was mostly responsible for that. In a series of vitriolic articles posted from the trial, Mencken did his utmost to portray antievolutionists and fundamentalists more generally as ignorant buffoons. Perhaps nothing illustrated this more than his article "Homo Neanderthalensis," which appeared in Mencken's paper, *The Baltimore Evening Sun,* on June 29, 1925.

> Such obscenities as the forthcoming trial of the Tennessee evolutionist, if they serve no other purpose, at least call attention dramatically to the fact that enlightenment, among mankind, is very narrowly dispersed. It is common to assume that human progress affects everyone—that even the dullest man, in these bright days, knows more than any man of, say, the Eighteenth Century, and is far more civilized. This assumption is quite erroneous. The

> men of the educated minority, no doubt, know more than their predecessors, and of some of them, perhaps, it may be said that they are more civilized—though I should not like to be put to giving names—but the great masses of men, even in this inspired republic, are precisely where the mob was at the dawn of history. They are ignorant, they are dishonest, they are cowardly, they are ignoble. They know little if anything that is worth knowing, and there is not the slightest sign of a natural desire among them to increase their knowledge.
>
> . . .
>
> On the contrary, he is generally against [this increase in knowledge], and sometimes with immense violence. Every step in human progress, from the first feeble stirrings in the abyss of time, has been opposed by the great majority of men. Every valuable thing that has been added to the store of man's possessions has been derided by them when it was new, and destroyed by them when they had the power. They have fought every new truth ever heard of, and they have killed every truth-seeker who got into their hands.

Mencken had even more pointed words for Bryan himself.

> This old buzzard, having failed to raise the mob against its rulers [speaking of Bryan's presidential races], now prepares to raise it against its teachers. He can never be the peasants' President, but there is still a chance to be the peasants' Pope. He leads a new crusade, his bald head glistening, his face streaming with sweat, his chest heaving beneath his rumpled alpaca coat. One somehow pities him, despite his so palpable imbecilities. It is a tragedy, indeed, to begin life as a hero and to end it as a buffoon. But let no one, laughing at him, underestimate the magic that lies in his black, malignant eye, his frayed but still eloquent voice. He can shake and inflame these poor ignoramuses as no other man among us can shake and inflame them, and he is desperately eager to order the charge.

Despite Mencken's fears, the Scopes trial not only held fundamentalism up to exceeding ridicule it also left Bryan a broken man. After undergoing a withering cross-examination from Darrow during the trial, Bryan left Dayton to continue his writing and lecturing only to collapse and die on July 26, 1925, five days after the conclusion of the trial.

Fundamentalism was on the defensive, and the ridicule from the Scopes trial and its defeat in denominational battles resulted in a self-conscious retreat from political affairs. Although most of this retreat was intentional, part of it was forced by the onset of the Great Depression, which plunged the United States into years of economic chaos and social despair. As it was followed quickly by World War II, the result was nearly two decades of threats to the very existence of the United States.

The response to the Great Depression by American religious institutions was quite weak and disorganized. The breadth of the depression meant that there were few unaffected individuals, and the finances of religious organizations were also hit hard. Despite this, some individuals used their religious positions to condemn the social structures that had led to the depression and to demand greater governmental involvement.

In the 1920s and 1930s, liberal democracy was on the defensive. In Japan, Germany, and Italy strong centralized governments ruled with force and a rhetorical (if not realized) commitment to social solidarity, often based on racialist or ethnic lines. In eastern Europe, most of the fledgling post–World War I democracies had collapsed into authoritarian regimes. While even further east, the Soviet Union had risen from the collapse of the czarist regime in

Russia and presented yet another version of an authoritarian alternative to democracy.

Such models had their temptations even in the United States. Many American intellectuals and artists had their sympathetic views of the Soviet Union or Mussolini's Italy, while more popular leaders, such as Louisiana's Huey P. Long, declared their commitment to a social order where everyone was guaranteed a sufficiency and where rich plutocrats did not control everything: "God told you what the trouble was. The philosophers told you what the trouble was; and when you have a country where one man owns more than 100,000 people, or a million people, and when you have a country where there are four men, as in America, that have got more control over things than all the 120,000,000 people together, you know what the trouble is."

For Long, as for many others, the need was to redistribute the wealth, to give it to those who earned it and to do so regardless of niceties and legal order. Although felled by an assassin in 1935 at the height of his power and looming as a challenger to President Franklin Roosevelt, others echoed Long's declarations.

Preeminent among these was Father CHARLES E. COUGHLIN, who from this parish outside of Detroit commanded a radio audience that was said to exceed 40 million weekly. Originally a supporter of President Roosevelt, during the 1930s Coughlin voiced increasing sympathy with Mussolini and even Hitler, as his radio speeches became filled with screeds against Jewish bankers. When the candidate of the Union Party was soundly defeated in the 1936 presidential election, Coughlin left the air for several weeks only to return with even more virulent anti-Semitic and anti-Roosevelt speeches. He particularly criticized what he identified as a British-Jewish-Roosevelt conspiracy to draw the United States into a war.

That war, which eventually would engulf nearly all the world, would become WORLD WAR II. The war and its aftermath would have a marked affect on American religion. Many of these changes lay in the postwar era, however. The most important consequence of the lead-up to the war was the challenge it presented to the mood of pacifism that had dominated religion in the United States since World War I. This break was symbolized by the departure of REINHOLD NIEBUHR in April 1941 from the leading protestant journal, *The Christian Century*, because of its pacifist position to join with others in establishing *Christianity and Crisis* with the goal of arguing for American support for those engaged in the war against the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan (see NEOORTHODOXY).

From World War II to the Present

The United States ushered in the year 1941 under ominous clouds. The depression had begun to ease, and Americans were experiencing greater confidence in the economy, yet in Europe and Asia, German, Italian, and Japanese expansion and militarism threatened millions. Many wondered whether the United States would be able to remain free of these conflicts and, if not, what the consequences would be. Others felt strongly that the United States had a moral obligation to enter those conflicts and to stem the seemingly endless advance of what they viewed as threats to all of civilization. Still others, much fewer in number, saw these governments as the wave of the future. They were convinced that they soon would sweep away the decadent and weak values of liberal democracy and replace them with driving, progressive, and powerful politics that focused on the group and not the individual.

By the end of the year, and with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States would be plunged into two-front war. Issues, not of identity, but of existence, would be foremost on most people's minds. Amid the chaos, demands, and fears caused by the war in Europe and the Pacific, the United States would begin moving through a series of events that radically transformed the social and legal landscape.

These events eventually transformed the American religious landscape.

As the United States slowly recovered from the depression, it also began to move toward a nearly four-year total war in which nearly 300,000 Americans would die; it also entered a period when the entire concept of American religious identity would be transformed radically. This was not, however, obvious at the year's beginning. Nor would the developments follow a straight and clear trajectory. The movement had begun. Three main factors drove this movement. The first involved the U.S. Supreme Court and the development of what is known as the "incorporation doctrine." The second was World War II itself. The combination of social factors that it set into motion and the fight against the racialist ideology of Nazism led to greater introspection and reflection on America's own practices. Finally, the Civil Rights movement and its demand that the United States actualize its claims of democracy, freedom, and equality for all forced greater attention on unequal treatment, both legally and socially, of minority groups, including minority religious groups.

This movement was set in motion by a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1940. This decision in the case of *Cantwell v. State of Connecticut* (310 U.S. 296 [1940]) enunciated one of the two principles that led to the plethora of church-state cases that the Court would hear over the next few decades and which would increase the right to practice religion free from governmental interference and eliminate practices that constituted an establishment of religion. The case involved Jesse Cantwell and his son.

These individuals were JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES who had been going door-to-door distributing religious literature in a predominantly Catholic neighborhood in New Haven, Connecticut. They also approached passers-by on the street, asking them if they would be willing to hear their message. Two passers-by, after having agreed to do so, listened to a record entitled "Enemies" played on the Cantwells' portable phonograph. The record was an attack on the Catholic Church as an un-Christian and dangerous institution. The passers-by, both of whom were Catholic, became angry and threatened to strike the Cantwells if they did not leave. The Cantwells promptly packed up their materials and departed. They later were arrested for violating a local ordinance that required all solicitors to obtain a permit and for inciting a breach of the peace.

In its decision the Supreme Court declared that "The fundamental concept of liberty embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment embraces the liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment." The First Amendment declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment meant that state legislatures, just as much as Congress, are forbidden to enact such laws. The Court continued by pointing out that the constitutional limits on such legislation has two parts. Most directly it forbids legal compulsion of the acceptance of any set of beliefs. Second, it means that individuals cannot be forced into the practice of any form of worship. "Freedom of conscience and freedom to adhere to such religious organization or form of worship as the individual may choose cannot be restricted by law." Additionally, the Constitution "safeguards the free exercise of the chosen form of religion. Thus the Amendment embraces two concepts, freedom to believe and freedom to act." While the freedom to act on one's religious beliefs cannot be absolute, "Conduct remains subject to regulation for the protection of society." Such regulations must not unduly burden the freedom to act. States must be limited in their power to regulate. Governments' exercise of their regulatory power must not unduly infringe on a protected freedom in the service of the legitimate goal of protecting society. Governments by general and nondiscriminatory legislation regulate the times, the places, and the manner of soliciting upon its streets, and of holding meetings thereon; and they may in other respects safeguard the peace, good order and comfort of the community, without unconstitutionally invading the liberties protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. In doing so they may not sit in judgment on the religious nature of organizations nor may they institute blanket bans that unnecessarily limit the free exercise of individuals' religious practices.

In deciding *Cantwell*, the Supreme Court, for the first time, expressly made the free exercise clause of the First Amendment binding on the states. Additionally, it clearly stated that any law that required a governmental official to determine whether an activity or organization were "religious" or not before allowing people to undertake that activity or act on behalf of that organization clearly violated the free exercise clause of the U.S. Constitution. This decision combined with the Supreme Court's later decision in *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947), which incorporated the "establishment clause" of the First Amendment into the concept of liberty in the Fourteenth Amendment, would force major reconsiderations of the practices of many states and lead to some of the Supreme Court's most controversial decisions of the 20th century (see CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN).

While the decision in *Cantwell* made the free exercise clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution binding on the states, it did not establish a firm line about what constituted the boundary of the peace, safety, and good order of the state. Where did governments legitimate interests lie?

This question had been implicit in the ongoing conflicts in the United States regarding whether the country's republican democracy required a particular form of religious belief, even if it were not held explicitly. Unity, identity, and connection to the values of the United States were considered by many as essential if the country were to continue to exist. Acts that hindered that unity and identity or rejection of those values by a significant number of individuals residing in the United States could be understood as threats to the social order, in fact to the United States itself. To ask the question directly, What should the various governments of the United States do when faced with individuals whose religious practices seemed to undermine the very identity, unity, and values of the country?

For many, this was the question posed by the case of *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* (1940). This case involved two schoolchildren, Lillian and William Gobitis, who had been expelled from their public schools in Minersville, Pennsylvania, for refusing to salute the flag as part of the Pledge of Allegiance at the beginning of the school day. The Gobitis children were Jehovah's Witnesses. For them, offering such a salute constituted idolatry because it suggested that there were powers other than God deserving of allegiance.

Their failure to participate in this act, required of all students and teachers by state law, led to their expulsion from school. Their parents sued the school district on the grounds that the law violated the free exercise clause of the First Amendment as applied to the states by the Fourteenth Amendment. The parents won their case in both lower courts but, to the surprise of many, the Supreme Court, by an 8-1 vote, overturned the lower courts' rulings and sided with the government. The decision, written by Justice Felix Frankfurter, the Court's only Jewish member, focused primarily on the issue of national identity and security. Religious beliefs and practices could not be allowed to threaten that security, for only that security made possible the religious liberty for which these people strove. In his majority opinion, Justice Frankfurter wrote "We are dealing with an interest inferior to none in the hierarchy of legal values. National unity is the basis of national security. To deny the legislature the right to select appropriate means for its attainment presents a totally different order of problem from that of the propriety of subordinating the possible ugliness of littered streets to the free expression of opinion through distribution of handbills."

For Justice Frankfurter the Gobitis case involved issues far beyond those typically addressed by legislatures. It did not involve a law designed to protect the family, promote health, provide for the common defense, or levy taxes. The law did something that made all of those activities, which presuppose the existence of an organized political society, possible. The mandatory flag salute was designed to assist in binding the individuals of the country into an organized, political society by creating a sense of identity and connection. As Frankfurter wrote, "The ultimate foundation of a free society is the binding tie of cohesive sentiment. Such a sentiment is fostered by all those agencies of the mind and spirit which may serve to gather up the traditions of a people, transmit them from generation to generation, and thereby create that continuity of a treasured common life which constitutes a civilization." For him without that sense of identity nothing could be done. While it might be unfortunate that in the midst of this need some individuals are forced to undertake activities which they find offensive, without that sense of common life, society collapses.

The consequences of Gobitis were significant. Many states enacted laws requiring students to say the Pledge of Allegiance and salute the flag at the beginning of the school day. In West Virginia, students refusing to do so could be expelled and were subject to being treated as delinquent and sent to reformatories as though they had committed a crime. Jehovah's Witnesses, always a despised minority, found themselves subject to numerous physical attacks. The U.S. Department of Justice found itself flooded with reports of such attacks. The attacks reached a point that many patriotic organizations, such as the American Legion, suggested making the flag salute voluntary.

In response, another suit was filed by the Jehovah's Witnesses parents of several schoolchildren in West Virginia. In its decision in *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624 (1943), the Supreme Court, by a 6-3 vote, overturned its decision in *Gobitis*. Writing for the majority, Justice Robert H. Jackson stated:

> we apply the limitations of the Constitution with no fear that freedom to be intellectually and spiritually diverse or even contrary will disintegrate the social organization. To believe that patriotism will not flourish if patriotic ceremonies are voluntary and spontaneous instead of a compulsory routine is to make an unflattering estimate of the appeal of our institutions to free minds. We can have intellectual individualism and the rich cultural diversities that we owe to exceptional minds only at the price of occasional eccentricity and abnormal attitudes. When they are so harmless to others or to the State as those we deal with here, the price is not too great. But freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order.
>
> If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. If there are any circumstances which permit an exception, they do not now occur to us.

This understanding of the Constitution and of the right to go against the predominant religious norms would be the basis for the deepening of religious tolerance through the 20th century.

While *Cantwell* and *Barnette* were focused, to a great extent, on the free exercise of religion (although *Barnette* was decided on free speech grounds as well), some of the most high-profile cases of the 20th century involved what are know as "establishment clause" cases. With the Supreme Court's decision in *Everson*, the establishment clause also was applied to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision would have remarkable consequences for many state practices, particularly practices in public schools.

Historically, public schools often proved to be major areas of contention over issues related to religion. Throughout much of the 19th century, there were conflicts over the Protestant ethos in the public schools, particularly over the use of the Protestant version of the Bible and the Lord's Prayer. Catholics felt that this was unfair and resisted their use. When unable to achieve their goals, they often left to create their own schools. Catholics, however, resented this alienation from the public schools for which they also paid taxes and often clamored for public support for their schools. The demands led to conflicts over funding "sectarian" institutions and the adoption by many states of laws and even state constitutional amendments prohibiting the use of state funds for such institutions.

Public schools always had come under local control. With the incorporation of the establishment clause, however, their practices regarding religion also came under scrutiny. Through the 1950s and 1960s a series of Supreme Court decisions declared numerous practices unconstitutional and, in doing so, served to make America's public schools less hostile to religious minorities, including atheists.

Decided between 1962 and 1963, these decisions struck down a New York law requiring that students recite a prayer written by the State Board of Regents (*Engle v. Vitale*, 1962), a Pennsylvania statute requiring that each school day begin with the reading of 10 verses from the Bible (*Abington Township School District v. Schempp*, 1963), and a Maryland requirement that each school day begin with a recitation of the Lord's Prayer (*Murray v. Curlett, 1963* [consolidated with *Schempp*]; see MADALYN MURRAY O'HAIR) such decisions increasingly eliminated the last vestiges of the 19th century's "Protestant Empire." Minority religious members no longer were made to feel as though they were interlopers and outsiders. The public schools became less hostile to these individuals and increased their identity with country and sense of belonging. The decisions, however, antagonized numerous individuals, who began to feel as though their religion was under attack. These feelings would increase over the years, as massive cultural upheavals seemed to undermine all that these individuals believed in.

The legal decisions that furthered this process of integration were aided by major social and intellectual changes brought about by World War II and its consequences. The war's affect on American society was immense. To begin with, World War II brought together huge numbers of Americans from vastly different economic, religious, and social groups. Descendants of Polish Catholics, German Lutherans, and Russian Jews fought side-by-side with Southern Baptists, Unitarians, and atheists. Engaged together in this great national endeavor, many individuals became comrades and friends with other people with whom they otherwise never would have come into contact. Religious differences had been exacerbated by residential patterns that separated individuals physically and minimized their likelihood of social interaction.

These physical separations also would be overcome by changes wrought by World War II, but that lay in the future. Perhaps the greatest change generated by the war resulted from the experience of fighting against Nazism and its racialist doctrines. The struggle to define what it meant to be fighting for democracy also played a major role. As the United States and its citizens increasingly became aware of the consequences of the Nazis racialist and discriminatory policies, the slaughter of those who differed from its ideology, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, and racially from the "Aryan" norm, such as Jews (against whom most of the ideology was directed), attitudes and practices in the United States that emphasized difference increasingly were viewed as suspect. If Nazism was wrong and its ideology was wrong, then part of the war against Nazism involved a struggle against that ideology. Defeating that ideology also involved a serious process of introspection about where the United States had failed to live up to its own highest values of democracy, equality, and religious tolerance. Such a process would play a major role in the growth of the Civil Rights movement as it gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s. Religious tolerance also expanded because of this process of reflection on how to treat minorities and others who differed.

This was the background from which people were acting as they returned home from the war and began to undergo one of the most significant social changes in American history. The economic growth of the fifties, fueled by pent-up demand from the war years, the need for housing for the returning soldiers and their families, and the burgeoning automobile industry, which itself was driven by the growth of the suburbs to where these families moved, would transform American life. All of these changes were funded, to a great extent, by governmental benefits aimed at aiding the returning military men and women. These benefits were available to all who served, and as they took the benefits offered by the "G.I. Bill" to attend college or to buy a home in the new suburbs that were springing up across America, these men and women also found themselves in new social territory. Unlike the urban neighborhoods in which many of these individuals had grown up, the new suburbs usually lacked religious and ethnic homogeneity. (The one exception was the near-absence of African Americans, who continued to suffer from the effects of both legal and social segregation.) Where one may have grown up before the war in a neighborhood that was overwhelmingly Irish or Polish Catholic or Jewish, in the suburbs one's neighbors were a varied lot, just as one had experienced in the military. In fact, one shared this connection with one's neighbors. The shared war experience played a major role in minimizing, if not overcoming, the suspicions and hostilities with which an individual may have grown up.

The 1950s, as Will Herberg would write in his book of that name, became a time when Protestant, Catholic, and Jew defined what it meant to be American and when America consisted of those identities. Anti-Catholicism in particular decreased dramatically during this time, and many Catholic priests became leading public figures. In fact, one of the leading television personalities was a FULTON J. SHEEN, a Catholic bishop whose television program was watched by Americans of all stripes as he addressed religious, social, political, and, preeminently, personal questions of how to live.

The 1950s were not, however, without their own problems. The defeat of Nazism, fascism, and Japanese militarism also led to the encroachment communism into eastern Europe and Asia. The Soviet army occupied all of Europe east of the Elba and south to the Greek border. The Chinese Communists were posed to take over that country. Once again the United States seemed threatened by a foreign and alien ideology. As revelations of "Communists" in high government posts became increasingly commonplace, one of the greatest losers were the traditional American elites, since most of these individuals were Ivy League–educated individuals from the northeastern states. Catholics, however, gained greatly from their committed and consistent anticommunism. For regardless of what else one might have suspected them of, their opposition to communism and its atheistic ideology was obvious. This fact was made even clearer as one heard the news of the oppression experienced by the church's leaders in Poland and elsewhere in Europe.

The 1950s presented marked challenges for American Jews, however. While, overall, anti-Semitism decreased, the prevalence of Jews in the American Communist Party and in many progressive movements that some suspected of being Communist front organizations led some to equate "Jew" with "Communist." These Jews were immigrants or descendants of immigrants from eastern Europe. Invariably, they were secular Jews who had gravitated toward progressive politics because, historically, it offered the greatest promise for lifting the oppression under which Jews had lived in Poland, Russia, Lithuania, and elsewhere. Religiously observant Jews in the United States, on the other hand, struggled mightily against the anti-Semitism, which continued to bedevil their coreligionists in eastern Europe who had survived the Holocaust, as well as the anti-Semitic attacks orchestrated by the Soviet Communist Party. This was less clear to the American population that saw the predominance of Jews in the leadership of the Communist Party U.S.A.

The greatest challenge, however, was presented by the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for espionage. In January 1950, American authorities discovered that Klaus Fuchs, a German refugee theoretical physicist who worked on the Manhattan Project (the U.S. atomic bomb project) during the war, had provided the Soviet Union with top secret information during the war. Fuchs's confession led U.S. and British intelligence agents to his courier, Harry Gold. Gold, in turn, fingered a former machinist at the top-secret Los Alamos laboratory, Sgt. David Greenglass, who also confessed to passing secret information to the Soviets. Gold claimed that he had been recruited by his brother-in-law, Julius Rosenberg, who, he claimed, also had passed information to the Soviet Union. Julius Rosenberg and his wife, Ethel, were arrested in the summer of 1950. Indicted on espionage charges in January of the following year, the Rosenbergs went on trial in March 1951.

While the government went out of its way to ensure that the trial had no hint of anti-Semitism, both the judge and prosecutor were Jewish; an anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic undercurrent ran through much of the protests about the trial. The trial took place amid fears of Soviet expansionism and the outbreak of the Korean War. While the evidence against Ethel was weak and came about only as a result of the testimony of her own brother, Greenglass, who reported that Ethel had typed up the secret documents that later were passed on to the Soviets, both she and Julius were convicted of violating the Espionage Act on March 29, 1951. On April 5 of that year, Judge Irving Kaufman sentenced them to death. The Rosenbergs denied the espionage charges even as they faced the electric chair.

In imposing the death penalty, Judge Kaufman noted that he held them responsible not only for espionage but also for the deaths of the Korean War:

> I consider your crime worse than murder . . . I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-Bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country. No one can say that we do not live in a constant state of tension. We have evidence of your treachery all around us every day for the civilian defense activities

> throughout the nation are aimed at preparing us for an atom bomb attack."

The Rosenbergs would be the only civilians executed for espionage-related activity during the cold war. The fact that of all those accused of espionage the only two individuals executed were Jewish would linger for decades in the minds of many American Jews. This raised ongoing and nagging suspicions that on some level, anti-Semitism was at work and that the Rosenbergs had been killed because they were Jewish, not because of their activities. In fact, it became so engrained in the minds of one segment of American Jewry that even the clear evidence of Julius Rosenberg's guilt that became evident following the collapse of the Soviet Union could not weaken this conviction.

Fears of communism played a major role in the 1950s. Many discussions of these years have focused on the "Red Scare" of the time. While overblown, the fear of communism gave rise to numerous movements that opposed communism, immigrants, and others who varied from their view of what constituted a "good" American. Organizations such as the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, and others generated a version of Americanism that reflected many of the elements of traditional nativism minus, for some, at least, the anti-Catholicism. Others, such as the fundamentalist Carl McIntyre, would spend their time preaching an all-American crusade against communism, liberals, and all who did not share his vision of Christianity.

Even so, the 1950s were a period of intellectual and artistic ferment that began the social transformation that would extend through the 1960s and early 1970s. Many of these cultural shifts would play a major role in the religious life of the United States. Beat Poets (see BEAT MOVEMENT) such as Jack Kerouac and Gary Snyder introduced several generations of American readers to Zen Buddhism. A diverse group of writers and performers from the Beatles to Richard Alpert (RAM DASS) would bring Hinduism to a greater familiarity among large numbers of Americans. The 1960s saw a proliferation of gurus and growing interest in Asian religions. Some of this interest was merely superficial, as individuals picked up the language and form of Buddhism, particularly Zen, but other forms of Asian religions as well, including Tibetan Buddhism, Hinduism, and even SUFISM.

The growth of these "alien" religions, particularly in forms that seemed to demand a complete transformation of individual's lives and the adoption of radically different lifestyles, such as among the Hare Krishna movement, or even ostensibly Christian movements such as the Korean originated UNIFICATION CHURCH, generated much controversy and animosity. In fact, the proliferation of innumerable New Religious Movements that did not resemble what many saw as "real" religion generated a significant backlash. Charges of brainwashing, kidnapping, and abuse by these "cults" led to the creation of an anti-cult movement, designed to combat the spread of these religions and to "save" those who had fallen under their nefarious influences. Acting on behalf of family and friends, these individuals would "rescue" individuals who had become members of these "cults." They then would proceed to "deprogram" the individual with the goal of freeing him or her from the "cult's" control.

Many of these fears were overblown, and numerous individuals were taken from religious groups that they had joined quite freely. Also, some deprogrammers developed a reputation for violence and abuse that discredited the entire movement. This happened despite the fact that some of these religious movements were indeed abusive and even violent. The mass murder/suicides at Jonestown, Guyana, by members of the People's Temple (see JAMES WARREN [JIM] JONES) in 1978 and among the followers of HEAVEN'S GATE in 1997, as well as the deadly conflict between federal agents and members of the Branch Davidians (see Waco) in 1993, proves that at least suspicions of some of the groups was not unwarranted.

Despite these few bad examples, the entire period saw an expansion of what was considered acceptable in the religious realm. The entire series of cultural changes that marked this period, beginning with the 1960s and continuing throughout the century, progressively shifted social norms. Unmarried couples living together, gays and lesbians, and individuals with religious practices outside of the traditional norms soon became familiar in neighborhoods everywhere. Progressive acceptance became the norm of behavior.

One of the most important manifestations of this process of growing acceptance was the election of the United States's first Roman Catholic president in 1960. Roman Catholicism intermittently had been the target of suspicion, abuse, and even violence in the United States. In 1928, Al Smith, had been the first Catholic nominated for the presidency. Smith suffered a tremendous defeat in that election, part of which was explained by his religion. As a Democrat, he was still susceptible to the charges of representing the party that brought about the Civil War, and, as an opponent of Prohibition, he also bore the stigma of being in favor of alcohol. Smith, in fact, epitomized the long-standing Republican charge against Democrats that they represented the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."

By the end of the 1950s, much had changed. Catholics were viewed as one of the staunchest opponents of communism; the postwar era had brought Catholics and non-Catholics increasingly into social contact in neighborhoods and business; and many individuals had gotten to know Catholics on a personal level during their military service in World War II. While Catholicism may have remained a mysterious edifice to many Americans, Catholics no longer were strangers. And John F. Kennedy was very different from Al Smith. A war hero, handsome, dashing, and young, Kennedy did not look like the New York City political boss that Smith was. Neither was Kennedy beholden to a region accused of secessionism, and Prohibition was simply a historical footnote.

Despite all these changes, Kennedy received a tremendous amount of scrutiny because of his Catholicism. Kennedy addressed this issue straight on in several speeches. One of the most important was his speech before the Ministerial Association of Houston, Texas, in September 1960. In it, Kennedy went on the offensive. Addressing the overwhelmingly Baptist organization, Kennedy declared:

> "But because I am a Catholic, and no Catholic has ever been elected President, the real issues in this campaign have been obscured—perhaps deliberately, in some quarters less responsible than this. So it is apparently necessary for me to state once again—not what kind of church I believe in, for that should be important only to me—but what kind of America I believe in.
>
> I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute—where no Catholic prelate would tell the President (should he be Catholic) how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote—where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference—and where no man is denied public office merely because his religion differs from the President who might appoint him or the people who might elect him.
>
> I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish—where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Churches or any other ecclesiastical source—where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials—and where religious liberty is so indivisible that

> an act against one church is treated as an act against all.
>
> For while this year it may be a Catholic against whom the finger of suspicion is pointed, in other years it has been, and may someday be again, a Jew—or a Quaker—or a Unitarian—or a Baptist. It was Virginia's harassment of Baptist preachers, for example, that helped lead to Jefferson's statute of religious freedom. Today I may be the victim—but tomorrow it may be you—until the whole fabric of our harmonious society is ripped at a time of great national peril.
>
> Finally, I believe in an America where religious intolerance will someday end—where all men and all churches are treated as equal—where every man has the same right to attend or not attend the church of his choice—where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic vote, no bloc voting of any kind—and where Catholics, Protestants and Jews, at both the lay and pastoral level, will refrain from those attitudes of disdain and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and promote instead the American ideal of brotherhood."

Kennedy's election would be a watershed in American politics, and from then on the Catholicism of any presidential and vice presidential candidates did not matter. Anti-Catholicism also would be diminished by an event that happened across the Atlantic Ocean in the very center of Catholicism, the Vatican. The Second Vatican Council (see VATICAN COUNCIL II) (1962–65) radically transformed the church and eliminated most of the intellectual opposition to Catholicism. Two documents issued by the Council were of the utmost importance in this regard, and both were adopted due to the leadership of the American bishops. With the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (*Nostra Aetate*) and the Declaration on Religious Freedom (*Dignitatis Humanae*), the Roman Catholic Church altered its traditional relationship to other religious traditions and its historical opposition to religious liberty and church-state separation. Both were major statements on Catholic doctrine and dispensed with the dogmatic claim that there was no salvation outside of the Roman Catholic Church. *Nostra Aetate* also explicitly condemned anti-Semitism and implicitly recognized the role of Catholic doctrine in promoting it. More positively, the documents opened the way for discussions between Catholics and Protestants and Catholics and non-Christians. The Declaration on Religious Liberty also dispelled any lingering suspicions of Catholicism as a religion committed to religious coercion.

On many levels, the United States was moving toward greater tolerance. There were, however, ongoing challenges to that tolerance, and movements in that direction continued to generate reactions and even violence.

Perhaps the most significant example of this was the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. In many ways the conditions that gave rise to the Civil Rights movement contained elements directly related to the traditional elements generating religious intolerance in the United States: ethnic and racial difference. The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s–1970s emerged from the African-American Church. While many of its earlier leaders, such as W. E. B. DUBOIS, A. Philip Randolph, and Walter F. White, had a more secular bent, as the Civil Rights movement developed under MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., its leadership and strength came from the African American Church and other religious leaders. Much violence, therefore, was directed at religious leaders and religious buildings. Undoubtedly, one of the most infamous terrorist attacks in U.S. history was the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 15, 1963. On that Sunday morning, as 80 children studied their Sunday school lessons in the church's basement, a bomb ripped through the building, killing four young African-American girls. This murderous terrorist attack was emblematic of many such attacks from the 1950s through the 1960s. Innumerable churches were bombed, as were the homes of their ministers. The home of the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, the pastor of Sixteenth Street Baptist, had been destroyed by a bomb blast the preceding Christmas Day. Martin Luther King, Jr., when he was a pastor in Montgomery, Alabama, during the 1950s, had seen both his house and church attacked by racist terrorists. These attacks were directed against people attempting to live out their religious commitments. They opposed a racist, unequal, and violent system because their religion told them that it was wrong, that it was a sin against both God and humanity. The buildings and individuals attacked were Jewish (The Temple, Atlanta's largest Reform Jewish congregation, bombed in October 1958 because of its support for civil rights), Catholic (Viola Liuzzo, gunned down in 1965 as she was returning from a voting rights rally), and Episcopalian (the Reverend Jonathan Daniels, murdered by a part-time deputy sheriff in Lowndes County, Alabama, because of his support for African-American civil rights). Many, many others were killed, beaten, threatened, and fired from their jobs.

While it might be comforting to blame this violence on those who held particularly virulent and distorted views of Christianity (many of the murderers were indeed members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racist groups with quasi-religious overtones), the responsibility is much wider than that. For while such individuals may have committed the crimes, they were abetted by a social system that derided and opposed any forms of difference. The trials of many of those guilty of these horrid crimes became farces due to the refusal of many citizens to acknowledge that those who differed from them were still worthy of life and respect. They rejected the idea that equality of such individuals should not be denied, and they rejected their common humanity. In doing this, they created the atmosphere in which intolerance and even murder could thrive. As much as the "law-abiding" citizens may have deplored the bombings and shootings, they hated the victims even more. The result was an environment in which such actions were encouraged.

Others, however, were appalled by such tactics and by the immorality and violence of segregation and racism in general and increasingly supported the aims of the Civil Rights movement. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 signified a major milestone in this regard. It also played a major role in minimizing religious intolerance in the United States because it forbade discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, or national origin. No longer could employers refuse to hire individuals because they were Jewish, Catholic, or Hindu. Additionally, employers must provide reasonable accommodation to employees' religious practices and ensure that the work environment is not hostile to an individual because of her of his religious beliefs. The result was a marked decline in overt discrimination against individuals on religious grounds and, resultantly, a greater integration of individuals into wider American society.

The Civil Rights movement had other influences on the expansion of religious tolerance in the United States. By showing how organizations could mobilize political support for their causes and could gain recognition of their rights through combining social mobilization with legal and political action, the Civil Rights movement provided a model for others. It became the model for women, gays and lesbians, and religious groups. On the political front, religious groups traditionally have been fairly successful in obtaining the passage of antidiscriminatory legislation, since no one ever wants to appear to be against religion.

From the close of World War II through the 1990s, the United States saw a progressive and marked growth in religious tolerance. A combination of Supreme Court decisions, antidiscrimination laws, social and cultural changes, and increased advocacy among religious groups served to bring this about. Laws designed to prevent certain manifestations of intolerance, discrimination in employment or in housing, for example, and social changes that made expressions of intolerance unacceptable, radically transformed American society.

Not everyone approved of such changes, however. Many more traditional Protestants in particular felt that they had been left behind by these changes. Their views and understandings of the world and of society had been transformed radically. Their practices of Bible reading and school prayer had been declared unconstitutional. Their moral values were pushed aside amid rapid cultural change. For many of them, it seemed as though every group mattered and deserved respect except for them.

These individuals also began a process of mobilization and advocacy. This began with the creation of the MORAL MAJORITY by the Reverend JERRY FALWELL in 1979 and followed with the creation of other groups, such as the Christian Coalition, in 1989. While the organizations focused most directly on moral issues, such as opposing abortion, HOMOSEXUALITY, and the maintenance of what they claimed to be the traditional family, their overt promotion of evangelical and fundamentalist Protestantism and their vocal support for more explicit religiosity, and particularly their form of Christianity, in public life led to many to accuse them of being religiously intolerant and of wanting to impose religious uniformity on America (see RELIGIOUS RIGHT).

For many people, the emergence of the Christian Right in the last quarter of the 20th century came as a marked surprise. In several ways, however, it reflected the history of American experience, where periods of religious growth and expansion eventuate into political movements. This happened during the Second Great Awakening and also following the Civil War, World War I, and World War II.

The surprise came less from this being a novel experience in American religious history and more from the presumption that social and cultural changes in the second half of the 20th century had made such developments obsolete, if not impossible. Additionally, the dominance of the secularization thesis in the social sciences, which argued that as modernization and technology increased, religious belief and practice would decrease (see SECULARISM), had proven not to be the case. In fact, during the last quarter of the 20th century, the significance of religion, both in the lives of individuals and in politics, seemed to grow dramatically.

The so-called Christian Right in the United States exemplified this growth. It has its roots in many different strands of American history. To some extent, it has its roots in the conflict between fundamentalists and modernists in the early part of the 20th century. It also owes its emergence to the tremendous social and cultural upheavals that marked the 1960s and 1970s. Many individuals saw the changes in American society and its attitudes as both an attack on traditional morality as well as on their religion. These Christians felt marginalized and abused. For them, the seeming growth of tolerance in American society looked more like an assault on traditional Christianity. Cultural messages seemed to hold their moral beliefs up for ridicule and mockery. The decision by the Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* striking down most laws limiting abortion exemplified for many of these individuals the moral corruption that was destroying the country.

The rise of the Christian Right can be said to have two starting points, one intellectual and one practical. Intellectually, one can legitimately trace it to the work of Francis Schaeffer and the 1981 publication of his book *A Christian Manifesto*. While the book's date, after the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, may seem to make it a late entry for such a claim, the book gave many evangelical Protestants the rationale for actively engaging politically and even, in the case of the anti-abortion movement, undertaking direct action to prevent what they saw as the perpetration of evil. Schaeffer's book made abortion a Protestant cause in the United States. In doing so, it also articulated a Protestant doctrine of resistance to immoral policies in a democracy.

Practically, the rise of the Christian Right, as people now know it, can be traced back to the "Listen America" rallies that Jerry Falwell conducted during the United States's bicentennial in 1976. Driven by concerns over what he and others understood as growing immorality, anti-Americanism, and attacks on traditional Christianity, Falwell led in the creation of the Moral Majority political organization in 1979. While the Moral Majority may have played a role in the election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980, Falwell disbanded the Moral Majority in 1989, declaring that it had achieved its goals. To a great extent, he may have been correct. The Moral Majority created the importance of values voting for Americans with a more traditional understanding of morality and patriotism. Many of these values voters constituted the so-called Reagan Democrats, whose votes brought both Reagan and George H. Bush into the White House, although many returned to the Democratic Party under Clinton.

While most values voters responded to part of the message of the Moral Majority and similar political movements, others were far more committed. Primarily fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Protestants, these individuals eventually became the base of the Republican Party during the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century. The standard-bearers of this movement were PAT ROBERTSON, Ralph Reed, and Richard Viguerie, and the leading organizations would be Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network and Reed's Christian Coalition.

In 2000, the Christian Right helped elect the first candidate who expressly seemed to concur with them both politically and religiously, George W. Bush. Bush unabashedly acknowledged that his conversion to Christianity had transformed his life and spoke readily about his religious beliefs. Additionally, he vocally opposed abortion and spoke in glowing terms about the positive role that religion and religious organizations should play in American life, including the establishment of a White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (see FAITH-BASED INITIATIVES, CHARITABLE CHOICE, PHILANTHROPY).

While some may point to Bush's judicial appointees as a victory for the Christian Right, during his terms in office, key policies of the Christian Right fared little better than they had under his father or under Ronald Reagan. Congress refused to vote in favor of a constitutional amendment banning abortion; organized prayer did not return to the public schools; and the antievolution movement hit a massive barrier when a federal judge ruled that intelligent design was religion not science (see EVOLUTION, SCIENCE AND RELIGION). One evangelically inspired initiative did seem to have some success during the Bush presidency; this was greater attention to the issue of sexual trafficking. In a different vein, the highly visible role that the Christian Right and President Bush himself played in the Terri Schiavo case proved to be a significant political liability (see MEDICINE; SCIENCE AND RELIGION).

In 1990, Schiavo, then 26, collapsed at her home and was admitted to the hospital with extensive brain damage leading to a persistent vegetative state. For 15 years, she survived on life support, apparently with no hope of improvement and seemingly no mental or physical awareness or feeling. Numerous court cases, usually pitting her husband (later ex-husband) against her parents, were fought over her treatment, her diagnosis, and prognosis. When her ex-husband filed suit in 1998 to have her feeding tube removed, the legal conflict with her parents intensified and soon became a major religious and political issue.

The legal fight dragged on for years, and by 2003, Schiavo's parents had made the issue a part of the wider right-to-life debate, gaining the support of anti-abortion leaders such as Randall Terry. The intense publicity and the political divisions eventually led to interventions both by the Florida legislature and governor, as well as by the U.S. Congress. All these strategies failed in the face of the decisions by the Florida Supreme Court and the federal courts. The feeding tube eventually was removed, and Terri Schiavo died on March 31, 2005. While many may have been troubled by the removal of Schiavo's feeding tube, a far greater number were bothered by the use of this complex tragedy for what seemed to be political purposes and the fear that politicians might do the same thing in their lives and the lives of their families. This attitude was exacerbated when evidence emerged that the Florida Republican Party had expressly identified Schiavo's case as "a great political issue."

Bush's presidency may, in fact, prove to be the high-water mark of the importance of the Christian Right as a major political force. Dissatisfaction with the war in Iraq, worries about the economy, and a growing concern among many evangelicals with issues beyond abortion, evolution, and homosexuality weakened the seemingly monolithic nature of the Christian Right and evangelicals' political commitment to the Republican Party. During the early months of the race to be the 2008 Republican presidential nominee, numerous candidates vied for the evangelical vote. Despite this scramble, the eventual Republican nominee, John McCain, had long been opposed by the Christian Right.

While they may have had a desire to recover their lost authority in American life, ostensibly at the expense of others who had been aided by increased tolerance and greater legal protections, in one area these groups have played a notable role in extending religious tolerance in the United States. While most of the leading Supreme Court cases addressing religious issues had focused on establishment clause issues, particularly those relating to Bible reading and school prayer, from the 1980s on there was an increase in the number of free exercise cases. Many of these were brought by organizations affiliated with conservative Protestants or traditionalist Catholics. Much of this litigation was premised on the claim that in attempts to be "tolerant," schools, businesses, and governments had begun to constrain the religious practice of conservative Christians. As a result, they established a series of organizations to support such individuals in litigation. However, in order to expand the definition of free exercise, these organizations often found themselves advocating for individuals and causes not connected with Christianity at all, including a case involving a group of high schoolers expelled for unfurling a sign that read "Bong hits for Jesus."

While these conservative Protestants, often joined by traditionalist Catholics and Jews, fought their battles at the ballot box and in the courts, others fought with more violent means. While pushed underground yet again following the Civil Rights movement, nativist and white supremacist movements continued to live in the dark shadows of American life. Increasingly connected by religious claims known as Christian Identity (see IDENTITY MOVEMENT), these individuals believe that white northern Europeans are the true descendants of the biblical Jews and that blacks, Asians, Jews, and other peoples are inherently inferior. They also believe that the other peoples are under the control of the Jews, who have a conspiracy to undermine true Christian civilization.

Organizations such as the Aryan Nations; Church of Jesus Christ, Christian; and Kingdom Identity Missions, as well as more secretive groups such as the Order and Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (C.S.A.) believe that the United States currently is controlled by this conspiracy. They refer to it as Z.O.G., the Zionist Occupied Government. They also are committed to an apocalyptic vision of the future awaiting a final battle between the forces of good, white Christians and those of evil (see RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE). This Racial Holy War (RaHoWa), as they call it, already has started, and God demands violent attacks against those who resist his will. Identity followers have attacked blacks and Jews, interracial couples, and Asians. The Olympic Park bomber, Eric Robert Rudolph, had connections with the Identity movement as did Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, the men responsible for the terrorist bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, in which 168 people were murdered. Unlike their nativist and Klan predecessors, however, McVeigh and Nichols received no support from the community, and both were convicted of the crime. Nichols was sentenced to life imprisonment and McVeigh to be executed, which he was on June 11, 2001.

Despite the continuing existence of racist, intolerant, and virulently nativist individuals and organizations in the United States, the overall movement since the end of World War II has been toward greater tolerance and social interaction. The repeal in 1964 of the draconian immigration laws of the 1920s that severely curtailed the number of Asians allowed into the United States has increased the number of Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Arabs, and other groups. These individuals have brought their religions with them. By living and working in the United States, they have provided a human face to religions that previously may have seemed alien and hostile. Changes in Catholicism and in American attitudes to Catholics greatly diminished traditional anti-Catholic sentiment, and both Catholics and Jews moved into the American mainstream in the second half of the 20th century. While pockets of gross intolerance and even hatred remained and many people continued to harbor ingrained prejudices and suspicions, by the close of the 20th century, the United States arguably was the most religiously tolerant and pluralistic society in the history of the world. None suffered any legal limitations because of their religious beliefs; religious discrimination was outlawed; and most people interacted positively with others of different religious views and even no religion. Threats loomed on the horizon. As people demanded greater latitude for the free exercise of their faith, the question of where the line should be drawn became more important, as did the issue of teaching about religions, particularly when scholarly evidence told a story radically different from religious teachings. Additionally, Islamist movements opposed to democratic freedoms and Western social norms also began to emerge as challenges to the American model of religious freedom and tolerance (see ISLAMISM). Many of these threats to the hard-won tolerance of the late 20th century would emerge dramatically following the attacks of September 11, 2001.

RELIGION AFTER SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Just before 9:00 A.M. on September 11, 2001, a commercial jetliner flew into one of the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City (see SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE). Shortly afterward, a second plane struck the other tower. Minutes later, as people streamed from the buildings and as bystanders and thousands of people viewing television watched in horror, the south tower began to collapse, one floor dropping on the one below. The north tower's collapse soon followed. Amid this chaos, another jet dove into the Pentagon, tearing a huge chunk into the wall of that massive edifice, the central command system of the U.S. military.

Rumors flowed, fear grew, and anger mounted. Planes were ordered out of the air. Amid this chaos, a fourth jet, its departure time delayed, also had been commandeered by terrorists. Yet the delay made all the difference. The passengers on this plane, United Flight 93 flying from Boston to Los Angeles, alerted by cell phone conversations with family and friends, realized that their plane also was being directed to a major public building. The Capitol? The White House? No one knew, yet several passengers realized that something needed to be done. Supported by those with whom they spoke, they agreed to attempt to retake the plane. With the words "God bless you" ringing in their ears and deeply heartfelt prayers and a final "Let's roll," from one of the planners, the courageous individuals mounted an assault on the cockpit, bursting in and wrestling with the hijackers for control of the airplane. The assault was only partially successful. They did prevent the hijackers from achieving their goal of flying the plane into its intended target, but only at the sacrifice of their own lives, as the plane crashed into a field in Pennsylvania.

During these hours and the days that followed, fear and concern gripped much of the U.S. population. It soon became clear that the terrorist attacks were planned and carried out by a group of radical Islamists under the direction of al-Qaeda, a radical Muslim organization directed by Osama bin Laden, a Saudi national living in Afghanistan, where he was protected by the country's Islamist government led by the Taliban.

A palpable fear gripped the country. Were other attacks in the offing? How secure was America? Was there a concerted conspiracy by an Islamic movement to destroy the country? If so, was this conspiracy supported by American Muslims? And even if not, had the country been infiltrated by radical Muslims who were biding their time to be activated and begin their own attacks? How were they funded? Who aided them? And, perhaps, more important, what had driven these individuals from solidly middle-class families in Saudi Arabia, many of whom had been educated in Europe, to undertake such a heinous crime? Was the source Islam itself or a distortion of Islam? If the latter, how had the version of Islam with which they were indoctrinated led to such violence, and how widespread was that version?

These would be some of the questions that dominated issues related to religion during the first decade of the 21st century. These would not be the only issues, however. Among the pressing concerns would be the relationship between government and religiously based organizations delivering social and human services. Evolution also would reemerge as a major issue. Concern over immigration would, in many ways, also carry some challenges to religious tolerance, because some Americans felt that immigrants came to this country with the "wrong" kind of religion. Just as in the past, opposition to immigrants also included a fear that their religions would destroy the "good" religious fabric of the United States. In the 19th century, the fear was that the challenges would be from Catholicism, which would pollute the "pure" Protestant Christianity that flourished in the United States. Later, it was the fear that an influx of Jews, Chinese, Indians, and Japanese would end the United States as a "Christian" nation. This latter fear, combined with a resurgence of opposition to Catholicism (or at least the variant brought by immigrants from Mexico and Central and South America), constituted the major religious element of the opposition to immigration during the 21st century.

The events of 9/11 and the responses to it raised the specter that the progressive unfolding of religious tolerance in the United States may have been interrupted. It also placed in strong relief some of the issues that lay in the background about groups such as the Identity movement, primarily what is an appropriate response to religious movements that not only preach intolerance but also act on it? This latter point involves the form of Islam that motivated the 9/11 terrorists.

One of the biggest obstacles facing most Americans individually and collectively is their relative ignorance of Islam. Much of what most Americans know came from news of attacks on Americans, Europeans, and Israelis by extremist groups. These include the takeover of the American embassy in Iran following the Islamic revolution, attacks on the American embassy and French and American peacekeepers in Lebanon, the kidnapping of numerous Americans and Europeans in Lebanon, and a series of terrorist attacks on Israel and Israelis. Additionally, many Americans also associate Islam with the NATION OF ISLAM, a radical black separatist movement that has few connections with orthodox Islam. Few Americans associate Islam with their work colleagues, their neighbors, or their classmates.

Islam, however, is the second-largest religion in the world. It predominates in the Arab world, but most Muslims are not Arabs. In fact, only 15–20 percent of the Muslim population is Arab. The overwhelming majority are Indonesians, Malaysians, and South Asians from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Iranians and the Turanic peoples also represent a significant proportion of the Muslim world. Islam had its start in 610 C.E. when Muhammad, an Arab merchant living in Mecca, began to receive a series of revelations from God (Allah, in Arabic). These revelations spoke of the one true God, who had revealed himself through history to numerous prophets, including Moses (Mussa) and Jesus (Issa), but these revelations had been incomplete or distorted. The revelations which were being given to Muhammad were the ultimate and final revelation. These revelations informed Muhammad that there was one true God and that God was one. The revelations, compiled into what is known as the Qur'an, also revealed that the true path of religion consisted of acknowledging and proclaiming the oneness of the true God and the finality of his revelation in Muhammad, praying five times daily, giving alms (*zakat*) to appropriate recipients, fasting from sunrise to sundown during the month of Ramadan, and making a pilgrimage to Mecca if one's finances and health allowed.

By the time of Muhammad's death, Islam had gained control of most of the Arabian Peninsula and had begun to expand. By the eighth century, Muslim rulers controlled much of modern-day Spain and Portugal and besieged southern France. At its greatest expanse, the Muslim world would extend from Malaysia and Indonesia in the east, through most of sub-Saharan Africa in the south and west, north into Russia, and to Kazakhstan and much of the Balkans.

Given this expansion, Muslims had numerous occasions to interact with Christians and Jews. Many lived under Muslim rule, and as Islam expanded, it often came into conflict with Christian kingdoms, preeminently the Byzantine Empire, which after centuries of onslaught fell to Muslim armies in 1453. Only in 1683, when a Muslim attack on Vienna was thrown back by a combined army of European kingdoms, was the westward expansion of Islam in Europe stopped.

During these centuries, Islamic regimes had incorporated large numbers of non-Muslims into their kingdoms. Christians and Jews made up the majority of these non-Muslims. Under some rulers and in some historical periods, such as in al-Andalus (Andalusia in modern-day Spain), the interactions generally were positive and resulted in a tremendous flowering of cultural and social interaction. Overall, however, Christians and Jews were relegated to a second-class social status. Known as *dhimmis,* they often were subjected to humiliating obligations, forced to wear distinguishing clothing, forbidden to ride horseback, denied equal status in the law courts, and subject to additional taxes. At times they were subject also to lawless attacks and massacres, with hundreds killed at a time. While overall non-Muslims fared better in Islamic lands than non-Christians did in Europe, their lives were marked by oppression and uncertainty.

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire following World War I and the assumption of power in its former colonies by European countries, preeminently Britain and France, the Muslim world faced the reality of having its heartland controlled by non-Muslims. This fact, or, more precisely, the way it was interpreted by certain Muslim thinkers, played a major role in the rise of Islamism, the theological movement that would inspire the terrorists who perpetrated the attacks on the Twin Trade Towers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001.

Islamism describes a form of Sunni Islam adhered to by a variety of self-proclaimed Islamic revival or restorationist movements that believe all social and political problems can be solved by creating a society that upholds their particular understanding of Islam. While there are significant differences among these groups, several doctrines tend to be held in common and separate their adherents from even the most traditional Muslims.

Like all orthodox Muslims, Islamists believe in the divine revelation of the Qur'an and in the behavior of the prophet Muhammad as the basis for structuring one's life. Islamists go further and maintain that the way in which the prophet Muhammad and his early followers lived and organized society should be the model for an Islamic society. Islamists claim that the failure to create such a society accounts for the problems in Muslim societies today. They emphasize, therefore, the need to adopt Islamic law, sharia, as a major first step in the development of an authentic Islamic society.

Islamists, however, disagree as to whether this change should take place through preaching and service or through violence. Those advocating violence are distinguished by three claims. The first is that they emphasize jihad as a violent armed struggle. Jihad traditionally has had two distinct meanings, only one of which means armed struggle, "holy war," to use the common translation, against the enemies of Islam. A story about the Prophet, however, has him referring to that form of jihad as the lesser jihad. The greater jihad is the internal struggle of the believer against immorality and toward a stronger and deeper religiosity.

Radical Islamists declare that jihad as armed struggle is the primary jihad. Not only is it primary, but those Muslims who fail to undertake or to support jihad have aligned themselves the enemies of God. Any Muslim whose beliefs vary from their interpretations becomes guilty of unbelief. The person is *kufr,* an apostate whom it is legitimate to kill.

This act of *takfiri,* proclaiming others guilty of *kufr,* separates radical Islamists from other Muslims. It also separates them from Muslim tradition that has viewed *fitna* (dissension, division) as one of the most egregious sins. Historically, even the most qualified Muslim scholars have been reluctant to declare individuals apostates, as long as they did not declare themselves to be such or did not manifest expressly un-Islamic behavior. This is particularly true of rulers. As long as a ruler prayed and did not restrict the practice of Islam, there would be no proclamation against him. This reflected the Muslim community's opposition to dissensions, conflict, and rebellion. *Takfiris,* on the other hand, believe that any nominally Muslim ruler who fails to institute and implement Islamic law and create an Islamic state is *kufr,* and jihad should be waged against that ruler. Radical Islamist groups in Egypt, Algeria, and elsewhere often directed their attacks against the governments of those countries, including the 1981 assassination of Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat.

The tendency of radical Islamist groups to divide the world also is reflected in the third element separating them from other Islamists and Muslims in general. While historically

Islam has viewed the world as divided between the *dar al-Islam* (the abode of Islam [peace]) and the *dar al-harb* (the abode of war), radical Islamists go even further and declare that the entire world (except where they are in control) is in a state of *jahiliyya* (pre-Islamic ignorance and darkness). This is as true for so-called Muslim countries as for non-Muslim ones. True Muslims, therefore, are under an obligation to fight against this un-Islamic world just as the Prophet himself fought against it during his lifetime.

The al-Qaeda terrorist organization is a radical Islamist organization. Osama bin Laden was a student of some of the dominant Islamist thinkers, and he was born and raised in one of the most conservative areas of Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Additionally, the 9/11 hijackers themselves were mostly Saudis and had been educated in the most extreme forms of Islamist doctrine. Several had undergone training in Afghanistan, which, since 1980 and the Soviet invasion of the country, had served as a nursery for Islamists. They arrived in the United States hostile to its culture and to everything about it. They were intolerant of its different religions, its loose morals, and the mixing of the sexes. This intolerance erupted in violence and the deaths of more than 3000 people, a list of which would illustrate the variety and multiplicity of American society and religions. One of the greatest slaughters of innocent civilians in American history came about because of religious hatred.

While not all Islamists believe violence is necessary for achieving an Islamic society, even they use a language of separation and condemnation of everything that is "un-Islamic" in a way that suggests an intolerance and hostility toward others. This has created some problems for Muslims in the United States. The oil wealth of Saudi Arabia has enabled its government and many individuals to promote the form of Islam practiced by the Saudi royal family. This form often is referred to as WAHHABISM (from the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab, 1703–92).

Wahhabism focuses on a strict and literal interpretation of the Qur'an, opposes any innovation in religion, and rejects any beliefs or practices that suggest anything or anyone other than God deserving of veneration. This has placed Wahhabists in conflict with many traditional forms of Islam, including Sufism, and with traditional practices in North Africa, Turkey, and the Balkans.

While Wahhabist doctrine does not, by itself, proclaim the obligation of violence, its radical separation between true religion and others presents several problems for religion and Islam in the United States. Given the extensive funding of Muslim scholars and of religious institutions—mosques, schools, youth organizations—in the United States by the Saudi government and individual Saudis, including the royal family, Wahhabism has a marked influence in American Islam. Many Saudi-published books and pronouncements by Saudi religious scholars virulently oppose Muslim interaction with non-Muslims. Media reports about the presence of these publications in American mosques and American Muslim schools also increased the suspicion of Muslims in the United States in light of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Such texts include one in a Saudi-published book for 10th graders used in some American Islamic schools that contains statements such as "Residing among the unbelievers continuously is also forbidden because it is dangerous for the belief of the Muslim. That is why Allah made it obligatory to emigrate from the land of disbelief to the land of Islam." Still others claim, "To be dissociated from the infidels is to hate them for their religion, to leave them, never to rely on them for support, not to admire them, to be on one's guard against them, never to imitate them, and to always oppose them in every way according to Islamic law." Even basic neighborliness is challenged as one book declares, "It is forbidden for a

Muslim to be first in greeting an unbeliever, even if he [the unbeliever] has a prestigious position." Such teachings raised serious questions about the willingness and ability of Wahhabi-influenced Muslims to integrate into American culture and political society.

While the majority of American Muslims oppose such teachings (consider the consistently ignored document issued by the Saudi Embassy to the United States stating that Muslims should not wear graduation gowns and caps), the very existence of such documents have led to greater suspicion of Muslims and provided much ammunition for anti-Islamic propaganda and voices.

This anti-Islamic attitude has numerous roots. As might be expected, much of it emerged from anger and hostility generated by violent attacks on Americans perpetrated by radical Islamists. Like earlier nativist movements, such as anti-Catholic and anti-Chinese agitation, negative actions by any member of a group have been attributed to all members. Additionally, some in the United States view Islam as a foreign religion brought to these shores by aliens. Some see it the way anti-Catholics viewed Catholicism in the 19th century. Such individuals argue that Islam and, by extension those who practice it, are too alien to be integrated into American society. They view the values and beliefs of Islam as too different and too antithetical to American values for there to be a productive fit and connection.

There also is the fact that Islam not only is not Christianity, it also is a religion that historically has been in conflict with Christianity. Many, therefore, see it as a threat to their understanding of the United States as a Christian (or Judeo-Christian) country. Additionally, many religious and cultural practices in Islam strike some as contrary to the norms of American society. While many of these practices do not vary from those of many conservative Protestants and Orthodox Jews, they seem alien to many. Also, many Americans base their judgments on stories of Muslim practices from centuries ago or from the most extreme Islamists. These practices bear little resemblance to the lived reality of most American Muslims. Finally, for some, hostility to Islam is nothing more than another manifestation of deep-seated racism and hatred of individuals with darker skin and who are not of European descent.

There is another strand of anti-Islamic attitudes that attempts to cloak its perspective in an intellectual cover. For those who present such views, the disagreement is not with Muslims but with Islam. These individuals claim that Islam (like Catholicism in the 19th century) is incompatible with modern, liberal democracy. Many go further, arguing that Islam itself is essentially an intolerant and violent religion that cannot live comfortably alongside other religions and peoples as an equal partner, let alone as a minority faith. In this view, Islam inherently is imperialist and will seek unceasingly to impose itself on others. Islam, therefore, must be opposed on an intellectual level, and no concessions made to its claims. While Muslims should not be constrained in their individual or even group practices religiously, individuals holding these views argue Islam also should not be granted a level of legitimacy in terms of the country's civic culture. They oppose those who speak of the United States as a Judeo-Christian-Islamic country. Such individuals also are vocal in their demands that American Muslims and organizations representing them, such as the COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CAIR), the Islamic SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA (ISNA), and the MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL (MPAC), take a much more aggressive role in condemning violence and terrorism.

The administration of President George W. Bush actively moved to distinguish between radical Islamists and the vast majority of Muslims. In the national memorial service for the victims of 9/11, Muslim leaders and clerics were visibly present, and President Bush has invited numerous Muslim leaders to the White

House. He continued the tradition, begun under President Clinton, of celebrating Eid al Fitr, the celebration commemorating the end of the fast of Ramadan, at the White House. Additionally, at the risk of antagonizing his conservative Christian base of supporters, he President Bush declared that Christians, Jews, and Muslims all worship the same God.

While the administration struggled to make it clear that the United States's responses to 9/11 and Islamic terrorists were not attacks on Islam or Muslims, many have continued to view them as such. Part of this resulted from the administration's clumsiness, including the positive use of the word "crusade" in President Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address, which was used by many Muslims as proof that there was indeed a war against Islam.

The aggressive movement against suspected terrorists and immigration policies directed at males from predominantly Islamic countries also exacerbated this tendency. The roundup of more than 1,000 immigrants shortly after the 9/11 attacks on minor immigration charges and the failure to ensure that they received adequate representation and treatment made many Muslims feel as though they were being targeted. The requirement that males from numerous countries, most of which were predominantly Muslim, register with the immigration service annually (later repealed) also gave the impression that Muslims were being singled out and discriminated against. The passage of the USA PATRIOT Act as a tool against terrorism also was interpreted by many Muslims as being directed expressly at them.

These feelings were compounded by the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as by reports of abuse of Iraqis held prisoner by Americans. Similarly, the imprisonment of numerous suspected al-Qaeda members at the U.S. military base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, in a seeming legal limbo also made many Muslims feel that they were being victimized. All these facts lent themselves to manipulation by radical Muslim clerics and Islamists and also created an environment in which blatant falsehoods could be believed. To a great extent, these combined to generate within the American Muslim community a sense of fear, separation, and persecution. Stories of attacks on individual Muslims either physical or verbal, harassment of women wearing the *hijab* (the head scarf), and awareness of individuals held indefinitely for minor immigration violations intensified this sense of intolerance. High-profile stories such as of a Sikh man murdered in 2001 because his killer thought he looked Middle Eastern, and of Waqar Hasan, murdered four days after the 9/11 attacks, only heightened these fears. Hasan, a convenience-store clerk, was murdered by an avowed white supremacist, Mark Anthony Stroman. Stroman later was convicted of murder and sentenced to death by a jury in Texas.

Despite such events, Muslim fears come mostly from perception not reality. In its 2006 report, CAIR documented 1,972 anti-Muslim events, ranging from physical attacks to profiling to business and employment discrimination, 300 of which involved religious accommodation complaints. Assuming all these complaints were both legitimate and intentional, even increasing the numbers tenfold (that is, assuming the complaints represent only a tenth of the anti-Muslim events in the United States) and taking the low estimate of 2 million individuals of Muslim descent in the United States, that means fewer than 1 percent of Muslims had a personal experience of any form of discrimination because they were Muslim. (If one were to take the high estimate of 7,000,000 Muslims in the United States, this would mean fewer than 0.2 percent of them had experienced any anti-Muslim event.) Still, the perception of hostility has played a major role in the lives of many Muslims and made many of them fearful and suspicious.

While the question of Islam as an intolerant religion and perceived intolerance of Islam in the United States dominated since the

September 11, 2001, attacks, there have been other concerns as well. These have involved the perennial issue of the teaching of evolution in public schools and government financing of faith-based social and human service organizations.

The conflict over the teaching of evolution in public schools continues to be one of those ongoing religious issues that emerges in the United States. Whenever it appears that it has been finally solved, it pops-up in yet another guise. Some may wonder whether it actually constitutes an issue of religious tolerance, yet it can be framed that way by both sides. For many who oppose the teaching of evolution, from large numbers of conservative Protestant Christians, to many Orthodox Jews and devout Muslims, the issue can be framed very directly. For them, the teaching of evolution is an assault upon their religious beliefs. It denies the validity of what they are teaching their children and forces them to fund and support doctrines they reject. For them, the teaching of evolution manifests itself as the secular worldview's assault upon religion and religious believers. It proves the intolerance which the materialist, secular world has for religion and believers, who are derided as ignorant and backward.

For those individuals who support the teaching of evolution, the argument appears to be very different. They feel that those who oppose the teaching of evolution are committed to forcing others to accept a particular religious teaching. This has particular salience because the most vocal opponents of teaching evolution are conservative Protestants, and their emphasis historically has been on a distinctive alternative to Darwinian evolution. When attempts to end the teaching of evolution failed miserably in the courts during the 1960s and 1970s, they moved to alternative tactics designed primarily to impugn the validity of evolutionary theory and to turn their understanding of creation into a legitimate scientific view.

Opponents of evolution strove to accomplish the former through many of their traditional tactics, first by pointing to the gaps in the fossil record and highlighting what, in their minds, evolution could not explain. A second tactic was to hammer on the position of evolution as a "mere theory." In this tactic they relied on the popular meaning of the word *theory*, which was at odds with the traditional scientific understanding. To the minds of many, theory is simply a thought, an unproven idea about how something works or happened. If evolution were a "mere theory" (and the word *mere* had particular power in their arguments), then it had no more claim to be accepted than other understanding of the creation of the world, animals, and human beings. An example of this was the decision by Cobb County, Georgia, to have a sticker affixed to the biology textbooks used in its public schools. The stickers stated that: "This textbook contains material on evolution. Evolution is a theory, not a fact, regarding the origin of living things. This material should be approached with an open mind, studied carefully, and critically considered." After three years of controversy and litigation, during which time a court declared the use of the stickers an unconstitutional endorsement of religion, the school board finally agreed to remove the stickers and to pay the legal fees of their opponents.

Despite yet another loss in the courts (following on decades of similar defeats), antievolutionists continued to try and diminish the explanatory power of evolution and hinder its teaching. As suggested above, some evolutionists attempted to manipulate conflicts within contemporary biology to prove that disagreements between scientists over evolution's specifics demonstrated its weakness as science. Other opponents focused on what Darwinian evolution seemingly could not yet explain. From this, they proceeded to criticize all of evolution. This has been the tactic taken by advocates of "intelligent design."

Intelligent design is based on two claims. The first states that certain complex phenomena within the natural world, and particularly within human beings, cannot be explained through the process of random adaptation or mutation central to Darwinian evolution. The second claim is that the discovery of similar complexity in any other arena of human life would be attributed to a designer. Just as when we locate a statue in an archaeological dig we do not presume it has the same source as a boulder but attribute it to a designer, such is the case with complex design in natural systems. In the words of one of intelligent design's leading proponents, "there are natural systems that cannot be adequately explained in terms of undirected natural forces and that exhibit features which in any other circumstance we would attribute to intelligence."

In court, however, Intelligent Design has fared no better than "Scientific Creationism." In the one case that has gone to court, a federal district judge in Pennsylvania ruled that a school board's requirement that Intelligent Design be taught clearly constituted a government endorsement of religion, and that despite attempts to hide it, Intelligent Design had creationist intent. The school board attempted to sneak religion into the curriculum by masquerading it as science. The uproar over the introduction of Intelligent Design into the local curriculum led to electoral defeat of all the school board members who supported it.

There is a fear that these and other conflicts will only increase in the future. As society has become increasingly aware of distortions and discrimination in many areas of education and social life, including religion, greater attention (rightly) has been spent in trying to remove them from textbooks and educational materials. There is a great deal of concern about how such determinations are made. Does a religious community get to make those decisions? Should they have veto power over what is written and taught about them? Does the failure to provide a story of which they approve an example of religious intolerance? These have become particularly pressing issues, particularly in California, where textbook wars have emerged regarding the presentation of Hinduism and Sikhism. Several Hindu organizations affiliated with the Hindutva movement in India and the ultra-nationalist and Hindu-centric Bharatiya Janata Party in India complained about the way Hinduism was presented in the revised textbooks. While a few complaints, such as opposition to describing the Vedas as poems and hymns rather than sacred texts, had legitimacy, others, such as their opposition to the widely held scholarly view of Aryan migration into India with the resulting establishment of the caste system and development of Hinduism following that migration, were problematic. They claimed the right to create a textbook version of Hinduism freed from any ambiguous or critical elements. When this attempt was opposed by several scholars, they became targets for innumerable attacks on their character and even recipients of death threats. This has been a growing concern among scholars of Hinduism, as many have become the objects of vicious attacks including death threats, in certain segments of the Indian press and throughout the Internet.

While the objections presented by Sikhs were less controversial (and apparently less violent), they do highlight the complexities of being fair and intellectually honest in an environment where different religious groups feel comfortable making demands on the public sphere. The Sikhs primarily objected to the use of a particular painting of Sikhism's founder Guru Nanak, claiming that the cropped beard made him look like a Muslim and that the finery he wore, including a crown, was antithetical to their teachings of Guru Nanak as a modest and humble man. When the textbook publishers offered a separate picture, the Sikhs rejected it, claiming that it was too Hindu in style. The Sikhs preferred a picture that showed him dressed like contemporary

Sikh. The publisher objected, stating that it was their policy only to use historical pictures in historical texts. The eventual decision was to remove the picture entirely.

The increasing aggressiveness of some practitioners of religion, and particularly the implicit or explicit violence within some religious movements, led to a reaction during the first decade of the 21st century. The most visible were the best-selling books published by Sam Harris (*The End of Faith*), Christopher Hitchens (*God Is Not Great*), and the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins (*The God Delusion*). To a great extent, these volumes were occasioned by the conflicts and violence. This fact, and the notoriety that the books quickly obtained through their unremitting and seemingly gleeful attacks on religion itself, guaranteed them a wide audience and public attention.

These very public attacks on religion have greatly increased the discussion of atheistic and agnostic views in America. Greater attention has been given to traditional atheistic and secularist organizations, such as the Freedom from Religion Foundation and the American Humanist Association. It has also given rise to new movements. The philosopher Daniel Dennett led in the creation of one such movement known as the Brights. This movement opposes all forms of supernaturalism and its effects on individual and social behavior. A Bright is, in their words, a person whose worldview is naturalistic, free of supernatural and mystical elements, and whose ethics and actions are based on that naturalistic worldview. The Brights have received a fair amount of publicity, given their association with Dennett and Dawkins, as well as James "the Amazing" Randi, a magician and illusionist who made his career by unmasking claims of paranormal and parapsychological powers. It is, however, hard to tell whether this movement will prove transformational or, like so many others, simply become yet another party to the long American debate about religions and their roles in society and their relationships to each other.

As such, the apparent increase in interest in free-thought or atheism simply blends into the ongoing challenges about the nature of religious tolerance and intolerance. Is it intolerant to write or state something about a tradition that a tradition opposes? Must religious traditions accept the publication and dissemination of statements and artistic renderings of items they find offensive or contrary to their teachings about themselves or their founding, or even contrary to their beliefs? Inevitably, in a pluralistic society, conflicting claims must emerge. If my religion tells me that your religion is wrong, then preventing me from stating that to avoid offending you is an offense to me. The ultimate question is, does the rejection of the claims of another tradition constitute intolerance? This, in fact, will be the greatest challenge to the United States's tradition of tolerance in the future. As new religious groups become more integrated into society and more comfortable with their location, and as traditional religious groups begin to lose power and feel marginalized, all will claim greater protection from slights and insults. They will claim a right to be free of all opposition and of any ideas contrary to their beliefs and claims, whether evolution, Aryan migration, or historical changes in religious doctrine. Religions, in the name of tolerance, will themselves demand intolerance against all that offends them. America's challenge for the 21st century is how to increase religious tolerance without destroying the other liberties and freedoms that define the country.

Edward L. Queen II
Andrew Stern

Entries A to Z

A

Abbott, Lyman (1835–1922) Lyman Abbott was a Congregational clergyman and successor of Henry Ward Beecher as minister at the fashionable Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York. Editor for many years of the *Outlook*, a weekly journal of modernist theological opinion, Abbott was one of the foremost popularizers of Christian evolutionary (see evolution) thought in late 19th-century America.

Abbott was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, on December 18, 1835. He graduated from New York University in 1853 and, after a short career as a lawyer, was ordained to the Congregational ministry at Farmington, Maine, in 1860. During the Civil War, Abbott served in a church in Terre Haute, Indiana. His concern for relating religion to questions of moral and social reform, however, led him to return east in 1865 to accept the executive secretary's position of the newly created American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC) in New York City. During the four years he held that position, the AFUC was an important voluntary agency overseeing educational work among former slaves in the South.

From 1869 to 1871, Abbott contributed articles to *Harper's Weekly* and the *Independent.* He edited the *Illustrated Christian Weekly* between 1871 and 1876 and, in 1876, assumed editorship of the *Christian Union* (renamed *Outlook* in 1893). Although Abbott replaced Beecher as pastor of the Plymouth Church in 1888, his talents were those of an editor and writer rather than of a preacher, and in 1899 he resigned his ministerial position to concentrate fully on journalism. Under Abbott's guidance, the *Outlook* was enormously successful. Its circulation soared from 15,000 to more than 100,000 subscribers by the end of the century.

During the 1890s, Abbott published a half-dozen books on evolution and on the Bible. In *The Evolution of Christianity* (1892) and *The Theology of an Evolutionist* (1897), for example, he applied principles of biological evolution to the development of the Christian faith. Celebrating the idea of humankind's inevitable upward ascent to God, these books displayed what biographer Ira Brown has called Abbott's greatest talent: the ability to bring together "the aristocracy of the mind and the thought of the masses." Thus, while Abbott was neither a sophisticated theologian nor a true scientist, he managed to touch a large audience of ordinary people interested in the relationship between science and religion. And despite only modest sales for his publications, Abbott's frequent lectures and public addresses reached thousands of curious middle-class Americans.

Abbott continued to be active as the editor of the *Outlook* and as a liberal Protestant opinion-maker well into the 20th century. He died in New York City on October 22, 1922.

GHS, Jr.

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Abernathy, Ralph (1926–1990) One of the most important leaders of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1950s and 1960s, Ralph Abernathy was born on March 11, 1926, in Hopewell, Alabama, the 10th child of Louivery and W. L. Abernathy. At his birth, his maternal grandmother, who was the community midwife, predicted that he would "be known throughout the world." Originally given the name David, he became Ralph only later when an older sister tagged him with it, after one of her teachers.

Abernathy's childhood was different from most African Americans growing up in rural Alabama and from the middle-class urban life that his colleague and friend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. knew growing up in Atlanta. His father was a moderately successful farmer who owned several hundred acres and whose attention to religion, duty, and family earned him the respect and admiration of his fellow blacks in Hopewell as well as that of most whites. Although Abernathy grew up in a segregated society, the grudging respect that whites granted his father along with his family's hard-earned economic self-sufficiency protected him from many of its humiliations.

Abernathy's parents were committed to religion and education. David attended both the Hopewell Baptist Church and the segregated black elementary school. Later he attended the private black high school organized by the black Baptist churches of the county, the state of Alabama not having seen fit to provide a public one for its black citizens.

His plans to attend college were interrupted by World War II, and Abernathy enlisted in 1944. After basic training, during which time he had been promoted to platoon sergeant, Abernathy was sent to Europe as the war neared its close. A case of rheumatic fever prevented him from being shipped to the Pacific with the rest of his company and probably saved his life. The company was ambushed on an island in the Pacific, and all but one man were killed.

After the war, Abernathy used his G.I. benefits to enter Alabama State University. Following graduation, he attended Atlanta University for a year, doing graduate work in sociology before returning to Alabama State as dean of men. During this time, he began to preach in several rural churches and was eventually called to be the pastor of First Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama, in the spring of 1952. This was a major challenge for someone as young as Abernathy, and he accepted with some reluctance. During this time, he married Juanita Odessa Jones.

Shortly after his wedding, Abernathy became pastor of First Baptist. The other leading black Baptist church in Montgomery also called a new minister. This call, issued to Martin Luther King, Jr., would have momentous repercussions for the future. The young couples soon became close friends, and King and Abernathy began to discuss how to introduce social and political issues into their ministries, which, given their youth and recent arrival, they felt had to be postponed for several years.

The arrest of Rosa Parks in 1955 for refusing to surrender her seat on a city bus to a white man shredded this timetable. King and Abernathy became the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, designed to end unequal treatment on the city's buses. This was a successful endeavor but took a major toll on both the pastors and their families. Not only were their homes bombed, but Abernathy's church, a historic building, was nearly destroyed by a bombing attack.

The work in Montgomery led to the formation of the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), with King and Abernathy as its primary leaders. By this time, King had moved to Atlanta, where he had become an assistant to his father at Ebenezer Baptist Church. He tried to convince Abernathy to join him in that city. When West Hunter Baptist Church in Atlanta offered Abernathy the pastorate, he accepted, albeit with much hesitation and regret.

After moving to Atlanta in November 1962, Abernathy's time was increasingly spent on work for the SCLC. He and King led the struggle for civil rights in Albany, Georgia, Birmingham, Alabama, St. Augustine, Florida, and Selma, Alabama. Abernathy also was instrumental in helping to organize the 1963 March on Washington. More comfortable with rural and working-class people than King, Abernathy was a significant part of the movement. He also was an able leader and administrator. The emotion that King engendered with his sermons was put into action by Abernathy.

Following King's assassination in 1968, Abernathy became the head of the SCLC and continued to lead it for the next several years. During this time, changes in the country began to affect its work, and many people increasingly challenged the idea of nonviolence. The war in Vietnam, campus unrest, and increasing militancy among many blacks presented severe challenges to the SCLC's message. Additionally, the SCLC's increasing emphasis on economic issues and its opposition to the war alienated and confused some of its earlier supporters.

Abernathy was a victim of these changes and, despite having led the organization through difficult times, found himself under pressure to resign as president of the SCLC in 1976. He did so, using his campaign for Andrew Young's recently vacated congressional seat as the reason. He came in third in an eight-person race.

Abernathy's public commitments eased after this period, and he engaged more directly with his church work and with black economic development. This concern led him to endorse Ronald Reagan for the presidency in 1980, but when the Republican Party's promises of assistance failed to materialize, Abernathy returned to the Democratic Party, supporting Jesse Jackson in the 1984 and 1988 Democratic primaries.

Heart problems increasingly dogged Abernathy in the mid-1980s, and he suffered several strokes. Despite these health problems, he continued his pastoral work until April 17, 1990, when he died of a heart attack.

EQ

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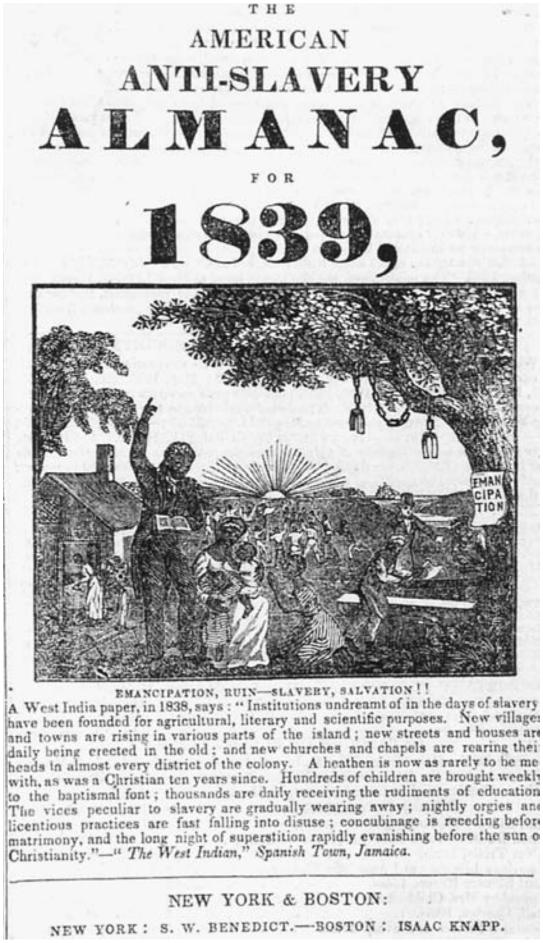
abolitionism The movement to abolish SLAVERY was one of many reforming (see SOCIAL GOSPEL) efforts that arose in American religious circles in the 1820s and 1830s. The antislavery impulse was rooted first in the confidence nurtured by 17th-century Puritanism that the world could (and should) be reformed in accordance with God's law. The revivalism of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING intensified this view and helped produce a vision of America as an ideal Christian republic. The revolutionary era's belief in natural rights, the enlightened rationalism of leaders like Thomas Jefferson, and the emphasis on human perfectibility in Unitarianism further bolstered the abolitionist movement in the early 19th century.

Although Quakers and Methodists had taken antislavery positions in the late 18th century, the expansion of slavery (especially after the Missouri Compromise of 1820) and the South's increasing dependence on the slave system muted opposition to the institution in the early days of the republic. The founding of the American Colonization Society in 1817, organized to raise funds to remunerate slave owners and repatriate ex-slaves to Africa, actually diverted antislavery opinion. Accepting the notion of black inferiority, this movement sought to rid the country altogether of a freed black population. But beginning in 1831 with the publication of William Lloyd Garrison's radical newspaper, *The Liberator,* which advocated immediate emancipation, abolitionist voices in the North became increasingly militant.

Several prominent northern Protestants were in the forefront of the antislavery movement. The publication of revivalist THEODORE DWIGHT WELD's anonymous tracts, *The Bible Against Slavery* (1837) and *American Slavery as It Is* (1839), widely influenced religious opinion against slavery. Presbyterian clergyman Elijah P. Lovejoy argued that slaves were human beings who possessed natural and inalienable rights given them by God, who was the sole true master of human beings. Calling slavery a moral evil for its usurpation of those rights, Lovejoy so inflamed his fellow citizens in Alton, Illinois, that in November 1837 he was murdered for his views.

Garrison and other abolitionists, however, accused the majority of Christian leaders of impeding, rather than aiding, the cause of freedom. Former slave Frederick Douglass, the most famous African-American spokesman of his day, declared in his 1845 autobiography that the slaveholding religion of the United States bore no relation to the faith of Jesus Christ and ought not be labeled *Christianity* at all. "Revivals of religion and revivals in the slave-trade," he said, always went "hand in hand together."



THE
AMERICAN
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EMANCIPATION, RUIN—SLAVERY, SALVATION!!

A West India paper, in 1838, says: "Institutions undreamt of in the days of slavery have been founded for agricultural, literary and scientific purposes. New village and towns are rising in various parts of the island; new streets and houses ar daily being erected in the old; and new churches and chapels are rearing thei heads in almost every district of the colony. A heathen is now as rarely to be me with, as was a Christian ten years since. Hundreds of children are brought weekl to the baptismal font; thousands are daily receiving the rudiments of education The vices peculiar to slavery are gradually wearing away; nightly orgies an licentious practices are fast falling into disuse; concubinage is receding befor matrimony, and the long night of superstition rapidly evanishing before the sun o Christianity."—"*The West Indian,*" *Spanish Town, Jamaica.*

NEW YORK & BOSTON:
NEW YORK: S. W. BENEDICT.—BOSTON: ISAAC KNAPP.

The antislavery movement zealously spread the message of abolitionism through such publications at the *Anti-Slavery Almanac.* *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

The antislavery movement occasioned the publication of perhaps the most influential American novel. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, daughter of a well-known Congregational minister and wife of a seminary professor, probed the moral conscience of the nation in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), which vividly described the terrible cruelties of slave life in the South. Stowe's story electrified readers throughout the North. Stowe herself claimed that she was not the author of the novel but merely a medium recording God's words of condemnation against slavery.

In the decades preceding the coming of the CIVIL WAR, the three largest American denominations split over the issue of slavery. The effects of abolitionism on the institutional life of the churches was first evident in 1837, when the Presbyterians divided into New School and Old School, a theological controversy exacerbated by the rise of the antislavery movement. While the New School Presbyterians favored both revivalistic methods of evangelism and political reform, the Old School insisted on conservatism in matters of doctrine, worship, and politics.

At the Methodist General Conference of 1844, the northern section of the church adopted an antislavery position, forcing the departure of southerners and the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in 1845. Between 1839 and 1842, isolated groups of Methodists in New England, New York, and Ohio also withdrew from the main church, organizing the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1843 on a platform of Christian perfection that included abolition.

Finally, a firm stand by northern Baptists against appointing slaveholders as missionaries aroused the anger of the South. The Virginia Baptist Foreign Mission Society issued a call for a consultative convention of southern members of the church, and in Augusta, Georgia, in May 1845 the Southern Baptist Convention was organized.

To the young American abolitionists who rose to prominence in the early 1830s, slavery was the greatest of all their nation's sins. Often more focused on the power of ideas than on actions or planning, the abolitionists focused on whether the United States could continue to accommodate itself to a social system of organized violence and abuse. What the times required, they believed, was the creation of a new moral perspective and an awakening of public opinion that would force politicians to work out the practical details of emancipation. By the mid-1840s, however, there was a distinct movement in the North away from mere rhetorical agitation toward the attainment of concrete goals. The birth of the Liberty Party in 1839, the formulation of the Free Soil platform in 1848, and the rise of the Republican Party in 1854 demonstrated that the older religious ideal, recast into a different mold, had entered the political mainstream.

Uncle Tom's Cabin concluded with the plea that North and South together repent of their slavery-related sins and thereby preserve the Union and spare themselves a visitation of God's wrath. American Christians proved unwilling to follow Stowe's advice. Religiously motivated arguments concerning the injustice of slavery were critical factors in leading the United States, first, into the political divisions of the 1840s and 1850s and, later, into the military struggle of 1861–65.

(See also GRIMKÉ, ANGELINA EMILY AND SARAH MOORE; PENNINGTON, JAMES WILLIAM CHARLES; PROSLAVERY THOUGHT; TRUTH, SOJOURNER; TUBMAN, HARRIET; TURNER, NAT; VESEY, DENMARK.)

GHS, Jr.

Bibliography: C. C. Goen, *Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the American Civil War* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985); Dwight A. McBride, *Impossible Witnesses: Truth, Abolitionism, and Slave Testimony* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); John R. McKivigan, ed., *Abolitionism and American Religion* (New York: Garland, 1999); Beverly Eileen Mitchell, *Black Abolitionism: A Quest For Human Dignity* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2005); Richard S. Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery In The Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

academic study of religion The academic study of religion has been a major component of American higher education since the founding of the first university in what would become the United States, Harvard, in 1636 (see RELIGIOUS EDUCATION). In fact, most of the early institutions of higher education had their impetus in the desire to ensure the existence of an educated ministry. Since that time, the nature of the academic study of religion has changed dramatically, with many in the field questioning whether ministerial study qualifies as coming under the academic study of religion.

In these schools—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, William and Mary—curricula tended to be fairly rigid and straightforward. It consisted of language study (Greek and Hebrew at a minimum), biblical exegesis, theology, ethics, and religious history that invariably emphasized the development of the Christian denomination (and these schools originally were all Christian) with which the school was affiliated. While relatively uncritical of the validity of basic Christian doctrines, the coursework was rigorous and graduates' understanding and knowledge quite high.

The fact that religion was studied in an academic context, however, does not mean that this was the same as the academic study of religion as scholars use the term today. Many academics doubt whether such study can take place in a confessional context. For them, the academic study of religion demands a level of critical analysis and evenhandedness that is difficult, if not impossible, in a school committed to furthering a particular form of religion.

The academic study of religion goes by other names as well: religious studies, comparative religion, the science of religion (a literal translation from its nomenclature in many European languages such as French, *Sciences de la Religion*, and German, *Religionswissenschaft*), and occasionally in the United States, particularly among those influenced by the work of Mircea Eliade, the history of religions. Most of these names capture only part of the overall scope of the academic study of religion, whereby religion is taken as a subject for critical analysis little (if at all) different from other academic subjects. If there is any difference, it is that religion lends itself to be analyzed from a variety of methodological and disciplinary perspectives—historical, anthropological, literary, sociological, and psychological, to name a few.

The view that the study of religion requires no special status be granted to subject matter and that all religions are to be studied in the same manner often has led believers to attack its findings. The earliest examples of this in the United States emerged from conflicts over the Bible. The emergence of critical biblical study, associated primarily with the research of Julius Wellhausen in Germany, where the use of literary, historical, and archaeological methods led many scholars to challenge the claim that the extant biblical texts were given by God to Moses at Sinai or revealed to the early Christian evangelists (see BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION; FUNDAMENTALISM [PROTESTANT]; MODERNISM [PROTESTANT]).

One of the leading events in the development of the academic study of religion was the 1902 Gifford Lectures by WILLIAM JAMES. These lectures, published as *The Varieties of Religious Experience,* demonstrated the analytical rigor, methodological complexity, and breadth of subject matter that became the hallmark of the academic study of religion.

While the attempt to study religion from a critical and analytical perspective has a long history dating as far back as Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 550 B.C.E.–c. 476 B.C.E.), who wrote two works that described the histories, customs, and religions of people in the known world. Like Herodotus (c. 484 B.C.E.–425 B.C.E.) in the *Histories,* Hecataeus was struck by the antiquity and depth of Egyptian culture and how much Greek religious beliefs and practices seemed to derive from them. This experience provided a critical edge to both of their works that distinguished them from their contemporaries and successors.

Their work was picked up by Islamic scholars who studied Persian, Jewish, Christian, and Hindu beliefs and practices. The Muslim scholar Muhammad al-Shahrastani, writing during the Middle Ages, produced the first comprehensive history of religion, the *Treatise on the Religious and Philosophical Sects* (1127). The Catholic scholar Peter the Venerable (1092–1156) studied Islam and began work on a Latin translation of the Qur'an.

Despite the work of these individuals and their successors, the academic study of religion did not become a field of study until the late 19th century. Among the leaders in the field's development, Max Müller, appointed Oxford's first chair in comparative religion, stated that it was "the duty of those who have devoted their life to the study of the principal religions of the world in their original documents, and who value and reverence it in whatever form it may present itself, to take possession of this new territory in the name of true science."

While such an approach to religion slowly began to win acceptance in the United States during the 20th century, only since the 1960s has it become the dominant force in college and university departments. This shift was reflected in the name changes such departments underwent between the late 1960s and 1980s, moving from being departments of religion or even departments of theology (often including biblical studies) to religious studies departments.

Such shifts often met with resistance, if not outright hostility. Many individuals rejected the critical approach to religious study and the treatment of all religions in the same manner. These conflicts were particularly intense in religiously affiliated colleges and universities as they struggled with the competing demands of their obligations to scholarship and the academy and to their denominations. Among scholars themselves, these shifts generated conflicts, particularly within the American Academy of Religion. Not only did it raise questions about the legitimacy of the scholarship of those who were deeply committed to a particular religious tradition, but the annual meetings of the academy often were venues for small but vocal protests.

While scholars of religion have not been free from criticism, controversy, or even threats (see "DEATH OF GOD" THEOLOGY), the late 1990s and early 2000s saw a major shift particularly directed at scholars of HINDUISM. Many of these scholars, including Wendy Doniger, Paul Courtright, and David White, found themselves the objects of vicious attacks in certain segments of the Indian press and throughout the internet. All received death threats. The most serious attack occurred not in the United States but in India in January 2004. A mob of right-wing Hindus offended by a book written by the American scholar James Laine attacked the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune, vandalizing the building and damaging around 18,000 books and 30,000 rare manuscripts.

Most religious studies scholars have not generated that level of hostility and violence. They often, however, have been fired or hounded from denominational schools and seminaries as a result of their work. Religious historians such as Ronald Numbers and Bill Leonard have been pressured to leave denominational schools (Loma Linda University [SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH] and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, respectively) because their work did not comport with the official narrative. While not necessarily hostile to religion, many of these scholars are convinced believers, their sense of duty to the data and the obligations of scholarship drive them to report conscientiously and honestly what their research shows. This often puts them at odds with those who are committed to a particular version of a religion. One result has been an ongoing tension between many religious traditions and the academic study of religion.

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Press, 1992); ———, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Frank Whaling, *Contemporary Approaches to the Study of Religion* (New York: Mouton, 1983).

Adler, Cyrus (1863–1940) Perhaps no single individual did as much to ensure the success of CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM as Cyrus Adler. His organizational and administrative abilities helped create or sustain the institutions designed to preserve traditional Jewish learning in the United States. This is all the more significant when one considers that Adler was not a rabbi and lacked the religious authority that such a position would have entailed.

Although born in Van Buren, Arkansas, on September 13, 1863, Adler's life was centered primarily in Philadelphia. There, in an uncle's home, he absorbed the Jewish faith and traditions as well as a penchant for learning. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania (1883), he attended Johns Hopkins University, from which, in 1887, he received the first Ph.D. in Semitics granted in the United States. After six years of teaching, he joined the Smithsonian Institution as librarian, later rising to assistant secretary of that organization. He left in 1908 to become president of Dropsie College in Philadelphia, which he built into one of the most significant Semitic language schools in the country. He served as president of Dropsie College and, after 1924, as president of Jewish Theological Seminary as well until his death on April 7, 1940.

Such a brief outline tells little about Adler's true accomplishments in American JUDAISM. An early member of the so-called Historical School, Adler was concerned with maintaining traditional Judaism while simultaneously making it responsive to new intellectual and social developments. He deplored the radical alterations in Judaism (see REFORM JUDAISM) undertaken by such men as ISAAC MAYER WISE and DAVID EINHORN but equally had little patience for the Yiddish-speaking eastern European Jews and what he saw as their parochial Orthodoxy (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM).

Cyrus Adler, educator and professor of Semitic languages, founded the Jewish Publication Society (1888) **and the Jewish Historical Society** (1892).

Adler's qualities emerged early. At the age of 23, he helped create Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and the Jewish Publication Society in Philadelphia. His expertise in Semitic languages served him well as he supervised the translation of the *Tanakh*, the Hebrew Bible (known to Christians as the Old Testament), into English between 1892 and 1917. Adler also was instrumental in founding the American Jewish Historical Society in 1892.

Although involved in the formation of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (1898), Adler, along with the other members of the Historical School, left to found the United Synagogue of America in 1913. This organization, of which Adler served numerous terms as vice president, became the institutional center of Conservative Judaism in the United States.

Adler's greatest accomplishment, however, lay in "saving" Jewish Theological Seminary. Following the death of its first president in 1897, the seminary entered a period of decline and by 1901 was in danger of closing. Adler managed a successful fundraising campaign that put the school on a sound financial footing. He then convinced the noted rabbinical scholar SOLOMON SCHECHTER to come from England to assume its presidency. Following Schechter's death in 1915, Adler became acting president of the seminary, a position he held until 1924, when, despite his lack of rabbinical credentials, he was appointed president. During those years, despite the many demands on his time, Adler's leadership solidified the position of Conservative Judaism in the United States and provided it with the institutional base it eventually would use to build itself into the largest branch of American Judaism, a position Conservative Judaism held until the late 1990s.

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Adler, Felix (1851–1933) Founder of the ETHICAL CULTURE Society, Felix Adler took REFORM JUDAISM to its most radical conclusion. Adler believed that religious particularism slowed spiritual development and that it was necessary to distill religion down to its true core, a core comprised of ethical action and inner purity. For Adler, this essential religion, or "ethical culture," was to be realized through philanthropic and educational activities designed to extend and deepen the relationships between the individual and the wider society.

Born in Alzey, Germany, on August 13, 1851, Adler came to the United States when his father accepted the position as rabbi of Temple Emanuel in New York City. Groomed to succeed his father, Adler was educated at Columbia University and the University of Heidelberg. His studies in biblical criticism at Heidelberg fused with the extreme rationalism of Reform Judaism and caused a crisis of conscience. Adler questioned whether he could in good conscience recite the traditional prayers or read from the Torah believing the statements were untrue. As Adler described it in his autobiography, "Was I to act a lie in order to teach the truth? . . . Was I to repeat these words? It was impossible. It was certain they would stick in my throat. On these grounds the separation was decided by me." After one year as rabbi at Temple Emanuel (1873–74), Adler left to become professor of Hebrew literature at Cornell University.

In 1876, Adler founded the Ethical Culture Society, which became the central activity of his life. The entire thrust of Ethical Culture was to strip away the religious particularities that separated people and to concentrate on the moral good within human nature. This moral good, or ethical reality, took on an almost supernatural cast for Adler. Individuals were to mold their lives and behaviors to this reality. In fact, for Adler, through moral actions one brought one's life into accord with this ethical reality.

As a result, Adler involved himself and the Ethical Culture Society in numerous political and social activities. These included support for the rights of labor, medical care for the poor, child welfare legislation, and political reform. Adler had a particular interest in education and instituted free kindergartens and vocational training schools. His ethical theories and involvement in social reform led to his appointment as professor of political and social ethics at Columbia University in 1902, a position he held until his death on April 24, 1933.

Although Ethical Culture never became a mass movement, Adler's ideas touched many people. He attempted to maintain the religious or spiritual impulse of religion while avoiding any particular confession or even an appeal to a supernatural deity. He envisioned a shared ethical ideal designed to bring people together while they attempted to realize their moral nature through doing good.

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Adventism See MILLER, WILLIAM; SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH; WHITE, ELLEN GOULD (HARMON).

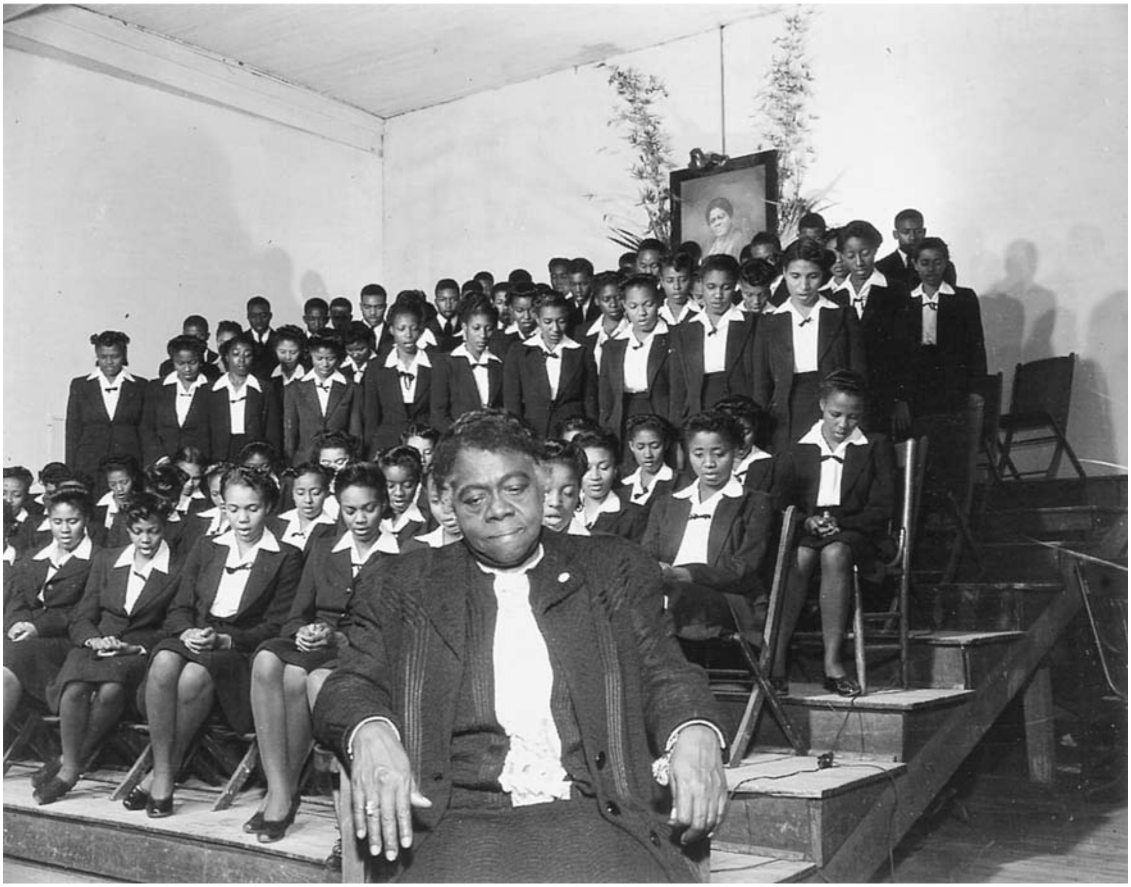
African-American religion The religions of African Americans have had a powerful effect on the religious life of the United States. The adoption and adaptation of Christianity to their own distinctive circumstances and its location as a bulwark against racism and oppression strengthened American Christianity, just as the development of indigenous religious forms and the adoption of Islam deepened the country's religious texture.

The earliest Africans arrived in the Americas in the service of the Spanish invaders as commanders, soldiers, interpreters, and slaves. They were Catholic, as the laws of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile demanded, although as Spain began to import large numbers of African slaves into its colonies this Catholicism often became nominal at best. Spanish and Portuguese priests baptized hundreds of enslaved Africans as they passed into the holds of ships bound for the Americas (see NEW SPAIN).

The first blacks to arrive in British North America came under different circumstances. They arrived at Jamestown, VIRGINIA (COLONY), in 1619 aboard a Dutch ship of mysterious provenance. Accepted into the colony as indentured servants, they were no different from most English arrivals who were expected to work for several years to pay their passage and board, after which time they would be freed and allowed to go on their way.

These Africans arrived in a region with a fluid economic and social situation. The need for labor was high, and the colonists struggled to ensure a constant supply. Indians were enslaved. Paupers, rogues, and ne'er-do-wells from England and Ireland were brought over as indentured servants. None of these provided a sufficiently stable work force. Africans seemed to offer a suitable alternative. Despite how resistant they were, they were thousands of miles from home, without family or friends to succor them. They did not blend in with the population, and they were not Christian. As a result, they seemed to be perfect candidates for enslavement. Christianization was a problem, however. It generally was understood that British law forbade the enslavement of Christians, and the possibility of being forced to free slaves if they converted to Christianity was a concern.

This issue became moot in 1667. In that year, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed a law declaring that "the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." With this law, the codification of black slavery begun in the 1620s became complete. The importation of Africans into the British colonies increased dramatically. By 1776, there were 50,000 Africans in the thirteen colonies. This number would grow to 4 million by the time of the Civil War.



Religion has been a primary source of independence for African Americans, producing such dynamic leaders as Mary McLeod Bethune, shown attending Sunday chapel service at Bethune-Cookman College. *(Library of Congress)*

Religiously, the lives of these slaves were quite varied. Torn from their roots, separated from family and society, many found it impossible to retain their traditional religion. This was all the more true given that slave owners, to aid in "breaking" and controlling the slaves, attempted to eliminate all African traditions. Ironically, in those regions where the labor was most difficult and mortality the highest, the rice and indigo plantations of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana, African traditions remained strongest. In those areas, the high mortality rate required a continuous supply of newly imported blacks, who brought African beliefs and practices with them. In these regions, blacks had less contact with whites and were less affected by white institutions and beliefs. While African religiosity rarely survived intact in the United States, cultural elements from Africa did remain and shaped how slaves interpreted and presented the Christian message.

The conversion of Africans to Christianity proceeded slowly in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the early decades, both Africans and whites resisted it. Africans struggling to retain their cultural identities rejected the alien religion. Slave owners feared that Christianity would ruin their slaves, making them impudent and assertive. Christianity also made blacks too much like whites and raised troubling questions of conscience.

Some were not satisfied with the situation, and in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was organized in England to provide missionary work in the English colonies. Part of this work was to be among the slaves, especially in the southern colonies, where there was an Anglican establishment (see SOUTH; EPISCOPAL CHURCH). The missionaries needed to convince slave owners to allow slaves to receive religious instruction. While compelled to tell slave owners that it was a duty to provide religious instruction, more successful was the argument that Christianity, rather than ruining slaves, made them better workers. If slaves understood Christianity aright, they would do their masters' bidding out of a sense of duty rather than compulsion, or so the missionaries argued. In this regard, the epistles of Paul were particularly useful, for example, Ephesians 6:5: "Servants be obedient to them that are your masters."

Convincing the slave owners was only part of the problem. Insufficient missionaries, slave resistance, and the catechetical process of the Church of England also hampered the society's work. African-born slaves were written off completely, as the few missionaries concentrated on those born in America.

Not until the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING (1797–1820) would blacks convert to Christianity in significant numbers. BAPTISTS and METHODISTS proved most successful at converting slaves and freed blacks to Christianity, since their requirements for both the ministry and conversion were simpler.

The Baptist ministry was open to anyone (male) who had a call to preach. The Methodist system of circuit riders provided a method for allowing one minister to cover vast distances. Baptists and Methodists converted the slaves because they were there and because conversion depended not on what one knew but only on the experience of God's grace.

Cultural attitudes also played a major role in African acceptance of Baptist and Methodist forms of Christianity. The more emotional worship that produced dramatic physical responses had correlations in African traditional religion. Christianity in its Baptist and Methodist forms looked like religion in a way that Anglicanism and PRESBYTERIANISM did not.

Theologically, these denominations had a greater appreciation for the equality of all believers under God's rule. Chafing under Anglican domination in the South and Puritan control in New England, the Baptists and Methodists preached against those in power who oppressed the weak and the poor. Such seeds did not fall on stony soil when sown among the slaves and freed blacks. This vision of the equality of all believers had practical effects as well, especially in Baptist churches, where enslaved blacks worshipped with whites on close-to-equal terms.

Even within these denominations, however, blacks suffered, as whites refused to accept them as equals. Blacks often left white churches and formed their own congregations. At the Methodist church in Philadelphia, the attempt to force black members to sit in the balcony led to an exodus and the formation of the first black Methodist congregation in the United States, Bethel, in 1794 (See AFRICAN-METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH; ALLEN, RICHARD). It also led to the formation in 1794 of the first black Episcopal congregation, St. Thomas, under ABSALOM JONES. Conflicts among Presbyterians in that city also led to a schism and the formation of a black Presbyterian congregation (1807).

In the South, slaves under watchful eyes found their actions more constrained. Even there, black congregations, such as the First African Baptist Church of Charleston, flourished. Founded in 1788, African Baptist grew to more than 2,400 members by 1830. Although these African congregations were rare (most blacks attended churches with whites until after the Civil War), they did provide a social space absent of direct white control and oversight.

Such absence was difficult to achieve. While missionaries argued that Christianity would produce a more docile and obedient slave, this was not necessarily the case. Whites preached "Servants be obedient to your masters"; slaves heard "Let my people go." Not being stupid, the slaves realized that white preachers and authorities emphasized only part of the story. They slipped away to worship on their own. Throughout the South, blacks gathered to sing, dance, and pray far from the prying eyes of white overseers, masters, and mistresses. Here the cultural traditions from Africa became the medium for expressing a new religion in a new world. Here story and song brought the age-old message of redemption from sin, of freedom from slavery to sin (and from the sin of slavery) to a poor, oppressed, and illiterate people.

Many of the 200 plus slave rebellions in the United States had their roots in religion. The thwarted Charleston, South Carolina, rebellion of 1822 led by DENMARK VESEY combined Christian and African religious motifs as well as appeals to the rights of men. Other, lesser uprisings had their motivating force in the vision of God freeing the Hebrew children from Egyptian slavery and destroying Pharaoh and his army.

The most famous of these slave rebellions was the NAT TURNER rebellion of August 1831. Turner understood himself to be chosen by God to "fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first." The rebellion struck terror into the whites of Virginia and North Carolina before it was suppressed with the slaughter of many innocent blacks.

Slave revolts and abolitionist (see ABOLITIONISM) attacks on slavery as an immoral and un-Christian institution prompted a white southern response. Some of these responses were legal—increased limits on black mobility, prohibition of unsupervised black meetings, and laws against black literacy. Another response was increased religious teaching among the slaves; the so-called mission to the slaves was designed to ensure that blacks did not continue to interpret the biblical stories erroneously and to prove to the abolitionists that slavery was a positive good because it led to the Christianization of these "heathens." While the mission did not stop the slaves from interpreting and manifesting Christianity in their own way, it did bring larger numbers of blacks into contact with Christianity.

The Civil War ended the system of slavery that had been the social norm of the antebellum South. During the period of relative social and political equality of Reconstruction, blacks moved from integrated white-dominated churches to black churches. Although the white denominations struggled to keep them, primarily as part of their struggle to re-create the system of inequality and control that had marked the period before the war, the freed slaves, aided by northern missionaries both black and white, formed their own congregations and denominations. This led to rapid growth of both the African Methodist Episcopal Church and AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH, and to the formation of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (see CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH). Other separate black denominations included the Colored Primitive Baptists and the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

The biggest growth, however, was among the Baptist churches that soon dominated the black religious landscape. Not until 1895 did they combine into an organized denomination, NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., INC. Although rent by conflicts over politics, theology, and personalities into three separate organizations, it remains the largest black denomination in the United States.

With the collapse of Reconstruction and the smothering of black hopes for freedom and political rights, the black church in the southern United States became a locus for black self-determination. In the churches, blacks could maintain their dignity and independence. There generations of black leaders would be reared, and there blacks would try to make sense of the oppression they suffered.

While the church may have provided blacks with solace from the racism experienced in their daily lives and may even have provided a theological understanding of it, the church rarely advocated acceptance. The dawning of the 20th century saw several responses to this racism and oppression couched in religious language.

Although not expressly identified with religion, W. E. B. DuBois articulated the significance of black religion most eloquently in his book *The Souls of Black Folk*. DuBois, a founder of the NAACP, argued vigorously for the attainment of black political and legal rights. Recognizing that the problem of the 20th century would be the "problem of the color line," he saw within black religion a reflection of the power and dignity of African Americans. He also saw there a spiritual power that could transform America by demonstrating the true power of Christianity.

This idea of black dignity was reflected in the views of several black leaders. Many were ministers who saw within the black religious experience the possibility for the realization of true Christianity. The darker races were to show the Europeans and Americans a Christianity freed of racism, hatred, and violence. Others saw a need for a return to Africa as the only escape from American racism. While such voices were a minority, they touched responsive chords in the lives of many blacks.

The onset of World War I saw wide-scale black migration from the rural South to northern and western urban centers. In these unfamiliar environs, religion provided blacks with security and familiarity, just as it did for millions of European immigrants who flocked to America's shores. Many urban black churches were no more than storefronts holding a couple of dozen people. Others, such as Olivet Baptist in Chicago, were tremendous institutions providing not only religious activities but housing and employment assistance, day care services, and educational opportunities.

The most distinctive response to this urban environment was the emergence of the so-called black cults. These varied tremendously in their goals and methods, from the Peace Mission Movement of Father Divine to the racially separatist Nation of Islam. What these movements shared was the presence of a charismatic and powerful individual leader, a black man or woman unafraid of existing power structures both white and black, who articulated a message of individual, social, and economic improvement that appealed to poorer blacks.

Many, such as the Peace Mission Movement, the United House of Prayer for all People (see Grace, Sweet Daddy), and Ida Robinson's Mt. Sinai Holy Church, emerged out of the Holiness movement or Pentecostalism. Both demanded strict moral behavior, often determining most aspects of members' lives, including where they lived and who they married. Their emphasis on healing and personal transformation carried through many levels, giving their members a sense of identity, self-worth, and pride despite poverty and racism.

Radically different in their intent were the black nationalist movements. These movements preached a message of African-American pride, independence, and self-reliance. Although some were predominantly secular, such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) of Marcus Garvey, others, such as the Nation of Islam and the Black Jews were religious. Significantly, none were Christian, which was identified as the religion of the oppressors, but adapted a different religious tradition to create not only a message of black self-worth but of black (moral) superiority. In doing so, they spurned the color-blindness of a Father Divine, affirming black distinctiveness and separatism.

The most significant of these movements was the Nation of Islam (NOI). Although Garvey's UNIA numbered its members in the tens of thousands at its height in 1925, it collapsed following Garvey's conviction for fraud in connection with his Black Star shipping lines. The Nation of Islam has been much longer lived and despite its insularity has played a role greater than its size would suggest.

Begun in Detroit in 1931 by W. D. FARD, who preached a message of black superiority, a rejection of Christianity, and a system of rigid moral and individual discipline, the Nation of Islam made slow but steady inroads among the black underclass of that city. Following Fard's disappearance in 1934, a power struggle broke out, resulting in the removal of numerous members to Chicago. There, under the leadership of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) emerged as a significant force in the African-American community and eventually American society.

The Black Muslims were proud, self-disciplined, self-sufficient, and determined. They had no qualms about using any means necessary to defend themselves. The Black Muslims completely rejected white society. They did not want a place at the American banquet table, they wanted their own table and were determined to get it. Achieving a high degree of visibility through the work of its National Representative, MALCOLM X, the Nation of Islam articulated a radical vision of black independence, going so far as to demand that white America should give blacks several states in "reparations" for the wealth that whites stole from blacks.

In this respect, the NOI differed greatly from the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1950s and 1960s. If anything attests to the vitality and strength of African-American life and religion, it is the "Movement." Although the roots of the civil rights struggles of the third quarter of the 20th century lay with men of a secular bent, such as W. E. B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, and Roy Wilkins, as a movement with a religious drive and fervor it transformed a nation. The Civil Rights movement drew its strength from the African-American church. The reasons for this are historical, sociological, and theological.

Historically and sociologically, the black church was the primary location of black independence and leadership. From the 18th century on, it had been active in fighting against the discrimination suffered by Africans in North America. Free of white control and involvement, the black church was the place where African Americans could attain positions of power and influence without competing with or risking humiliation from whites.

In some cities, the ministers of the leading black churches functioned as political leaders of the black community in its dealings with the white power structures. Not only were black ministers a black elite, they were also the only members of the black elite with regular and continual contact with the black masses. Therefore, it was through the churches that the movement for black civil rights could become a mass movement.

Although a movement of many paths and individuals, one person came to symbolize the fusion of the black church and civil rights. This was MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. The son and grandson of ministers, whose father led one of the largest and most prestigious churches in Atlanta, Martin Luther King, Jr., grew up immersed in the black church that was the source of his vision and his moral power. King saw in African Americans the last true hope for America. Only through their willingness to suffer as innocents could the United States be transformed. Their refusal to accept the evil of racism could remove it from the soul of America. Opposition to racism became part of a process of national salvation, whereby the sins of a country would be washed away by the blood of innocents.

This religious dimension affected many whites as they heard King's speeches steeped in the language of the Bible. The sight of blacks attacked by police dogs in Birmingham in 1963 and clubbed by mounted state troopers in Selma in 1965 did much to garner white support for black demands for civil rights.

Many blacks disagreed with King's emphasis on nonviolence, feeling that it further served to demean black America. Frederick Douglas's dictum that "He who is beaten easiest is beaten oftenest" rang in their ears. This opposition came earliest from secular, non-Christian sources, the most vocal and visible of these being Malcolm X.

As white America proved increasingly intransigent, the voices against nonviolence increased, especially after King's assassination in 1968. Movements within black religion mirrored these developments. Amid growing demands for "Black Power" and black pride, many black church leaders within predominantly white denominations began organizing black caucuses. This movement became most visible to whites when, in 1968, James Forman strode into Riverside Church in New York City and on behalf of all African Americans demanded $500 million in reparations for past white abuses. Forman and the Conference of Black Churchmen, which had formulated the demands, were derided by many whites. Others, challenged morally by Forman's call, agonized over their response. Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, the leading black Baptist, berated both Forman for the demands and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES for organizing a black development corporation in response to them.

While solving little and in many ways exacerbating existing tensions, the "Black Manifesto" raised to bold relief the increasing polarization between white and black America. Such polarization emerged out of the radically different experiences of the two communities, and despite the universal elements they shared, the overcoming of these different experiences would not and could not be easy, especially given the disparity of power between the two communities.

During this period, there also emerged a self-consciously African-American theology. Although African-American religious reflection had always been different, the black theology that emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s was new in its awareness of that uniqueness and its intentional reflection on it. Religious thinkers such as James Cone also brought about more serious attention to traditional forms of African-American religiosity. The church music, preaching, and prayer, once derided by intellectuals and theologians as crude, were now viewed as vivid expressions of a people's lived experience, an expression that could not be judged by criteria external to that experience but analyzed only in light of it.

African-American religion, despite assaults by poverty, despair, secularization, and racism, remains a powerful force. Nearly 18 million blacks belong to one of the leading black Baptist, Methodist, or Holiness-Pentecostal denominations alone. This is not counting smaller denominations and non-Christian religions and is a phenomenal number out of a population of 28 million. Religious leadership remains the training ground for many black political leaders, from Jesse Jackson to LOUIS FARRAKHAN.

Surveys conducted in the 1990s suggest that black churches exert a much more powerful force on their members than do white churches. This is especially true for teens and young adults, who look to the churches as the location for their moral values and codes of behavior. That said, by the mid-1990s, many had begun to fear that African-American Christianity, at least, had become a "woman's" religion and that men were ceasing to attend church. This apparent fact along with the seeming decline in male role models for young African-American males led to a concerted effort to present a masculine face on religion. Many congregations began to develop formal programs whereby adult male members worked with male children and youths, emphasizing responsibility, hard work, and religious values. One particularly visible example of this trend was the Million Man March in October 1995. Although organized by Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, the march was designed to bring to Washington, D.C., "a million sober, disciplined, committed, dedicated, inspired black men" to counteract negative images of African-American men and to have them dedicate themselves to rebuilding and improving their communities.

This commitment of strengthening their communities also led many African-American congregations to respond quickly to the increased opportunities to obtain federal funds to provide social services presented by welfare reform in 1996 under President Bill Clinton and then expanded under President George W. Bush. These FAITH-BASED INITIATIVES were designed to make use of local organizations and local knowledge as well as the strength of communities of faith to address the problems faced by impoverished individuals. They gained much of their impetus from the successful work undertaken by the Ten Point Coalition in Boston and the Reverend Eugene Rivers as well as other black religious organizations working in dramatically distressed communities.

In the 21st century, religion continues to be central to the black community in America. It does so by being preeminently theirs—true to their experiences, needs, and aspirations. It has been and remains the source of moral authority within the community, its gathering place and its refuge. The centrality of black religion to the black community was summed up best by the African-American theologian Kelly Miller Smith: "The line of demarcation between the black secular community and the black religious community, or the church, is at times invisible."

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African Methodist Episcopal Church The oldest African-American denomination in the United States, the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church has its roots in the white refusal to grant blacks equality in worship. Although not organized as a denomination until nearly three decades later, the A.M.E. Church traces its beginnings to 1787.

In that year, RICHARD ALLEN, ABSALOM JONES, and two other black worshippers were assaulted by white ushers at St. George's Methodist Church in Philadelphia and forced from their seats. Outraged by this treatment, they led a secession from the church, organizing the Free African Society. Dismayed by the society's increasingly Quaker orientation, Allen and Jones left to form another black church, St. Thomas's. Still smarting at the affront offered them by the Methodists of St. George's, a majority of St. Thomas's members voted to affiliate with the EPISCOPAL CHURCH. When the office of minister was offered to Allen, who, along with Absalom Jones, had voted for Methodist affiliation, he refused, telling them that he was a Methodist and "indebted to the Methodists for what little religion" he had.

Allen then organized Bethel Church along Methodist lines. Bethel grew steadily and by 1794 had completed its own church building, consecrated by the United States' first Methodist bishop, FRANCIS ASBURY. Increasing restiveness with white control led Allen to call a meeting in 1816 of leading black Methodists from churches in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland to discuss the formation of an African Methodist denomination. The suggestion met with general approval, and the representatives voted to organize the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Allen was chosen the first bishop and over a period of several days was ordained an elder and consecrated as bishop. Under Allen's leadership, the A.M.E. experienced a period of strong growth and activity, spreading throughout the Northeast and Midwest and even making some inroads in the South. There, however, its position as an independent black denomination and Allen's outspoken opposition to slavery aroused suspicion and legal difficulties.

Feeling a kinship with their ancestral homeland and with fellow blacks in this hemisphere, the A.M.E. early began a program of foreign missions, sending out its first missionary, Scipio Bean, to Haiti in 1827. Other missions followed to Liberia, southern Africa, and the Caribbean. Africa remained a center of A.M.E. work, and in 1990, four of the A.M.E.'s 19 districts were located there.

The Civil War provided a significant impetus to growth of the A.M.E. Missionaries went South to aid the freed blacks. Although the staid church services of the A.M.E. alienated many southern blacks, others were impressed by its organization and independence. For these, the A.M.E. provided an alternative to the white-dominated Methodist churches.

The A.M.E. has been active in black education and social improvement from earliest times. Its book publishing concern was the first owned by blacks in America, and the *Christian Recorder* and the *A.M.E. Review* are the oldest black newspaper and magazine in the world, begun in 1841 and 1883, respectively. A.M.E. founded its first college, now Wilberforce University, in 1856 and now runs several colleges and seminaries, many founded by Daniel Payne, one of the A.M.E.'s leading missionaries to the South. In 2004, the African Methodist Episcopal Church had a membership of about 3.5 million in more than 8,000 churches, making it the third-largest historically black denomination in the United States.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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H. Wesley, *Richard Allen: Apostle of Freedom* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1969).

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church Like the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church has its origins in the failure of white American Methodists to treat their black coreligionists as equals. It dates back to 1796, when several black members of the John Street Church in New York met together in order to worship free from racism. Services conducted by black lay ministers were held in the shop of a black cabinetmaker. These services were so successful that the participants soon built their own chapel, completed in 1801 and incorporated as the African Methodist Episcopal Church (called Zion) of the City of New York.

The ordained minister of the church continued to be white until 1820 when, Zion Church and the Asbury African Methodist Episcopal Church, also in New York, decided to merge to form a separate denomination. Organized in October of that year as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the new denomination quickly became embroiled in conflict with the older A.M.E. Church from Philadelphia under the leadership of Richard Allen. This conflict continued for decades, easing slightly with the addition of *Zion* to the denomination's name in 1848.

The church always has been politically active and included leading black abolitionists among its members, including Harriett Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and Frederick Douglass. This commitment to justice has continued up to the present, with the A.M.E. Zion Church being the first Methodist denomination (white or black) to ordain women.

Although growing slowly during its early years, the church experienced rapid growth following the Civil War and again in the early part of the 20th century. In 2006, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church had an American membership of about 1.4 million members in more than 4,000 congregations.

(See also African-American religion.)

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Alcott, Amos Bronson (1799–1888) An influential educational, religious, and social reformer in 19th-century New England, Amos Bronson Alcott was at once brilliant and erratic. Best known for his attempts to combine antislavery activism with progressive and utopian social experiments, Alcott is also notable for the mystical bent of his commitment to Transcendentalism.

The youngest of eight children, Alcott was born on a farm in Wolcott, Connecticut, and reared an Episcopalian. After traveling in Virginia and the Carolinas as a salesman in his youth, Bronson returned to New England and began his career as an educator. In 1830, he married Abigail May, by whom he had four children (among them the noted author Louisa May Alcott). That same year he published his first educational treatise, *Observations on the Principles and Methods of Infant Instruction.*

Alcott based his educational theories on his experiences as a teacher in Boston and Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the 1820s and 1830s, and later as the superintendent of public schools in Concord, Massachusetts, in the 1850s. In 1836, he published *Record of Conversations on the Gospels,* in which he summarized discussions among his students on moral and religious themes. His pedagogy, as outlined in this work and in his other educational treatises, proved controversial, particularly his frank discussions of sexuality with a "mixed" class of children.

At the same time, Alcott was also influenced by a mystical and Neoplatonic strain of transcendentalism, and he surrounded himself with fellow members of the Transcendentalist Club. Never able to attain financial stability through his work, Alcott periodically relied on financial assistance from RALPH WALDO EMERSON and later from the royalties his daughter Louisa garnered from the success of *Little Women*. Emerson paid for a trip to Europe in 1832, where Alcott met Charles Lane, a fellow reformer who was to become his partner in the establishment of Fruitlands, a transcendentalist communal experiment in Harvard, Massachusetts. In 1834, Lane and Alcott organized the community, consisting of Alcott's family, Lane and his son, and a few other friends. Although the experiment lasted only seven months, it demonstrated the practical social commitments of some transcendentalists.

At Fruitlands, Alcott insisted upon a strict and somewhat idiosyncratic physical and social regimen: He banned the consumption of meat, alcohol, tea, coffee, milk, and even carrots (because they developed away from the sun). In keeping with his advocacy of the antislavery cause, he forbade the wearing of cotton as a protest of the slave system and even prohibited the use of wool clothing because it represented the enslavement of sheep. He required his followers to take cold water baths for their health. Finally, Charles Lane tried to institute a standard of celibacy. But that regulation, along with the general agricultural and financial failure of the enterprise, spelled the end of the social experiment at Fruitlands.

Although neither his utopian dreams nor his educational philosophies captured the public imagination, Alcott's ideas and his example were influential among his circle of New England acquaintances and fellow philosophical idealists. He left a rich written record of his many interests, including *The Doctrine and Discipline of Human Culture* (1836), *Concord Days* (1872), and *Ralph Waldo Emerson: An Estimate of His Character and Genius* (1882).

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Allen, Richard (1760–1831) The man who established the first black denomination in the United States, Richard Allen was born a slave on February 14, 1760, in Philadelphia. With his parents and siblings, Allen was sold in 1867 and taken to Dover, Delaware. There he was converted by a Methodist minister and soon took up preaching the gospel. Among those he turned to the Methodist path was his owner, who allowed Allen and his brother to purchase their freedom around 1781 (see METHODISM).

Allen returned to Philadelphia, where he became a businessman and lay preacher. Attending the first general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States in Baltimore in 1784, he was accepted as a "minister of promise." At the conference, the United States' first Methodist Bishop, FRANCIS ASBURY, reportedly asked Allen to accompany him on his preaching trips to the South on the condition that Allen not associate with slaves. Allen refused and returned to Philadelphia, where he worked as a Methodist teacher among freed blacks.

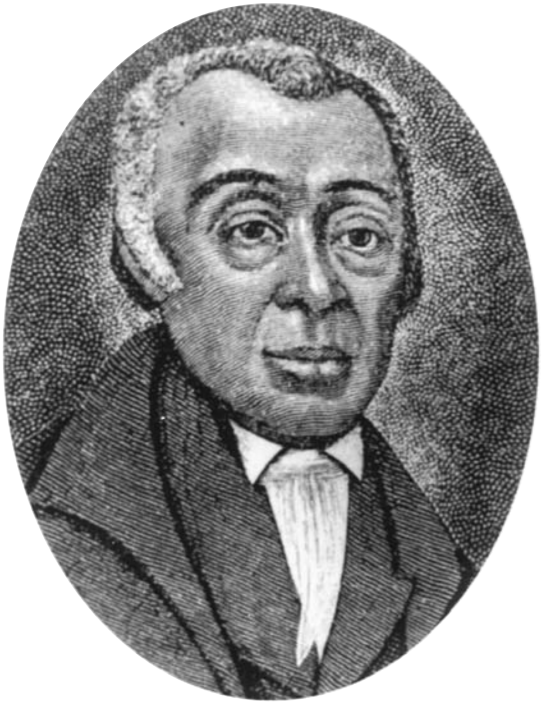
Despite his position as a respected member of the congregation of St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, Allen, along with the other black members, experienced much discrimination at the hands of his white coreligionists. The breaking point was reached in

1787 when Allen, ABSALOM JONES, and William White were assaulted by a church usher while praying. Angered by such treatment, they withdrew from the church and founded the Free African Society on April 12, 1787.

The society grew away from its founders, however, and, displeased with its increasing Quaker (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF) orientation, Allen and Jones left to found a new church, St. Thomas. When this congregation affiliated with the new Episcopal Church, Allen organized a black Methodist church, Bethel, in 1794. The church and Allen's influence grew steadily. In 1799, Bishop Asbury himself ordained Allen a deacon. Then in 1816, Bethel hosted a meeting of 16 black Methodist congregations. On April 9 of that year, these churches joined together to form the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (A.M.E.). Two days later, Allen was consecrated its bishop.

Allen was committed to the moral, educational, and political development of America's blacks as well as their spiritual development. Bethel organized a day school in 1795, and in 1804, Allen founded the Society of Free People of Colour for Promoting the Instruction and School Education of Children of African Descent. An active abolitionist, he led petition drives demanding the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania (1799 and 1800) and in the United States (1800). He vociferously opposed the American Colonization Society, fearing, as did many free blacks, that it would result in forced colonization. Allen also organized the "colored conventions," whose purpose was to organize blacks politically to oppose the injustices they suffered.

Allen's drive and personality often led him into conflicts with his colleagues, many of whom felt that he was more interested in consolidating his own power than aiding black Methodism. The result was that several black Methodist churches split from the A.M.E. Church or refused to join the denomination.



Richard Allen, the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in Philadelphia in 1816.

Despite these conflicts, Allen created the basis for independent black churches and independent black political organizations in the United States. The A.M.E. grew dramatically under his leadership until by the time of Allen's death on March 26, 1831, the African Methodist Episcopal Church had more than 7,000 members in the United States and missions in Canada, Haiti, and West Africa.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH.)

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American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.

The American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. is the fourth-largest group of BAPTISTS in the United States today. The most theologically liberal of the Baptist denominations, it is a federated body of churches that share two principal beliefs: the BAPTISM of adult believers by immersion and the independence of the local congregation (see CONGREGATIONALISM).

Baptists originally appeared on the radical fringes of the English Puritan movement in the 1630s. Although they agreed with orthodox Puritans that church membership should be limited to those who could testify to an experience of divine grace, Baptists contended that no one, including the children of church members, ought to be baptized until that person had made a personal confession of faith. Baptists also opposed religious establishments in all forms and believed that the church should maintain itself solely by voluntary (see VOLUNTARYISM), not by state-supported, means. When they arrived in America during the "Great Migration" of Puritans from England to Massachusetts between 1620 and 1640, their theological principles quickly brought them into conflict with the colony's leadership. ROGER WILLIAMS, a Puritan minister banished from Massachusetts in 1635 for advocating the separation of church and state, founded the first Baptist church in America at Providence, Rhode Island.

Baptists found a more favorable atmosphere in the middle colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, where they enjoyed religious toleration. In 1707, five congregations in those colonies united to form the Philadelphia Association, the first Baptist organization in America. Each local congregation was said to receive its authority directly from Jesus Christ, so the association could hold no binding power over the individual churches. Nonetheless, it facilitated interaction among them, especially in channeling their efforts in evangelism. The association also adopted a common confessional statement that provided some theological unity among the congregations.

The GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century represented a critical turning point for the Baptist movement in America. The revivals of the awakening inspired many to separate from the denominations in which they had been raised. In New England, many revival-oriented New Light (see NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS) Congregationalists challenged the parish system in Massachusetts and Connecticut and became Separate Baptists. Chief among this group was ISAAC BACKUS, who organized a Baptist church in Middleborough, Massachusetts, in 1756. Baptists generally adapted well to the changing religious climate in America, for their institutions embodied the most significant features of the awakening: lay leadership, local autonomy, and the ready acceptance of a voluntary system of church support. These emphases fit the country's democratic mood in the second half of the 18th century, and Baptist congregations increased dramatically in that period.

As the 19th century began, the renewed religious excitement brought by the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING further aided Baptist growth. Beginning in 1802, New England Baptists organized a series of benevolent societies to advance their denominational interests. These societies allowed congregations to maintain their nominal independence while combining resources for evangelistic, missionary, publishing, and educational endeavors. The General Missionary Convention (later called the Triennial Convention, because it met every three years) became the first national Baptist body. It was founded in 1814 to support the work of Baptist missionaries ADONIRAM JUDSON and Luther Rice.

Although the Triennial Convention intended at first to promote all sorts of benevolent activity, it later decided to limit its role to foreign missions. Other societies were soon formed to meet the convention's original aims. The Baptist General Tract Society was organized in 1824, and the American Baptist Home Mission Society came into being in 1832.

As their denomination grew, Baptists also saw the need for educational institutions that would train church leaders. The earliest Baptist college, Rhode Island College (now Brown University), had been organized in 1764. In the early 19th century, the Baptists founded many other colleges that hold national stature today. These schools include Colby College and Bates College in Maine and Hamilton College, Colgate College, and the University of Rochester in New York.

The movement to abolish slavery and the coming of the Civil War permanently divided Baptists in the North from their fellow church members in the South. During the 1830s, it became increasingly clear that the Triennial Convention and the Home Missionary Society reflected the interests of the northerners who ran them. A firm stand against appointing slaveholders as missionaries drove Baptists in the South to action. A call was issued for a consultative convention to meet in May 1845, and the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION was officially organized, distinct from the churches in the North. Although northern Baptists at first insisted that their southern brethren were not truly separated from them, the Civil War effectively sealed the division, and Baptists in the South henceforth went their separate way.

After the war, northern Baptists formed new missionary and educational organizations to increase their influence throughout the nation. Women's home and foreign missionary societies were chartered in the 1870s, and separate church conferences for German, Swedish, Danish, and other ethnic groups were also started. Overlapping programs and fund-raising drives, however, coupled with the jealous guarding of local church autonomy, threatened the financial stability of many church agencies. As a result, the various Baptist societies sought to coordinate their efforts by coming together in 1907 in a single, 1-million-member structure, the Northern Baptist Convention. The convention engaged ecumenically (see ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT) with other denominations and in 1911 became a charter member of the Federal Council of Churches. The majority of Free Will Baptists in the North, moreover, remnants of an 18th-century schism over the question of the freedom of the human will to choose salvation, also merged with the convention in 1911.

During the late 19th and early 20th century, northern Baptists established themselves as participants in the great theological debates of the day. Some of the premier American intellectual figures of the time taught at Baptist seminaries: William Newton Clarke at Colgate, Augustus Hopkins Strong at Rochester, and William Rainey Harper and Shailer Mathews at Chicago. Most influential of all was theologian and seminary professor WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. Rauschenbusch's SOCIAL GOSPEL theology confronted Baptists and other Christians with the challenge of integrating their religious faith with a practical commitment to working for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth.

By the 1920s, the Northern Baptist Convention, like some other Protestant evangelical denominations in the North, found itself embroiled in internal controversies between fundamentalists and modernists over the proper interpretation of the Bible. Baptist clergyman HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, who served a church in New York City, protested sharply in his 1922 sermon "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" against the growing spirit of exclusivity among conservatives. He pled for mutual forbearance between the contending parties not only within his denomination, but also within Protestantism generally. But Fosdick's advice went unheeded. Conservative congregations left the convention and formed two new denominations: the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches and the Conservative Baptist Association. The northern Baptists as a whole adopted a moderate position about the role of Scripture in the church's life. The convention affirmed that the New Testament was simply the "all sufficient ground" of Christian belief and practice.

The main northern Baptist denomination has changed its name twice since WORLD WAR II. It renamed itself the American Baptist Convention in 1950 in order to stress its national character in the heady period of postwar church growth. An open invitation was then extended to other Baptist bodies to unite with the convention. While many congregations in the African-American Baptist tradition entered into dual membership with the American Baptists and with one of the black Baptist conventions, no full-scale, organic union of denominations took place. In 1972, a second major revision occurred, and a more connectional, less centralized polity was formalized in the renamed American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. In the new denominational structure, a greater share of authority—true to long-standing Baptist tradition—was given to local churches and regional bodies.

The membership figures of the American Baptists have remained fairly stable since 1925. Although the 1950s was a period of general growth within churches in the United States, the American Baptists have lost almost as many members as they have gained over the past 50 years. For example, various European ethnic groups, among whom Baptists once concentrated their missionary work, formed their own independent denominations. And the espousal of social and theological stances that some conservative congregations deemed too liberal caused a loss of membership as well. In 2008, the American Baptist Churches reported approximately 1,500,000 members in more than 5,800 congregations.

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American Bible Society See BIBLE SOCIETIES.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions See MISSIONS, FOREIGN.

American Civil Liberties Union The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is one of the United States' leading litigation and advocacy groups on behalf of those freedoms guaranteed to all Americans by the CONSTITUTION, including the free exercise of religion, and against any governmental establishment of religion (see FIRST AMENDMENT; FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT; CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN). Founded in 1920 in response to the Palmer Raids (see NATIVISM), the ACLU initially focused on governmental attacks on individuals holding unpopular political positions, particularly pacifists and conscientious objectors as well as communists and anarchists (see COMMUNISM; PEACE REFORM). Its original leadership consisted of numerous individuals who had opposed the U.S. entry into World War I, including Roger Baldwin, the ACLU's long-term head, and Jeannette Rankin, the first woman elected to the House of Representatives.

The ACLU, however, also has been active in many of the leading legal cases involving religion and state in the United States. In the 1920s, the ACLU was involved in persuading John T. Scopes to present a test case to Tennessee's statute prohibiting the teaching of evolution in public schools (see BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS; CREATIONISM; EVOLUTION), and Scopes's legal team was led by Clarence Darrow, who served on the ACLU's national committee.

In the 1980s, the ACLU once again returned to the issue of evolution, filing a suit challenging an Arkansas law that required the teaching of creationism as a scientific alternative to evolution. The law eventually was declared unconstitutional by the federal district court. The ACLU also was actively involved in the Pennsylvania case regarding teaching intelligent design and the Cobb County, Georgia, school textbook case. In the latter, the school board had required the posting of stickers on biology texts stating that "This textbook contains material on evolution. Evolution is a theory, not a fact, regarding the origin of living things. This material should be approached with an open mind, studied carefully and critically considered."

Since the Supreme Court's decisions that found the religion clauses of the First Amendment to apply to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment, much of the religious litigation of the ACLU, both the national organization and its state chapters, has involved religious displays on public property, school or other governmentally sponsored prayers, and discrimination against minority religious organizations. Additionally, the ACLU has been one of the most vocal critics of many faith-based initiatives and the allocation of governmental monies to religiously motivated social and human services organizations.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the ACLU was involved in a series of cases involving the display of the Ten Commandments on public property (see Ten Commandments controversy). These controversies have involved the states of Georgia, Indiana, Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. In several cases, following the ACLU's court victories, the organization was awarded attorneys fees, as allowed by federal law in civil rights cases. In an attempt to punish the organization, several Republican representatives in 2006 attempted to pass what was known as the Public Expressions of Religion Act. This bill would have prohibited the awarding of damages or attorneys fees in cases brought under the Establishment Clause. The defeat of the Republican Party in the 2006 congressional elections removed the bill from serious consideration.

While many condemn the ACLU for waging a war on religion, given its position on governmentally sponsored or funded religious activities, the ACLU also actively pursues free exercise cases, guaranteeing that individuals are free to worship as they choose. A sampling of such cases include lawsuits against a Texas state law that prevented a church from running a residential ministry for individuals on probation, a suit designed to force the state of North Carolina to include all scriptures in the "Holy Books" upon which trial witnesses were required to swear, and a lawsuit against the city of Garden Grove, California, after it refused to approve a zoning variance for a Buddhist temple. Despite hostility and criticism, the ACLU plays an important and ongoing role in maintaining and strengthening the U.S. tradition of religious freedom.

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American Humanist Association This organization, which has survived for more than 60 years, provides humanists with literature and a community in a cultural climate often hostile to their commitment to reason and their suspicion of organized religion.

Founded in 1941, the American Humanist Association (AHA) emerged out of a long tradition of religious and philosophical rationalism in the United States dating back to the ENLIGHTENMENT, but noticeable particularly in the rise of humanist organizations like the Society for Ethical Culture and the Free Religious Association in the late 19th century (see ETHICAL CULTURE; UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION).

In the late 1920s, a variety of small, local humanist associations had been founded around the country. Humanists were often at odds with each other as much as with the religious establishment they rejected. In particular, some humanists wanted to maintain connections with the liberal religious effort to fill ordinary life with aesthetic and moral value. Others thought humanism required a radical rejection and critique of religion in any form. A third group, mostly literary scholars, were seen by other humanists as representing an elitist view of culture.

In 1941, John H. Dietrich, a Unitarian minister, brought together some of the fledgling groups to form the American Humanist Association. The organization underwrote the publishing of a journal, originally entitled *The New Humanist* but renamed *The Humanist* to differentiate the more political version of humanism from that of literary critics such as Irving Babbit. Members of the new organization actively pressed issues of religious and intellectual freedom. Philosopher Corliss Lamont became involved in several civil liberties cases, including one leading to a 1963 Supreme Court ruling that prohibited government monitoring of mail. While many notable intellectuals, including psychologist Abraham Maslow and biologist Edward O. Wilson, have been members of the AHA, membership levels have remained low. In 2005, the group claimed 110 local chapters in the United States.

Attacked repeatedly during the 1980s and 1990s by religious conservatives who claimed humanists were conspiring to promote a new religion of "SECULAR HUMANISM," association members continued at the century's end to press civil liberties issues, organize an annual Humanist Institute, and publish the magazines *Free Inquiry* and *The Humanist*. Those venues give voice to both secular and religious humanism.

MG/EQ

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American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) Native Americans have endured a long history of persecution against their traditional religions, running from colonial times into the 21st century. But the story of Native–white religious interaction entered a new phase with the passage of AIRFA by Congress in 1978. During the 1980s, a number of cases testing AIRFA appeared in the nation's courts, in which native groups argued against various government policies on FIRST AMENDMENT grounds. However, in most instances the courts ruled that AIRFA did not provide cause for government agencies to seriously alter their practices affecting Native Americans, leading native groups and activists back to Washington. Their lobbying efforts resulted in significant legislative victories, with both Congress and President Clinton eventually supporting enactment of new laws.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS suspected that the Arawak islanders he encountered had no religion, a mistake stemming from his equation of religious life with Christianity. In subsequent centuries, European colonists and their American descendants were often troubled by the religious beliefs and practices, or apparent lack thereof, among America's indigenous peoples. Endeavoring to make up for this deficiency, colonizers sought to spread the Gospel among the Indians in conjunction with incorporating Indian fur trade networks or lands into the realm of the European mercantile economy (see NEW FRANCE; NEW SPAIN), often asserting a "right of discovery" to claim native land.

Apart from a number of French Jesuits who established missions to the Hurons and other tribes along Quebec's St. Lawrence River in the 1630s and 1640s, many missionaries assumed that native religious practices were demonic. Thus, JOHN ELIOT's "Praying Indians" among the Massachusetts were encouraged to abandon most aspects of their culture in order to become regenerated Protestants, and Franciscans ministering to the Pueblo prior to 1680 (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: SOUTHWEST) repeatedly raided and destroyed kivas, village ceremonial centers.

Colonial missions remained largely unsuccessful, perhaps because, as one Huron noted in the 1630s, "Death and the faith walk hand in hand." But in the early 19th century, as Congress gave monies set aside in its "civilization fund" to various denominational mission enterprises, Christians seeking to implant the Gospel were increasingly able to prohibit would-be Indian converts from practicing traditional ceremonies as they established mission schools among Cherokee, Muskogee (Creek), and other tribes in the Southeast.

The ideology of "civilization," equating Protestant Christian faith with Americanism, became particularly powerful in the years after the CIVIL WAR, when the country turned full attention to western expansion and pacification of intransigent western tribes. In 1882, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller ordered an end to "heathenish dances," which he claimed were a "great hindrance to civilization." Government regulation increased with the subsequent establishment of a Court of Indian Offenses on numerous reservations in 1883, which prosecuted Indians found in violation of increasingly strict codes of behavior. Men were ordered to cut their braids. Ceremonies for public mourning such as the "give away," the Sun Dance, polygamy, and any religious practice that an agent might deem uncivilized were outlawed, violators being jailed and fined. In 1888, the agent in charge of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita agency in Oklahoma issued regulations prohibiting the ingestion of peyote, a sacred hallucinogenic plant (see NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH).

President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal restructuring of the federal government finally curtailed legal means of religious persecution. John M. Collier, appointed commissioner on Indian affairs in 1932, reorganized tribal government and, being attracted to native art and religious mysticism, ordered the end of prohibitions against Indian religious practices. At the same time, prosecution of peyotists continued. The general impetus of the "termination" policy of the Eisenhower era, which relocated Indians to urban areas and abolished federal responsibility for several smaller tribes, such as the Klamath and Menominee, served to advance the cause of assimilation into the dominant society (see ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE, NATIVE AMERICAN).

In the 1960s, spurred on in part by the example of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and increasing public dissent, Indian people undertook a variety of campaigns to secure control over their lands and lives. Encouraged by President Nixon's approval of the return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo in 1971, Indian activists began pushing western congressional leaders and others for legislation granting free exercise of religion to native people. Other victories, including a modification of the 1940 Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act allowing Indians to capture eagles for ceremonial use, led in 1977 to Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota introducing the AIRFA bill that passed through both houses with a minimum of debate, apart from the assurance by one cosponsor, Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, that the bill "had no teeth."

AIRFA contained an extensive prologue noting the disparity practiced by the government in relation to native religions, and the general failure of the First Amendment to cover infringements on Indian practices. The act resolved that "henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express and practice the traditional religions." A final clause also called upon all federal agencies to evaluate the need for change in the implementation of any government policy that might affect Native Americans.

The act succeeded in addressing some complaints in the years after its passage. Particularly after the 1990 passage of the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, numerous human remains in storage at the Smithsonian Institute and other museums were returned to various tribes. Museums also repatriated large numbers of Indian religious artifacts, including ceremonial pipes and kachinas that had been taken during the Indian wars, stolen, or purchased by unscrupulous collectors. Indian prisoners were granted the same rights to freedom of worship as other convicts.

But impediments to free religious exercise remained, particularly when Indian religious practices depended on a specific locale, as many do. Many western tribes regard particular lands as sacred, often places of the peoples' origin (Blue Lake—Taos Pueblo), the home of supernatural beings (San Francisco Peaks—Navajos and Hopis), or places of revelation and inspiration (Bear Butte—Cheyennes and Lakotas). Native access to such sites, or preservation of their unsullied character, is difficult in view of the federal role in administering vast amounts of land in western states through agencies such as the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, the National Forest Service, and the Department of Defense. Powerful economic interests dependent upon public lands—ranching, timber, mining, and the federal bureaucracies themselves—have been adamantly opposed to arguments for greater access or special use by native peoples. Thus controversies over sacred sites took on some of the same zeal associated with the Indian wars of the last century.

Conflict was frequent in the 1980s and 1990s between native groups advancing claims over sacred sites and government agencies. In addition, representatives of the economic interests dependent upon western public lands expressed suspicion of native intentions. Former Utah governor Scott M. Matheson declared before Congress in 1993 that accommodating native religious needs would violate the First Amendment's establishment clause. South Dakota governor William Janklow remarked publicly in 1995 that he feared a conspiracy by the Lakota Sioux to take back the Black Hills.

Landmark Supreme Court rulings in *Lyng v. Northwest Cemetery Protective Association* (1988) and *Employment Division v. Smith* (1990) revealed that AIRFA was nearly as powerless as Senator Udall had claimed. In those rulings, the Court held that the government had no obligation to modify its policies in order to protect Indian religious practices. In *Lyng* the Court reviewed an appeal favoring Forest Service plans to construct a marginally useful logging road in northern California through a sacred area that Yurok, Hoopa, and Tolowa tribal members showed was crucial to their cultural survival. In the majority opinion, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor maintained that even though the road would shatter the tribes' religions, the Forest Service could build the road where it desired since the government is free to administer its own internal affairs as it sees fit.

In *Smith* Justice Antonin Scalia reversed a long-established First Amendment interpretation and upheld the state of Oregon's denial of unemployment compensation to two Native

American Church members fired without pay for sacramentally ingesting peyote. Scalia argued that state laws intended for the public good were to be generally applicable, and that this outweighed any individual desire for exemption. The government has no obligation to shield minority religious practices from legitimate laws, he added, since the effort to accommodate diverse religious minorities "is a luxury that a democratic society cannot afford."

In the aftermath of these opinions, many nonnatives feared that the Court's reading of the First Amendment threatened the religious liberty of all Americans. In 1994, accordingly, Congress passed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). Indian religious practitioners sought redress in separate legislation, resulting in passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments of 1994. In this act, Congress finally closed the loopholes that had allowed 22 states to criminalize Indian sacramental peyote use in spite of an exemption in federal drug law dating from 1965.

In addition, in May 1996, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13007, which required federal land management agencies to "accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners" and to "avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites." At the same time, however, the order stated that it created no "right, benefit, or trust responsibility" that might be enforceable against the federal government.

Although guarantees of American Indian religious freedom seemed stronger by the end of the 20th century than they had been at the beginning, much remained insecure. Western economic interests are still inclined to view government protection of native religious practices as a threat. In 1999, a Wyoming lumber company took the National Forest Service to court over its efforts to accommodate native access to the Big Horn Medicine Wheel. Additionally, conflicts have emerged between scholars and scientists over archaeological excavations and research on human remains. Many tribes have claimed relationship with all human remains found on their lands, even when they predate the arrival of particular tribes in the area. The tribes have argued that their religious traditions teach that they have lived on those lands forever, and, therefore, all human remains before European settlement are their ancestors. In such instances, the conflict between science and religion which emerges regularly in U.S. history (see SCIENCE AND RELIGION) appears in yet another context.

AIRFA has not solved these conflicts, nor could it. It and successive acts have, however, allowed Native Americans to engage the ongoing struggle over the balance between the practices of specific religious communities and generally applicable laws. This struggle between new practices and new claims must regularly be adjudicated, and as new questions emerge new answers must be demanded. Still, the courts and especially Congress have played a major role in recognizing Native Americans' religious practices and in striving to ensure that Indian peoples' beliefs and faiths are not dismissed and ignored.

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Americanism The conflict over "Americanism" within the Roman Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) in the United States, often referred to as the "Americanist Crisis," resulted from numerous threads woven into the tapestry of U.S. Catholic history. Personal, theological, and practical differences within the American church hierarchy became heresy when viewed from the perspective of Rome, although never was heresy so ambiguously defined or heretics so difficult to locate.

The source of the conflict was the church's relationship to American society and was occasioned by its ethnic mix. The United States presented a peculiar reality for the Roman Catholic Church in the West. Its commingling of numerous ethnic groups, each with its own spirituality, language, and customs, presented problems unknown in France, Germany, or Ireland.

The conflict surfaced over how the needs of these various groups should be met. One segment of the hierarchy, led by Archbishop JOHN IRELAND and supported by Cardinal JAMES GIBBONS, felt that all Catholics in the United States should conform to a single Catholic culture, a culture open to the possibilities and promises of the United States. This group, known as Americanists, believed that the failure to create such a culture threatened episcopal authority, endangered morals, and embarrassed the church within the wider society. This singular culture would be both American and Catholic. It would create a unified church, no longer foreign and alien, to be a beacon to America, its strength highlighting the weaknesses of divided Protestantism.

The opponents, primarily Bishops Michael Corrigan and Bernard McQuaid, believed, that any concession to the wider culture threatened Catholics and Catholicism. The world was hostile to everything Roman Catholics believed, and the greater the contact with it, the greater the threat of apostasy.

During the early years of the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878–1903), the Americanists' star rose. Leo's cautious openings to the modern world, exhibited in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and his call for French Catholics to support the Third Republic, coincided with the Americanists' attitude toward the modern world. The Americanists welcomed Leo's appointment of Archbishop Francesco Satolli as apostolic delegate to the United States (1889) and attempted to win him to their cause. At first, all seemed to go well. Accompanied by Archbishop Ireland, Satolli urged those attending the 1893 Catholic Congress in Chicago to carry in one hand "the book of Christian truth and in the other the Constitution of the United States."

He responded less favorably to Catholic participation in the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGION held that same year, a criticism underscored by a papal letter condemning Catholic participation in interdenominational congresses. European events also endangered the Americanists' position. Catholic support for the French republic collapsed amid its anti-clericalism and the machinations of conservative French Catholics and monarchists. Intellectually, new ideas—evolution, biblical criticism—appeared to threaten Catholic dogma. The modern world seemed increasingly inhospitable to Catholic truth.

These events signaled the weakening of the Americanists, demonstrated unmistakably by the papal encyclical *LONGINQUA OCEANI* (January 6, 1895). Ostensibly a letter praising the strength and growth of the American church, its language unnerved the Americanists and provided ammunition for anti-Catholics over the next half century. "It would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be found the type of the most desirable status of the Church, or that it would be lawful or expedient for State and Church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced." The encyclical acknowledged that the church had done well under this system, "but," it continued, "she would bring forth more abundant fruits, if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of public authority." For Rome, obviously, the United States was not the model for nations or the church to follow.

The final blow came from European rather than American events. Two talks by Americans at the International Catholic Congress in Fribourg (1897) drew European attention. One talk, by Denis O'Connell, who recently had been forced to resign as rector of the American College in Rome, argued in favor of the American system, which emphasized inalienable, individual rights, in contrast to the Roman Empire, where the arbitrary will of the emperor was law. While not recommending it universally, he claimed it was at odds neither with faith nor with morals.

The second talk, on evolution, by Father John Zahm C.S.C, professor of biology at the University of Notre Dame, also antagonized the conservatives. For many Europeans, these talks proved that the American church was overrun with heresy and infidelity.

This was solidified with the appearance of the French edition of Walter Elliott's biography of ISAAC HECKER. Hecker's belief in democracy was too much for the French Catholics, who equated Catholicism with monarchy, and the book's preface by the liberal Abbé Felix Klein did much to tar it with the brush of European progressivism.

America's rapid defeat of Catholic Spain in the Spanish-American War, along with the near-universal support for the American cause by the Catholic hierarchy—Bishop JOHN SPALDING being the lone exception—conclusively demonstrated to the conservatives ascendant in Rome that Americanism was a danger to the Roman Catholic Church.

The Vatican's response to this danger was the encyclical *Testem Benevolentiae* (January 22, 1899), which explicitly condemned Americanism by name. Stating that the pope had heard that there were those in the American church who believed that the Roman Church should alter its essentials in order to adapt to the modern world and incorporate greater democracy in its structure, the letter condemned these doctrines and warned the bishops against them.

Responding for the bishops, Cardinal Gibbons assured the pope that no one among them held such views and affirmed the orthodoxy of all the bishops. The resulting fear that any new ideas would be labeled heretical led to a half century of cultural and intellectual isolation in the American church.

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American Lutheran Church See EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

American Missionary Association The American Missionary Association (AMA) was the most prominent of the northern religious agencies that worked among African Americans following the CIVIL WAR. Formed in 1846 to protest the alleged complicity of the American Home Missionary Society with southern slaveholders, the AMA advocated abolitionist (see ABOLITIONISM) ideas and enabled New England Protestants to use the Christian Gospel as a weapon against slavery.

As the Civil War neared its end and the defeat of the Confederacy appeared inevitable, many northern Christians viewed the South as a vast missionary field, where the religious and political ideals they cherished might be planted for the first time. The leadership of the AMA believed that the legal emancipation of blacks should be merely a prelude to their social and educational emancipation. By 1865, more than 250 teachers and preachers employed by the AMA were at work throughout the southern states. They participated in the "ecclesiastical and Christian reconstruction" of the South—an action parallel to political Reconstruction. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, where the African-American leader BOOKER T. WASHINGTON studied, was one of several black colleges staffed and funded by the AMA during Reconstruction. Other prominent schools opened by the AMA for African Americans included Atlanta University (1865), Fisk University in Nashville (1865), and Howard University in Washington, D.C. (1867).

After the abandonment of missionary work in the South when the Reconstruction era ended, the AMA turned its attention principally to home missions work with Native Americans. It published a monthly journal, *American Missionary*, and employed agents not only in the United States and Canada but also overseas. In the 20th century, the AMA lost its separate identity and was subsumed into the home missions department of what is now the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST.

GHS, Jr.

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American Muslim Mission See NATION OF ISLAM (BLACK MUSLIMS).

American Revolution/Revolutionary War

Americans drew upon religion to serve a number of tasks during the Revolutionary War (1775–83). In the process, they established a pattern for interpreting military conflict prominent throughout much of American history. Religion shaped the yearning for revolution and the language by which revolutionary hopes were expressed. In addition, church pulpits provided a ready forum for articulating revolutionary support or opposition. Many Americans also understood the Revolution itself, which drew upon the powerful themes of new birth and freedom from bondage, as a form of religious experience. Finally, the Revolution greatly influenced the development of American CIVIL RELIGION, as continuing generations have looked to their revolutionary birth as a source of national identity and purpose.

The yearning for revolution emerged out of two mainstreams of thought regarding social and political order: PURITANISM and the ENLIGHTENMENT views of liberals like John Locke and radical Whigs, who often combined Protestant dissent with republican political theory. Colonial Americans had come to think right political order was ordained by God, which allowed for the formation of critical views of political power: Power could be unjust. In the Calvinist (see CALVINISM) tradition prominent in 17th-century England, humans were not obligated to suffer unjust authority, but rather were capable of modifying existing institutions to make them accord more with the divine will.

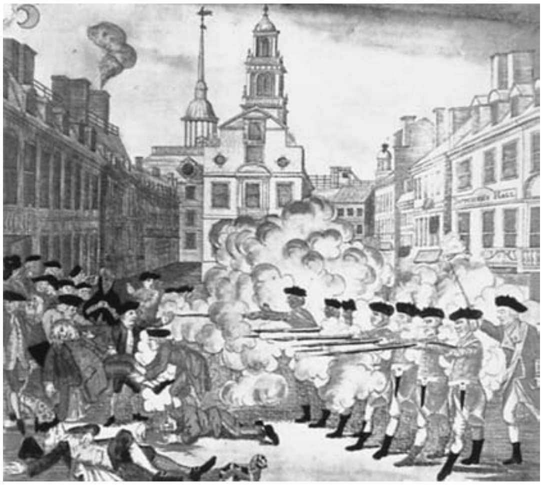
The years prior to the Revolution were marked by dramatic events that many Americans regarded as signs of the imminent end of the world. The widespread religious revivals of the GREAT AWAKENING, a series of portentous earthquakes shaking the country in 1755, and the dramatic French and Indian Wars ending in 1763 all encouraged Americans to draw upon millennial language in order to understand their times and political conditions. While Puritans had often seen the Church of England (see ANGLICANISM) as the Antichrist depicted in the Bible, such language became explicitly political in 1774, when news of the Quebec Act, granting toleration to Catholicism in Canada, persuaded many colonists that the British Crown itself was an agent of Satan. Increasingly, preachers and popular writers spoke of bondage to the devilish English "tyrant" as damnation, and political liberty itself as salvation.

With the outbreak of armed resistance in 1775, American revolutionists continued to rely upon the Great Awakening (which helped to create a distinctive national consciousness among colonists) as a pattern for understanding their experience, speaking of the spreading revolutionary fervor in the same ways colonists had referred to the religious zeal of the 1730s and 1740s. A number of public rituals helped maintain the revivalistic climate. Some, such as the unruly processions marking Pope's Day, a traditional anti-Catholic holiday (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM) that provided the model for massive demonstrations against the Stamp Act, carried over from earlier years. In ordering regular days of public fasting and thanksgiving, the Continental Congress continued the old Puritan tradition of viewing the public welfare as attendant upon the repentance of sin. FREEMASONRY, the Enlightenment fraternity of many revolutionary leaders, contributed its own ritual forms, heightening the leaders' bonds of brotherhood through initiation ceremonies. Other rituals emerged out of the revolutionary process itself: civic funeral processions to eulogize the death of Liberty, hanging King George in effigy from the "Liberty Tree," the public reading of THOMAS JEFFERSON's Declaration of Independence, and the 1778 establishment of July 4th to commemorate the nation's birth of freedom.

Churches, providing colonial Americans with an important gathering place, also mobilized opinion. Denominations naturally differed in their support for the revolt, and as many as one-third of the colonists opposed the war. Loyalists, supporters of the British Crown, were often Anglican, though southern Anglicans, such as George Washington, frequently favored the revolution, and METHODISTS. Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM), Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), and BAPTISTS held the Loyalist position. Such Loyalist Anglican clergy as SAMUEL SEABURY argued that the revolt was bound to substitute mob rule for a divinely sanctioned monarchical system that provided great benefits to colonists. Many Anglicans were forced to flee the country.

Opposition to the war also stemmed from pacifist grounds (see PEACE REFORM). MENNONITES, MORAVIANS, and especially Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF), who abjured violence as contrary to the Christian faith, were likely to resist paying war taxes and forswear loyalty oaths, for which a number were imprisoned. Some pacifists, such as Quaker Anthony Benezet, spoke publicly against the war and urged other reforms, in particular the abolition of SLAVERY. Neutrality, rather than strict pacifism, gained a public voice from Lutheran leader HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

But if significant numbers of Americans found religious justification to oppose the war, the larger emphasis was on support, which also spread among particular denominations. As one Loyalist wrote, the Revolution was led by "Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Smugglers." And in truth, the inheritors of English Calvinism contributed the most vocal religious support to the war. Countless



The Boston Massacre in 1770 was the first battle in the armed war against England, which was fueled in part by Enlightenment ideals. *(Engraving by Paul Revere, Boston Public Library)* clergy, including such luminaries as college presidents John Witherspoon and Ezra Stiles, were influential in spreading patriotic fervor from the pulpit. Perhaps even more important than the support of religious elites, however, was the fact that the basic millennial thrust of the struggle, the forces of God against those of Satan, encouraged a religious populism. This populism continued to affect public life during the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, even while the political institutions created in the aftermath of revolution sought to erect barriers between the religious and the political.

The millennial hopes that inspired the Revolution have retained a significant power throughout American history, providing subsequent generations with the means for patterning public life and criticizing the failures of American society to uphold its ideals, even when shorn from their traditional Christian roots. In addition, the confluence of revolution and revival had a dramatic impact on the country's development during the Second Great Awakening, by elevating popular over elite control of religious institutions.

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Ames, Edward Scribner (1870–1955)

One of the leading Christian modernists (see MODERNISM [PROTESTANT]) and an influential philosopher of religion, Edward Scribner Ames played a major role in both the academic study of religion and its popular understanding. Born on April 21, 1870, in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, where his father was a Disciples of Christ minister (see CHRISTIAN CHURCH [DISCIPLES OF CHRIST]), Ames attended Drake University and Yale Divinity School. In 1895, he received the first Ph.D. in philosophy granted by the newly founded University of Chicago. With the exception of three years as professor of philosophy at Butler College, Ames was associated with the University of Chicago until his death on June 29, 1955.

Ames rejected the view that human beings could know God as an objective reality. Knowledge of God's presence, he argued, emerges only from the experience of the positive elements of human existence. The experiences of health, beauty, knowledge, justice, friendship, and hope demonstrate the reality of God. Religion is the human act of striving for improvement or advancement. Salvation, rather than being a supernatural act of God, is the struggle of human beings to realize the soul's natural powers, to actualize the ideal human achievement as seen in Christ. Heaven was the result, on Earth, of participation in that ideal, hell the failure to achieve that ideal. Ames's views left little room for such traditional doctrines as the Virgin birth, the Trinity, life after death, or the reality of miracles.

Despite the apparent radical nature of these views, Ames maintained that they were consistent with the tradition of his denomination, the Disciples of Christ. Ames understood his reinterpretation of Christianity in light of science and modern thought as nothing more than a continuation of the traditional Disciples' struggles against sectarianism and creedalism.

Along with his colleague SHAILER MATHEWS, Ames was one of the most important modernists in American Protestantism. This was due both to the quality of his thought and to the positions he held. A popular philosophical writer, his widely read books contributed to the spread of liberal theology in the United States. As professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago for 35 years (1900–35), Ames influenced innumerable philosophers and theologians.

Ames's significance was greatest, however, within his denomination. As dean of Disciples Divinity House for 18 years (1927–45), Ames played a major role in the training of future ministers. His positions as minister at Hyde Park (now University) Church (1900–40) and editor of the denominational newspaper *The Scroll* (1925–51) enabled Ames to introduce modernist views within the mainstream of Disciples of Christ thought.

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Amish Offshoots of the Mennonite tradition, the Amish are undoubtedly modern America's best-known antimoderns. They live in rural areas rather than cities, farm with horses rather than tractors, dress in simple clothing rather than up-to-date fashions, use biblical High German rather than English in their worship services, and opt for mutual aid for the elderly rather than Social Security. Their Old World style has made them a major attraction for nostalgia-starved Americans touring Amish strongholds such as Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Like the MENNONITES and the HUTTERITES, the Amish are products of the Anabaptist movement of the Radical Reformation in 16th-century Europe. But they did not emerge as a distinct Protestant sect until the last decade of the 17th century. In 1693, a Swiss Mennonite preacher from Berne named Jakob Ammann began to criticize fellow Mennonites for compromising their collective vow to withdraw from the corrupt world into a pure community of visible Christian saints. He called upon his followers to live in accordance with the primitive patterns of the early church instead of the modern examples of European society, urging them to practice foot-washing during the Communion service and to simplify even more than the Mennonites their habits of dress and grooming. His most controversial innovation, however, was the practice of shunning. This practice dictated that community members who had deviated from the group's *Ordnung* ("order") be ostracized by other members, including family members and spouses of offenders.

Ammann attracted Mennonite followers in Switzerland, Holland, Alsace, south Germany, and Russia. In the 1720s, the first Amish immigrated to the United States. Like other German-speaking Anabaptist sectarians, they came largely to escape religious persecution, and they arrived for the most part in Pennsylvania. About 500 Amish immigrated to the United States in the 18th century. Some 3,000 more came by the end of the next century. Despite these meager numbers and their refusal to proselytize, Amish communities prospered. Thanks to high birthrates, low infant mortality, and high retention, there are now roughly 228,000 Amish living in the United States. The vast majority reside in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana.

The Amish are typically more antiworldly than their Mennonite kin. They eschew buttons as overly decorous, do not use electricity, and do not own telephones or cars. They often meet for worship services in homes rather than meetinghouses, and they have not founded ecclesiastical organizations or institutions of higher learning. Despite their refusal to use modern farming machines such as tractors, the hardworking Amish maintain highly productive farms.

The Amish typically do not vote or enlist in the military, but they do pay taxes. Women are not permitted to work outside the home or to use birth control. The Amish rarely marry

Amish horse-drawn buggy. *(AFP/Getty)*

outside the faith, and divorce is not allowed. They frown on higher education that is devoid of practical applications. In 1972, they earned the right not to send their children to public schools beyond the elementary level in a landmark Supreme Court case, *Wisconsin v. Yoder.* In American popular culture, the Amish tend to be highly romanticized and idealized, yet in local communities they often are opposed by their non-Amish neighbors. Individual Amish and Amish communities have made appearances in television and the movies, from the sit-com *Barney Miller* to the movie *Witness.* Documentary filmmakers also have been attracted to the Amish, as exemplified by the 2002 film *The Devil's Playground,* which examines the Amish tradition of *Rumspringa,* whereby Amish youth in their late teens are allowed a few years of freedom before deciding whether to accept Amish baptism and the strict social and community control of Amish life. Reality television capitalized on this tradition in 2004 with its program "Amish in the City," installing several Amish and "English" teenagers in a house in the Hollywood Hills and detailing the Amish youths' struggle with new experiences, from sushi to swimming.

Not all views of the Amish are either so positive or lighthearted. The Amish occasionally encounter discrimination and hostility from their neighbors over issues such as the safety of horse-drawn buggies on the highways, waste from horse droppings on public thoroughfares, and farm prices. These conflicts often lead to random violence, particularly "claipping," the act of throwing rocks, bottles, or other objects at the Amish as they ride in their horse-drawn buggies. This subject also made it into popular culture with the 1988 made-for-TV movie *A Stoning in Fulham County,* based on an incident involving a six-month-old Amish girl who died after being struck by a rock from a passing car.

Like other American sects of German origin, the Amish have experienced schisms between ultraconservative and moderate factions. The most conservative group, the Old Order Amish Mennonite Church, is also the largest. In 2008 it had above 85,000 members. More moderate groups such as the Beachy Amish Mennonite Churches (named after their founder, Moses Beachy), had nearly 10,700 members in 2007 (a total that includes congregants in other countries). These groups have found a place in their congregational order for modern niceties such as automobiles, tractors, electricity, and trimmed beards. And, unlike their more conservative Amish kin, they maintain church buildings, run Sunday schools, and reach out to nonmembers through missions.

SRP/EQ

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Anabaptists Anabaptists, those who "baptize again," are a group of Christian movements and denominations that emerged during the 16th and 17th centuries from what historians call the Radical Reformation, or the "left wing" of the REFORMATION. In the contemporary United States, the Anabaptist tradition is widely represented by the AMISH, MENNONITES, HUTTERITES, CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, and Brethren in Christ. Additionally, there are some historians who see the Quakers and certain historical strands within various Baptist denominations (see BAPTISTS) as having been informed by the Anabaptist tradition.

The Anabaptists' name comes from their opposition to infant baptism. This opposition is based on the view that only those who can publicly and rationally acknowledge their belief in the saving power of Christ should be baptized. Known as "believer's baptism," this view required that all individuals who, when the Anabaptist movements first emerged, be baptized again, since the Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) and the Reformation churches all insisted on infant baptism.

The prehistory as well as early history of the Anabaptists is essentially contested. Many have claimed that these movements are descendants of a series of Christian groups practicing adult baptism that held themselves separate from Catholic and Orthodox Churches since the time of Jesus' apostles. Still others have argued that they emerged from a single movement that developed in Zurich, when in January 1521 Conrad Grebel, the leader of a movement known as the Swiss Brethren, rebaptized George Blaurock. Blaurock then proceeded to rebaptize the other followers. Finally, most historians believe that the Anabaptists drew their beliefs from many sources and emerged in several different places in the Swiss cantons, Germany (particularly the Rhineland), and the Netherlands. For these historians, even the most radical of the reformers, such as Thomas Müntzer, who galvanized the German peasants in a 1525 revolt known as the Peasants' War, ought to be included under the Anabaptist label. This violent revolt, strongly condemned by the reformer Martin Luther, became a generalized rebellion against all forms of authority, driven by an amorphous vision of an idealized Christian community with equality of goods and an end of external law.

Similarly, a group of "radical reformers" eventually under the leadership of Jon Matthys and Jan of Leiden attempted in 1534 to establish a Christian kingdom in the city of Münster in Germany. After expelling the Catholic bishop and taking over the city and the surrounding areas, they imposed a community of goods, legalized polygamy, and planned a war against all the enemies of God. Besieged by numerous of these enemies, including Protestant and Catholic armies, which found a common enemy in the Anabaptists, the reformers were defeated, and the city fell in June 1535. There was a massacre of the inhabitants. The leaders, who were captured alive, were tortured and executed, their bodies then placed in cages that hung from the top of the cathedral. The bones eventually either were removed or fell from the cages, but the cages remain hanging from the cathedral today, the bones replaced with a single light sculpture designed, ostensibly, to show that thought and ideas can never be imprisoned.

The catastrophes created by violent resistance to existing churches and rulers provided the opportunity for the emergence of those who had developed a different view, the so-called nonresistant Anabaptists. These Anabaptists took literally Jesus' injunctions against violence and his claim that his followers should "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's." This movement primarily fell under the leadership of Menno Simons (1496–1561), a Catholic priest, who, convinced of the correctness of Anabaptist beliefs, left the priesthood in 1536 and soon became a leader of the movement, for whom the Mennonites are named.

The most definitive early statement of what became Mennonite belief is the Schleitheim Confession. Although Mennonite and Amish theology has changed somewhat since its writing, it continues to represent the essential theology and religious practice, particularly of the more traditional groups.

The Schleitheim Confession was adopted by a group of Swiss Anabaptists who met in the town of Schleitheim, Switzerland, in February 1527. Those assembled agreed on six major points, including believer's baptism, banning or shunning (excommunication) of members who do not refrain from sinning after being warned, separation from all nonbelievers and worldly activities, renunciation of violence, and the forbidding of oaths. These positions have remained central to most Anabaptist churches since that time.

Anabaptists suffered terribly in Europe between the 16th and 17th centuries. These persecutions are detailed in the *Martyr's Mirror* by Thieleman J. van Braght, a book that traditionally held a prominent place in most Anabaptist households and played a dominant role in Anabaptists' self-understanding as a persecuted group.

This persecution led many to emigrate to British North America and later to the United States. While many colonies looked upon these groups with suspicion, they were welcomed by others, particularly in Pennsylvania. The first organized Mennonite immigration to the United States took place in 1683–85. The first Amish families arrived in the 1730s, with increasing numbers in the 1770s. The 19th century saw growing numbers of both groups (as well as other traditions with Anabaptist roots) coming to the United States. These eventually spread throughout the country, with notable pockets of Mennonites and Amish in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa. In fact, the Old Order Amish, the denomination most individuals associate with the word *Amish*, exist nowhere other than in the United States and Canada.

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ancient Eastern churches The so-called ancient Eastern churches, also known as the Oriental Orthodox churches, "the Lesser Eastern churches," "the non-Chalcedonian churches," or "the pre-Chalcedonian churches," are among the oldest in Christianity, although relative newcomers to the United States. The specific churches included in this group vary somewhat depending on whether one focuses on the historical churches or their current institutional formations. While in communion with each other, each is independent, has its own ecclesiastical hierarchy, and often vary markedly in their practices.

The traditional listings of the churches would include the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and the Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch. A more modern list would include the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church (which has its roots in the Thomas Christians of India dating to the 1st century but in its present institutional form from the 20th century) and the Eritrean Orthodox Church that formally separated from the Ethiopian Church in 1993.

All these churches came into existence due to their rejection of the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451). The Council of Chalcedon responded to the questions presented by the Council of Nicaea's proclamation of the dual nature of Jesus as the Christ. At Nicaea, the council had determined that there were two natures, wholly human and wholly divine. It did not, however, elaborate on the relationship between these natures. At Chalcedon, the council proclaimed that Christ was one person with two natures, undivided and unconfused, or in the words of the council itself, Christ has "two natures which undergo no confusion, no change, no division, no separation; at no point was the difference between the natures taken away through the union, but rather the property of both natures is preserved and comes together into a single person and a single subsistent being; he is not parted or divided into two persons, but is one and the same . . ."

For many at the council, as well as for most of the Christians in the Byzantine Empire at the time, the claim that Christ had two natures created a duality within him and compromised his unity. These church leaders and theologians believed that Chalcedon slighted Christ's divine nature and missed a key element of salvation. For them, the divine nature of Christ is what made salvation possible. They rejected the decisions of Chalcedon and eventually proceeded to establish churches independent of both the Roman Church and the Orthodox Church.

Because they denied Chalcedon's definition of two natures in Christ, these Christians historically have been called "monophysites," from the Greek word meaning "one nature." This has been a source of conflict between these churches and the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches over the centuries. Beginning in the second half of the 20th century, conversations among the representatives of these churches, driven in part by the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT and VATICAN COUNSEL II, have served to clarify the differences, making them seem somewhat less absolute. Historically, few individuals within the ancient Eastern churches adhered to the classical monophysite position of Eutyches, whose teachings led to the calling of the Council of Chalcedon and who held that Christ's humanity was absorbed completely into his single divine nature. The theologians of these churches preferred the formula of St. Cyril of Alexandria, who spoke of "the one incarnate nature of the Word of God." Contemporary discussions have decided that the differences are more a matter of emphasis and formulation and not substance, although the historical validity of this conclusion is questionable.

While the ancient Eastern churches have a shared theological lineage, they have distinct histories, practices, and identities. Additionally, they also vary widely in their establishment in the United States.

The Armenian Apostolic Church dates back to the fourth century, when Armenia became the first kingdom to adopt Christianity as its religion following the conversion of King Tiridates III by St. Gregory the Illuminator. A cathedral was soon built in the Armenian city of Etchmiadzin, and to this day that city remains the center of the Armenian Church. Tradition holds that a monk, St. Mesrob, created the Armenian alphabet in 404 and began the translation of the Bible into Armenian. Although no Armenian bishops attended the Council of Chalcedon, an Armenian synod meeting in 506 rejected its decisions, affirming instead their traditional understandings of Christ's nature.

The Armenian Apostolic Church, like the Armenian people, always has found itself compressed between multiple powers, both secular and religious. These have included the Byzantine, Persian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires and the Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic Churches, as well as Islam. Throughout this history the church has been a bastion of Armenian nationhood and identity, a fact that became only stronger in the 20th century following the slaughter of thousands of Armenians by the Ottomans between 1915 and 1917 and remembered as the Armenian Genocide.

In the United States, the Armenian Apostolic Church exists in two forms, the Armenian Church of North America, under the direction of the patriarchate in Etchmiadzin, and the Armenian Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America. The latter is affiliated with the Catholicosate of Cilicia, which, while owing titular allegiance to the church in Etchmiadzin, has its own administrative and spiritual independence. The Armenian Apostolic Church operates one seminary in the United States, St. Nersess Seminary in New Rochelle, New York. In 2005, American membership in the Armenian Apostolic Church was 360,000 and the Armenia Apostolic Church of America roughly 20,000.

The Coptic Orthodox Church is the indigenous Christian church of Egypt. Its founding is associated with St. Mark, who, according to tradition, was martyred in Alexandria in 63. Egypt soon became a dominant force in the early church, with Alexandria as one of the major theological centers. Egypt also was the first major center of the Christian monastic tradition, with its roots among the "desert fathers."

The Egyptian Church, its hierarchy, and its people were among the most opposed to the Council of Chalcedon. Part of this opposition was distinctly theological, Alexandria being the center of the theology attacked at Chalcedon. It also was political, an Egyptian rejection of Byzantine power and domination. Attempts by the emperor and the Orthodox hierarchy to force acceptance only increased the resistance. Eventually, there emerged a separate "Coptic" (from the Arabic and Greek word for "Egyptian") Church with a distinctive theological and liturgical tradition and with the patriarch of the Coptic Church residing in the desert monastery of St. Macarius.

Following the Arab invasion in 641, the Copts declined as Islam grew, and by 850 they were a minority in Egypt. Islamic rule was marked by long periods of persecution but also by periods of relative freedom, during which the church flourished and produced outstanding theological and spiritual works in Arabic.

Copts currently are the largest Christian community in the Middle East, although for political reasons there are no firm numbers of how many live in Egypt. The church and its members have been threatened by the rise of Islamic fundamentalism (see ISLAM; WAHHABISM), resulting in a series of Muslim attacks on Coptic Christians throughout Egypt between the 1970s and the 1990s. In

1981, the Coptic patriarch, Pope Shenouda III, was placed under house arrest in one of the desert monasteries, where he remained until 1985. Both governmental interference and physical attacks by Islamic militants have unnerved the Coptic population of Egypt and led to an increase in Coptic emigration, a fact that has contributed to the church's growth in the United States.

In the United States, the Coptic Orthodox Church probably had few, if any, congregations until the 1940s, but with turmoil in Egypt following the revolution in 1952, the immigration of Copts to the United States accelerated. The numbers increase with every episode of political and religious turmoil in Egypt. In 2006, there were roughly 400,000 Copts in the United States and approximately 200 congregations.

Administratively, the Coptic Church has three dioceses in the United States, one for the western United States and one for the South; the remainder of the country is overseen by the bishop and exarch for the Diocese of North America and is based in New Jersey. The church also has two monasteries in the United States.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the largest of the ancient Eastern churches, with roughly 35 million members worldwide, dates from the fourth century, when St. Frumentius converted the son of the Ethiopian emperor. This son, upon becoming Emperor Ezana, made Christianity the state religion in 330. Frumentius later was ordained a bishop in Alexandria (Egypt) by Athanasius and returned to Ethiopia to continue his work. The Ethiopian Church received its distinctive form beginning in the late fifth century, when the so-called Nine Saints arrived from their respective homelands—Rome, Constantinople, and Syria. All had left because of their opposition to the Council of Chalcedon. The Nine Saints played a major role in the church's development. Tradition credits them with eliminating the remnants of paganism in Ethiopia and with introducing the monastic tradition. They also were responsible for translating the Bible and other religious works into Ge'ez. Given its location and its historical connections, the Ethiopian Church always has been closely affiliated with the Coptic Church, and the Ethiopian Church's ritual and liturgy are deeply influenced by Coptic traditions, with some Syriac influences. In fact, until 1929, all Ethiopian Church bishops were Egyptian Copts. The church achieved full independence from the Coptic Church in 1959 with the installation of the first patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

The Ethiopian Orthodox church in the United States numbers roughly 70,000 members. Its relationship to the church in Ethiopia has been difficult, owing mainly to conflicts over the legitimacy of one of the church's patriarch's elected during the period of Communist rule and his later "resignation" following the overthrow of the Communist regime.

The Eritrean Orthodox Church is the youngest of the ancient Eastern churches but shares the history, lineage, and ritual of the Ethiopian Church. Following Eritrea's independence from Ethiopia, negotiations began to grant the church in Eritrea autocephalous (self-headed) status. Representatives of the Ethiopian Church and the church in Eritrea reached an agreement on this in 1993, and the first bishops of the Eritrean Orthodox Church were ordained the following year. In 1998, the first patriarch of the Eritrean Orthodox Church was installed in Cairo by Pope Shenouda III of the Coptic Church. In the United States, the Eritrean Church has fewer than 20,000 members and in 2005 was supervised by an ethnic Eritrean bishop who was a member of the Coptic Holy Synod.

The Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch traces its origins to the early Christian community at Antioch. This community, expressly mentioned in the biblical book Acts of the Apostles, was well established by 70. The Antiochian Church, like that of Alexandria, was one of the great centers of early Christianity. The rulings of the Council of Chalcedon split the community, and while Byzantine officials attempted to enforce Chalcedon's teachings, they were fairly unsuccessful in doing so outside the cities.

This opposition to Chalcedon was aggressively fostered in the sixth century by the bishop of Edessa, Jacob Baradai. In order to support those who rejected Chalcedon and to increase the pressure on Byzantine authorities, Bishop Jacob ordained large numbers of non-Chalcedonian bishops and priests. Because of his work, the Syriac Church became known colloquially as the "Jacobite" church. It has its own distinctive liturgy (called "West Syrian" or "Antiochian") and worship traditions and uses the ancient Syriac language, a version of Aramaic, the language spoken by Jesus.

The conquest of the area by the Persians and later the Arabs ended Byzantine persecution and created conditions favoring development of the Syriac Church. There was a great revival of Syriac Orthodox scholarship in the Middle Ages. At its height, the church included 103 dioceses extending as far as Afghanistan. There is evidence of communities of Syriac Orthodox communities in Turkestan and Xinjiang (Sinkiang), China.

Although the Arab invasion ended Byzantine control, it placed the church under the political domination of Muslims, and pressures, both subtle and not, induced many to convert. Additionally, the Mongol invasion of Timur the Lame (Tamerlane) in the late 1300s saw massive destruction of church property and innumerable deaths. During the 20th century the church also suffered terribly, first under the Ottomans during World War I, when Syriac Christians in eastern Turkey suffered a fate similar to their Armenian sisters and brothers, then with the emergence of authoritarian regimes following the end of French and British colonialism. The civil war in Lebanon and the isolation of the Syrian regime in Damascus also severely weakened the church.

In the United States, the Syriac Orthodox Church has about 150,000 members. It took on an institutional form as early as 1949 with the creation of the Syriac Orthodox Patriarchal Vicariate for the United States and Canada. The vicariate became an archdiocese in 1957, which in 1995 was further divided into three jurisdictions, two of which are in the United States. These are the Patriarchal Vicariate for the Eastern United States, with 18 parishes, and the Patriarchal Vicariate for the Western United States, with six parishes.

The Malankara Orthodox Syriac Church basically is the Indian version of the Syriac Church. The church traces its lineage to 52 and claims to have been founded by St. Thomas, one of Jesus' apostles, who traveled to Kerala, India, and, according to tradition, baptized thousands and founded churches throughout the subcontinent. These Indian Christians, known as St. Thomas Christians, or occasionally as Malabar Coast Christians, continue today in five distinct churches.

For centuries, many of the St. Thomas Christians were affiliated with the ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST. Following the Portuguese colonization of Kerala, they experienced a period of forced latinization as the Portuguese attempted to make them conform to Roman Catholic (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) doctrine and ritual. Opponents of this process attempted, unsuccessfully, to reestablish communion with the Assyrian Church of the East. In 1665, the Syrian patriarch agreed to send a bishop to head the community on the condition that it accept Syrian Christology and adopt the West Syrian rite. This church would become the modern-day Malankara Syriac Orthodox Church. In 2006, the church had nearly 3 million members in India, with some estimates as high as 8 million. In the United States, the church has about 30 congregations and a membership of 35,000.

The growth of all these churches in the United States attests to the increasing role of immigration in remaking the American religious landscape. With their elaborate rituals and liturgies, their dazzling religious artifacts, and their ancient languages—Coptic, Aramaic, Ge'ez—these churches present a new set of possibilities for religious practice within American Christianity, and many have seen a growing number of American converts.

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Anglicanism Anglicanism is the religious tradition that arose out of the REFORMATION of the church in England during the 16th century. The term itself derives from the Latin word *Anglicanus,* meaning "English," and its use was first popularized in John Jewel's *Apology for the Anglican Church,* published in 1562. Although the Church of England retained the episcopal (see EPISCOPACY) polity and many of the theological beliefs and customs of medieval Christianity, it became independent of Roman Catholicism in 1534 when Henry VIII repudiated papal control over his kingdom. The EPISCOPAL CHURCH is the chief heir of the Anglican heritage in the United States today.

Unlike Martin Luther, John Calvin, and other early leaders of the Reformation, Henry VIII split with Roman Catholicism more for personal and political than theological reasons. When Pope Clement VII refused to grant him a divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, Henry directed Parliament to declare that he, not the pope, was the head of the church in England. Henry's Act of Supremacy of 1534, however, represented only a constitutional action, and the Church of England continued to affirm Catholic doctrines and worship practices. Only with the accession of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I, as queen in 1558 did Anglicanism begin to emerge in its present distinct form. In opposition both to Puritans (see PURITANISM), who desired the Church of England to be more fully Protestant, and to Catholic loyalists, who desired a return to papal supremacy, Anglicans sought what they called a *via media,* or "middle way." They emphasized the liturgical uniformity that *The Book of Common Prayer* (the first edition appeared in 1549) provided, while relying on the interaction of biblical teaching, religious tradition, and human reason for a highly flexible approach to theological authority.

The English settlers who came to Virginia in 1607 brought Anglicanism to America. During the colonial period in American history, the Church of England was established by law as the official state church in Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and the counties around New York City. Missionaries of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS also helped found Anglican churches amid the hostile religious environment of Puritan New England in the mid-18th century. Because the War for Independence forced many Anglicans to flee the country and eventually led to the abolition of the church's privileged position in the South, Anglicanism barely survived the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. However, with the organization of the Episcopal Church in 1789, an American denomination was created that was loyal to the Anglican theological tradition and free of British control.

GHS, Jr.

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Anglo-Catholicism Anglo-Catholics are adherents of the high-church party (those most oriented toward the practices and beliefs of Roman Catholicism) within ANGLICANISM. Anglo-Catholicism traces its roots to the Oxford Movement that arose in the Church of England in the 1830s. The Oxford Movement asserted the independence of the church from the English state and insisted on the importance of the apostolic succession of bishops from Jesus Christ to the present day. The emphasis of the Oxford Movement on piety and holiness of life led, moreover, to liturgical experimentation and to renewed interest in monasticism. By the end of the 19th century, forms of medieval ritualism also began to characterize high-church Anglicanism.

In the American EPISCOPAL CHURCH, interest in the Oxford Movement first appeared in the late 1830s in strongholds of the old high-church tradition, notably in the diocese of New York, where JOHN HENRY HOBART had earlier been bishop. The emergence of Anglo-Catholicism increased the already simmering rivalry between high-church and low-church Episcopalians, as those most comfortable with the dominant Protestant ethos (the low-church party) repeatedly challenged their Catholic-oriented colleagues. This high-church/low-church polarization had a number of ramifications, among them the harassment of three high-church bishops (Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk of New York; his brother, Henry Ustick Onderdonk of Pennsylvania; and George Washington Doane of New Jersey) on morals charges. No less sensational was the conversion of Levi Silliman Ives, the Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, to Roman Catholicism in 1852.

Despite gaining grudging acceptance in the Episcopal Church over the course of the 19th century, Anglo-Catholicism has never been far from controversy. Because of the interest of high-church Anglicans in seeking organic unity with the Roman Catholic Church, the ordination of women to the Episcopal priesthood in the 1970s (an action officially unacceptable to Roman Catholicism) again strained relationships between Episcopalians. A significant number of Anglo-Catholics formed an organization known as the Episcopal Synod of America in 1989. The synod sought to preserve the tradition of an all-male ministry by continuing opposition to the ordination of women as priests and bishops.

Although it remains a minority position within the Episcopal Church, Anglo-Catholicism, through the richness of its rituals in worship and its commitment to ancient understandings of Christian belief, still influences American church life today. Its geographic strength lies principally in the upper Midwest, as well as in many urban areas and academic communities.

GHS, Jr.

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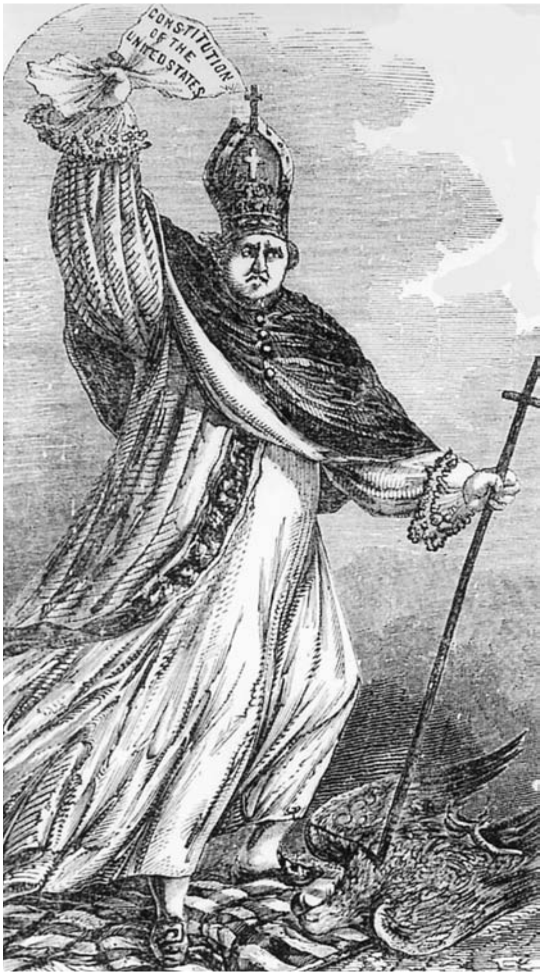
anti-Catholicism Anti-Catholicism arrived in North America with the first British settlers. Part of the British colonial project was the creation of a Protestant bulwark against French and Spanish Catholics on the continent (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). In the course of America's history, anti-Catholicism ebbed and flowed until the election of John Kennedy as president in 1960 brought an end to socially acceptable and overt anti-Catholicism.

The first English colonists in North America brought with them the anti-Catholicism that was part of the political and social environment in England. They quickly began to enact into colonial law the anti-Catholic statutes of their homeland.

Among no group of colonists was anti-Catholic sentiment more complete than the group of Puritans (see Puritanism) who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony. For them, anti-Catholicism was a mission. Their goal was to purify the Church of England of its remaining "popish" elements. In Massachusetts Bay, public performance of the Mass was outlawed. Priests and Jesuits found in the colony were banished. For those who dared return, the penalty was death. Most other colonies placed similar limits on Catholics, denying them the right to vote or to hold public office. New Jersey limited Catholics' right to any state office until 1844, and New Hampshire until 1876.

During the American Revolution, anti-Catholicism weakened somewhat due to American Catholic support for the Revolution and the military and the economic assistance of Catholic France. This tolerance continued into the postwar period. The new U.S. Constitution prohibited any religious test for national political office. Despite this new-found tolerance, suspicions of Catholicism based on political and social reasons did not disappear. Few feared native American Catholics, whose spiritual leader, Bishop John Carroll was as committed to the republic as to his faith. The fear was of foreign Catholic immigrants who, raised among princes and prelates, came to the new country with no knowledge of republican government or independent thought. Many argued that such immigration must be ended to avoid the destruction of the republic.

The immigrants to whom the anti-Catholics of the 1830s objected were the Irish (see nativism). By that decade, the development of what has been called the "Protestant Empire" in America had begun. Into this land of "pure" religion and republican virtue poured a seemingly vulgar, superstitious "horde" from Ireland. To counter this influx, there appeared many popular newspapers and journals whose purpose was "to inculcate Gospel doctrines against Romish corruptions. . . ." Among these were the mildly named *Protestant* and the more explicit *Anti-Romanist, Priestcraft Unmasked,* and *Priestcraft Exposed.* Public lectures and meetings on such topics as "Is Popery Compatible with Civil Liberty?" drew large and enthusiastic crowds.


CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

This cartoon of Pope Pius IX crumbling the Constitution captured the fears of American Protestants at the height of Irish immigration in the mid-19th century. *(Library of Congress)*

The anti-Catholicism of the 1830s was strengthened by three key events. The first was the publication of LYMAN BEECHER's *Plea for the West.* In this pamphlet, he called for an organized attempt to convert the Mississippi Valley region to Protestantism to prevent a papal conspiracy designed to conquer the region for the Catholic Church. The second event was the burning of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts. A mob, spurred by rumors of immoral convent activities and inflammatory sermons by Protestant ministers, including the visiting Lyman Beecher, attacked the town's Irish quarter, sacking and burning the Ursuline convent and its girls school.

The 1830s also saw the beginning of an indigenous anticonvent literature; previous examples had been brought from England or the Continent. The 1835 publication of Rebecca Reed's rather tame *Six Months in a Convent* was followed by the salacious *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* in 1836. The latter, a repetition of every centuries-old rumor of sex, sadism, and murdered babies behind convent walls, provided fuel for nativist fires and fanned the flames dampened by the shock at the destruction of the Ursuline convent.

Despite the virulence of 1830s anti-Catholicism, the movement did not receive an organized form until the 1841 founding of the American Republican Party on an anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant basis. Although dead as a political organization by 1846, it had a major impact in the intervening five years. In Philadelphia, a series of marches by the party in May and July 1844 resulted in pitched battles between "native Americans" and Irish Catholics. Churches and homes were burned. More than 30 people were killed, and hundreds were wounded. Gunfire and artillery duels rocked the city, and martial law was imposed. In New York City, similar anti-Catholic agitation by the party brought the threat from Archbishop John Hughes that "If a single Catholic Church is burned [here]," the entire city will be torched.

The famine in Ireland between 1845 and 1851 and the resulting increase in immigration gave birth to the next major wave of anti-Catholicism. The influx of immigrants generated anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant feelings. Charles B. Allen founded the Organization of the Star Spangled Banner in 1849 to address such concerns. Reorganized by James W. Barker in 1852, the organization became the leading nativist and anti-Catholic organization in the country. All members pledged never to vote for a foreign-born or Catholic candidate. Wealthier and more powerful members of a community worked for the removal of aliens and Catholics from positions of authority and to deny them jobs and public office.

Dedicated to secrecy, the organization was dubbed the "Know Nothings." By 1854, the political branch of the movement, the American Party, dominated state politics in Massachusetts and New York. But the chaos of American politics during the antebellum period attracted voters as much as opposition to foreigners and Catholics. Following the 1856 presidential election, the American Party, unable to deal with the issues of slavery and union, found anti-Catholicism an insufficient unifying issue and disbanded.

While the CIVIL WAR gave Americans more immediate concerns than fear of a Catholic takeover, it provided other reasons for anti-Catholicism. Traditional Irish Catholic support for the Democratic Party, Pope Pius IX's rumored support for the Confederacy, and the silence of the bishops on slavery made Catholicism suspect to the Republicans. The Democratic Party was tarred as the "Party of Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." While this slogan cost Republicans the presidency in 1886, it served them well as a vote-getting appeal until 1932.

Increasing immigration after the Civil War along with attendant poverty, urban corruption, and rising crime gave birth to a renewed assault on immigrants in general and Catholics in particular. Attempts to "clean up" urban politics included attacks on Catholics, whose religious views were seen to make them susceptible to manipulation and corruption. The American Protective Association (APA), formed by Henry Bowers in Clinton, Iowa, in 1887 to work for clean city government, exemplifies this movement. Members pledged never to vote for, hire, or strike with a Catholic. In 1893, William J. H. Traynor replaced Bowers as president, and, by blaming the depression of 1893 on the Catholics, he turned the APA into a mass movement. The APA was moderately successful and found a niche within the Republican Party. But in 1896, divided over William McKinley's presidential candidacy and weakened by the arrest of the national paper's editor for selling salacious literature (the convent literature again), the APA collapsed like its predecessors.

The collapse of the APA did not, however, end either anti-Catholicism or nativism. The waves of immigrants arriving in the United States, the fear of political radicalism following WORLD WAR I, and the rise of "scientific racism"—the notion that certain races were biologically superior to others—only strengthened the movement.

These elements became fused in a revived KU KLUX KLAN. Reorganized in 1915, the Klan grew slowly until the 1920s, when it burgeoned. By 1923, its membership was nearly 3 million. The new Klan opposed radicals, immigrants, Jews, and Catholics. In 1924, its opposition helped deny the Democratic presidential nomination to Al Smith, a Catholic. The eventual nominee, John W. Davis, repudiated the Klan, but the election was a foregone conclusion as Calvin Coolidge swept to a landslide victory. By 1928, the Klan was a shell of its former self, destroyed by the convictions of many leaders for murder, fraud, and corruption.

In 1928, Al Smith became the first Roman Catholic nominated for the nation's highest political office by a major party. Smith entered the campaign with much against him. That he was from New York and opposed Prohibition were as significant in his defeat as his Catholicism. His religion, however, did play a part. During the campaign, the liberal *Christian Century* claimed that Smith represented an "alien culture," "an undemocratic hierarchy," and a "foreign potentate." Smith went down in defeat. Although he carried fewer states than Davis had in 1924, his popular vote was greater, and, despite his Catholicism, he maintained the Democratic hold on the deep South.

The defeat of Al Smith was the last gasp for organized anti-Catholicism in the United States. While organizations such as Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State continued to look suspiciously at the Catholic Church over issues of church-state separation, anti-Catholicism decreased from the 1930s on. This was due to, among other factors, the assimilation of the earlier immigrants, WORLD WAR II, and the Roman Catholic Church's outspoken anticommunism. In 1955, Will Herberg wrote *Protestant, Catholic, Jew,* arguing that these were America's three faiths and that to the populace at large it did not matter which of the three one believed, just that one did.

The election of John F. Kennedy as president in 1960 finally ended anti-Catholicism as a movement with any respectability. While his religion was an issue and did cost him votes, Kennedy met the religious issue straightforwardly. He opposed federal aid to parochial schools and proclaimed his commitment to the separation of church and state. Kennedy's presidency eased suspicions of Catholicism among average Protestants. These fears were further reduced by the radical transformations in the Roman Catholic Church following VATICAN COUNCIL II. By 1990, Catholicism had become part of mainstream American religion and American life. The magnitude of this transformation is illustrated by the fact that between 1964 and 1988, five vice presidential nominees were Roman Catholic. At no time was the issue of religion ever raised against their candidacies. By 2000, the merest hint of anti-Catholicism could prove politically damaging. When George W. Bush, the leading Republican presidential candidate, spoke at Bob Jones University, he came under a storm of criticism, since the school views Catholicism as a dangerous cult. The controversy contributed to his defeat in the Michigan primary the following week and forced him to issue a public apology, acknowledging that he should have used his speech as an opportunity to condemn religious hostility and division.

On the other hand, there remains some truth to Father Andrew Greeley's quip that "anti-Catholicism is the anti-Semitism of the educated class." Opposition to the church's policies on abortion, homosexuality, and women's ordination manifested itself in forms bordering on the anti-Catholicism of the 19th century, with the disruption of services and disparagement of the church and its leaders. Additionally, the failure of the church aggressively to address the problem of the sexual abuse of children by priests also presented an occasion for many to attack the church as a whole, rather than its failures on this issue. This, however, has remained a fringe movement among small activist groups, and widespread manifestations of anti-Catholicism in the United States had become almost nonexisistent by the end of the 20th century.

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anticommunism See COMMUNISM.

anticult movement The term *anticult movement* refers to the organized opposition to a number of NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS active during recent decades.

America's long history of religious ferment has given rise to a wide variety of movements. Whether indigenous (such as Mormonism [see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS]) or imported (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM), the spread of non-Protestant religions often challenged the existing social order. Such challenges in turn generated considerable hostility from those within the social mainstream. Consequently, a long history of religious persecution accompanied the growth of new American religions (see NATIVISM). Well into the 20th century, Mormons and JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES were subjected to the legislative harassment, inflammatory propaganda, and violence that originally greeted Catholic immigrants (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM). While religious PLURALISM has become a more accepted feature of the American cultural landscape during recent decades, voices echoing the themes of Protestant nativism have continued to see America's health threatened by the spread of new religious movements.

During the most recent spurt of religious creativity, growing out of the religious idealism of the COUNTERCULTURE, a number of groups emerged outside the lines of more traditional denominations. Many of these new movements, such as the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS and TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION, drew upon some form of Asian mysticism. Others, such as SCI-

ENTOLOGY, reinterpreted popular psychology. Many, including the JESUS MOVEMENT, were indigenous; but some, such as the UNIFICATION CHURCH, migrated from abroad, particularly Asia.

Social scientists disagree about the features constituting "cults," as well as the nature of their impact on society. Some refuse to use the term, claiming it is irredeemably polemic. Sociologists, anthropologists, and historians of religion often stressed commonalities between cults and more socially acceptable religious groups. By contrast, a number of psychologists viewed cult members as mentally unhealthy. Responding to the social turmoil of the 1960s (see VIETNAM WAR; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT), many Americans greeted the proliferation of new religions with fear and anxiety, particularly family members of the mostly young people who joined the movements and assorted churches. These two groups of opponents developed distinct approaches to dealing with cults.

Families of cult members began organizing local and regional groups in the early 1970s to provide each other with information and support as they dealt with the dissonance of values created by their children's participation in unconventional religious movements. By the late 1970s, these groups had coalesced into national organizations, such as the Massachusetts-based American Family Foundation, Inc., which were capable of exerting political pressure in a number of states to secure official investigations of cults and legislation to control the spread of "pseudo-religious" movements. Family groups were sometimes aided by "deprogrammers," such as Ted Patrick, coauthor of *Let Our Children Go!* (1976), who used blatantly illegal means, including kidnapping and prolonged restraint, to remove individuals from religious groups, claiming that the religious groups were "brainwashing" their converts. The deprogrammers contended that the only possible explanation for the conversion of largely upper-middle-class youths to new ascetic movements lay in the coercive "mind-control" techniques developed by charismatic leaders. By invoking the supposed success of brainwashing practiced by North Koreans on American prisoners during the Korean War, deprogrammers and mental health professionals gave scientific, medical legitimacy to the fears of parents.

By contrast, more socially accepted denominations, particularly Protestant evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM) and various Jewish groups, sought to combat the influence of new religions on a theological level. A large literature, produced both by evangelical and Jewish groups concerned over membership loss and by independents such as the Berkeley-based Spiritual Counterfeits Project, emphasized the threats cults posed to orthodox Christian or Jewish belief. The success of new religious groups was said to stem from the breakdown of social and family values, from the work of Satan, and especially from the failure of the churches themselves to spiritually undergird the American public.

While family groups, deprogrammers, and churches worked to foster the public's anticult sentiment, they were ultimately unsuccessful in their legislative goals. Nevertheless, they did create, particularly in the wake of the Jonestown massacre in 1978 (see JONES, JAMES WARREN), a national climate of suspicion regarding new religious movements.

Popular concerns about "cults" intensified when a seven-week standoff between residents of the heavily armed compound of the Branch Davidians near WACO, Texas, and officials of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms ended on April 19, 1993, in an inferno that killed self-styled messiah David Koresh and scores of his followers. While critics of Koresh denounced the Branch Davidian leader as a child molester and religious fanatic who, like Jim Jones, engineered a mass murder suicide among his followers in order to fulfill prophesies of an apocalyptic clash between good and evil, critics of the federal agents, who first launched a failed attack on the compound and later battered it with armored vehicles and tear gas, charged that the tragedy, which left dozens of children dead, could have been averted had cooler heads prevailed. More specifically, the critics claimed that the perception of Koresh's Seventh-Day Adventism-influenced group as a dangerous "cult" created an atmosphere that led to the conflagration.

No such claims can be made about the suicides of the HEAVEN'S GATE followers in 1997. These individuals, who believed that the Hale-Bopp Comet hid a spaceship that would take them to a higher plane, committed suicide to remove themselves from their earthly level and move to a higher plane.

Such high-profile actions by recently emerged religious groups create an atmosphere of concern and fear among friends and relatives of those groups' followers. Even where the likelihood of violent death is minimal or nonexistent, family and friends often feel alienated and separated from those who join such groups. Some of this alienation comes from the new practices and beliefs that individuals adopt, while others may be an intentional act by a group's leaders to remove their followers from "hostile" and "suspicious" outsiders and "evil" influences.

When this separation is accompanied by a secretiveness about an organization's beliefs and practices (and some of these new religious movements are fairly secretive), the fear and concern can reach extremes. This combination of fear and concern, often to which is added a real hostility to the religion itself, has given the anticult movement its impetus, and while real abuses in some new religious movements exacerbate the fear, personal and family concerns along with religious hostility have led to marked excesses within the anticult movement, including kidnapping and coerced "deprogramming."

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Antimission Baptists See BAPTISTS.

Antinomian Controversy The Antinomian Controversy experienced by the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY between 1636 and 1637 severely threatened the colony's stability. The controversy stemmed from disagreements over the implications of theological issues involving salvation, human freedom, and human action. These came to the fore due to the activities of ANNE HUTCHINSON and the perception by several of the colony's leaders that she and her followers believed that salvation freed one from obligations to follow the moral and civil law.

Hutchinson had a gifted theological mind and held religious discussions in her home. Originally small, these gatherings soon grew to 60 or 70 people, including both men and women. Like all Puritans, she believed human activity was unable to effect individual salvation. Unlike many of her contemporaries, however, Hutchinson rejected the claim that personal behavior was a clue to the presence of grace within a person, the doctrine of preparation. Hutchinson also had a strong sense of the Holy Spirit acting within the saved person. This was so strong that she seemed to imply that such an individual had an immediate knowledge of the will of God. This view threatened the Puritan belief in the Bible as the ultimate source of religious knowledge.

These ideas, or more precisely the application of these ideas, endangered the colony. To a great extent, the ideas themselves were within the acceptable range of Puritan theology. But the "antinomians" added the claim that they could recognize who was under the "covenant of grace" and attacked most of the colony's ministers. This challenged the ordered society the Puritans were attempting to create.

The conflicts were not limited to the theological and political. Hutchinson's position as a woman undermined the accepted idea of male dominance and power. The conflict also pitted Boston, where Hutchinson lived, against the rest of the colony. The antinomians' strength, while limited to Boston, was great there and included the colony's governor, Henry Vane, and seemingly the influential minister JOHN COTTON.

The existence of the conflict was obvious as early as October 1636, when some members of the Boston church recommended calling Hutchinson's brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, as a third minister. JOHN WINTHROP—already suspicious of the individuals involved—was able to prevent this, although it took the greater part of his skill and prestige. In consolation, Wheelwright was placed in charge of a new church in Wollaston, 10 miles outside of Boston. This compromise did not end the conflict, and tensions increased through the winter. A ministerial interrogation of Hutchinson in December accomplished nothing except to divide the parties further. By January 1637, hostilities had reached such proportions that the General Court ordered a day of fasting and prayer to mourn the division.

John Wheelwright took advantage of his fast-day sermon to attack his opponents. He criticized those who argued that sanctification (godly behavior) was proof of justification and claimed that the righteous would have to strike them down: "kill them with the word of the lord." Despite its figurative nature, this language smacked of rebellion, and in March the General Court convicted him of sedition, postponing sentencing until its next meeting, which also was to be the occasion for elections to the court.

Many objected to Wheelwright's conviction and petitioned the General Court for a reversal. When the court met on May 17, Governor Henry Vane raised the issue of the petition; others insisted that the election be held first. This created a tumult, and violence was narrowly averted. The election was held, and the antinomians saw their supporters defeated, including Henry Vane, who was replaced as governor by John Winthrop.

The petition was dismissed, Wheelwright's sentencing was again postponed, and the court passed a law forbidding the colony's inhabitants to entertain newcomers for longer than three weeks without permission. This was directed at the antinomians, since rumor had it that many individuals attracted to Hutchinson's views were coming from England.

The antinomians were not the only problem facing the new government. The king, hearing rumors of conflict in the colony, sent commissioners to investigate, hoping to find some reason to repeal the colony's charter. The entire colony united against this outside threat, claiming unity and peace. The outbreak of an Indian war (the Pequot War) also distracted the government. This time, however, the response was anything but unified. The Boston church supplied neither money nor men for the war, further antagonizing the outlying towns.

Not until November 1637 was the situation sufficiently settled for the government to turn its attention to Anne Hutchinson and her supporters. In that month, the General Court moved against those who had signed the petition supporting Wheelwright. Nearly all were disfranchised and disarmed. Hutchinson was banished. This broke the back of the movement, ending this threat to the colony's peace.

The restoration of internal peace led to magnanimity toward the vanquished. The desire to maintain order and unity had forced the colony's government to act. This same desire allowed the granting of reprieves, as early as 1637, to those who acknowledged their errors and asked forgiveness. In 1639, this was followed by a general amnesty for all "remaining among us, carrying themselves peacefully." As a result, no lingering hostilities remained within the colony, and social harmony was reestablished.

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anti-Semitism Anti-Semitism, hostility toward or hatred of Jews, arrived in the New World with the Europeans. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's first voyage to America coincided with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain by King Ferdinand I and Queen Isabella. Columbus, in fact, was forced to depart from a minor Spanish port because Cádiz was overflowing with ships transporting the expelled Jews. Christians lived in tension with the Jews, whom they held responsible for Jesus' crucifixion. Spain's expulsion of the Jews was not unique. England had expelled its Jews in 1290, and France in 1306 and again in 1394.

The Europeans brought these anti-Semitic attitudes to the New World. The Inquisition in NEW SPAIN was as active in hunting down Protestants and Jews as in old Spain. French Louisiana (see NEW FRANCE) forbade the practice of any religion other than Catholicism and specifically disallowed the immigration of Jews. By 1758, however, Jews had settled permanently in New Orleans with the knowledge of the French governor.

The colonies of British North America also enforced religious uniformity. Although the English colonists were preeminently concerned with outlawing Catholicism, all dissenting religions suffered. Maryland (see MARYLAND [COLONY]), designed as a refuge for Catholics, limited civil rights to those who did not deny the Trinity, effectively excluding Jews, Muslims, and unitarians. Rhode Island, the most tolerant colony, allowed freedom of conscience but denied the vote to Catholics and Jews. Colonies that officially denied civil rights to Jews often bent or ignored the rules. South Carolina bestowed citizenship on Joseph Tobias in 1741, allowing him to delete all references to Christianity when taking the oath of citizenship. In 1658, Maryland tried Jacob Lumbrozo for blasphemy (the only Jew ever tried for that crime in the United States). The case ended with a hung jury, and a few years later Lumbrozo served as a juror, in violation of Maryland law limiting such service to Christians.

The ratification of the U.S. CONSTITUTION in 1788 abolished religious tests for national office. The ratification of the First Amendment in 1791 guaranteed the national government's neutrality in religion. Barriers to equal treatment remained at the state level, however. While most states acted to remove religious tests, some did so slowly. Laws in Maryland and Rhode Island limited the ability of Jews to hold state office until 1826 and 1842, respectively. The North Carolina Constitution barred non-Trinitarians from state office until 1868, although at least one Jew served as a state legislator in violation of the law. No state admitted after the original thirteen ever instituted a religious test for political office.

Unlike ANTI-CATHOLICISM, organized anti-Semitism in the United States as a mass movement has been rare and has never achieved the political acceptability anti-Catholicism occasionally did. This, however, is not to deny its vicious reality. Anti-Semitism in the United States has been a constant cultural phenomenon that on occasion has burst into violence.

No act of anti-Semitism has attained the notoriety attendant upon the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank in Georgia. Frank, accused of raping and murdering a young factory girl in Atlanta, was convicted in an atmosphere of anti-Semitic hostility and intimidation. Following the commutation of his sentence, a mob dragged him from the state prison farm and hanged him on August 17, 1915. Although class and regional conflicts played a role in the lynching, Frank's Jewishness provided a convenient target for the hostility. Tom Watson, former Populist senator from Georgia, led the chorus against Frank. In his newspaper, *Jeffersonian,* Watson called for an example to be made of Frank and actively encouraged his murder. This event served as a precursor for the growth of anti-Semitism that emerged in the 1920s, including a resurgence of the KU KLUX KLAN (see NATIVISM).

More discreet and less violent was the so-called genteel anti-Semitism that developed in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This anti-Semitism led to quotas on Jewish admissions to colleges and universities, halving the Jewish enrollment at Columbia and Harvard. As a result, many hotels, restaurants, and clubs refused service to Jews, and some employers refused to hire Jews, especially for management positions.

A series of anti-Semitic articles published by Henry Ford's newspaper the *Dearborn Independent* strengthened this anti-Semitism. These articles, drawn from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* a spurious document alleging a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, claimed that Jews used both capitalism and communism to subvert Christian civilization. Among the many evils allegedly perpetrated by these elders was the fixing of the 1919 World Series.

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw growing anti-Semitism among American blacks. Jews and blacks, political allies against discrimination, began to draw apart due to different sets of interests over many issues. The Six-Day War of 1967 made many Jewish Americans fear for the state of Israel and strengthened their interest in it. At the same time, many African Americans identified their struggle for civil rights as part of a wider movement against European hegemony within the third world. They therefore tended increasingly to support the Palestinians and the Arab states in their conflicts with Israel.

Tensions between Jews and blacks were not eased by candidate Jesse Jackson's 1984 reference to New York City as a "hymie town," nor his association with LOUIS FARRAKHAN, the leader of the NATION OF ISLAM, who once referred to Judaism as a "gutter religion" and maintained contacts with the more extreme Arab leaders, including Muammar Qaddafi, the president of Libya. These conflicts were heightened by differences over the role of quotas in affirmative action placement and the diplomatic-military relationship between Israel and South Africa. In fact, survey research shows that, unlike the populace at large, anti-Semitism among blacks increases with the level of education.

In the United States, anti-Semitism as an active hostility toward Jews has decreased since WORLD WAR II. The horror created by the Nazi destruction of European Jews caused much reflection about anti-Semitism and moved active anti-Semitism into the fringes of American society, where it remained a constant among the small but occasionally violent Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, and the IDENTITY MOVEMENT.

Anti-Semitism has decreased in the United States to the point that more Americans are willing to vote for a Jewish candidate for president than for an evangelical Christian. Other parts of the world have seen a marked growth in anti-Semitism. Through the 1990s, Europe, particularly France and Russia, saw increasing manifestations of anti-Semitism, including physical attacks on Jews. Additionally, in the Arab world the worst stereotypes of anti-Semitism, including Arab-language versions of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, regularly circulate, even in state run media.

Despite the overall decrease in anti-Semitism in the United States, some vestigial forms remain. Among certain Christians, the belief that Judaism is an insufficient religion remains. There also continues to be a level of cultural anti-Semitism. The English language itself carries this. People often speak of being "jewed down," a continuation of the traditional anti-Semitic view of Jews as sharp traders. Hypocrisy and self-righteousness are referred to as "pharisaical," from Jesus' traditional opponents. Despite these vestiges, however, anti-Semitism has lessened, and the social and political structures of the United States have served to provide a safer haven for Jews than anywhere except perhaps Israel.

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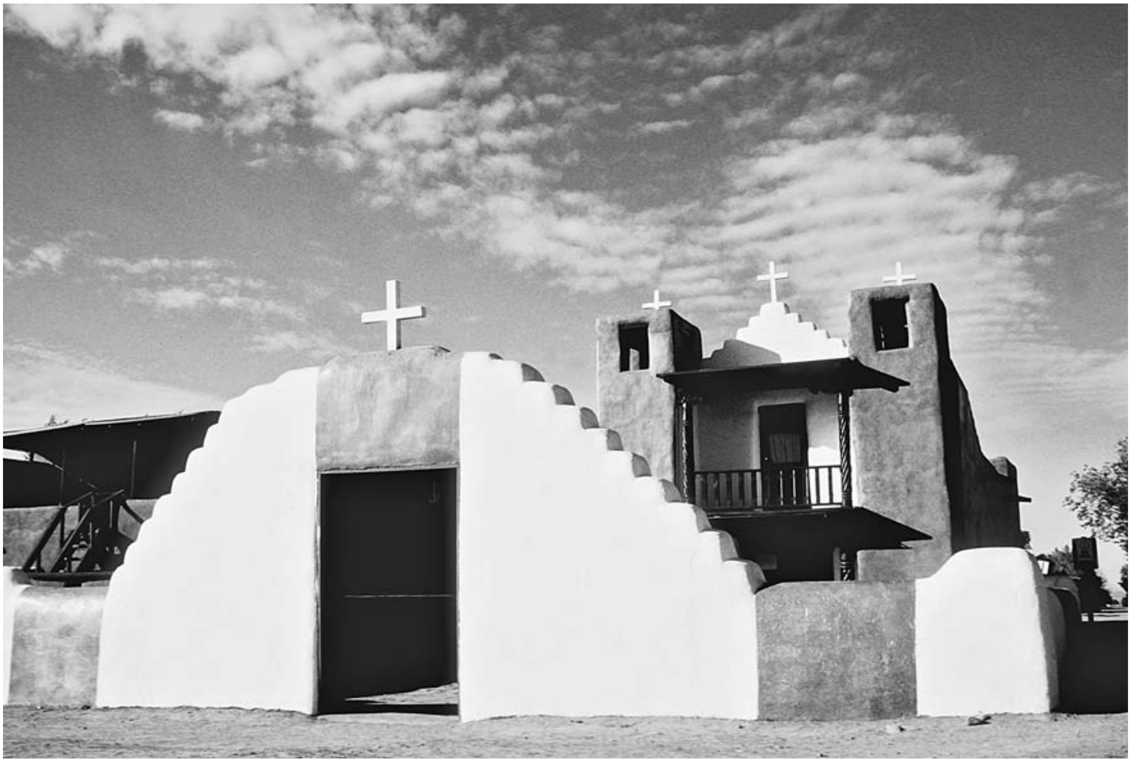
antislavery See ABOLITIONISM.

apocalypticism See ESCHATOLOGY.

architecture (religious) Religious architecture in the United States runs the gamut from San Xavier del Bac (which H. L. Mencken once described as a building too beautiful to be in America) to storefront *shtiebls* for daily Jewish prayers, from Hindu temples adorned with garlands and statues to the stark Mies van der Rohe–designed chapel on the campus of Illinois Institute of Technology known as the "God box." This variety reflects America's religious diversity, attitudes toward the purpose of religious architecture, and the exchange of cultural views. While one rarely would confuse a Protestant church with an Orthodox cathedral, designs and even buildings have changed religious hands. Black Baptist churches thrive in erstwhile synagogues. The oldest mosque in the United States started as a mosque, then became a Pentecostal church, and is now a mosque again. To a great extent, religious architecture reflects American practicality—any suitable place that works is fine. Religious architecture, on the other hand, also can reflect more than a place to meet and worship. It expresses religious beliefs and identity, and it also can express belonging and status. The ability to build and pay for a church, mosque, temple, or synagogue makes a statement about one's presence in a community in America. Religious architecture can, in many instances, fulfill multiple purposes and does far more than merely provide a place for people to gather and worship. It says things about identity, status, beliefs, and permanence. It also explains why some of the world's leading architects have designed religious buildings. This article focuses on the interaction between American culture and society and its effect on religious architecture and design and does not intend to describe or explain the structure of religious architecture.

The issue of architectural variety and how it reflects varied understandings of religion and worship can be seen even before the arrival of Europeans on this continent. Religious practices among Native Americans var-



Church at Taos Pueblo near Taos, New Mexico. *(Aurora/Getty)*

ied widely, as did their religious architecture. Hopi kivas, Natchez Temple Mounds, Iroquois longhouses, and Cheyenne sweat lodges illustrate only a fraction of the variations of religious buildings among the Indian peoples of North America. Some, such as the sweat lodge, were designed for a specific religious ritual. Others, such as the kivas, served as housing for the local gods and meeting places for those who served and worshipped them. Temple mounds served as visible statements of the power and authority of the hierarchical cultures that built them and of the divine or semidivine status of the ruler.

The importance of religious architecture also is reflected in the eagerness with which Europeans who settled in America turned to the construction of places of worship. The Spaniards set the tone as they began to establish mission churches in their efforts to Christianize the Indian peoples of New Spain. In California and the southwestern states, many of these missions gave their names to flourishing towns and cities: San Juan de Capistrano, San Diego, Santa Fe, and San Antonio, where the Alamo itself was built as Misión San Antonio de Valero. In building these mission churches, the Spanish friars and priests melded Spanish architectural designs and local materials to address real needs. In many instances, the missions not only had to serve as places for performing the Mass but also as fortresses against attacks. The walled courtyards, thick walls, and reinforced doors that mark many of these mission churches reflect the very real need for defense. The oldest extant church building in the United States, San Miguel Mission Church in Santa Fe

(1610), well reflects this combination of Spanish Catholic Christianity, local materials and building styles, and defense.

In NEW FRANCE, the Jesuits missionaries to the Indians often made do with simpler buildings, modeled on Native American styles. Later in the more settled towns, churches based on European models soon rose. In New Orleans, the original Cathedral of Saint Louis the King of France was completed in the 1720s, with its current building completed in 1850. Even the later version reflects the city's French Catholic heritage and French baroque aesthetic. In fact, the English-speaking Catholics actually worshipped in a separate church, St. Patrick's, built in 1833.

The experience of the separation of French and English Catholics in New Orleans reflected a very real problem in the American Catholic Church (see CAHENSLYISM). While much of the controversy involved language and worship styles, religious architecture often became a source of cultural conflict. German, French, and Italian worship styles and architecture often rooted in the baroque and filled with elaborate ornamentation and relics often conflicted with the more austere architectural forms of Irish Catholics. While separation often came about due to differences in language and worship styles, the variations in architectural styles visibly reflected the difference and separation.

Architecture expressing difference is clearly seen in the majority of Orthodox and Eastern churches in the United States. These churches reflect the cultural traditions of Christianity in Greece, Russia, Egypt, and elsewhere. Onion domes, distinctive crosses, and elaborate iconostases reflect distinctive cultural histories and the sense of religious mystery that is Orthodox Christianity's genius. From the Kodiak Islands in Alaska, where the first Orthodox church in America was built in 1792, to New Kuban, New Jersey, where Cossacks exiled or escaped from the Soviet Union in the 1950s attempted to recreate a Russian village while awaiting their return, islands of Orthodoxy pocket the United States. Whether Serbs or Macedonians, Romanians or Ukrainians, Greeks or Russians, their churches reflect both the distinctive religious sensibility of Orthodoxy and, usually, the particular national identity of the community. Serbian saints predominate among the icons at St. Sava's Serbian Orthodox Cathedral in Milwaukee, and Russia's imperial history is an integral part of the Cossack church in New Kuban. Even a modern take on Orthodox architecture, such as the Frank Lloyd Wright–designed Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, cannot escape the smooth, round exteriors and mysterious interiors of Orthodox tradition.

Protestants in the United States also used religious architecture to demonstrate their religious beliefs and a particular aesthetic. The earliest Anglican churches in the United States look like miniature versions of English Gothic churches. St. Luke's Church in Smithfield, Virginia, the oldest Protestant church building in the United States (1632), is a prime example. Like the mission churches of New Spain, it also was designed to serve as a fort if conditions demanded. The Anglican churches in the southern and middle colonies reflected the hope of many colonists (or at least their patrons in England) that settlement would replicate the British parish structure of small villages built around a church and a manor.

In the Puritan colonies of New England, a different form of religious architecture dominated (see PURITANISM). This form was designed to demonstrate clearly the Puritans' rejection of all vestiges of episcopacy and Rome. While few made this as clear as the PILGRIMS, who began building their "meetinghouse" on Christmas Day in order to demonstrate their freedom from popish customs, the Puritan "plain style" immediately communicates that one is not in an Anglican, Catholic, or Orthodox church. Additionally, the interior design facilitated the central component of Puritan, in fact of Protestant, worship in general, the sermon. For Protestants, the proclamation of the word, rather than the performance of the Mass, constitutes the essence of worship. For that reason, churches are designed to draw one's attention to the preacher, to the individual who delivers the sermon. Distractions, traditionally, are minimized.

Like other religious groups, Protestants also carried with them their cultural heritages, and many Protestant churches remain rooted architecturally in British Gothic. On the other hand, the cultural disconnect resulting from the American Revolution opened up new possibilities for Protestant architecture in the United States. Following the Revolution, the fashion for Italianate styles and what would become know as the Federalist style was reflected in much Protestant architecture. Even today, these styles continue to be among the most common choices for Protestant churches.

Decorative motifs in Protestant churches also differ from those in Catholic churches. Other than the four evangelists and perhaps Paul, stained glass windows rarely depict Christian saints but biblical stories or occasionally events within the history of the denomination. Crosses, not crucifixes, adorn the walls.

Other religious immigrants also tended to bring with them their distinctive religious architecture. Buildings constructed as Jewish synagogues in the United States tended to mirror the traditions of the region whence the congregants came and the distinctive demands of Jewish religious practice. The latter statement also must be understood to refer to the variants within the Jewish denominations within the United States.

When the Jewish communities of the 19th and early 20th centuries could build a synagogue, the external designs tended to imitate the forms of the synagogues in the region of Europe from which the immigrants escaped. By the mid-20th century, however, the development of new congregations, the move to the suburbs, and increasing financial stability provided the opportunity to experiment and expand architectural forms. Temple Emanu-El in New York (1929) presents an early example of this. Based on the form of a basilica and reflecting Byzantine and romanesque elements, the temple gives a sense of solidity and security. It seems to revel in its position in the city and in the country. (The temple in Atlanta, Georgia, reflects a similar attitude.) This is not the building of a despised and persecuted people, but of a proud and accepted segment of American society. Emanu-El also proclaims, architecturally, its grounding in Reform Judaism. The *mehitzah,* the barrier that separates male and female worshippers in Orthodox congregations, is gone. Like most Protestant churches, the focus is on those leading the service and particularly the sermon. This also is different from Orthodox synagogues, where the architecture is more directed to the experience of communal prayers and the ritual obligations of Orthodoxy, including the *mehitzah.* Orthodox synagogues also have other sets of obligations: a kosher kitchen, and the ability to segregate utensils, cookware, and dishes used for meat from those used for dairy products. Additionally, many Orthodox synagogues incorporate a *mikveh,* or ritual bath. This incorporation also generates additional demands on design. Plans must be made to create spaces through which people can enter and leave, dressing rooms, and ways of ensuring privacy.

Despite these differences, there are marked similarities. The *aaron hakodesh,* the holy ark containing the Torah scrolls, invariably holds center place usually (in North America) along the eastern wall, directing prayers toward Jerusalem. The *ner tamid,* the eternal light, hangs over or near the ark, symbolizing God's eternal presence and immanence. Additionally, the decorative motifs in synagogues reflect the stories and experiences of the Jewish tradition. The symbols of the 12 tribes, the burning bush, and the Jewish star fill synagogues across every denomination.

As mentioned above, small and newly established congregations of all types tend to begin by meeting in loaned or rented quarters. These may be school gymnasiums, houses, or even apartments. Congregations may even meet in other religions' houses of worship. Emerging Jewish congregations have been known to meet in churches (and vice versa), and even Muslim congregations have begun by meeting in synagogues.

Financial constraints often dictate the need to meet in unusual places. Attempts to convert these spaces often generate difficulties, as congregations' specific needs, traffic, and noise conflict with neighborhood demands for peace and quiet. When these congregations are less familiar whether, Pentecostal (see PENTACOSTALISM), SANTERIA, or Buddhist (see BUDDHISM), conflicts often become heightened. Ignorance and fear, along with incipient racial and religious animosities, can hinder the necessary adjustments or expansions. While the RELIGIOUS LAND USE AND INSTITUTIONALIZED PERSONS ACT may ease some of the practical results of this animosity, it cannot reach its sources. Many congregations struggle with how to meet their religious needs within the limits of local expectations and demands.

For most congregations, the goal is a dedicated building, ideally one built to meet their specific worship and institutional needs and desires. For many congregations, this goal means that there not only are financial difficulties to be overcome, but also zoning issues and, as mentioned above, resistance from current residents. Additionally, there is the reality that religious institutions invariably are exempt from property taxes, and some may resist the building out of fear of lost revenue. Finally, religious and racial prejudices may increase the difficulties faced by some congregations, particularly when their institutional or religious practices differ markedly from those to which most residents are accustomed. Buddhist and Hindu temples, mosques, and other less familiar traditions suffer the most (although not exclusively or even universally) from such resistance. Muslim congregations have suffered from a heightened level of suspicion, if not hostility, since September 11, 2001, as people wonder whether the neighborhood mosque will become a source of Muslim extremism and terrorism.

For these congregations, however, building a mosque, temple, or synagogue demonstrates both their permanence and their belonging. A building visibly demonstrates that a religion truly has become part of the landscape of America. It also proves the success of the congregation. This is as true of Muslims and Hindus as it was of Baptists and Methodists when they joined the "big steeple" Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches in a city's most prestigious area.

To the extent possible, the building must conform to tradition. A mosque must have a vast open space in which the congregation can pray. There must be a large open and carpeted space so that the worshippers may perform the required prostrations during the daily prayers. The building must be oriented towards Mecca, with a *mihrab,* a special marker or niche, showing the direction of that city. Ideally, it also should contain a *mimbar,* the pulpit from which a religious leader addresses the community, particularly during the Friday afternoon communal prayers.

Buddhist temples also must have the requisites for prayer, meditation, and ritual sacrifices, depending on the form of Buddhism and the cultural tradition. Most temples also have to include a monastery to house monks and, ideally, a place for spiritual retreats. While some Buddhist movements in the United States have intentionally incorporated more Western forms of worship, with worshippers sitting in pews through a set service (see BUDDHIST CHURCHES OF AMERICA), others have tried to retain much of their traditional forms of worship as possible. Since so much of this is culturally bound (Sri Lankan Buddhism varies markedly from Burmese and Japanese forms), there has been little merging and blending of traditions such as one sees in many Hindu temples in the United States. Language also tends to divide these communities. Linguistic and cultural forms tend toward separateness, with the result that the Buddhist temples in the United States usually reflect specific architectural cultures: Chinese, Japanese, Lao, and so forth.

Hindu temples in the United States, while occasionally divided by region, particularly between north and south, typically are better at combining the various communities. Hinduism's tendency toward expansiveness and inclusiveness (although not a universal property of all its variants or practitioners) makes this much easier to accomplish. Still, Hindu temples must maintain the appropriate cultural and religious forms. There must be statues of the gods, and they must be presented in the traditional styles. The temple itself must reflect the ethos of a Hindu temple. The need for traditionalism in religion reflects people's need to feel that they are in a place where what they know as worship takes place.

For Hindu, Buddhist, and Muslim congregations, however, a building also means making adjustments to the realities of American religious life and local realities. In many instances, these realities may hinder building, since the varying countries of origin (for Buddhists and Muslims) or region within India (for Hindus) may mean that a consensus on style cannot be reached. When it can be reached, it often results in a distinctive American form. Unlike in India, where most Hindu temples are dedicated to one deity or to a particular form of worship (see HINDUISM), in the United States temples tend to be much more inclusive, with the goal of bringing most of the local Hindu community together. Other changes may involve adjustments to local sensibilities. While most mosques in the United States retain the minaret (the tall tower beside a mosque) as a decorative form, for most of them it lacks any function. Muslim congregations typically forgo issuing the public call to prayer from the minaret in order to avoid antagonizing their neighbors.

Mosques and temples have made architectural adjustments to American realities in other ways. As Protestant churches did in the late 19th century and Catholics and Jews in the 20th, Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu congregations have turned their places of worship into community centers. They are community gathering places as well as locations for religious education and often language instruction. Classrooms, kitchens, meeting rooms, and a social hall are needed and ideally will be included in the design for a new building. Finally, that most American requirement must be met: The building must have a parking lot.

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Arminianism Arminianism is named for Jacobus Arminius, a Dutch theologian of the early 17th century, who modified the teachings of John Calvin (see CALVINISM) in order to affirm that human beings were actively involved in the process of attaining salvation. Unlike Calvinism, which taught that God's elect (see ELECTION) are saved without regard to their own actions, Arminian theology stressed that salvation is a matter of choice. Arminianism appealed to the American desire for self-determination and became critical in the development of Protestant thought in the United States, especially within the revival-oriented WESLEYAN TRADITION.

James Harmens (in Latin, Jacobus Arminius) was born in Holland in 1560 and received part of his theological education in Calvin's Geneva. Although still a convinced Calvinist when he was called to minister in Amsterdam in 1587, Arminius gradually came to doubt the "high" Calvinist view on predestination: the belief that, from eternity, God has arbitrarily chosen to save some human beings and damn others. Arminius was formally charged with heresy but acquitted in 1603.

Controversy arose again, however, after Arminius's death, when a group of Dutch clergy became advocates of his views, setting forth their doctrines in the Remonstrance of 1610. Reacting against the deterministic logic of Calvinism, the Remonstrants argued that God foreknew, but did not foreordain, who would be saved and who would be damned. God, they said, gives all people the grace to accept eternal salvation. Orthodox Calvinists vigorously reacted against the Remonstrants' position and upheld God's absolute sovereignty over the fate of men and women. Assembled at the Synod of Dort in April 1619, the Dutch Reformed Church officially condemned Arminianism and asserted that human beings are wholly sinful and entirely incapable of saving themselves.

After Dort, many Arminians were banished from Holland, and Arminianism was not granted toleration there until 1795. In England, however, where those beliefs found acceptance as a liberalized version of Calvinist theology, Arminianism continued to be influential throughout the 17th century. While the distinguishing mark of strict Calvinists was their emphasis on divine, not human, initiative in spiritual matters, Arminians stressed the need for piety and moral effort in living a Christian life.

By the mid-18th century in America, Arminianism became the principal theological force impelling two new religious movements that diverged from Calvinist orthodoxy. In its more liberal form, Arminianism influenced the development of Unitarianism (see UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY) out of the Congregational churches of New England. Congregational clergy CHARLES CHAUNCY and JONATHAN MAYHEW of Boston, for example, insisted that God was benevolent and had given Christians the ability to improve themselves morally and spiritually. A theologically conservative version of Arminianism also inspired the heartfelt piety of Methodist founder John Wesley. Wesley taught that Christians should strive for personal conversion and seek to lead lives of visible holiness.

As Arminianism found expression within Protestant EVANGELICALISM in the 19th century, its impact upon American religion proved to be tremendous. The Methodists quickly became the largest Protestant denomination in the United States. Arminianism, moreover, dominated the revivals of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, in which Methodist, Baptist, and even Presbyterian evangelists exhorted sinners to abandon evil and come to God. Consistent with the self-reliant spirit of the early republic, revival leaders assumed that individuals had the innate ability to reform themselves and attain moral perfection (see PERFECTIONISM) in the present life.

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Ásatrú (Odinism) Ásatrú, or Odinism, is one of the forms of neopagan religions (see NEOPAGANISM) that reemerged or were revivified in the United States (and elsewhere) during the second half of the 20th century. It also goes by the names of *heathenism* and *Wotanism*. Ásatrú is an Old Icelandic word that believers usually translate as "faith" or "those true to the gods." They claim adherence to the Norse (or northern European more generally) pagan traditions. Initially revitalized in Iceland during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ásatrú was recognized as an official religion by the governments of Iceland in 1973, Norway in 1994, and Denmark in 2003. In the United States, several Ásatrú organizations were granted nonprofit status under the category of religious groups as early as the 1970s.

Ásatrú and related groups emphasize that the religion is nothing more (or less) than the folk religion of the northern European (particularly the Germanic) peoples. As such, they claim, it deserves the same level of respect and appreciation as traditional Native American or African religions. To them, their indigenous tradition is one that was nearly destroyed by the Christianization of the Germanic tribes and of the Norse peoples. Since the most complete knowledge of this indigenous, northern European religion comes from the Norse traditions (Iceland did not begin to undergo the process of Christianization until the 11th century), most practitioners of the religion use Norse words for the gods and goddesses and derive much of their practices and stories from the Norse versions as well.

The gods venerated or worshiped by followers of Ásatrú are thus the ones known by many from Norse mythology. Odin, Frigga, Thor, Freya, and Tyr are only a few of these gods. While many practitioners of Ásatrú emphasize the freedom and vibrancy that they believe to be hallmarks of the tradition, Ásatrú comes to the modern world bound by the dark theology of the Norse myths. World stability is only temporary and, along with the gods themselves, eventually will be destroyed at the great event of Ragnarok (doom of the gods, Gotterdammerung).

For many, Ragnarok epitomizes the pessimistic and gloomy side of Norse mythology. All the gods know the battle will end with the destruction of all worlds and their personal deaths. They even know the day and the hour, yet despite this knowledge they will appear for the battle in their appointed roles. While most Asatruar (the word practitioners use to refer to themselves) tend to minimize this aspect of the tradition, they recognize its reality. As the Ásatrú Folk Assembly (AFF) states in its declaration of purpose, they acknowledge "the eternal struggle and strife of life, the welcoming of that strife as a challenge, the living of life wholly and with joy, and the facing of eternity with courage."

The affirmation of conflict and the relish with which Asatruars proclaim their connection with the Germanic and Norse tribes generates some concern about Ásatrú's possible connections with neo-Nazi and white supremacist movements. While most mainstream Ásatrú movements deny any connection with such views, and some, such as the Troth, forbid discrimination on the bases of race, gender, or sexual orientation, there definitely are some within Ásatrú who see it as a "white man's religion" for a "white man's world." Even a movement such as the AFF, which explicitly rejects supremacist positions, can make disturbing statements. Its "Declaration of Purpose" declares, we believe in "The preservation of the Peoples of the North (typified by the Scandinavian/Germanic and Celtic peoples), and the furtherance of their continued evolution." Although accompanied by an explanatory disclaimer that such a view implies no sense of superiority, it nonetheless gives many pause. Additionally, many organizations that monitor neo-Nazi and other hate groups have expressed concern that the AFF and some of its members have a definite connection to white supremacist movements.

As Ásatrú has gained organizational forms, it also has begun to undertake some ministries to prisoners. This has made the issue of its possible racialist connotations of an even greater concern, since many of the most violent white supremacist groups have found prisons to be most successful locations for recruiting converts. Even those individuals most suspicious of links between neo-Nazi or white supremacists and neopaganism believe that less than 20 percent of followers of Ásatrú or Odinism fit into that category.

Like other forms of neopaganism, adherence and practices within Ásatrú vary tremendously. Many individuals practice Ásatrú on their own, finding their connections through books or the internet. Still others participate in organized religious practices and rituals. Individuals organize in groups known as garths, steads, sippes, skeppslags, kindreds, or troths. Some rituals are led by individual members, while others have formally acknowledged priests or priestesses as ritual leaders. Both individuals and organized groupings have numerous larger associations with which they can affiliate, including the Asatru Folk Assembly, the Troth (which probably has the most formal clergy training program), and the Asatru Alliance. Like neopaganism in general, the number of adherents to Ásatrú is basically unknown, but at its greatest it has no more than 100,000 followers, including those who do little more than wear Axe of Thor necklaces as a way of expressing their interest in Ásatrú.

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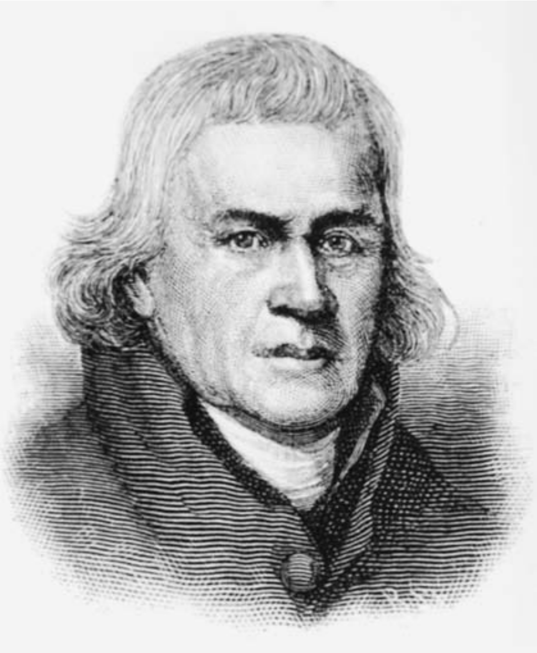
Asbury, Francis (1745–1816) Francis Asbury was the one of the first two superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the patriarch of American Methodism. An aggressive evangelist, he traveled almost incessantly preaching the Gospel and building up his denomination. Asbury became a model for the many intrepid circuit riders who later helped spread Methodism across the American FRONTIER.

Asbury was born at Hamstead Bridge (near Birmingham) in England on August 20, 1745. He received little formal education and was apprenticed to a blacksmith when he was 16 years old. Although raised an Anglican, Asbury experienced a religious conversion around 1763 and became a Methodist lay preacher. He served as an itinerant preacher in England until 1771, when he responded to John Wesley's (see WESLEYAN TRADITION) call for workers to aid the Methodist movement in America. Asbury arrived in Philadelphia in the fall of 1771 and continued his itinerancy in the New World.

Asbury stayed in America during the War for Independence, the only missionary appointed by Wesley to remain there throughout that critical period. Since Wesley himself opposed the American Revolution, Methodists were often suspected of Tory sympathies. Still, Asbury refused to return to England. When the war ended, he emerged as the acknowledged leader of the American movement and, with Thomas Coke, was appointed by Wesley as a superintendent of the Methodists in the newly independent United States.

In 1784, Coke, who had been ordained by Wesley in violation of Anglican practice, arrived from England with authority to ordain Asbury. Asbury insisted, however, that a gathering be held to discuss the implications of such an action. Now known as the "Christmas Conference," the meeting called by Asbury was convened in Baltimore on December 24, 1784. At that conference, the Methodist Episcopal Church was officially formed, separate from the Episcopal Church, which at the same time was organizing itself apart from the Church of England. Asbury and Coke were unanimously elected superintendents, a title Asbury later changed to "bishop" contrary to Wesley's wishes. Coke and two other English Methodist ministers, in succession, ordained Asbury as deacon, elder, and superintendent.

Asbury used his position to foster church growth and build Methodism into the most vigorous American denomination of the early 19th century. He proved to be an indefatigable leader, crossing the Appalachian Mountains more than 60 times and helping establish Methodism in the upper South. Asbury recognized the value of "circulation," prodding Methodist clergy to reach out for converts in even the most remote locations. He was also an early advocate of camp meetings, which became the most important institution of Methodist outreach on the frontier. He supported these open-air revivals at which participants camped for several days on the site where religious exercises were held. Both circuit riding and camp meetings became keys to the Methodists' phenomenal success.



Francis Asbury, the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Asbury's support of circuit riders and camp meetings enabled Methodism to spread quickly into frontier country.

Asbury is estimated to have traveled 300,000 miles in the course of his ministerial career, delivering 16,500 sermons, ordaining 4,000 preachers, and presiding over more than 200 annual conferences. Although he accepted William McKendree to be his associate bishop in 1808, he remained active until the end of his life. Still functioning as a missionary, Asbury died at Spotsylvania, Virginia, on March 31, 1816.

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Assemblies of God The Assemblies of God is the largest Pentecostal (see PENTECOSTALISM) denomination in the world and one of the fastest growing churches in the United States. It was organized in April 1914 when 300 leaders gathered in Hot Springs, Arkansas, and formed the General Council, which became the denomination's governing board. The Assemblies of God has traditionally asserted that speaking in tongues is evidence of a person's having been baptized by the Holy Spirit. The church also affirms the premillennial (see PREMILLENNIALISM) coming of Jesus Christ, a distinctive belief of modern American EVANGELICALISM.

The Pentecostal movement emerged out of American Protestantism in the early 20th century. The AZUSA STREET REVIVAL, a period of intense spiritual excitement at a storefront church in Los Angeles, sparked the growth of Pentecostalism after 1906. Pentecostals united around one central conviction: Genuine conversion is represented by a miraculous experience known as the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The ability to speak in tongues, that is, uttering ecstatic languages claimed to be intelligible only to God (also called *glossolalia*), was generally considered evidence that a person had received Spirit baptism.

The Assemblies of God blended together members of several Pentecostal groups in the American Midwest and Southwest. The largest contingent came from followers of Charles F. Parham's Apostolic Faith movement in Texas. The tongues phenomenon had first appeared in 1901 at the Bible institute Parham founded in Topeka, Kansas. The Apostolic Faith missions spread, and several thousand people eventually espoused Parham's type of Pentecostalism. In 1905, he opened a school in Houston, Texas. That institution not only served as the center of Parham's movement in southeast Texas, it also trained William J. Seymour, the preacher who led the great revival in Los Angeles.

William Durham was the most significant figure in the shaping of the Assemblies of God. Durham had attended the Azusa revival, where in March 1907, he experienced Spirit baptism. He was responsible for bringing a distinctly non-Wesleyan view of SANCTIFICATION into the Pentecostal movement. His beliefs were far closer to Reformed theology, which understood holiness as a lifelong process that was not completed before death, than to the Wesleyan tradition, which emphasized the attainment of spiritual perfection in the present life. Durham feared that overemphasis on the Holy Spirit would overshadow Christ's redemption of the world on the cross, and he rejected the idea, common among Pentecostals, that human sin was eradicated when a believer experienced sanctification through Spirit baptism. Although Durham died in the summer of 1912, he helped articulate many key theological differences between the Assemblies of God and other Pentecostal denominations.

Those who founded the Assemblies of God initially disliked the idea of becoming an established denomination and preferred simply to remain a religious movement. They desired only a voluntary confederation of churches and rejected the idea of promulgating a common creed. They eventually realized, however, that an organization could provide needed discipline, guard against the growth of unorthodox theological views, and prevent Pentecostalism from falling prey to charlatans and fanatics. As a consequence, a Statement of Fundamental Truths was adopted in 1916, and the process of creating a formal structure was completed in 1927, when a constitution was ratified.

An early schism occurred after a dispute about baptism. Members of the church debated whether believers should be baptized in the name of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), as the New Testament gospel of Matthew prescribed, or only in the name of Jesus, as the New Testament book of Acts suggested. Eventually, some denied belief in the traditional Christian doctrine of the threefold nature of God. They argued instead that there is but one person in the Godhead—Jesus Christ. This "Jesus only" faction (also known as the "Oneness Pentecostals") was expelled from the Assemblies of God in 1916. Many years later, that group organized themselves as the United Pentecostal Church, International.

The Assemblies of God expanded rapidly over the middle decades of the 20th century, and the denomination gradually entered the mainstream of American religious life. The church began with a membership of 6,000 in 1914. It numbered just under 50,000 in 1926 and nearly 300,000 at the end of World War II. This growth, and the accompanying upward social mobility of the denomination's membership, challenged the assumptions of an earlier era when Pentecostalism was considered an exclusively antiestablishment faith. Shortly before World War II, the Assemblies of God also affiliated with the NATIONAL

Association of Evangelicals, an action that symbolized the denomination's thorough acculturation and identification with conservative American Protestantism. Moreover, the defrocking of scandalous televangelists Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart in the 1980s reveals how much the Assemblies of God now wished to project a more moderate, less flamboyant public image.

That effort is being frustrated, however, by the success of one member church in Pensacola, Florida. Since the summer of 1995, the Brownsville Assembly of God Church has been the site of the controversial Brownsville Revival and a mecca of sorts for world Pentecostalism. Initially led by evangelist Steve Hill and Pastor John Kilpatrick and continued since 2003 by Pastors Rudy and Suzanne Feldschau, the Brownsville Revival draws thousands of attendees daily, many from overseas. According to church officials, millions of visitors have attended the church, and hundreds of thousands have responded to altar calls by accepting Jesus Christ as their savior. Those numbers may be inflated, but the outpouring is nonetheless one of America's most powerful revivals since the events on Azusa Street in 1906. Still, the Brownsville Revival has drawn criticisms from many quarters for the unusual manifestations that take place there. Those manifestations, which include uncontrollable shaking in addition to more standard Pentecostal fare such as speaking in tongues, are defended by Brownsville Revival partisans as manifestations of the return of "Pentecost" to modern-day Pentecostalism.

Like the Brownsville Revival, the Assemblies of God has seen tremendous recent growth. The denomination has benefited not only from support among its traditional constituency of European Americans but also from new Hispanic and Asian-American congregations. In 2006, the denomination reported more than 1.6 million full members and more than 2.8 million individuals affiliated with Assemblies of God congregations in the United States. Membership was more than 30 million worldwide.

GHS, Jr.

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assimilation and resistance, Native American Native people faced what often seemed like two separate options in dealing with the Europeans and Americans: either adopt the ways of the newcomers or resist. Given the fluidity of culture, in practice these options frequently overlapped. Thus the long history of assimilation is also one of creative adaptation, as is the equally long history of resistance.

In the terms set by the myth of Manifest Destiny, native peoples in the United States were expected to "pass away," as one 19th-century poet put it: "Like the fleeting years and days/Like all things that soon decay." This viewpoint shaped American perceptions of the Indians' only two options: either abandoning their cultures and learning the ways of the newcomers or dissolving in the ruins of disease, warfare, and degeneracy. American leaders often accepted the underlying assumption of both, that native people were passive beings, incapable of directing their own destinies. Thus the frequent portrayals of Indian defeat in American culture excited either justification or melancholy.

However, this viewpoint, shaping numerous portrayals of native life both past and present, obscures the creative strategies Native Americans have relied upon to cope with the changes stemming from the European colonial movement into the Americas and makes the steady advance of colonial power seem far more inevitable in hindsight than it actually was. It also leaves inexplicable the dramatic population recovery and cultural/political resurgence achieved in the 20th century. From an all-time low of 250,000 in 1890, the 1990 census indicated nearly 2 million Native Americans, one-quarter still on reservations. But even in modern urban centers, native people have often exerted considerable energy on retaining or revamping tradition.

Assimilation refers to the various ways in which members of a subordinate group come to adopt the practices and views of a more dominant group. In American history, the campaign for assimilation rested on the assumption that "savages" would become "civilized" (see MISSIONS, FOREIGN). While rejecting the racism inherent in this idea, social scientists and historians have been concerned to understand the ways in which native people have adopted the ways of the dominant order. *Resistance,* conveying the image of "hostile" or "renegade" warriors, carries some of the same problems but also indicates ways in which subordinate groups might reject the values or modes of life held by the dominant culture. Distinct in theory, the two can be closely related in practice. Given that cultural and religious identity is always a fluid thing, the strong polarity suggested by the terms *assimilation* and *resistance* might be questioned.

Native people were encouraged, and sometimes forced, to accept various features of the European-American world. Through missions, it was hoped Indians would abandon tribal religions in favor of Christianity. But Christianity also went hand in hand with other parts of a colonizing culture. Eastern tribes, such as the Huron in the 1640s, received the gospel message along with the lure of the European fur market, which they often accepted in conjunction, even if French Jesuits themselves chose to distinguish between the fruits of faith and those of wealth. Campaigning for the souls of individual Indians, missionaries often drove a wedge into native kinship networks. Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF) instructing the Seneca in European agriculture in the 1790s sought to replace Seneca family structure with their own.

In the years following the CIVIL WAR, the concerted effort to assimilate Indians relied heavily upon education. By 1889, every reservation in the country had a boarding school, often patterned on the Carlisle Industrial Training School, founded by retired Captain Richard Pratt in 1879. While many Indian children graduated from these schools, some to choose such prosperous careers as doctors, lawyers, and actors, many more returned home, "going back to the blanket," as Pratt called it, or were forced to accept menial work. The schools had a severe impact on children and on communal life. Support for a mission and a federal school at Oraibi by Hopi leaders in the early 1880s resulted in a split between the Bear and the Spider clans and the eventual breakup of the community as a whole.

While attendance at boarding school or acceptance of the new religion suggests the obliteration of older values and practices, certainly the frequently stated goal of educators and missionaries, this did not often happen in total. Students employed the powers of the weak to resist their teachers. Christianity rarely proved capable of erasing older religious worldviews. Rather, native members of a mission church took up the new faith selectively, quietly ignoring those ideas that made little sense, or reinterpreting them in light of traditional religious knowledge. Many significant popular movements, such as that begun by HANDSOME LAKE, or the more recent NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH, combined Christian themes and traditional practices into new religions. In the PLURALISM of the 20th century, native Christians frequently demonstrated the power to influence Christian symbols, rituals, and institutions.

Some scholars distinguish movements like peyote religion, which often focus on individual redemption within the new social order of reservation life or urban America, from those that seek social transformation. The most extreme forms of resistance to Euro-American culture are the transformative movements leading to war and revolt. Revolts often emerged after a generation or two of contact had put the new colonial system in place. Forging pan-Indian alliances in the period immediately preceding the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and lasting into the 1820s, prophetic leaders among eastern tribes (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: EASTERN WOODLANDS) like the Seminole Osceola, the Delaware Neolin, the Shawnees Tenskwatawa and TECUMSEH, the Winnebago Wabokieshiek, and a group of Muskogee rallied large numbers of their people in armed opposition to colonial policies, land cessions, and the influence of white culture. Undergirding many of these movements were religious visions of a future in which Indian prosperity would be restored as a result of common participation in these inspired revolts.

The Plains Wars (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: PLAINS), during which members of numerous western tribes sought to halt western expansion in the post–Civil War years, are often portrayed as the last gasp of Native American resistance. However, throughout the 20th century, individuals, tribes, and increasing numbers of supratribal voluntary associations have worked both to resist the influence of the dominant society and to gain control of the resources necessary for tribes to exercise autonomy. Such efforts are visible at a number of levels in the years since WORLD WAR II. Newer organizations such as the National Indian Youth Council, the Native American Rights Fund, and the older National Congress of American Indians (established in 1944), drew upon growing pools of native people trained in law, the social sciences, or public administration, taking on the role of pursuing tribal needs directly in Congress, often bypassing the United States government's Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In the years after John Collier lifted the official bans on native religion (see AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT), traditional religious leaders reemerged from the relative seclusion into which they had been forced by assimilative administrators. These traditional leaders came to develop alliances with younger activists, seeking to avoid the bureaucratic entanglements of their seniors. Members of the American Indian Movement, formed in 1962 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, took a nationally prominent role in promoting an Indian form of activism, somewhat analogous to the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Undergirded by a pan-Indian spirituality derived in part from the influence of Lakota and Anishenabeg (Chippewa) members, AIM worked in cities to extract Indians from the confines of urban poverty and on reservations to restore tribal sovereignty. With a militant rhetoric derived from the Plains Wars, AIM forced a number of confrontations with authorities between 1968 and 1975, such as the long siege at Wounded Knee in 1973. AIM's dramatic flair insured it substantial media coverage, but also created lasting tensions among Native Americans of various ideological viewpoints, at times alienating the very traditionalists it claimed to represent.

In many ways, assimilation and resistance work together. Indian leaders have developed increased abilities to make use of dominant political institutions in order to achieve the goals of tribal autonomy and cultural resurgence advocated by AIM and others in the 1960s. Recent decades have also seen a renewed commitment among many Indians to preserve or rekindle important elements of traditional religious life while also promoting economic development and education.

MG

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Assyrian Church of the East Given its age and location, one might think that the Assyrian Church of the East should be included among the ANCIENT EASTERN CHURCHES The main reason for its exclusion is that the Assyrian Church's Christology, rather than rejecting the Chalcedonian view that Christ had two natures, historically affirmed that position but in a way that suggested, at least to some, there were two persons, one the man Jesus and another the divine logos within him.

This position, known as Nestorianism, after the theologian and priest Nestorius (386–451), who was believed to teach this view, was strongly condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The churches in Parthia (Iran and eastern Iraq) refused to accept the decisions of that council and separated themselves from the churches of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires. This eventually led to the establishment of the Holy Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East, to give the church its formal title.

The history of the Assyrian Church dates back to the second century, with the Christian communities in Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. Historical evidence shows the convening of a council by these churches at Seleucia-Ctesiphon in the early fourth century. By 410, a council of the Christian communities in Mesopotamia declared their independence from Antioch and other "Western" bishops, with the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon assuming the rank of catholicos.

As mentioned above, the Assyrian Church separated from the Orthodox Church as a result of the so-called Nestorian schism of 431. While the West always has referred to the Assyrian Church as Nestorian, the church rejects that label. However, it admittedly derives its Christological doctrine from Theodore of Mopsuestia (Nestorius's teacher). This doctrine was formalized for the church by its major reformer, Babai the Great (551–628). Babai taught that the two *qnome* (essences)—human and divine—are unmingled but everlastingly united in the one *parsopa* (personality) of Christ.

For centuries, the Saint Thomas Christians of India were in communion with the Assyrian Church. This connection was broken by the Portuguese colonizers of India, who attempted to force the Indian Christians into adopting Roman Catholic rituals and practices. When the Indians eventually resisted, some entered into communion with the Syriac Church, but others returned to their traditional affiliation with the Assyrian Church, leading to the creation of the Chaldean Syrian Church with its own bishop.

The Assyrian Church was incredibly expansionistic, reaching China and Mongolia by 635. Some evidence points to a strong Assyrian presence in Tibet during the seventh through ninth centuries as well. Relics and remains of the Assyrian Church can still be found in China. When the Emperor Tang Wu Zong (ruled 840–846), suppressed foreign religions, Christianity went into a decline, although it continued its existence in several regions. Marco Polo, in writing about his travels, comments on the presence of "Nestorian Christians" in the empire of the Great Khan. In 2003, an Assyrian congregation was discovered in China, a small group of adherents who had continued in existence with no contact with its coreligionists for centuries.

In its homeland and elsewhere, the Assyrian Church found itself on borders of conflicts between empires and religions, suffering numerous persecutions and oppressions. Dominated by Muslims for centuries, slaughtered and pillaged during the conquests of Timur the Lame (Tamerlane), derided as heretics and schismatics by the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and severely oppressed and controlled by those regimes that assumed control of Iran and Iraq following the end of the colonial governments, the Assyrian Church often refers to itself as the "Martyr's Church," and also was proclaimed as such by Pope John Paul II. This "martyrdom" has continued into the 21st century. Members of the Assyrian Church in Iraq are targeted by Muslim extremists bent on driving out all infidels. In fact, conflicts in its homeland and the hostility toward Assyrians led to the removal of the patriarchate to the United States in 1976, following the election of the bishop of Tehran as the new patriarch, Mar Dinkha IV.

The patriarchate continues to be based in Chicago, Illinois. The American church has two bishops and 16 active parishes. In 2005, the Assyrian Church had about 150,000 members in the United States.

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atheism Atheism, literally the absence of belief in God, has always been a minority viewpoint in American culture. Nevertheless, its influence can be seen throughout American life. Free thinkers helped shape the Constitution's general silence in regard to religious belief, insuring that religious groups would avoid contributing to conflict over the basic structure of American government. In the years after the CIVIL WAR, free thinkers were active in a number of social reform movements, and during the 20th and 21st centuries their organizations often pressured the courts to protect religious liberty and prevent the surreptitious growth of a religious establishment.

Atheism may well be possible in all times and places. But in Western culture, public acknowledgment of unbelief was quite rare until the ENLIGHTENMENT. Its growing acceptability in the ensuing centuries was due in part to the great cultural shifts that formed the basis of modern society: the Protestant Reformation and the rise of capitalism and modern science. The numerous reformers, scientists, revolutionaries, and entrepreneurs who gradually loosened the hold of the Catholic Church over the totality of European culture were certainly not themselves given to unbelief. Nevertheless, in seeking to make the public standards of political order, scientific truth, and even faith itself independent from the authority of a particular religion, they created the possibility of doubting the existence of God.

In America, unbelief took a different course than in Europe, where it was fueled by popular resentment over the Catholic Church, particularly, as in revolutionary France, over the church's support of the *ancien régime*. The emergence of religious freedom in the United States (see ESTABLISHMENT, RELIGIOUS), while gradual, has meant that those who choose not to believe are free to live without religious interference. Consequently, unbelievers have been under no obligation to engage in religion, nor have they been compelled to organize their own institutions, rituals, or public forms of expression in order to counter religion.

Nevertheless, American free thinkers, a phrase that gained currency in the early 18th century among English dissenters and which was adopted by American deists, often found a need to create societies of their own. Some notable leaders in the postrevolutionary era, such as THOMAS JEFFERSON, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington (see AMERICAN REVOLUTION), while intensely critical of religious orthodoxy, maintained nominal relations with various Protestant churches. Others, however, such as radical TOM PAINE and ex-Baptist Elihu Palmer, sought to organize fellow rationalists. Palmer, for instance, sought to form a "Druid" group and in the end drew limited support from a small number of ex-Masons (see FREEMASONRY). While free thought made little headway as a movement, revolutionary leaders drew upon the rationalistic, Enlightenment worldview itself in framing the Constitution, which avoided any reference to God as a founder of the new republic.

During the years prior to the Civil War, critiques of religious orthodoxy often came from movements that were themselves religious, such as TRANSCENDENTALISM, or alternative communitarian movements such as the SHAKERS and the Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS; COMMUNITARIANISM). One such community, New Harmony, founded by socialist ROBERT DALE OWEN, explicitly opposed religion. Owen traveled widely, debating religious leaders, and in the process established a pattern of mutual dependence that characterized the continuing relations between the voices of belief and unbelief. Religious leaders debated free thinkers in public forums, each attracting attention to themselves by portraying the other as the enemy of civilization. As a consequence, while free thought produced little direct impact on public consciousness, many were made aware of the intellectual possibility of atheism by the churches themselves.

American culture took a secular turn following the Civil War (see SECULARISM). With the creation of research universities such as Johns Hopkins, the growth of knowledge proceeded with little reference to the traditional religious outlooks undergirding the previously dominant church-supported colleges. Academic professionals saw their new careers as based on the unbiased search for truth, and in the post-Darwinian climate, science seemingly became the enemy of religion (see CREATIONISM; EVOLUTION; SCIENCE AND RELIGION). By the end of the century, universities, both state-supported and private, had secured organizational autonomy from religious bodies, and in the ensuing decades many on their faculties have retained a suspicion of religion.

In addition to the secular atmosphere of the university, Americans were exposed to free thought through a variety of public figures, such as Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain). ROBERT GREEN INGERSOLL and H. L. MENCKEN gained notoriety espousing the cause of free thought, debunking what they saw as the stifling, antiquated religious atmosphere of their times.

Free thinkers also began to organize somewhat more effectively in the late 19th century. Most enduring has been the ETHICAL CULTURE movement, organized by FELIX ADLER, a secular-leaning Reform rabbi, in 1876. Immigrants from Europe, themselves inheritors of the antireligious, socialist impulse that swept Europe in the 1840s, often established their own centers for free thought. Thus Czechs, Germans, and Finns all created lodges in which free thought, radical social criticism, and ethnic culture could flourish in the new land. But the anticlericalism that sustained these groups in Europe had little power in America's climate of religious disestablishment. In addition, the growing American labor movement, to which many immigrants were attracted, did not depend on hostility toward religion, and the groups evaporated over time.

For the most part, the secularism of American institutions, though undergirded by what has become known as CIVIL RELIGION, and the wide-ranging PLURALISM that characterizes American religious life in the 21st century, has meant that free thought has little to push against, little institutional resistance to confront. While groups such as the AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION, the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism (founded in 1925), American Atheists (see O'HAIR, MADALYN MURRAY), and the Freedom from Religion Foundation have held on over the decades, they draw few members, likely numbering less than 10,000. By contrast, surveys indicate that the overwhelming majority of the American population continues to retain some kind of belief in a deity. A 2008 survey by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life found that while 16% of Americans describe themselves as religiously unaffiliated, only 1.6% of Americans identify as atheists.

Despite these small numbers, a flurry of expressly atheist and virulently anti-religious books hit the best-seller lists in the United States late in the first decade of the 21st century. Christopher Hitchens' *God is Not Great,* Daniel Dennett's, *The God Delusion,* Sam Harris's, *The End of Faith,* and Richard Dawkins', *The God Delusion* created a furious debate over religion. Much of the attention resulted from concerns over Islamist violence (see ISLAMISM), the role of religion in American political life during the 2008 presidential campaign, the books' incendiary tone, and, in Dawkins' case, his status as a well-known popularizer of evolution. This attention generated no mass conversions to atheism, although it may have led to greater attention to the issue of religion and its role in human life.

While atheism has perhaps remained most noticeable through its adherents' willingness to engage in public debate with religious figures, or as a foil for those religious groups seeking to reform the society, free thought has exerted enormous influence on American culture. The continued secularism of universities in a knowledge-dependent society insures that those educated in public settings gain exposure to critical assumptions about the world inherited from the rationalist tradition espoused by free thinkers. It has frequently been the free thinker, such as the lawyer Clarence Darrow (see SCOPES TRIAL), who has fought to preserve religious liberty and prevent the de facto establishment of religion. In addition, numerous free thinkers, from Jefferson on down, have offered powerful arguments that the preservation of freedom and dignity in America is not dependent upon organized religion, which has a checkered record in that regard.

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Azusa Street revival The Azusa Street revival, which began in April 1906 under the leadership of Holiness minister WILLIAM J. SEYMOUR, signaled the emergence of PENTECOSTALISM as an important force in American religion. The revival lasted three years and drew worshippers to a poor section of Los Angeles, where thousands were engulfed by a new form of religious enthusiasm.

Seymour, the son of freed slaves, was an itinerant preacher who espoused the doctrine of entire SANCTIFICATION, the belief that Christians could be set free from the power of sin and attain holiness in the present life. He attended Charles F. Parham's Bible institute in Houston, Texas, in 1905 and adopted Parham's Pentecostal views. Seymour accepted speaking in tongues as the definitive evidence that a person had been sanctified. He traveled to Los Angeles in January 1906. Three months later the group he led experienced its first outbreak of glossolalia, the ecstatic, incoherent speech that characterized the phenomenon of "tongues." When the private home where religious services were held proved too small for the crowds flocking to the revival, Seymour moved the meetings to an old building at 312 Azusa Street, now considered the birthplace of the Pentecostal movement.

At the height of the revival excitement, worship at the Azusa Street Mission was held three times a day, beginning at midmorning and continuing past midnight. Miraculous healings and a general spiritual delirium marked the worship. The revival was also noted for its interracial makeup, a feature some observers saw as a special sign of divine favor.

Opinions about the revival were mixed, however, even among Pentecostals. Charles Parham, for example, described the meetings as "Holy Ghost Bedlam," in which worshippers "pulled all of the stunts common in old camp meetings among colored folks." On the other hand, Jennie Moore, the first woman to speak in tongues and later Seymour's wife, gave a positive report: "The power of God fell and I was baptized in the Holy Ghost and fire. It seemed as if a vessel broke within me and water surged through my being, which when it reached my mouth came out in a torrent of speech."

The revival on Azusa Street continued unabated for three years, before fervor began to wane and Seymour himself lost influence. Seymour died in 1922, and although services took place at the mission until 1929, by that time the church's congregation had become exclusively black. The city of Los Angeles eventually condemned the building, and it was torn down in 1931.

GHS, Jr.

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B

Backus, Isaac (1724–1806) Isaac Backus was a Baptist (see BAPTISTS) minister and champion of the separation of church and state in the late 18th century. Converted during the GREAT AWAKENING, he concluded that his experience of divine grace required him to separate from the Congregational church to which he belonged. Backus was eventually rebaptized and formed a new Baptist congregation in Middleborough, Massachusetts. He spent the rest of his life trying to win freedom for his church from the legal constraints of the Massachusetts religious establishment.

Backus was born on a farm in Norwich, Connecticut, on January 9, 1724. He received no formal education. Although raised conventionally as a Congregationalist, Backus said that his dramatic conversion at age 17 enabled him to see clearly for the first time "the riches of God's grace." This experience soon brought him into conflict with his church. Since the passage of the HALF-WAY COVENANT of 1662, it had been the custom in New England to accept morally upright adults who had never undergone a conversion experience as partial members of congregations. They were allowed to come to worship and bring their children for baptism, but they did not receive Communion or enjoy voting privileges until they could testify that God had spiritually regenerated them. Backus became convinced that this practice was wrong and that only adults who had experienced the "divine light" could really be considered Christians.

As a consequence of their vocal opposition to the Half-way Covenant, Backus and others emerged as a party of "Separates." Backus became an itinerant evangelist and formed a church of like-minded believers in Middleborough, Massachusetts, where he was ordained to the ministry in 1748. His study of the Bible and his beliefs about church membership, however, led him further outside the bounds of Congregationalism. Concluding that only the baptism of consenting adults by immersion could be considered a valid Christian rite, Backus openly adopted Baptist principles. In 1756, a small remnant of his congregation withdrew and organized a Baptist church in Middleborough.

Baptists had no legal place within the New England church establishment. At this time, town governments in Massachusetts assessed all taxpayers for support of a minister and maintenance of a church building. Not only were the separate Congregationalist and Baptist congregations unsupported by their town governments, their members were often forced to support financially churches they had repudiated. As the principal Baptist spokesman, Backus argued in various tracts and petitions that state-supported churches corrupted true Christianity. In his most famous work, *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty Against the Oppression of the Present Day* (1773), Backus asked for the full separation of church and state. This idea became a reality on the national level in the adoption of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1791.

Since the state religious establishment in Massachusetts did not officially end until 1833, Backus continued to lobby indefatigably against the civil control of religion long after the American Revolution. He also served for 50 years as minister of the First Baptist Church in Middleborough. At the time of his death, Backus was recognized as one of the greatest advocates of American religious freedom. He died at Middleborough on November 20, 1806.

GHS, Jr.

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Baconianism See Scottish Common Sense Realism.

Bahá'í Faith The Bahá'í Faith is a world religion founded in 1863 that teaches the oneness of God, the oneness of the world's major religions, and the oneness of humanity. It claims a new divine revelation that will provide the foundation for a world civilization. The Bahá'í religion was started by an Iranian named Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Bahá'u'lláh (1817–92), who claimed he was a messenger of God. This claim—blasphemy to most Muslims—led to his exile and imprisonment by the Ottoman Turkish government for 29 years. He wrote extensively; more than 15,000 of his works, primarily letters (though some are of book length), are extant. Together they constitute the central body of Bahá'í scripture.

Bahá'u'lláh's writings contain a detailed theology that describes the nature of God, messengers of God, humanity, the human soul, and the nature of the spiritual quest. An important aspect of his theology is the idea that God progressively reveals truth to humanity through a series of messengers, and that the existing world religions were all founded by divine messengers. Bahá'u'lláh's writings include numerous prayers for Bahá'ís to say for their spiritual growth, for physical healing, for the development of their families, and for the improvement of society. They also describe basic Bahá'í religious practices similar to the five pillars of Islam, such as obligatory prayer, an annual period of fasting, pilgrimage, and contribution of a percentage of one's surplus income to the faith. The scriptures outline basic institutions for organizing the Bahá'í religion after Bahá'u'lláh's death. They specify an elaborate set of social reform teachings based on the principle of the oneness of humanity, such as racial and ethnic equality and integration, equality of the sexes, universal compulsory education, and creation of international political, economic, and legal systems that would prevent war and gradually eliminate the extremes of wealth and poverty.

After Bahá'u'lláh's death, his son 'Abdu'l-Bahá (1844–1921), whom he appointed to be his successor, elaborated on Bahá'u'lláh's teachings and offered authorized interpretations. 'Abdu'l-Bahá is not considered a messenger or prophet by Bahá'ís, but his writings (which are almost twice as extensive as Bahá'u'lláh's) are also considered a part of Bahá'í scripture. 'Abdu'l-Bahá appointed a successor, Shoghi Effendi (1897–1957), whose writings are also considered binding and authoritative. In 1963, the Universal House of Justice was first elected, as called for by Bahá'u'lláh. As head of the Bahá'í Faith, the House of Justice is empowered to legislate on matters not covered by the Bahá'í scriptures. The body's nine members, who reside in Haifa, Israel, are elected every five years by the members of the national spiritual assemblies (the national Bahá'í governing bodies).

Under Bahá'u'lláh, the Bahá'í religion spread beyond Shi'ite Islam, from which it arose, to include Sunni Muslims, Jews, Zoroastrians, Christians, and Buddhists. As a result of the migration of a Bahá'í of Lebanese Christian background to Chicago, the first Americans became converts in 1894; by 1899, Chicago had more than 700 Bahá'ís. From Chicago the Bahá'í religion spread to 24 states by 1900. Chicago has remained the center of Bahá'í activity in North America, where a House of Worship, begun in 1903 and completed in 1953, was built in the suburb of Wilmette. The headquarters of the Bahá'í Faith in the United States is also located in Wilmette.

Bahá'í growth in the United States has gone through several distinct phases. From 1894 to 1905, Bahá'í efforts to teach their religion to the public focused on the fulfillment of prophecy, because Bahá'ís venerate the Bible and view its prophecies as referring to the coming of Bahá'u'lláh. 'Abdu'l-Bahá's nine-month visit to the United States in 1912 shifted the emphasis to Bahá'u'lláh's social reform principles. The initial biblically centered message attracted disillusioned white evangelical Protestants to the religion; the latter approach brought in more Catholics, Jews, and black Protestants. Lack of organization, however, limited membership in the United States to about 1,500.

In 1922, Shoghi Effendi began his leadership of the Bahá'í Faith by inaugurating a new emphasis on local and national organization, an effort that in 10 years saw a doubling of the American Bahá'í community. Shoghi Effendi replaced the poor and occasionally confusing English translations of Bahá'í scriptures with new, improved translations and wrote numerous epistles clarifying basic Bahá'í teachings. He launched a series of international growth plans, for which the United States Bahá'í community was given the lion's share of the goals. By 1963, the United States had 10,000 Bahá'ís.

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw two important developments in the American Bahá'í community: outreach to America's youth counterculture and door-to-door teaching of the faith in the rural South. The former caused Bahá'í membership rolls to swell in the years 1969 to 1974. The latter brought 10,000 African Americans into the Bahá'í Faith in South Carolina in two years. Probably another 5,000 blacks became Bahá'ís in other parts of the South. By 1974, the American Bahá'í community had 60,000 members.

The Bahá'í House of Worship in Wilmette, Illinois, is a national landmark. *(Courtesy of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of the United States)*

The rest of the 1970s saw much slower growth and loss of some of the converts; by 1979, membership stood at 75,000. The 1980s saw relatively slow attraction of the middle class to the Bahá'í Faith in the United States, although Native Americans on reservations continued to become Bahá'ís, Hispanics were attracted in larger numbers, and rural blacks continued to join. Further diversifying the American Bahá'í community was the arrival of about 10,000 Iranian Bahá'í refugees, who fled persecution in their native land. Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians who were Bahá'ís in their home country or converted in refugee camps also came to the United States by the thousands.

Since 1920, converts from the middle classes have come more from the secular-minded who are concerned about social issues, although seekers of various religious backgrounds remain significant. Since the turn of the century, American Bahá'ís have been very active in efforts to heal racism, and in this area they have had a modest impact on American society. A smaller but growing focus of Bahá'í attention has been the peace movement.

There are 5 to 7 million Bahá'ís worldwide; the Bahá'í Faith may be the most geographically widespread religion in the world after Christianity. In 2006, estimates of the number of Bahá'ís in the United States ranged from 150,000 to 365,000.

RHS

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Ballou, Hosea (1771–1852) One of the most prominent early leaders and ministers of UNIVERSALISM in New England, Hosea Ballou helped to popularize and systematize Universalist ideas in the late 18th and early 19th century. The youngest son of a Baptist farmer and preacher who espoused strict Calvinist beliefs, Ballou was born in Richmond, New Hampshire, in 1771 and studied briefly at local Quaker academies. Shortly after experiencing a conversion at age 19, he came under the influence of itinerant preachers of Universalism as well as the writings of Ethan Allen, the Revolutionary war hero and author of the first atheist book in the United States. Ballou began to preach Universalist principles in 1790 in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and later in Vermont.

In 1805, he wrote one of the early declarations of liberal Protestantism and his most important work, *A Treatise on Atonement*. In that study, which formalized and popularized many Universalist tenets, Ballou emphasized the importance of reason in religious faith; he rejected the concept of the Trinity; he stressed the benevolence of God and the innate goodness of humanity; and, most significantly, he reasoned that a loving and omnipotent God intended that all humanity would be saved from damnation. The publication of the book marked Ballou's emergence as a leader of the Universalist movement and a central promulgator of religious liberalism.

Ballou continued writing and preaching in Massachusetts from 1815 until his death. After several years in Salem, he assumed the pulpit of the Second Universalist Society in Boston, a post he held for 35 years. From there, he helped to organize both the theological and institutional foundations of the Universalist movement. In 1819, he became the first editor of the weekly *Universalist Magazine*, a publication that became the leading denominational newspaper. In 1830, he and his great-nephew, Hosea Ballou 2nd, founded the scholarly *Universalist Expositor*. His second major theological treatise, *An Examination of the Doctrine of Future Retribution*, appeared in 1834. His organizational abilities, keen intellect, and popular preaching style led him to be widely considered as the most creative thinker and the greatest theologian of Universalism.

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Baltimore, Councils of Until the 20th century, the archdiocese of Baltimore was the center of Roman Catholic episcopal power in the United States, with the archbishop of Baltimore functioning as the primate of the American church. From this position of authority, several of the archbishops convened councils to deal with pressing church matters. The first two were convoked by Bishop JOHN CARROLL himself, the first (1791) consisting of all American clergy and the second (1810) a meeting between Carroll and his several suffragan bishops.

The expansion of the United States church led to a change in the nature of these councils. Originally synods under Carroll, they soon expanded into provincial meetings as all the bishops in the province of Baltimore—which stretched from Vermont to Louisiana—convened on seven occasions between 1829 and 1849. During these meetings, the bishops were forced to respond to several vexing issues. Among the more important of these were conflicts over lay control of church property (see TRUSTEEISM), clergy discipline and training, and education.

With the division of the United States church into several provinces, the occasional meetings of the bishops became plenary councils and took on even greater importance. The first Plenary Council of Baltimore was convened in 1852, and although it passed no significant legislation, it did reaffirm episcopal control of church property and urged the establishment of parochial schools in all dioceses.

The second Plenary Council, held in 1866, was a much more active and significant affair. Presided over by Archbishop MARTIN JOHN SPALDING, it was attended by 45 bishops and archbishops and two abbots representing nearly 4 million Roman Catholic citizens, and its closing session was attended by President Andrew Johnson. Its decisions also suggested a maturing church. This council not only reaffirmed earlier teachings about discipline and practice, it took up doctrinal matters as well. The council issued statements on the Trinity, Marian devotion, and the authority of the church, as well as the doctrines of creation and redemption. Although these statements closely followed contemporary pronouncements by Pope Pius IX, they steadfastly avoided his most notorious document, the "Syllabus of Errors," with its condemnation of freedom of the press, religion, and speech. Even more significantly, the American bishops affirmed the collegiality and shared responsibility of all bishops, while acknowledging the primacy of the pope. This view was to be undone in the coming years with the growing centralization of power in the papacy and the affirmation of papal infallibility at VATICAN COUNCIL I.

The third Plenary Council, held in 1884, was most significant in that its decrees so regularized the functioning of the American Roman Catholic Church that no general church council needed to be held for 30 years, when one was occasioned by the necessities of World War I. The third council again urged that parochial schools be established in every diocese, a plea that had become nearly formulaic, but this time truly began to take hold. The long-term crowning achievement of the third council was its authorization of the establishment of a Catholic university in America. Although the history of this school was marked by controversy and suspicion, the eventual establishment of the Catholic University of America in 1887 signified the growing institutional strength and maturity of ROMAN CATHOLICISM in the United States.

The third Plenary Council of Baltimore would be the last such meeting for the American church. The establishment of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE and later the NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS would regularize episcopal meetings to an extent that such extraordinary meetings became unnecessary.

EQ

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Baltimore Catechism *Baltimore Catechism* actually refers to a series of catechisms used in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church for more than 100 years. Recognizing the need for an English-language catechism directed to the American context, the American bishops at the first Plenary Council of Baltimore (see BALTIMORE, COUNCILS OF) in 1852 authorized the *General Catechism of the Christian Doctrine.* This was followed in 1884 with the third Plenary Council's *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine.* With some revisions, these documents were the major source of catechetical training for U.S. Catholics until the 1960s.

Both followed the traditional purpose and form of catechesis, the teaching of doctrines of the faith, directed primarily at children and the newly evangelized. The Baltimore catechisms used a simple question-and-answer format. Designed for use by those who were not yet spiritually mature, they emphasized memorization rather than explanation and understanding. The Catholic Church's transformation following VATICAN COUNCIL II necessitated radical revisions, and the Baltimore Catechisms were replaced by those more attuned to the changing times. The most significant of these was *Sharing the Light of Faith: National Catechetical Directory for Catholics of the United States,* issued by the American bishops in 1979.

A single catechism for the entire Roman Catholic Church was finally issued in Latin in 1992 and in a revised edition in 1997, followed by the publication of the first American edition in 1994 and the second in 2000. It instituted a new period of catechetical instruction. The depth and detail of this catechism, known simply as *Catechism of the Catholic Church,* moved away from the earlier question-and-answer format, seeking to provide students with greater understanding of doctrine rather than mere memorization. Although the source of much controversy prior to its publication, with numerous conflicts over gender-specific language and whether it was consistent with the spirit of Vatican II, the catechism has had a major impact on Roman Catholic instruction in the United States.

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baptism Baptism (from the Greek *baptizo,* meaning to "wash" or "dip") is the Christian rite of initiation in which participants are either immersed in water or have water poured upon their heads. It symbolizes not only admission into full participation in the church, but also the forgiveness of sins and the spiritual regeneration of the believer.

The practice of baptizing converts began in the period of the early church. It was instituted to commemorate Jesus' baptism in the Jordan River by John the Baptist, an event to which all four New Testament Gospels refer. According to Jesus' admonition at the conclusion of the Gospel according to Matthew, Christians are to "make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (28:19). Although baptism of infants with the sprinkling of water over the forehead was introduced in the second century, adult baptism with complete immersion in a pool of water was the usual custom until the Middle Ages. Infant baptism eventually became normative, however, as Christian theologians emphasized the need to wash away "original sin" from the souls of newborn children. The Protestant reformers of the 16th century continued to baptize infants. They adamantly condemned the radical Anabaptists, who, demanding the baptism of adults only, sought to rebaptize those already baptized as children.

Baptism has been a subject of significant controversy on a number of occasions in American religious history. The first involved Puritan minister ROGER WILLIAMS, who emigrated to Massachusetts from England in 1631. Williams concluded that the Puritan idea about church membership, namely that true Christians should be able to testify to an experience of conversion, implied that only the baptism of adult believers was a valid sacramental rite. Most New England Puritans disagreed with Williams, however, and for this and other dissenting viewpoints he was eventually banished from the Massachusetts colony. Williams is credited with founding the first Baptist church in America, establishing it at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1639.

Another controversy over baptism arose in the 1650s. According to Puritan custom, only church members were allowed to have their children baptized. Yet as time passed, increasing numbers of those who had been baptized as infants, but failed to become full church members themselves, desired to have their children baptized. Although they attended church regularly, they had not undergone the transforming spiritual experience that qualified them to join the church. Puritan leaders were faced with a dilemma for, while they wished the church to be composed of genuine believers, they did not want to alienate morally upright, albeit technically unconverted, people. The problem was resolved in 1662 through the passage of what was known as the HALF-WAY COVENANT. The decision stipulated that even if they had not undergone a conversion experience, otherwise faithful churchgoers were accepted as "half-way" members of congregations and allowed to bring their children for baptism.

During the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century, the meaning of baptism again became central to debates within the American churches. Religious life was so radically altered by the revivalism of the awakening that many churchgoers felt it necessary to separate from the denominations in which they had been raised and form new churches based upon Baptist principles. Chief among the "Separates" was New England Congregationalist ISAAC BACKUS, who reaffirmed the old Puritan view that only adults who had undergone an experience of spiritual regeneration could be considered Christian. He eventually concluded as well that only baptism by immersion was a valid rite of Christian initiation. In 1756, he organized a Baptist church in Middleborough, Massachusetts, one of more than 100 new Baptist churches formed in New England during the awakening.

The SECOND GREAT AWAKENING of the early 19th century helped arouse further disputes over baptismal practices. Presbyterian minister Barton Stone, for example, had organized

Creek baptism on Sunday in 1974 in eastern Tennessee by Rev. "Pappy" Beaver. *(Eleanor Dickinson)* the spectacular, but controversial, revival at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801. In response to growing opposition within their denomination, Stone and his followers chose to abandon Presbyterianism and in 1804 began calling themselves simply "Christians." Attempting to restore (see RESTORATION MOVEMENT) the purity of New Testament times to American church life, they eschewed all creeds except the Bible and practiced adult baptism by immersion.

A related movement was led at the same time by Presbyterian Alexander Campbell, a minister noted for his detailed expositions of the structures and practices of primitive Christianity. Campbell maintained that Christians should attempt in all ways to reconstruct the first-century church. As a result, he became convinced in 1813 that believer's baptism was the only genuinely scriptural initiation rite. Appealing mainly to those who were already Baptists, Campbell formed groups called the "Disciples of Christ," a movement that emerged as one of the fastest-growing American religious organizations of the period.

The final historical controversy over baptism that divided American Christians was the so-called Landmark movement within the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION in the mid-19th century. In 1848, JAMES R. GRAVES, pastor of a church in Nashville, Tennessee, began to publish articles defending what he regarded as the distinctive tenets of the Baptist faith. Although the term *landmark* was actually coined by another minister, Graves popularized its use among Southern Baptists: the belief that the baptism of adults by immersion was one of the indispensable trademarks of Christianity. There had been an unbroken line of Baptist churches observing this practice since apostolic times, Graves declared, and any deviation from it nullified a church's claim to being a "true church." Those congregations influenced by landmarkism also refused to accept members who had undergone "alien immersion," insisting on rebaptism.

Landmarkism became a highly potent force in the Southern Baptist Convention. It stimulated a heightened denominational self-consciousness and generally negated attempts at rapprochement with other southern Protestants throughout the rest of the century.

Since World War II, the heightened interest in ecumenism has led many American Christians to stress the similarities, rather than the differences, among their denominations. As a result, most Christians recognize that baptism contains both divine and human elements. Denominations that baptize infants (e.g., Roman Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox) have traditionally underscored the divine action (reception of the Holy Spirit and forgiveness of sins) that takes place in baptism. Churches that baptize older children and adults (e.g., Baptists), on the other hand, highlight the faithful human response to God's prior offer of grace.

(See also CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN [DUNKERS].)

GHS, Jr.

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baptism in the Spirit See PENTECOSTALISM.

Baptist General Conference See BAPTISTS.

Baptists Baptists are the largest Protestant denominational group in the United States. Although no official church structure or creed unites all Baptists, they do share two distinctive beliefs: the BAPTISM (from which their name derives) of adult believers by immersion, and the independence of each local congregation (see CONGREGATIONALISM). The first Baptists were found on the radical fringes of English PURITANISM among those who believed it was necessary to withdraw from the Church of England in order to preserve true Christianity.

A group under the leadership of John Smyth emigrated from England to Holland, where they came into contact with the Anabaptists (that is, rebaptizers), who rejected the validity of infant baptism. Smyth baptized himself and several others in 1609, thereby forming the first English Baptist church.

Baptists appeared again in England during the tumultuous Puritan interregnum of the mid-17th century. Baptists and orthodox Puritans both agreed that church membership should be limited to those who could testify to an experience of divine grace. Baptists, however, contended that no one, including the children of church members, ought to be baptized until that person had made a personal confession of faith. Baptists also opposed religious establishments in all forms. They believed that government, like the church, had been divinely instituted, but God intended the church to maintain itself by voluntary, not state-supported, means.

Baptists began to arrive in America as part of the Puritan migration from England to Massachusetts between 1620 and 1640. The Baptists' rejection of infant baptism, insistence on freedom from civil control, and emphasis on spiritual liberty quickly brought them into conflict with colonial leaders. ROGER WILLIAMS, a Puritan minister who was banished from Massachusetts for advocating the separation of church and state, founded the first Baptist church in America at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1639. A few years later, John Clarke, another Puritan dissenter, founded the second Baptist church at Newport, Rhode Island. Williams's colony, which obtained a royal charter in 1663, became a refuge for Baptists and others fleeing the Puritan establishments in Massachusetts and Connecticut. By 1671, a Seventh-day Baptist Church had also been established in Newport. Seventh-day Baptists celebrated Saturday (the "seventh day") rather than Sunday as their day of Sabbath rest.

Baptists found a more favorable atmosphere in the middle colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. There they enjoyed religious toleration and freedom from taxation in support of an established church. In 1707, five congregations united to form the Philadelphia Association, the first Baptist organization in America. While the association held no binding power over the individual churches, it facilitated interaction among them, especially their evangelistic efforts. The association also adopted a confessional statement, based on the Calvinist Westminster Confession of 1646, that provided some internal theological unity among the congregations.

The GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century represented a critical turning point for the Baptist movement. During that period, Baptists were transformed from a collection of scattered churches into a major American religious force. The revivals of the awakening inspired many to separate from the denominations in which they had been raised and become Baptists. Chief among these "Separates" was ISAAC BACKUS. Backus came to the conclusion, first, that only adults who had undergone a conversion experience could be considered Christian and, later, that only baptism by immersion was a valid rite of Christian initiation. In 1756, he organized a Baptist church in Middleborough, Massachusetts, one of more than 100 new Separate Baptist churches formed by disaffected Congregationalists in New England during the Great Awakening.

Baptists adapted well to the post-awakening religious climate in America, for their institutions embodied the most significant features of the awakening: lay leadership, local autonomy, and the ready acceptance of a voluntary system of church support. These emphases fit the country's democratic mood in the second half of the 18th century, and Baptist congregations increased dramatically from slightly fewer than 500 in 1775 to more than 1,100 by 1797.

As the 19th century began, the new wave of revivals in the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING further aided Baptist expansion. The Second Awakening is best remembered for the emotionalism of the western camp meetings, protracted religious assemblies at which thousands of Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists gathered to hear preaching. Less spectacular than the revivals but just as important for Baptist growth was the formation of mission-oriented societies. These societies allowed congregations to maintain their nominal independence yet combine resources to aid the task of evangelism.

The General Missionary Convention (later called the Triennial Convention because it met every three years) was the first national body of Baptists. It was founded in 1814 to support the work of missionaries Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice. Although Judson and Rice had been sent to India as missionaries of the Congregational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (see MISSIONS, FOREIGN), they decided en route that only adult believers should be baptized. After their arrival in India, they resigned from the Congregational board and gained the support of the Baptists instead.

Although the Triennial Convention intended at first to promote all kinds of missionary, educational, and publishing activities, it decided in 1826 to limit its role to foreign missions. Other societies were formed to meet the convention's original publishing and home missionary aims: the Baptist General Tract Society in 1824 and the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1832.

As their numbers grew, Baptists saw the need for educational institutions that would train the church's leaders. Their earliest college, Rhode Island College (now Brown University), was organized in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1764. Under the leadership of James Manning, that school strengthened the intellectual life of the Baptists in the period before the Revolution. Francis Wayland, who served as the fourth president of Brown University from 1827 to 1855, reorganized the college curriculum and published works that became the standard college textbooks of his day. In the early 19th century, many other Baptist colleges were founded that hold national stature today: Colby College and Bates College in Maine; Hamilton College in New York; Furman University and Wake Forest University in North Carolina; Mercer University in Georgia; and Bucknell University in Pennsylvania.

While eastern Baptists centralized their educational and missionary activities, Baptists on the southern and western frontier reacted against this concern for greater organizational unity. A Primitive, or Antimission, Baptist movement arose in opposition to the missionary societies and reform agencies. Primitive Baptists argued that Baptist missionary efforts not only threatened the autonomy of local churches, but also undermined the traditional Calvinist emphasis on divine election, implying that persons could, if they wished, choose whether to accept or reject God's eternal decrees. The doctrinal strictness of the Primitive Baptists gave rise to the "hard shell" label that still describes a small, ultraconservative segment of the Baptist population in the South.

A far more serious challenge to Baptist unity occurred in 1845, when the slavery controversy permanently divided Baptists in the South from their fellow church members in the North. During the 1830s, it became increasingly clear that the Triennial Convention and the American Baptist Home Missionary Society reflected the interests of the northerners who ran them. Thus, southern leaders complained that the Home Missionary Society concentrated its work in areas of the West where antislavery Baptists from the North were settling. A firm stand by northerners against appointing slaveholders as missionaries soon aroused Baptists in the South to action. A call was issued for a consultative convention to meet at Augusta, Georgia, in May 1845. There the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION (SBC) was officially organized. Although

Baptists in the North at first insisted that their southern brethren were not truly separated from them, the bloody CIVIL WAR effectively sealed the division 20 years later.

In the era after the Civil War, the SBC became one of the major institutional expressions of the South's cultural identity. Despite its regional base, the SBC also emerged as the largest Protestant denomination in the reunited nation. At the same time, a major separation took place within the church's ranks that, while limiting the size of an already extensive denomination, demonstrated the overall strength of the Baptist religious ethos throughout the southern United States.

Within a few years after the Civil War ended, nearly 1 million black Baptists in the South had left the white-dominated churches and formed their own congregations. The absence of formalism and the democratic spirit and polity of Baptist churches had always appealed to African-American Christians. Slave churches appeared on southern plantations as early as the mid-18th century. The first black Baptist church was organized near Augusta, Georgia, in 1773, and in 1821, members of the Richmond African Baptist Missionary Society became the first American missionaries to Africa. NAT TURNER, the leader of the great slave revolt of 1831, was also renowned as a Baptist preacher. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that freed slaves began to exit the white churches in large numbers following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863.

The first African-American Baptist denomination, now known as the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., INC. and still among the largest black denominations in the United States, was organized in 1895. This body divided in 1915 after a dispute over the control of property and ownership of its publishing board. Although its basic beliefs were identical to the parent denomination, a new church, calling itself the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA, INC. was formed. Then, in 1961, a debate over the election of officers in the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc. led to a further schism and the formation of the PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, INC. Again, the concerns that separated the two groups were bureaucratic rather than doctrinal. During the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1950s and 1960s, several African-American Baptist clergy from the South, most notably MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and JESSE JACKSON, rose to national political and religious leadership.

Baptist life became further diversified in the mid-19th century with the arrival of immigrants from northern Europe who adopted a Baptist polity in the churches they formed in America. Some immigrants were already Baptists and either joined existing Baptist institutions or founded their own ethnic congregations. The Baptist General Conference, for instance, had originated within Swedish Pietism, a movement that emphasized simple biblical faith and rejected religious formalism. The first Swedish Baptist congregation in America was founded in Rock Island, Illinois, in 1852, and the term *Swedish* was dropped from the Baptist General Conference's name in 1945. The Baptist General Conference, whose present-day conservatism still reflects its roots in Pietism, now contains about 145,000 members.

Native-born Baptists also directed their home missionary efforts at these immigrants from northern Europe and brought many who were unchurched or seeking another faith into Baptist churches. The North American Baptist Conference, a small denomination of German ethnic origins, is an example of the fruits of such missionary outreach. A general conference was organized in 1865 to unite German-speaking Baptist congregations scattered throughout the East and Midwest. August Rauschenbusch, father of the famed SOCIAL GOSPEL advocate WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH and a member of the faculty at Rochester Theological Seminary, was a prominent member of this denomination. The conference has outgrown its once exclusive German heritage and claims approximately 67,000 members today.

After the Civil War, northern Baptists reluctantly gave up their claims on their brethren in the South and instead formed mission and education societies to increase their influence in urban areas and in the West. By 1907, various Baptist societies in the North united and formed the Northern Baptist Convention, later known as the American Baptist Convention and now called the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES IN THE U.S.A. The majority of Free Will Baptists in the North, remnants of an 18th-century schism over the question of the freedom of the human will to choose salvation, also joined the merger in 1911. The American Baptists have consistently identified with MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM and engaged in ecumenical relations with other denominations, including participation in both the Federal Council of Churches and its successor, the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

In the early 20th century, Baptists in the North, like all the major Protestant denominations, found themselves embroiled in internal controversies between fundamentalists and modernists over the proper interpretation of the Bible. Baptist clergyman HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, who served a church in New York City, protested in his 1922 sermon "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" against a growing spirit of exclusivity among conservatives. He pleaded for mutual forbearance between contending parties within an already divided Protestantism. Fosdick's advice went unheeded, however, and two new conservative Baptist denominations were born out of the struggle among northern Baptists: the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches and the Conservative Baptist Association, which today have about 1,400 and 1,100 U.S. churches, respectively.

Despite its numerical strength and doctrinal conservatism, even the Southern Baptist Convention witnessed the schism of a doctrinally rigorist movement from its ranks early in the 20th century. JAMES ROBINSON GRAVES, a Tennessee preacher who died in 1893, argued that the true church of Jesus Christ had, in unbroken succession from apostolic times, upheld the "old landmarks," namely the baptism of adult believers and congregational polity. Graves feared that the purity of the Baptist faith would be violated if Southern Baptists sought to work with churches that did not practice adult baptism. Although most Southern Baptists were not strictly opposed to Graves's position, his theological emphases stimulated controversy. When the SBC attempted to carry out mission work through its own centralized bureaucracy rather than through the local churches, an "anticonvention" force was born. This resulted in the formation of the separate American Baptist Association in 1905, a "Landmark" denomination that today contains approximately 250,000 members.

Despite the Landmark schism, the SBC has maintained both a distinctive conservative identity and a pattern of membership growth over the past 100 years. The church's organizational structure is complex, balancing the principle of local autonomy with cooperation on a denominational level. The SBC gained national exposure in the 1970s through the activities of its two most prominent members: the election of lay leader Jimmy Carter as president of the United States, and the founding of the conservative MORAL MAJORITY by Lynchburg, Virginia, minister JERRY FALWELL. In recent years, fundamentalists have gained control of the denomination and asserted that the Bible must be interpreted literally. This dispute over the scriptures has led to a small schism in the church's ranks, as some theological moderates chose to withdraw from the SBC.

There are now approximately 37 million Baptists who belong to more than 50 separate denominations in the United States. Nearly half belong to the Southern Baptist Convention, the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, which contains 15 million members. Other leading Baptist denominations include the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.; the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.; and the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.

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Beat movement Though the Beat poets and novelists of the post–World War II era are typically revered (or reviled) for their contributions to American literature, they also contributed significantly to American religion. By struggling to find a place in the American imagination for Asian religious traditions such as BUDDHISM, the Beats both anticipated and prompted the celebrated eastward turn of the 1960s and beyond.

The Beat movement constituted a revolt against postwar norms in literature, culture, and religion. That revolt, however, was also a protest *for* something. According to Jack Kerouac, the Catholic-born author of *On the Road* (1957) and other Beat novels and poems, "Beat" stood not for "beat down" but for "beatific." "I want to speak *for* things," he explained. "For the crucifix I speak out, for the Star of Israel I speak out, for the divinest man who ever lived who was German (Bach) I speak out, for sweet Mohammed I speak out, for Buddha I speak out, for Lao-tse and Chuang-tse I speak out." Echoing Kerouac, the Jewish-born Beat poet Allen Ginsberg described his signature poem "Howl" (1956) not as the revolt against civilization that many critics discerned but as a "pro-attestation, that is testimony in favor of Value." Like Kerouac, he used religious language to describe his protest. "'Howl' is an 'Affirmation' by individual experience of God, sex, drugs, absurdity. . . . The poems are religious and I meant them to be."

Kerouac, Ginsberg, and other Beats were arguing not simply for new literary forms but also for new types of spiritual experience. They frequently found that experience not in the church or synagogue but on the road. From the perspective of comparative religions, therefore, the peripatetic Beats shared much with pilgrims making their way to sacred shrines. Like pilgrims to Mecca or Jerusalem, the Beats were liminal, or border-zone, figures who expressed their social marginality by living spontaneously, sharing their property, dressing like hoboes (or not dressing at all), celebrating sexuality, seeking mystical awareness through drugs and meditation, acting like "Zen lunatics," and stressing the sacred interrelatedness of all human beings. What distinguished the Beats from other pilgrims, however, was their failure (or refusal) to arrive at some fixed sacred center. The Beats lived, in short, not to arrive but to travel. In their lives and their literature, they appear not simply as pilgrims but as heroes of quest tales, wandering monks on a spiritual quest.

The Beats diverged from other seekers of their time in their interest in Asian religious traditions. While other Americans took solace in the Jewish and Christian texts such as Rabbi Joshua Liebman's *Peace of Mind* (1946), Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen's *Peace of Soul* (1949), and the Reverend Billy Graham's *Peace with God* (1953), the Beats were discovering ZEN koans and Mahayana Buddhist sutras. They were also forging a far more radical ecumenism than the Judeo-Christian alliances other Americans were building in the postwar period. They incorporated into their worldviews not only the Catholic background of Kerouac and the Jewish background of Ginsberg but also the insights of Gnosticism, mysticism, Native American folklore, Aztec and Maya mythology, Buddhism, and HINDUISM.

Of all these traditions, however, the Beats were drawn most strongly to Buddhism. The Beats' Buddhist interests are evident, for example, in Kerouac's *Dharma Bums* (1958). In that novel, Ray Smith (who stands in for Kerouac himself), encounters Japhy Ryder (a thinly veiled version of poet Gary Snyder), who initiates him into, among other things, the vexing practice of solving Zen koans, or word puzzles.

Like the heroes of TRANSCENDENTALISM who inspired them, the Beats championed individual spiritual experience over what RALPH WALDO EMERSON denounced as "corpse-cold" orthodoxies and worked to weave the truths of Asian religious traditions into their lives as well as their literature. They stand alongside the transcendentalists as important culture brokers who facilitated the encounter of modern Americans with the ancient religions of the East. Although Kerouac and Ginsberg have passed away, the Beat tradition continues in poets like Snyder, whose work reflects both the insights of formal Zen training in Japan and a commitment to the environment forged during hikes in the American Northwest.

SRP

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Beecher, Henry Ward (1813–1887) Congregational minister and spokesman for liberal Protestantism, Henry Ward Beecher was one of the most popular preachers of his day. Called in 1847 to be pastor of the newly formed Plymouth Church in the fashionable Brooklyn Heights section of Brooklyn, New York, Beecher believed above all else that religious thought should be adapted to the culture and times in which Christians lived. Christianity, he said, was essentially "a natural experience, . . . something to be enjoyed."

Son of the great church leader LYMAN BEECHER, Henry Ward Beecher was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 24, 1813. He was also the younger brother of novelist and abolitionist HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. After graduating from Amherst College in 1834 and from Lane Seminary in Cincinnati in 1837, Beecher was ordained and served as minister of Presbyterian churches in Indiana, at Lawrenceburg (1837–39) and at Indianapolis (1839–47), before coming to the Plymouth Church.

Beecher preached openly in favor of social reform in the years before the CIVIL WAR, supporting rights for women and an end to slavery. During the 1850s controversy over the admission of the Kansas territory to the Union, he raised money from his pulpit to provide rifles (called "Beecher's Bibles") for the protection of antislavery northern settlers moving into Kansas. Throughout the Civil War, he was an outspoken supporter of the northern war effort, and in February 1865 he delivered an address at the flag-raising in Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, that signaled the restoration of federal control over the rebellious South.

Beecher was a prolific writer, public speaker, and religious editor. From 1861 to 1863, he ran the prestigious interdenominational weekly the *Independent*, and from 1870 until 1881, he edited the *Christian Union*. Successive volumes of his Plymouth Church sermons reached a nationwide audience. He not only compiled *The Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes* (1855), but he also composed a novel (*Norwood*, 1867) that examined changing social and religious mores in post–Civil War America.

Beecher's natural charm and deemphasis of doctrinal questions helped attract a

Henry Ward Beecher, the brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe and popular 19th-century liberal preacher at Pilgrim Church in Brooklyn Heights. *(Engraving by George E. Perkins)*

large, affluent congregation to the Plymouth Church. Typical of the emerging Protestant MODERNISM of the day, Beecher only asked the members of his church to pledge personal loyalty to the spirit of Jesus. His acceptance of evolutionary thought and rejection of many of the key theological points of Calvinism eventually led Beecher and his church to leave the Congregational denomination altogether. As he warned students at Yale Divinity School in 1872, God's providence was always rolling forward, and ministers could not afford to become apostles of "the dead past" or allow new truths to pass them by.

Beecher provoked another type of public attention when a sexual scandal erupted around him in the early 1870s. Theodore Tilton, a member of the Plymouth Church, accused Beecher of seducing his wife, Josephine. The ensuing controversy was discussed on 105 occasions in the *New York Times* in 1874, 17 times on the newspaper's front page. When *Tilton v. Beecher* went to court, newspapers throughout the country openly took sides between the litigants, and for a period liberal American Protestantism itself seemed to be on trial. After a six-month trial and eight days of deliberation, the jury in the case was unable either to convict or to acquit Beecher, a decision satisfactory to no one.

Following the trial, most of Beecher's congregation continued to support its pastor. Sullied but unrepentant, he remained their minister for another decade. Certainly one factor in Beecher's ongoing popularity was his ability to combine theological liberalism with social conservatism, thus mirroring attitudes prevalent within white middle-class Protestant circles at the end of the 19th century. Beecher's life and thought were in many ways the quintessential religious expression of the Gilded Age era. He served as minister of the Plymouth Church for 40 years, and his death in Brooklyn on March 8, 1887, occasioned a huge outpouring of grief both in New York City and across the nation.

GHS, Jr.

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Beecher, Lyman (1775–1863) A minister of both the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations and arguably the most influential clergyman of his day, Lyman Beecher's life illustrates many crucial forces at work within American Protestantism during the first half of the 19th century.

Beecher was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on October 12, 1775. He entered Yale College in 1793, and while there was converted during a revival led by Timothy Dwight, the president of the college. After graduation in 1797, Beecher became pastor at the Presbyterian church in East Hampton, New York. He won a reputation as a social reformer, and following Aaron Burr's fatal wounding of Alexander Hamilton, he undertook a crusade against dueling. Next, Beecher accepted a call to the Congregational church in Litchfield, Connecticut, where he served between 1810 and 1826. During the Litchfield years, the temperance movement elicited his special attention, and he published his *Six Sermons on Intemperance* in 1826.

Beecher initially viewed the 1818 disestablishment of Congregationalism in Connecticut as a grave "injury" to the cause of Christ and reported being thoroughly depressed for a long time afterward. In many ways, disestablishment in Connecticut symbolized the end of New England Puritan culture and its replacement by the new ethos of Protestant EVANGELICALISM. Thus, when Beecher later reflected on the religious revolution that had occurred, he realized that Christianity actually gained more than it lost. Cut loose from state support and thrown entirely upon their own resources, the churches had learned to exert new forms of influence through voluntary societies and revivals rather than through the "queues and shoebuckles, and cocked hats, and gold-headed canes" of the old order.

Beecher moved to the Hanover Street Congregational Church in Boston in 1826, and there he launched campaigns against two novel (and opposite) theological adversaries: Unitarianism emerging out of the Congregational churches of eastern Massachusetts, and the "new measures" of revivalism adopted by Presbyterian minister CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY. Both movements, he believed, compromised the traditional Calvinist emphases on divine sovereignty and human sinfulness. Beecher's struggle against Finney's activistic style and unconventional revivalistic methods was particularly dramatic. Meeting in New Lebanon, New York, in July 1827, Beecher and Finney sought to work out a compromise concerning their differences, but the conference only increased the animosity. Beecher allegedly said to Finney: "You mean to come into Connecticut, and carry a streak of fire to Boston. But if you attempt it . . . I'll meet you at the State line, and call out all the artillerymen, and fight every inch of the way to Boston." Still, despite his hostility toward Finney, Beecher eventually repented of his remarks and welcomed Finney to Boston to lead a revival.

In 1832, Beecher attained further prominence by accepting a call to become president of Lane Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian school recently founded in Cincinnati. Beecher believed that the West had tremendous importance for the future growth of the United States, and as he wrote in *Plea for the West* (1835), it has to be saved from Roman Catholicism. Originally an address to raise funds for Lane, his *Plea* exemplified some of the worst aspects of anti-Catholic (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM) and nativist sentiment that had begun to swell in the late 1820s. Beecher's *Plea* opened with a hymn of praise to the future destiny of the United States. Beecher discussed Jonathan Edwards's millennial beliefs, how the thousand-year reign of Christ was to be established through the reforming efforts of Protestants in America. Beecher then continued with lurid descriptions of attempts by the pope, reactionary kings of Europe, and immigrants to seize the Mississippi Valley. Protestants had to be on guard, he warned, lest Catholics thwart their efforts to build a truly Christian nation.

In Cincinnati, Beecher also served as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, where his ideas about the doctrine of sin underwent profound changes. Influenced by both the revivalism and VOLUNTARYISM then so prevalent in American Protestantism, Beecher came to believe more and more in the possibility of human progress. As a result, charges of heresy were brought against him in 1835 for allegedly abandoning traditional Presbyterian standards of orthodoxy. Although Beecher was acquitted, his heresy trial was among the first of many similar affairs that disrupted American Presbyterian life in the 19th century. It foreshadowed as well the impending division between the reform-minded New School Presbyterian faction and the doctrinally conservative Old School Presbyterian party that occurred two years later (see New School/Old School).

Beecher retired from church work in 1843 and from the presidency of Lane in 1850. He spent the last years of his life lecturing and writing. His three-volume *Works* were published in 1852–53, and a two-volume autobiography was compiled and published by his children following his death. He was married three times and had 11 children, several of whom—Catherine, Edward, Henry Ward (see Beecher, Henry Ward), and Harriet (see Stowe, Harriet Beecher)—were also important figures in American religious history. After 1856, Beecher lived at Henry Ward's home in Brooklyn, New York, where, after gradually slipping into senility, he died on January 10, 1863.

GHS, Jr.

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Beissel, Johann Conrad See Ephrata Community.

Belavin, Tikhon (1865–1925) Tikhon Belavin, Russian Orthodox archbishop of the Aleutians and North America from 1898 to 1907, envisioned and almost succeeded in creating a multiethnic Orthodox Church in North America. He was elected patriarch of Moscow in 1917. His steadfast leadership during the first years of Soviet persecution was recognized in 1988, when he was canonized as St. Tikhon the Confessor.

The son of a priest, Basil Belavin was born near Pskov in 1865 and educated at the Pskov Seminary and the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. Ordained after taking the monastic name Tikhon, he taught in seminaries and was consecrated as a bishop at the age of 32. In 1898, he was sent to lead the Russian mission in America, then called the Diocese of the Aleutians and Alaska.

As the only Orthodox bishop on the continent, Tikhon sought to organize the thousands of Orthodox and Eastern Rite Catholic immigrants pouring into North America. He shifted the mission's focus away from the Pacific Coast and attempted to cultivate a pan-Orthodox community with an American identity.

Taking the first step in 1899, Tikhon won permission to rename his jurisdiction the Diocese of the Aleutians and North America. In 1903, he won the approval of the Russian Holy Synod for a sweeping reorganization of the diocese, and requested more priests to help him attract Eastern Rite Catholics into Orthodoxy.

His goal was a cosmopolitan and autonomous "Orthodox Church in America," a single, unified church with a flexible and representative structure that would attract believers from many ethnic groups. His plan called for a single church in the United States and Canada to be led by a Russian archbishop. A number of auxiliary bishops would supervise ethnic subjurisdictions, or vicariates. This, Tikhon argued, would permit each ethnic group to perpetuate its own language, traditions, and communal identity, while maintaining fundamental Orthodox unity.

After gaining the approval of the Russian church, Tikhon moved his seat from San Francisco to New York and assigned a new auxiliary bishop to Alaska and the West Coast. He extended the Russian synod's offer to consecrate a Syrian Orthodox priest, Raphael Hawaweeny of Brooklyn, who then took charge of a vicariate for Syrian Orthodoxy.

Tikhon organized a Serbian vicariate in 1905 and then attempted, with very little success, to persuade Greek immigrants to join the Russian-sponsored archdiocese. He also founded several key institutions, including St. Tikhon's Monastery in South Canaan, Pennsylvania, and a seminary in Minneapolis.

Among the first modern Orthodox bishops to emphasize a style of leadership that involved consultation of the laity and the clergy, Tikhon summoned the first representative council held by an Orthodox body in America to Mayfield, Pennsylvania, in 1907. It approved the incorporation of the archdiocese as the "Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America."

Recalled to Russia in 1907, he was later enthroned as metropolitan of Moscow. Elected patriarch of Moscow by the famous "Sobor," or reforming council, in 1917, Tikhon's resistance to Communist terror made him a revered figure. Hundreds of thousands followed his cortege through the streets of Moscow in 1925.

The structure he fashioned for North American Orthodoxy did not survive the upheavals of World War I and the Russian Revolution. Separate ethnic jurisdictions emerged during the 1920s, and Orthodox union in America remains an unresolved issue.

AHW

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Bellamy, Joseph (1719–1790) Joseph Bellamy was a Congregational minister, disciple of JONATHAN EDWARDS, and early leader of the NEW DIVINITY movement of the mid-18th century. Along with other New Divinity theologians, Bellamy helped adapt Calvinist teachings about sin to the rationalist intellectual trends of his day.

Bellamy was born in Cheshire, Connecticut, on February 20, 1719. He graduated from Yale College in 1735 and, as was customary for the time, trained for the ministry as part of Jonathan Edwards's household. Bellamy was ordained at Bethlehem, Connecticut, in 1738, and he remained as pastor of that church for the rest of his life. When a revival began in Bethlehem, Bellamy not only enthusiastically supported it, but also became known as an active New Light (see NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS) minister and defender of the GREAT AWAKENING generally. He sought to be a conscientious advocate of both the traditional CALVINISM and the experiential religious faith that Edwards himself so eloquently championed.

Despite his insistent orthodoxy, Bellamy introduced elements that moved away from Edwards's theological positions. These changes significantly influenced future developments in American Protestant thought. Seeking, for example, to justify the ways of God to philosophers and theologians shaped by the ENLIGHTENMENT, Bellamy exonerated the divine role in allowing sin. He emphasized instead how God's permission of evil became the means of achieving the greatest possible good for humankind. Most notable of all was Bellamy's reinterpretation of the doctrine of atonement. He represented the sacrifice of Christ not as a legal "satisfaction" for human wrongdoing or the appeasement of an angry deity (the traditional views) but as a working out of God's abundant love for the world.

Bellamy published two major theological works: *True Religion Delineated* (1750), a lengthy treatise in which genuine Christianity was defended against the extremes of both theological formalism and spiritual enthusiasm; and *The Wisdom of God in the Permission of Sins* (1758), which discussed the problem of evil. Bellamy died at Bethlehem on March 6, 1790.

GHS, Jr.

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Benevolent Empire See EVANGELICAL UNITED FRONT.

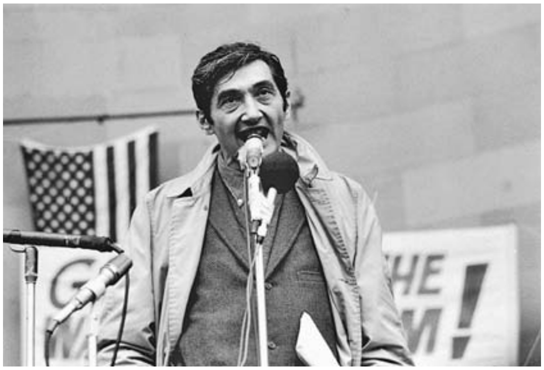
Berrigan, Daniel (1921–) Daniel Berrigan, a Jesuit priest (see JESUITS), poet, and political activist, was born in Virginia, Minnesota, on May 9, 1921. Although his father, Thomas, left the Catholic Church during Daniel's youth, the young man remained a staunch Catholic and joined the Jesuits in 1939 after he graduated from high school. He was ordained in 1952 and served in various ministries, including time as a college professor at LeMoyne College.

He early developed a reputation as a poet, publishing his first collection that included *Time Without Number* (1957), an exploration of religion and introspection that has been compared to the devotional poems of John Donne. By the early 1960s, under the influence of his brother Philip (see BERRIGAN, PHILIP) and THOMAS MERTON, he had developed a strong opposition to the Vietnam War. Together they established an interfaith coalition against the war in Vietnam.

Initially, this organization advocated for a change in policy through public pronouncements, vigils, and letter writing. Eventually, the Berrigan brothers felt that more extreme actions had to be taken, and they joined seven other activists to undertake a very public statement against the draft. On May 17, 1968, they entered the draft board in Catonsville, Maryland, and removed nearly 400 draft files, which they took outside and burned. The "Catonsville Nine," as they became known, issued a public statement condemning the war and the failure of the Catholic Church and other religions to condemn it.

Arrested and convicted for this act, Berrigan received a three-year prison sentence. Ordered to prison in April 1969, rather than surrender to authorities, he went underground. He managed to elude authorities for several months until he finally was apprehended by FBI agents in August. These events led to several writings, including *Block Island* (poems written while he was a fugitive), *Prison Poems*, and a play, *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine.*

Following his release from prison in 1972, he moved to France for a while. There he began a series of meetings with the Vietnamese Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh, also a peace activist. These meetings and conversations led Berrigan to reflect on issues related to political activism and meditation, as well as the relationship between Buddhist and Catholic religiosity. In response to these conversations, Berrigan wrote *The Raft Is Not the*



Daniel Berrigan speaking at an anti–Vietnam War rally. *(Getty)*

Shore: Conversations Toward a Buddhist/Christian Awareness.

With the end of the Vietnam Wars, Berrigan and his brother turned their attention to issues of nuclear disarmament, forming what became known as the Plowshares Movement. Drawing from their actions against the war in Vietnam, they undertook a series of direct actions against military weapons, arguing that "swords shall be beaten into plowshares," as the phrase has it in the biblical book of Isaiah. The most well-known was their initial action against a missile plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania where the Berrigans and six other acquaintances entered a missile plant and hammered on two nose cones, poured blood over company documents, and then offered a prayer for peace. Charged with more than 10 different crimes, the trials of the Plowshares Eight would go through more than nine years of retrials and appeals before they finally were convicted and sentenced to nearly two years in prison.

Daniel Berrigan views his opposition to war and violence through the lens of Catholicism's doctrine of the seamless garment. This view sees all forms of violence and the taking of life as a whole. He therefore also is a vocal opponent of abortion and the death penalty. He understands both to be violence against human life and therefore inconsistent with the Catholic religion. For him, the call of Christ is to peace, justice, and equality. As a pastor, he is called to serve those in need and to ensure that the powers of this Earth do not act against the message of the Christ. This deep religious feeling comes across readily in his poetry. Critics tend to commend him as one of the rare poets who successfully incorporates political views into his work without grossly distorting their artistic merit. Daniel Berrigan currently serves as the poet in residence at Fordham University.

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Berrigan, Philip (1923–2002) Philip Berrigan, who, along with his brother Daniel, became one of the leading religious voices against the Vietnam War and nuclear weapons, was born on October 5, 1923, in Two Harbors, Minnesota. He was raised in Syracuse, New York, where he attended college for a semester before entering the army in 1943 and served during the Battle of the Bulge. Berrigan reported that his encounter with racism in the deep South during military training and his war experiences turned his thoughts to civil rights and pacifism.

Following the war, Berrigan attended Holy Cross College, graduating in 1950. He then attended a Josephite Seminary and was ordained in 1953. During the 1950s and 1960s, Berrigan was an active participant in civil rights marches and sit-ins.

Berrigan was increasingly drawn to oppose the VIETNAM WAR. His participation in an act of civil disobedience against the draft in 1967 as part of the "Baltimore Four" led him to become the first priest arrested for an act of politically motivated civil disobedience. For this participation, he was sentenced to six years in prison, although he was released after serving only one year.

Berrigan, his brother Daniel, and others almost immediately undertook a more dramatic protest in 1968 by burning draft files with a homemade version of napalm. This act also led to his arrest and imprisonment and to Daniel's play entitled the *Trial of the Catonsville Nine.*

After leaving prison, Berrigan and several others founded Jonah House in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1973. Dedicated to nonviolence, resistance, and community, Jonah House became the center of Berrigan s opposition to nuclear weapons, war, poverty, and what he saw as injustice. That same year, he married Elizabeth McCalister, a Roman Catholic nun, and the couple eventually would have three children. For this action, Philip was deprived of his right to perform priestly duties, and McCalister's religious orders were revoked.

From Jonah House, Berrigan, his brother, and McCalister coordinated the Plowshares Movement. Drawing from their actions against the war in Vietnam, the Plowshares Movement undertook a series of direct assaults on military weapons throughout the war, arguing that "swords shall be beaten into plowshares," in the phrase of the biblical book of Isaiah. The most well-known was their initial action against a missile plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, where the Berrigans and six other acquaintances entered a missile plant and hammered on two nose cones, poured blood over company documents, and then offered a prayer for peace. Charged with more than 10 different crimes, the trials of the "Plowshares Eight" would go through more than nine years of retrials and appeals before they finally were convicted and sentenced to nearly two years in prison. Philip Berrigan continued these direct actions through 1999 and in the course of his life spent nearly 11 years in jail or prison.

In the 2000s, he continued his opposition to all forms of war and violence, speaking out against both Gulf Wars and against American and NATO intervention in Kosova. Increasingly weakened by cancer, he died on December 6, 2002. His brother Daniel performed the funeral, and Philip was buried on the grounds of Jonah House.

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Besant, Annie Wood See THEOSOPHY.

Bible schools Bible schools were institutions founded by conservative Protestants in the late 19th and early 20th century to prepare men and women to be pastors, missionaries, and Sunday school teachers. The schools offered courses primarily in the interpretation of the Bible, religious pedagogy, and techniques of Christian evangelism (see EVANGELICALISM). As religious historian Ernest R. Sandeen once asserted, Bible schools served as the "headquarters" of American FUNDAMENTALISM.

At the end of the 19th century, several Protestant leaders turned their attention to forming schools for lay people. The earliest Bible school was the Baptist Missionary Training School for women, established in Chicago in 1881. The creation of similar institutions followed in rapid succession. A. B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, opened the Missionary Training Institute in New York in 1882. Popular urban revivalist DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY raised $250,000 in 1887 to develop the Chicago Evangelization Society. A formal, year-round school emerged out of that effort two years later, and renamed Moody Bible Institute in 1900 in memory of its founder. Baptist minister A. J. Gordon, who hoped to recruit a dedicated band of overseas missionaries, formed the Boston Missionary Training School in his church in 1889.

The Moody Bible Institute soon became the standard against which all other Bible schools were measured. Often called the "West Point of Fundamentalism," it was the largest and richest institution in the movement. Located in downtown Chicago, the Moody Bible Institute began as a three-story building, but by 1927 it owned 34 buildings and several city blocks, valued at $4.5 million. The area around the school was filled with students day and night. By the late 1920s, between 30 and 40 faculty members ran a two-year program that enrolled more than 1,000 students each term. Filled with knowledge of the Scriptures they gained at Moody, students were sent out together to convert Chicagoans to the Christian faith.

Most of the men and women who studied at the early Bible schools were relatively mature, usually in their mid-20s or older. Many had never pursued a formal education but had worked in blue- and white-collar jobs. Since at first there were no sleeping or eating accommodations for students, they commuted to school from their homes. These schools usually were oriented to educating laity, not clergy. As a consequence, women usually accounted for a larger portion of the student body. Uninhibited by usual educational conventions, the Bible schools attracted many people, especially women, who previously had little or no access to formal theological instruction.

The chief textbook of the institutes was, of course, the Bible. While Bible study in these schools was designed for conservative theological purposes, instructors often considered themselves reformers in scriptural analysis. Many teachers believed in mastering the original Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testaments to foster understanding of the Bible's true meaning. Like most American fundamentalists, Bible school teachers assumed that ordinary human beings were capable of gaining knowledge of the world through the use of their senses. Thus, students were taught to study the Scriptures through the "inductive method," that is, reading the Bible with a commitment to uncovering the "facts" it contained.

Focused on the Bible, an entire course of study took either one or two years and emphasized the practical application of the learning gained in the classroom. As Moody stated in his institute's first prospectus, "study and work go hand in hand." A. B. Simpson, moreover, criticized the methods the mainline churches had used to educate their clergy. He argued that Christianity needed "practical men, men that are in touch with their fellowmen, . . . men that have been taught to go down into the depths and, hand to hand and heart to heart, pluck sinners as brands from the burning."

The heyday of the Bible schools ran, roughly, from 1885 to 1945. In that period, more than 100 schools were established in the United States. After the early 1940s, however, leaders in the older institutions became more concerned with academic standing than with providing the popular, practical education they once championed. This concern for academic respectability meant that the Bible schools generally moved away from their former distinctive status and closer to the American educational mainstream. A number of the largest Bible schools now subscribe to their own accrediting agency, the American Association of Bible Colleges. With their raised educational standards and increased liberal arts offerings, many of these institutions, for example, Gordon College in Wenham, Massachusetts, and Trinity College in Bannockburn, Illinois, today are indistinguishable from other Christian colleges and seminaries.

GHS, Jr.

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Bible societies Bible societies are religious organizations formed to publish and distribute copies of the Bible. Although the Bible is certainly not just a Protestant book, the Protestant reformers of the 16th century stressed that, as the word of God, the Bible was an accurate, self-interpreting book that even the simplest Christian could comprehend. As a consequence of that belief, the wide dissemination of the Scriptures always has been an important concern of Protestants. The first major Bible publisher in the United States was the American Bible Society (ABS), founded in 1816, while the Gideons International, famed for the Bibles it places in hotel rooms, is the most widely known Bible society today.

In the mid-17th century, Puritan minister John Eliot learned the Massachuset language and translated the Bible in order to aid in evangelizing Native Americans. The earliest Bible published in America in a European language was an edition of Martin Luther's German Bible, released in 1743. Prior to the American Revolution, the right to distribute the "authorized" English translation of the Old and New Testaments (the King James Version of 1611) belonged solely to the university presses of Oxford and Cambridge. When the War for Independence cut off communications between England and America, Robert Aitken of Philadelphia printed the first American editions of the King James Version: the New Testament in 1777, and the entire Bible in 1782. When the conflict ended, however, the American market was again opened to the British publishers, leaving Aitken with a large, unsold stock of books.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, established by the Church of England in 1698 to supply reading matter for clergy in British colonies, was a forerunner of the later Bible societies. The British and Foreign Bible Society, formed in London in 1804, provided the modern prototype. In the first two decades of the 19th century, more than 100 Bible societies based upon the English model were founded in America. Beginning in 1808 with the Philadelphia Bible Society, these were part of the grand Protestant missionary effort, often called the EVANGELICAL UNITED FRONT, that was inspired by the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. Although some organizations were tiny operations that dispensed only a few hundred Bibles each year, together their reach extended throughout the young nation.

The most formidable organization was the American Bible Society. Formed originally in 1809 as the New York Bible Society, it was the strongest of the many local and state groups. In 1816, a convention of delegates representing various regional societies assembled in New York City and renamed the society, giving it a national scope. Although this idea was first opposed by some local societies, especially by the Philadelphia Bible Society, the organization was completed, and Presbyterian layman Elias Boudinot (the first president of the United States Congress) was chosen as chairman of the ABS board. Led principally by Protestant laymen, the ABS adopted the policy of the British and Foreign Bible Society, namely, to publish the Scriptures "without note or comment."

Within a year of the founding of the ABS, 41 other societies aligned themselves with it as auxiliaries. By 1818, it had begun to appoint agents to travel within the United States seeking donations and subscriptions. The early accomplishments of the ABS were astounding. It distributed nearly 100,000 Bibles in the first four years of operation. Between 1829 and 1831, the ABS printed and distributed more than 1 million copies of the Scriptures, at a time when the total population of the United States was only around 13 million. Still strong today, the ABS reported that in 2004 it distributed nearly 3.5 million Bibles and 3.5 million portions of the Scriptures yearly.

Another 19th-century Bible society emerged out of a controversy over the translation of a portion of the biblical text. A schism occurred in the ranks of the ABS in 1835, when Baptists protested that the Greek verb *baptizein,* translated as "baptize" in the King James Version, should read "immerse" instead. Since this dispute concerned the Baptist practice of baptizing candidates by full immersion, ABS members who were not Baptists refused to yield and alter the traditional English wording. As a result, Baptists withdrew and formed their own organization, the American and Foreign Bible Society, in 1836. Further quarrels among the Baptists led to the creation of the American Bible Union, organized in 1850 with the financial backing of philanthropist William Colgate, for whom Colgate University is now named. However, following the Civil War, the rift between the ABS and American Bible Union was healed, and Baptists rejoined the larger organization.

Certainly the most visible Bible society in the present day is the Gideons International. Founded in 1899 as the Christian Commercial Travellers Association of America, the society contained a group of business and professional people who were committed to lay evangelism. The Gideons took its name from the Book of Judges, in which the victory of the Israelite leader Gideon over his pagan enemies is described. In 1908, the Gideons began their now-familiar task of distributing Bibles (mostly the King James Version in the United States) in hotels, hospitals, prisons, and schools. More than 250,000 members belong to the organization worldwide today, and Gideon workers annually distribute more than 63 million Bibles in 180 countries.

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biblical interpretation The Bible (Hebrew Old Testament and Greek New Testament) has been regarded by most American Christians throughout the centuries as the principal source of religious authority. Since the Reformation of the 16th century, Protestants have stressed that the Bible is both normative for faith and practice and accessible to the average reader. The remark made in 1809 by Thomas Campbell, one of the founders of the Disciples of Christ, has certainly been typical of much American religious belief: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."

The serious study and interpretation of the Bible in America began with the Puritan settlement of New England in the 17th century. Harvard College, founded in 1636, was named for the young Puritan minister who died in 1638 and left his library to the new school. Of the more than 300 volumes that John Harvard owned, more than half were biblical commentaries and similar works. Scriptural analysis, of course, was not an end in itself, but part of the process by which Christians gained an understanding of God's dealings with humankind. In the Bible, Puritans found teachings that applied not simply to the redemption of individuals but to the well-being of society as well.

Concern for the Bible remained strong during the 18th and early 19th century. In the GREAT AWAKENING, the period of intense spiritual excitement that swept through the colonies in the 1740s, Americans believed that the Scriptures contained the key to sin and salvation. In the War for Independence, Americans again looked closely at their Bibles, this time to find religious justification, usually in millennial (see POSTMILLENNIALISM) themes, for their revolt from Great Britain. And after the Revolution, Protestant leaders considered the possibility of placing a copy of the Scriptures in the hands of every American citizen. During the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING in the early 19th century, moreover, more than 100 BIBLE SOCIETIES were formed to meet the challenge of publishing and distributing the Scriptures. Those Bible societies were part of a grand, interdenominational missionary effort often called "the Benevolent Empire."

So strong was the belief in the importance of reading the Bible that Protestant leaders pressed it forcibly upon many who did not wish to receive it. As a system of public schools began to develop, for example, spokesmen for that movement envisioned the Bible, especially the King James Version (the authorized translation for English-speaking Protestants), as an essential part of the standard curriculum. The growth of the Roman Catholic population of the United States in the mid-19th century, however, led to serious conflict over this issue.

Many Catholics either did not speak English or used an English version of the Bible different from the King James. They strongly opposed the Protestant standard. When Francis Patrick Kenrick, Roman Catholic bishop of Philadelphia, petitioned city officials to allow Catholic children to hear readings from the Catholic Douay translation instead of the King James Version, an outcry ensued. Protestant mobs, believing they were defending the Bible, formed anti-Catholic organizations and rioted outside Catholic churches in Philadelphia.

Rival interpretations of the Bible also provided a crucial focus for the controversy over slavery before the CIVIL WAR. For most defenders of the institution, the acceptance of slavery in biblical times seemed sufficient proof that God justified holding human beings in bondage. Relying on a literal reading of the Scriptures, proslavery advocates in the South noted how the patriarchs of the Old Testament had owned slaves. They also cited the apostle Paul's return of a runaway slave to his master Philemon. White southern Christians argued that slavery represented a God-given opportunity to present the Bible and teach the faith to unconverted Africans, thereby saving the souls of their fellow human beings and—they hoped—keeping them docile.

African Americans (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION), of course, had their own interpretations of the Gospel their masters preached to them. While whites might emphasize passages in the Bible that seemed to justify slavery, blacks focused upon biblical promises of liberation for God's chosen, but oppressed, people. Old Testament narratives were especially meaningful: Moses leading the enslaved Israelites from Egypt, Daniel in the lion's den, and the rescue of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the fiery furnace. In the New Testament, the promise of the book of Revelation that the rulers of this world would be destroyed in an approaching age of cataclysm inspired African Americans to dream of future vindication. And Jesus the suffering servant heartened many like slave preacher NAT TURNER, who before his hanging asked his captors if they knew that Christ, too, had been executed.

Among abolitionists in the North, the liberating principles of the Bible also held great weight. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, for instance, presented a Christ-like black hero whose death was intended to redeem white Americans from the sin of slavery. Another antislavery leader, Presbyterian minister Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, declared that "the principles laid down by the Saviour and his Apostles are . . . opposed to Slavery, and if carried out would secure its universal abolition." And the title of abolitionist THEODORE DWIGHT WELD's tract, *The Bible Against Slavery*, conveyed not only its author's belief that the Scriptures condemned human bondage, but also the convictions of a significant portion of the Protestant religious community in the North.

Despite disagreement about the Bible's teaching on slavery, most American Christians in the mid-19th century assumed that the Scriptures were infallible and divinely inspired. This trust in the essential veracity of the Bible depended upon a form of biblical interpretation based on SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM. A fundamentally optimistic philosophy, it allowed people to have great confidence in their own powers of reason. As a consequence of this emphasis on the certainty of human knowledge, Common Sense Realism led believers to assume that the words they read in the Bible were trustworthy. This philosophy provided the intellectual foundation for the doctrine of the INERRANCY of Scripture. As CHARLES HODGE, a professor at

Princeton Seminary, asserted, the Bible was a "store-house of facts," truthful in every detail, whether scientific, historical, or doctrinal.

By the end of the 19th century, however, the "higher criticism" of the Bible began to appear in American academic circles. This approach, which originated in Germany, undermined commonly accepted beliefs about the Bible and called into question the concept of scriptural inerrancy. A host of questions about the authenticity and authorship of the Bible was raised, as the Bible's text was examined for the first time in a critical light. Did Moses really write the first five books of the Old Testament? How could the story of creation that Genesis described be harmonized with the theory of EVOLUTION? How true were the stories of Noah and the flood or of Moses and the Red Sea?

The 1893 heresy trial of Presbyterian minister CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS of New York reveals the deep divisions within late 19th-century Protestantism over the Bible's proper interpretation. Throughout the 1880s, Briggs had written extensively about the higher-critical method of scriptural analysis. After the publication of his book *Whither?*, in which he asserted that divine revelation evolves over time, he came under intense criticism from his church's most conservative wing. In 1891, when Briggs contradicted orthodox Protestant belief and denied that every word of the Bible was inspired by God, he was brought to trial for heresy. Convicted for what was deemed false teaching, he eventually withdrew from the Presbyterian ministry.

Briggs's battle with Presbyterians over the Bible was one of the opening rounds of a protracted struggle between theological liberals and theological conservatives that continued into the next century. A series of pamphlets entitled *The Fundamentals* (from which the term FUNDAMENTALISM derives) encapsulated conservative teaching about the Bible's dependability. Composed of 12 volumes published between 1910 and 1915, *The Fundamentals* dealt with a number of topics, but the interpretation of Scripture was a central concern. Approximately one-third of the articles dealt with the Bible and defended it against liberals who questioned the validity of portions of its text. Although each author carefully nuanced his position, all believed that biblical teachings were not only scientifically verifiable but also errorless.

The Fundamentals themselves did not immediately have a major effect either on the American churches or on American culture. A later controversy over the introduction of EVOLUTION into the curriculum of public schools, however, symbolized how far apart American Christians had grown. In the 1920s, several southern states passed laws forbidding instructors from mentioning any theory that denied the divine creation of humanity as taught in the Bible. John T. Scopes, a biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, challenged the law in 1925. He was brought to trial and convicted, but the verdict was later overturned by a higher court.

The SCOPES TRIAL became a forum for the now-famous debate between the great Christian statesman WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN and the agnostic trial lawyer Clarence Darrow. Their meeting was a study of contrasts: One side represented small-town America, poorly educated but militantly committed to the Bible; the other side saw itself as urbane and forward-looking in religious matters. When Bryan was called to testify on the veracity of the Bible, Darrow's cross-examination ridiculed his opponent's beliefs and made Bryan a laughingstock to the intellectually sophisticated. Although American Christians had earlier assumed that the Bible and the natural world fit harmoniously together, the Scopes trial revealed that the language of science and traditional religious language were no longer compatible in modern America.

Today the higher criticism of the Bible is generally accepted as the standard for interpretation in mainline Protestantism and in

Roman Catholicism. This approach encourages a somewhat skeptical, but still reverent, approach to the scriptural text. Although liberal Protestants and Roman Catholics believe the Bible contains God's word, not every word in the Bible must be believed as literally true.

Among evangelical Protestants and other moderately conservative Christians, the primacy of the Bible as the medium of divine revelation is emphasized more strongly than it is among theological liberals. Nevertheless, many evangelicals accept modern scriptural criticism as a tool for better understanding the Bible.

Fundamentalists today continue to insist on the infallibility of the Bible. While they are willing to concede that current editions may contain textual impurities, they also believe that the Bible's original text is without error. In recent decades, the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and the Southern Baptist Convention have experienced divisions between fundamentalists and evangelical moderates over the proper interpretation of the Bible. Despite protests from moderates, the fundamentalist position has been accepted as normative by the leadership of both denominations.

(See also CREATIONISM; DISPENSATIONISM.)

GHS, Jr.

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black churches See AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH; AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH; CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH; CHURCH OF GOD IN GHRIST; NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA, INC.; NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION U.S.A., INC.; PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, INC.

Black Jews The phrase *Black Jews,* or *Hebrews,* refers to several African-American religious movements that proclaim Judaism as the true religion of African Americans and claim a racial connection with the tribes of Israel either through descent from the Queen of Sheba and the Ethiopian Jews (Beta Israel) or the 10 lost tribes of Israel. The Judaism of these movements varies greatly, from the syncretistic mix of Christianity, Judaism, and black nationalism of the Church of God and Saints of Christ to the more orthodox Judaism of the Commandment Keepers Congregation of the Living God.

As early as the second decade of the 20th century, itinerant black preachers traveled the South declaring that blacks were descendants of the Jews and that Judaism was their true religion. William Crowdy organized the Church of God and Saints of Christ in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1896, moving the headquarters to Philadelphia four years later. In 1917, following Crowdy's death, the headquarters were moved to Belleville, Virginia, soon becoming the largest of the Black Jewish sects. It is also the least Judaic in its religious forms. The church teaches that blacks are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel (the reason for its inclusion among the Black Jews), while its doctrine is a syncretistic mix of black nationalism, Judaism, and Christianity. It demands a confession in Jesus Christ, and has baptism by immersion, Communion with water and unleavened bread, feet-washing, and the holy kiss as sacraments.

Prophet F. S. Cherry founded the Church of God (Black Jews) in Philadelphia. A seaman and railway man for much of his life, Prophet Cherry was self-educated, picking up a good knowledge of both Yiddish and Hebrew. He claimed to have received a vision from God to return to America to preach the true religion to his people: that the blacks are the true Jews, that Judaism is their natural religion, and that the world will not be improved until the Black Jews get into high places.

Even closer to traditional Judaism is the Commandment Keepers Congregation of the Living God. Centered in Harlem and primarily composed of West Indian immigrants, the Commandment Keepers Congregation was organized in 1919 by Wentworth Arthur Matthew (1892–1973). Born in Lagos in modern-day Nigeria in 1892, he arrived in Harlem via St. Kitts in 1911. There he fell under the influence of MARCUS GARVEY and A. J. Ford, music master of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Ford, occasionally confused by some with W. D. FARD, the founder of the NATION OF ISLAM, identified blacks with the Jews of the Hebrew Bible and taught that blacks were the descendants of the ancient Israelites who would be freed by God from racism and oppression.

Failing to convince Garvey to adopt Judaism as the religion of the UNIA, Ford organized the Beth B'nai Abraham in Harlem in 1924. During the 1920s, the rediscovery of the Ethiopian Jews (Beta Israel) provided support for Ford's views. In 1930, Ford left the United States for Ethiopia, handing leadership of the Beth B'nai Abraham to Matthew, who merged it with the Commandment Keepers. Matthew moved progressively toward Orthodox Judaism and increasingly identified African Americans with the Ethiopian Jews, arguing that blacks had to recover the nationality and religion that had been stolen by the whites who had enslaved them.

Perhaps the most familiar of all the Black Jews due to the difficulties in which they have found themselves is the Original Hebrew Israelite Nation, or Black Hebrews. Claiming descent from the 10 lost tribes, the Black Israelites attempt to follow Orthodox Judaism and a form of black nationalism. Believing that Israel is their true homeland, a contingent left Chicago to settle there in 1971. Although most of these returned to the United States after the Israeli rabbinate refused to recognize their claim to be Jews by birth, a large number remained, ekeing out an existence in a settlement in the Negev. Since many of them had renounced their American citizenship and were refused Israeli citizenship, they lived as stateless persons for more than two decades. In the early 1990s, the Israeli government agreed to grant them citizenship in return for formal conversions. Although some accepted the offer, others refused, and in 2004, the Israeli government granted them permanent residency status and also exempted them from mandatory military service.

Most of the members live communally near the Israeli city of Dimona in a former immigrant absorption center. They are vegans and abstain from alcohol, other than wine that they make themselves, and both illegal and pharmaceutical drugs. The members are renowned for their health and vigor.

Theologically, they reject the oral Torah and the orthodox view that Jewish membership is passed through a person's mother. They refuse to acknowledge modern-day Jews as the descendants of the original Twelve Tribes of Israel and maintain that white Jews have stolen the religion, language, and culture of the "true Jews," a position that readily brings them into conflict both with the Israeli rabbinate and the Israeli government.

One of the most controversial of all the movements is the Nation of Yahweh. An offshoot of the Black Hebrews, the Nation of Yahweh was formed in the late 1970s by Hulon Mitchell, Jr., who declared himself Yahweh ben Yahweh. Based primarily in the Miami-Dade County area, the Nation of Yahweh became known both for its social and philanthropic activities as well as for its assertion of black supremacy and separatism. Yahweh ben Yahweh ruled the movement with near absolute control and seemingly was willing to use violence and even murder against those who opposed him. In May 1992, Mitchell was convicted of conspiracy in ordering the murders of several opponents. He was sentenced to 18 years of imprisonment but was released on parole in 2001. Following his release from prison, he and several of his followers moved to Canada, where he has attempted to reorganize his ministry. Other members remain in Miami, although that group has struggled to distance itself from Yahweh ben Yahweh and the traditional teachings of racial separatism.

The various Black Hebrew movements had their strongest growth during the 1970s. At that time, their beliefs, a mixture of black pride and black identity, found a ready hearing among urban blacks. With growth, however, came division and turmoil. By the end of the 1990s, most groups had shrunk to only a few hundred members. Strongest in Chicago, they also could be found in Newark, New York, Philadelphia, and a few other major cities.

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Black Muslims

See NATION OF ISLAM.

Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna (1831–1891)

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky is renowned as a cofounder of the Theosophical Society (see THEOSOPHY) and one of America's most controversial mediums, yet relatively little is known about her life. After Blavatsky's death in London in 1891, HENRY STEEL OLCOTT, her closest friend and Theosophical collaborator, admitted that she remained even to him "an insoluble riddle." That admission undoubtedly would have pleased Blavatsky, who went to great lengths to shroud her life in secrecy.

Blavatsky was born to Russian nobles—her father was an army officer and her mother a novelist—in Ekaterinoslav in the Ukraine in 1831. While a teenager, she married Nikifor Blavatsky, a provincial governor of the czar. She left her husband soon thereafter, however, and fled to Constantinople and a life of adventure in 1849. Blavatsky claimed that she spent her next 25 years traveling the world as a pilgrim, sitting at the feet of gurus and undergoing initiations into ancient occult mysteries in, among other places, Tibet.

During her travels, Blavatsky was introduced to SPIRITUALISM and became a medium. While in Cairo in 1871 and 1872, she attempted to launch a Spiritualist society, but she lacked the organizational skills to sustain the following her considerable charisma attracted, and her "Société Spirite" collapsed. In 1873, she moved to New York, where she earned a reputation as a rough-talking, chain-smoking bohemian who ate too much and slept too little. One year later at a spiritualist séance, she teamed up with Olcott, a genteel reformer who would provide Blavatsky with the organizational skills she clearly lacked.

In 1875, Blavatsky and Olcott cofounded the Theosophical Society in New York. Inspired by Blavatsky's conviction that spiritualist phenomena were caused not by mediums passively channeling disembodied spirits of the dead but by adepts whose initiation into ancient mysteries enabled them actively to manipulate occult forces in accordance with occult laws, the Theosophical Society aimed in its early years to investigate those spiritualist phenomena and discover via experiments the occult laws undergirding them. This agenda, along with Blavatsky's first and most influential book, *Isis Unveiled* (1877), attracted elite New Yorkers to endless discussions in her fashionable salon. But the organization itself soon fizzled.

Hopeful that a change in venue would provide the Theosophical Society with new life, Blavatsky set sail with Olcott in 1878

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the charismatic spiritual teacher and cofounder of the Theosophical Society in 1875 in New York City. *(United Lodge of Theosophists)*

for India, where she added to its mission two additional goals: promoting Asian religious traditions over missionary Christianity and constructing one "Universal Brotherhood of Humanity" out of the Babel of sectarian religions. In this work, the Theosophists were inspired, according to Blavatsky, by a secret brotherhood of "Masters" who had been entrusted throughout the ages with conserving and propagating an ancient wisdom tradition that permeated the Hindu and Buddhist scriptures and all other truly Theosophical works.

While in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1880, Blavatsky officially converted to BUDDHISM by promising to take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma (Buddhist teaching), and the Sangha (community of Buddhist monks). She was by her own admission, however, an "esoteric Buddhist" who saw Gautama Buddha as merely one master among many and Buddhism as but one expression of the ancient wisdom.

The greatest crisis in the life of Blavatsky and her society occurred in 1884, when her former friend Emma Coulomb accused her of manufacturing through exceedingly ordinary means ostensibly extraordinary phenomena. After a lengthy investigation, Richard Hodgson of the London-based Society for Psychical Research issued in 1885 what came to be known as the "Hodgson Report." Hodgson claimed in that document that all the spiritual phenomena attributed to Blavatsky and her fellow Theosophists were produced either through fraud or hallucination. Blavatsky, he concluded, was "one of the most accomplished, ingenious, and interesting imposters in history."

After the report was issued, Olcott urged Blavatsky to leave the Theosophical Society's headquarters outside Madras, India. Reluctantly, she moved to London, where she continued to write and to attract followers. She published her most systematic Theosophical work, *The Secret Doctrine*, in 1888 and began her own magazine, *Lucifer*, as an alternative to the Olcott-controlled *Theosophist*.

After her death in 1891, Blavatsky's ashes were scattered in New York, London, and Adyar (near Madras). She left behind an international organization with hundreds of branches on five continents. Today she is revered by Theosophists across the globe, who see her not as an imposter but as one of a handful of modern sages initiated into the ancient mysteries.

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blue laws See SABBATARIANISM.

Boardman, William Edwin See HIGHER CHRISTIAN LIFE MOVEMENT.

Book of Mormon The Book of Mormon is a scripture of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS and other Mormon churches. Published in 1830 by JOSEPH SMITH, JR., the founder of the Mormon movement, the Book of Mormon is viewed by Mormons today as the word of God that fulfills even as it supplements the Bible.

The official title of the book that Mormons accept as "another testament of Jesus Christ" is *The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi*. That account purports to be a translation of gold plates buried in pre-Columbian times on the Hill Cumorah in Manchester, New York. Mormons believe that Smith was led to these gold tablets in 1823 by an angel named Moroni, who came to him in a vision. After taking possession of them in 1837, Smith began to translate the Egyptian-like hieroglyphics, inscribed on the plates.

More a work of history than of doctrine, the Book of Mormon tells the story of Near Eastern peoples who migrated to the "promised land" of America during the Old Testament period and of the appearance of Jesus in the New World following his crucifixion and resurrection. The book chronicles the story of the family of Lehi, a Hebrew prophet who fled Jerusalem shortly before that city was destroyed by the Babylonians in the sixth century B.C.

After crossing the Arabian desert, Lehi's family traversed the Atlantic Ocean by ship. Upon their arrival in the New World, Lehi's descendants tilled the earth, built cities, maintained temples, and followed the laws of Moses. But eventually Lehi's sons split into two antagonistic factions: the civilized Nephites and the barbarous Lamanites. These two groups were reconciled for 200 years after Jesus came to the New World to preach, perform miracles, ordain disciples, and found his church. In the third century, however, they resumed their internecine struggle. Although the Nephites emerged from the battle victorious, both groups were decimated. Some Lamanites survived and are known today as American Indians. The Nephites left behind only a lone prophet, Mormon (hence "Mormonism"), and his son Moroni. It was the sad chronicle of these last Nephites, inscribed on gold tablets in the fourth century, that Smith purportedly discovered in 1823. And it was Moroni himself, in the form of an angel, who led Smith to his discovery.

When Smith's "translation" of the "golden bible" appeared in March 1830, it created an immediate stir. Some of Smith's contemporaries accepted the claim that this new scripture contained "the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ." They saw in Smith the fulfillment of the Book of Mormon prophecy of a "choice seer" named Joseph who would come to restore Israel to its ancient glory. Others, however, denounced Smith as a fraud, his friends as coconspirators, and his followers as dupes and rubes.

Smith's enemies advanced a number of criticisms concerning the Book of Mormon, some of them contradictory. The book, some said, could not be a new divine revelation because large chunks of it were plagiarized from the Bible. Written in the style of the King James Version of the Bible and divided like the Bible into books, chapters, and verses, Smith's text borrowed copiously, they argued, from both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. Others argued, on the other hand, that the Book of Mormon should be rejected because it contradicted the Bible.

They contended, moreover, that the book was riddled with grammatical errors.

Critics found it as difficult to agree about Smith's authorship as they had about the book's relationship to the Bible. Some argued that the largely unlettered Smith could not have written the book, while others claimed Smith's hand in the book's production was far more evident than the hand of God. One critic who found the text to be rife with "Smithisms" was ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, the founder of the Disciples of Christ (see CHRISTIAN CHURCH [DISCIPLES OF CHRIST]). Why, Campbell asked, if the book was written so long ago, did it endeavor to "decide every question" asked by inquiring New Yorkers during the past 10 years? Why did it bear the mark of FREEMASONRY, republican political theory, and romantic nationalism? Why did it contain answers to virtually every theological controversy of the modern period: "infant baptism, ordination, the trinity, regeneration, repentance, justification, the fall of man, the atonement, transubstantiation, fasting, penance, church government, religious experience, the call to the ministry, the general resurrection, eternal punishment," to say nothing of the origins of American Indians?

If Smith's and his followers' responses to these criticisms did not win over critics of Mormonism, they did satisfy early Mormons, who embraced this story of a God who continued to work throughout history to redeem his people from ancient apostasies and who promised to restore in the New World both ancient Israel and the primitive Christian church.

Contemporary Mormons may disagree about how to interpret particularly knotty passages in the Book of Mormon, but they agree that God in all ages speaks to his chosen people in revelations given through prophets. In addition to the Bible ("so far as it is correctly translated") and the Book of Mormon, they recognize two collections of Smith's revelations and translations as divinely inspired scripture. Both those texts—*Doctrine and Covenants* (1835) and *The Pearl of Great Price* (1851)—address doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters on which the largely narrative Book of Mormon is either silent or ambiguous.

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Booth, William See SALVATION ARMY.

Bradford, William (1590–1657) Author of one of the classics of American literature and governor of Plymouth colony for 30 years, William Bradford is one of the best known PILGRIMS. The colony's survival, tenuous as it was, truly owes its existence to Bradford's wisdom and foresight.

Born in March 1590 in Austerfield, England, Bradford fell in with religious dissenters as a youth. At 16, he joined the separatist congregation at Scrooby and soon became a respected member. The congregation suffered increasing persecution from the civil authorities. In order to escape this persecution, Bradford and others migrated to Holland in 1607.

While in Holland, Bradford, like most of his colleagues, worked in the textile industry. By 1619, he had become convinced that no future lay with the little group there. When the *Mayflower* left for America in 1620, he was among the 101 passengers aboard.

The first winter in America was a time of group and personal tragedy for Bradford. His wife fell overboard and drowned in December, and by March nearly half the colony at Plymouth had succumbed to illness and starvation. Among this number was the colony's governor, John Carpenter. Bradford was chosen to succeed him. He would hold this position for 30 years, between 1620 and 1657.

The choice of Bradford was a fortunate one. He developed a good working relationship with Massassoit, the leader of the neighboring Wampanoag, organized the distribution of land and supplies, and administered justice. If any criticism can be laid against him, it is of moderation and forbearance. His patience with troublemakers and toward the cheating and greedy stockholders back in England seems superhuman. Given to leniency, he seemed inclined to suffer others as long as they remained sufferable. Differences in religious and political opinions were less threatening to him than they were to the governor of the younger and larger Massachusetts Bay Colony. Bradford could offer shelter and food to a Jesuit priest who was passing through, and voting at Plymouth was not limited to church members.

Beyond his service to the colony, which was instrumental to its survival, Bradford's importance is due to the tremendous number of writings he left behind at his death (May 9, 1657). His *History of Plymouth Plantation* is the best contemporary source of information about the colony. But Bradford also left journals, poems, and letters that provide a remarkable picture of the Pilgrims' struggle to build a new life in a new land.

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Bradstreet, Anne (1612–1672) Anne Bradstreet, America's first published woman poet and arguably one of its first notable poets of any gender, was born in Northampton, England, to Thomas and Dorothy (nee Yorke) Dudley. Her father was an active and vocal Puritan who had fought in several wars on behalf of the English Protestants. At the time of Anne's birth, he served as the steward of the earl of Lincoln, a position that, along with her mother's social status, provided Anne with educational opportunities exceptional for most women of the time.

Anne was educated at home, first by her father, then by several tutors. Additionally, her father's position as steward of the manor gave her access to the earl's extensive library. Anne's wide reading in the library, along with her familiarity with Greek, Latin, French, and Hebrew, eventually would be reflected in her poetry.

At the age of 16, Anne married Simon Bradstreet, who served as her father's assistant. By this time, Puritans (see Puritanism) such as the Dudleys and Bradstreets found themselves under increasing political and religious pressure. The last years of James I's reign and the early years of his successor, the Catholic sympathizing Charles I, saw a marked increase in the persecution of Puritans. Anne's father was among a leading group of Puritans, including John Winthrop, who had committed themselves to establishing a Puritan colony in North America. When they departed England in March 1630, she and her family were on the *Arabella*, the same ship on which Winthrop sailed.

As was the case for many colonists, Bradstreet was shocked by the primitive conditions that met her in her new home of Salem, Massachusetts Bay Colony. Yet, like her compatriots, she also was committed to making the colony successful. In fact, her family would be among the mainstays of the colony, with both her father and husband serving as governors of the colony.

Despite her position as one of the colony's elite, Bradstreet's life was not easy. She suffered through smallpox and an illness that left her progressively paralyzed in her joints. Eventually, she contracted tuberculosis, to which she succumbed on September 16, 1672, in Andover, Massachusetts. She had eight children, all of whom survived to adulthood, but she would see one daughter and two grandchildren die. At the age of 54, she lost her home and all her possessions in a fire. Additionally, she had to fight many of the cultural conventions of the day that questioned both the intellectual ability of women and the legitimacy of women's activity outside the domestic sphere.

Bradstreet wrote a variety of poems reflecting the religious and moral sentiments of Puritan New England. Many poems spoke deeply of her love for her husband and children, while still others challenged the limits against which she pushed as a female poet in the 17th century. The only collection of Bradstreet's poems published during her lifetime, *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America,* was printed in England in 1642, apparently at the behest of her brother-in-law John Woodbridge and perhaps unbeknownst to Bradstreet. The work, dedicated to her father, sold well in England, although it met with some carping, with many doubting that a woman had written the poems. The collection was reissued with additional poems posthumously in 1678.

Too many modern critics of Bradstreet's poetry show a marked ignorance of Puritan sensibilities. This is unfortunate, because Bradstreet's poetry is deeply rooted in and reflects those sensibilities. Among the Puritan themes she addresses is the struggle to reconcile great personal misfortune with God's grace and love, a theme Bradstreet addressed in many poems, particularly "Verses Upon the Burning of Our House." Other poems, including "The Vanity of All Worldly Things" and "The Flesh and the Spirit," similarly dealt with typical Puritan concerns. Even her love poems, while more personal than those of her male peers, reflect the warmth most Puritans directed toward their spouses and family members. In her poems addressing the status of women, however, Bradstreet pushed hard against the social limits. In some of her poems, this resistance comes across as a personal lament, while in others, such as "In Honour of That High and Mighty Princess Queen Elizabeth," they become much more critical and challenging, as when she wrote:

> *But she, though dead, will vindicate our wrong.*
> *Let such as say our sex is void of reason*
> *Know 'tis a slander now,*
> *but once was treason.*

Although ignored as a writer for nearly three centuries, first because her style was soon displaced by other forms and second because of her gender, Bradstreet began to receive greater attention, first in the 1950s as some scholars began to recover the Puritan heritage of the United States, and then later due to interest by the women's movement. Although, as noted, many critics have attempted to interpret her work with an inadequate or even false sense of the context in which she wrote, the recovery of Anne Bradstreet's poetry is a vivid reminder of the breadth and depth of America's literary heritages and the role religion has played in them.

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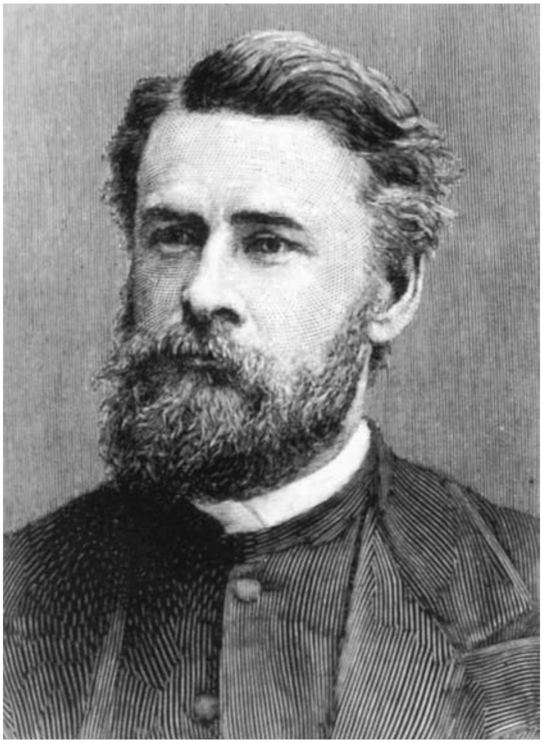
Bresee, Phineas Franklin See CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE.

Briggs, Charles Augustus (1841–1913)
Charles Augustus Briggs was a biblical scholar, a Presbyterian minister, and, at the end of his career, a priest of the Episcopal Church. Briggs played a central role in theological battles that led to the fragmentation of mainline Protes-

tantism into fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) and modernist (see MODERNISM) camps in the late 19th and early 20th century. His 1893 heresy trial, among the most famous in American religious history, reveals the bitter division between opposing definitions of theological and biblical orthodoxy.

Briggs was born in New York City on January 15, 1841. He was educated at the University of Virginia, where, in the midst of a college revival, he was converted to Christ and decided to enter the Presbyterian ministry. After graduating from Virginia in 1860, he studied privately for a brief time. He enlisted and served for three months in the Seventh New York Regiment early in the CIVIL WAR. Returning home in July 1861, Briggs enrolled at Union Theological Seminary in New York. He studied at Union from 1861 to 1863 and abroad at the University of Berlin from 1866 to 1869. In the period between his studies, he managed his family's barrel-making business when ill health forced his father's withdrawal from work. Following his return from Berlin in 1869, Briggs was called as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Roselle, New Jersey. In 1874, Union Seminary in New York City appointed him professor of Hebrew. He served with distinction at Union for nearly four decades.

Although the Old and New School Presbyterian denominations in the North had mended their schism of 1837 and reunited in 1870 as the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the denomination lacked a common theological journal. When the new *Presbyterian Review* was established in 1881, Briggs was nominated to serve as its coeditor with Archibald A. Hodge of Princeton Seminary. Princeton had long represented the doctrinally conservative Old School, and while Briggs himself had been an Old School Presbyterian, Union Seminary was a liberal New School institution.



Charles Augustus Briggs, the foremost Old Testament scholar of his day, was excommunicated from the Presbyterian ministry after a much-publicized heresy trial in New York in the 1890s.

The *Presbyterian Review,* rather than mollifying theological tensions within the denomination, actually exacerbated the differences between traditionalists and progressives. Briggs's advanced views on scriptural interpretation soon came into conflict with the conservative approach to the Bible and to Presbyterian beliefs that the theologians from Princeton represented. Throughout this period, Briggs published articles championing the higher-critical method of scriptural interpretation. Hodge and others, however, argued for the inerrancy of the Bible and the complete trustworthiness of the plain meaning of Scripture, positions that would eventually typify American fundamentalism. After the publication of Briggs's most famous scholarly work, *Whither?* (1889), in which he asserted that divine revelation evolves over time, he came under intense criticism from the denomination's conservative wing. Irreconcilable differences forced the demise of the *Presbyterian Review* by the end of 1889.

Briggs faced an even more formidable controversy in 1891. In his inaugural address on "The Authority of Holy Scripture," delivered when he assumed the chair of biblical studies at Union, Briggs denied both the verbal inspiration of the Bible and the doctrine of inerrancy, the linchpins of conservative teaching on Scripture. Briggs's address led the Presbyterian General Assembly, the highest decision-making body of the denomination, to veto his professorial appointment. He was subsequently tried for heresy and suspended from the ministry in 1893.

The decision against Briggs led Union to renounce its affiliation with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and become an independent seminary. Briggs was thus able to retain his position at Union. The events of 1893 also drastically altered Briggs's denominational loyalties. He withdrew from the Presbyterian Church in 1898, and, attracted to the doctrinal broadness of Anglicanism, he was ordained to the Episcopal ministry in May 1899. Yet Briggs's progressive ideas aroused conflict even in the Episcopal Church. His growing concern for ecumenism, for example, led him to consider a future union of the Christian churches. The desire he stated in 1903 for "the recatholization" of Christianity was criticized by the low-church party within Episcopalianism. Many accused him of wishing to abandon Protestantism altogether for the Roman Catholic Church.

Briggs remained in the Protestant fold for the rest of his life. He wrote more than 20 books, including *Church Unity* (1909), his final contribution to the intellectual and cultural discussions that had occupied his mind since the 1860s. Together with Francis Brown and Samuel R. Driver, he also edited *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1906), which remains in widespread use as a dictionary of biblical studies. Briggs also served as one of the original editors of the prestigious *International Critical Commentary* series.

Briggs retired from academic and ecclesiastical debates in 1910, for he had begun to suffer regular attacks of nervous exhaustion. He died quietly at his residence at Union Seminary on June 8, 1913.

GHS, Jr.

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broadcasting, religious See ELECTRONIC CHURCH.

Brook Farm See TRANSCENDENTALISM.

Brooks, Phillips (1835–1893) Phillips Brooks was an Episcopal clergyman, author of the popular Christmas carol "O Little Town of Bethlehem," and one of the greatest preachers in late 19th-century America. Rector of Trinity Church in the fashionable Back Bay section of Boston, Brooks represented the "broad church" tradition in the Episcopal Church, a blend of theological liberalism and optimism about the human condition.

Brooks was born in Boston on December 13, 1835. He graduated from Harvard College in 1855 and from the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria in 1859. After his ordination in 1859, Brooks served in Philadelphia, first at the Church of the Advent between 1859 and 1862 and then at Holy Trinity Church from 1862 to 1869. In October 1869, Brooks began his lengthy career at Boston's Trinity Church. A few years later, after a terrible fire destroyed large portions of downtown Boston in 1872, Trinity Church relocated to the newly developed Back Bay on land reclaimed from the Charles River marshes. There, Brooks oversaw the construction of a magnificent new building.

Brooks's broad churchmanship and conservative social views well suited his affluent parishioners. "The spirit of man is the candle of God," Brooks repeatedly told his congregation, and he believed in the goodness and nobility of humankind generally. His faith in progress also kept him untroubled by the inequalities of life in the post–Civil War Gilded Age. Although he believed that poverty and suffering among the urban masses were for the most part deserved, he also trusted that social inequalities were simply temporary problems that would one day be dispelled by the natural harmony of God's purposes.

Brooks published a number of volumes of sermons, as well as *Lectures on Preaching* (delivered at Yale in 1877) and a posthumous collection of *Essays and Addresses*. He wrote the words of "O Little Town of Bethlehem" for the Sunday school children at Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, in 1867. Although elected bishop of Massachusetts in 1891, he served in that capacity for only a few months before dying after a short illness on January 23, 1893. Boston was so moved by his untimely passing that every pew in Trinity Church was filled for a memorial observance on the 10th anniversary of Brooks's death.

GHS, Jr.

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Brown, John (1800–1859) John Brown, lauded as a religious martyr and hanged for undertaking an armed insurrection to end slavery, remains one of the more discomforting and least understood characters in U.S. history. Born May 9, 1800, Brown was the second son of Owen and Ruth Brown (nee Mills). Both of his grandfathers had served in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, and his father, a tanner, seems to have been a vocal opponent of slavery. After moving his family to Hudson, Ohio, the elder Brown supported Oberlin Institute (now Oberlin University), which had been founded after a rebellion by the students and faculty of Lane Seminary in Cincinnati who objected to Lane's refusal to take a militant antislavery stance.

At 16, Brown left Ohio and traveled to Plainfield, Massachusetts, and then to Litchfield, Connecticut, for his education. Brown hoped to enter the ministry of the Congregational Church (see CONGREGATIONALISM), but money troubles and a serious eye inflammation forced him to drop out and return home.

Brown married his first wife in 1820, Dianthe Lusk, with whom he had seven children. After her death in 1832, Brown married Mary Ann Day the next year. For the next 35 years, Brown's life reflected much of the social and personal turmoil of the times. He moved several times and, as a business man, went through periods of boom and bust, including a declaration of bankruptcy in 1842. Additionally, Brown experienced the deaths of several of his children, including four in 1843 alone.

During this time, Brown appears to have been involved in antislavery activities and served as a volunteer in the "Underground Railroad" (see HARRIET TUBMAN; SOJOURNER TRUTH). Brown also seems to have believed that abolitionism was a religious imperative. In 1837, while attending a memorial service for the abolitionist journalist Elijah Lovejoy, who had been murdered during an attack on his newspaper, Brown purportedly stood up and proclaimed, "Here before God, in the presence of these witnesses, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery." He spoke of slavery as an offense against God and of slave masters as destined to be punished for their sins against God and humanity. Sometime in the late 1840s, Brown appears to have begun to view himself as the source of God's vengeance on those who enslaved their fellow human beings.

Brown met Frederick Douglass in 1847. Douglass would later write that in this meeting, Brown denounced slavery in language fierce and bitter, and thought that slaveholders had forfeited the right to live—that the slaves had the right to gain their liberty in any way they could. Brown thought that he had no better use for his life than to lay it down in the cause of the slave. During this meeting, Brown also revealed to Douglass his plans for the creation of an armed force dedicated to free the slaves and provide them with a chance to fight for their own freedom. In 1849, Brown moved his family yet again, this time to North Elba, New York. There they joined a community of blacks who were trying to establish new lives on 120,000 acres donated by the wealthy abolitionist Gerrit Smith.

Following the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill (1850), Brown gathered a group of like-minded individuals into the League of Gileadites. All these individuals committed themselves to resisting the efforts of slave catchers to locate and return runaway slaves.

During this time, five of Brown's adult sons had moved to the Kansas Territory. Kansas was in a violent upheaval over the issue of slavery. The passage of the "Kansas-Nebraska Act" (1854) that allowed territories to decide whether to enter the Union either as free or slave states led both pro- and antislavery forces to move arms and men into the territory. By early 1856, Kansas had two legislatures, one the official proslavery territorial government and another Free State legislature based in Lawrence, which had been established as an antislavery town in 1854. At the urging of his sons, Brown went to Kansas in 1855 and began to organize the free state forces, with little success.

In April 1856, a sheriff was killed in Lawrence during an attempt to arrest some of the free state legislators. In response, the federal marshal declared the town in rebellion and on May 21 led a posse of nearly 750 in an attack on the town. While there were no casualties (the free staters refused to fight back), the town itself was leveled. Brown heard the news just shortly before he was informed that Senator Charles Graham Sumner, a leading antislavery advocate, had been beaten nearly to death on the U.S. Senate floor by Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina. Upon absorbing both of these blows, Brown reportedly retreated into the woods to pray. When he returned to the house, he ordered his men to sharpen their swords and, placing a revolver in his belt, led them to a proslavery settlement. Once there, Brown and his party dragged five men from their houses and hacked four of them to death. Brown himself, apparently, shot the fifth.

The result of the Pottawatomie Massacre, as it became known, was all-out war between the pro- and antislavery forces. The Browns compound was attacked and burned to the ground, and two of his sons were ambushed and wounded. Brown would later lead the successful defense of Palmyra against an attack by a proslavery militia and with 30 men undertook an unsuccessful defense of Osawatomie against a force of more than 250, during which his son Frederick was killed.

Brown's defense of Osawatomie made him a hero among the abolitionist forces (and even became the subject for a Broadway play), and for the next two years he traveled across the country to raise money and collect arms for the antislavery forces in Kansas. Brown also came to the notice of several leading U.S. intellectuals and writers, including RALPH WALDO EMERSON and HENRY DAVID THOREAU. He spoke before throngs of individuals, and in a meeting in Massachusetts he proclaimed, The two most sacred documents in the world are the Bible and the Declaration of Independence. It is better that a whole generation of men, women and children pass away by a violent death than that a word of either should be violated."

Brown also met the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison during this time. The two men represented radically different approaches to abolitionism. Garrison believed in moral suasion, human perfectibility, and a God of mercy. Brown represented a different and growing wing. For Brown, moral suasion was insufficient, God punished sinners and avenged the weak, and Brown increasingly saw himself as God's avenging angel.

During this time, Brown also met secretly with six leading New England gentlemen, including THEODORE PARKER, Gerrit Smith, the Unitarian minister Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe (the husband of JULIA WARD HOWE). These men would provide the logistical and financial support for what became Brown's final assault on slavery, the attack on the federal armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia).

On October 16, 1859, John Brown and a group of 21 confederates, including three of his sons, attacked the armory. At first, everything went well, but the attack soon began to collapse. Rather than being joined by a stream of runaway slaves eager to join the rebellion, Brown found himself surrounded by local farmers, townspeople, and, finally, a contingent of marines led by a young army colonel named Robert E. Lee. Brown refused the demand that he surrender (just as he earlier had refused to escape from the armory). His trial would become a challenge to slavery.

During his imprisonment and trial, Brown found a level of success that had previously eluded him. Interviews with the press spread his words not only across the country but across the world. In an appeal for Brown's life, the French author Victor Hugo wrote, "A white man, a free man, John Brown, sought to deliver these negro slaves from bondage. Assuredly, if insurrection is ever a sacred duty, it must be when it is directed against Slavery. John Brown endeavored to commence the work of emancipation by the liberation of slaves in Virginia. Pious, austere, animated with the old Puritan spirit, inspired by the spirit of the Gospel, he sounded to these men, these oppressed brothers, the rallying cry of Freedom."

Brown himself, in his closing statement at his trial, proclaimed, This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf of His despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments—I submit; so let it be done! Despite his eloquence, Brown was sentenced to be hanged. The sentence was carried out on December 2, 1859. The future Confederate general Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, who commanded the guard at Brown's execution, wrote to his wife that Brown "behaved with unflinching firmness." Farther north, Henry David Thoreau reflected on the execution, "Some 1800 years ago, Christ was crucified. This morning, Captain Brown was hung. He is not Old Brown any longer; he is an angel of light." In 16 months, the CIVIL WAR would start.

John Brown soon ceased to be a real person. Depending on one's perspective, he either was a monstrous and murderous madman or one who recognized a monstrous evil and acted to eradicate it. Union soldiers would go into battle singing of John Brown. What is clear is that Brown believed slavery to be an offense against God that he was called to act against. He declared God had put the sword in his hands and, when God saw fit, took it away. For Brown, God's punishment on the sinful nation would not come from him but lay in the future.

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Brownson, Orestes Augustus (1803–1876)

One of the most colorful figures in both American intellectual and Catholic history, Orestes Brownson was a religious and philosophical seeker who finally found a home in ROMAN CATHOLICISM. A controversialist by nature and a journalist by trade, Brownson's acerbic wit, independent mind, and willingness to follow his thoughts wherever they led made him enemies in all camps.

Born in Stockbridge, Vermont, on September 16, 1803, his father's early death interrupted his formal education. Brownson was, however, an avid reader with a particular interest in religious and political questions. Searching for spiritual stability, he joined the Presbyterian Church (see PRESBYTERIANISM) in 1822. Disgusted with the doctrines of election and eternal damnation, he left two years later, becoming a Universalist (see UNIVERSALISM.)

Although ordained a Universalist minister in 1827 and editor of the denomination's *Gospel Advocate*, the intellectual views that originally led him to reject Presbyterianism drove him ever further toward radical humanism. Breaking with organized religion, he became an itinerant preacher until contact with the English freethinker Fanny Wright turned him toward ATHEISM and radical politics. During this period, Brownson joined an Owenite community in New York and edited the Owenite paper *Free Enquirer* (see OWEN, ROBERT DALE). He also served as an organizer of the Workingmen's Party and was a fervent socialist.

Beginning to doubt the wisdom of political action that set workers against capitalists, Brownson left the party. Estranged from organized religion intellectually and politically, Brownson embarked on another period as an independent preacher. As he did during all of his various passions, Brownson founded a newspaper, *The Philanthropist*, in whose pages he preached his religion of humanity.

During this time, Brownson fell under the influence of WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, viewing Channing's liberal Unitarianism and politics as consonant with his own views. Ordained a Unitarian minister, Brownson held pulpits in Walpole, New Hampshire (1832–34), and Canton, Massachusetts (1834–36), until he grew disillusioned with the cold rationality and materialism of Unitarianism.

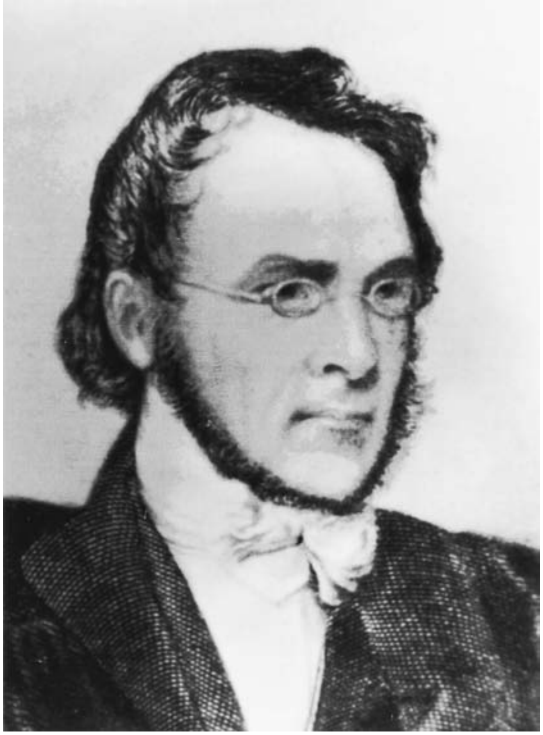
At this time, Brownson followed many other "post-Unitarians" into the transcendentalist movement (see TRANSCENDENTALISM). Although suspicious of transcendentalism's individualism and its tendency to identify God with nature, Brownson found a congenial home among those who viewed external authority with suspicion and affirmed the universal possession of what Brownson called spontaneous reason—an intuitive knowledge of God. Increasingly interested in community, Brownson was attracted to the socialism of the French thinker Henri de St. Simon and its demand for a cooperative society.

To spread these ideas he founded the *Boston Quarterly Review* (1838), in which he attacked inherited wealth, industrialism, wage labor, Christianity, and democracy and called for the abolition of all penal codes. The *Review* gained a wide audience for Brownson's views, and he quickly became a notorious figure. Following a merger of the *Review* with the *Democratic Review,* editorial disagreements with the new owners resulted in Brownson's resignation.

Brownson's concern with community and with locating the source of moral authority led him to look favorably upon the corporate model of the Roman Catholic Church as providing the most tangible means of divine communion and human community. Placing himself under the guidance of the coadjutor bishop of Boston, John Bernard Fitzpatrick, Brownson undertook the instruction necessary to become a Roman Catholic, receiving Communion on October 20, 1844. His period of religious questing was over, and Brownson would live the remainder of his days within the Church.

Although his religious searching ended, Brownson remained a controversial figure. His new journal, *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* took up the defense of Roman Catholicism and promptly lost readers throughout the country as he vigorously defended Roman Catholic orthodoxy and consigned all those outside the Church to hell, including his old comrades in arms. His spirited defense of Catholicism earned him official approbation from the U.S. Catholic bishops in 1849 and a letter of thanks from Pius IX in 1854. Brownson's erudition also led to an invitation from John Henry Newman to join the faculty of the new Catholic University of Dublin.

Brownson's orthodox views soon faded, and he became a strong advocate for a positive role for American culture in the Catholic Church. He advocated church-state separation and liberal democracy, while attacking parochial schools, Irish immigrants, Jesuits, and the temporal power of the popes. Such attacks cost him his Catholic audience and the support of the hierarchy. In 1865, he suspended publication of the *Review* due to ecclesiastical opposition. Although he revived the journal in 1872 with spirited defenses of papal infallibility and authority, Brownson was viewed with suspicion by his coreligionists who, like others before them, wondered about the stability of his mind. Bitter and disappointed, he died in Detroit on April 17, 1876. Seven years later he received the honors he undoubtedly deserved when his remains were reinterred in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart at the University of Notre Dame.



Orestes Augustus Brownson, famed 19th-century transcendentalist who became a convert and leading spokesperson for American Catholicism. *(Engraving by Alexander L. Dick)*

Although the meanderings of his mind and spirit led many to dismiss him as a crank, Brownson exerted a significant influence on 19th-century American life. Religiously, he was among the first to argue publicly for the compatibility of American society with Roman Catholicism, and, along with his fellow convert Isaac Hecker, he was influential in formulating an American Catholicism. Equally significant is the fact that *Brownson's Quarterly Review* was not only the center of Roman Catholic intellectual currents but a center for political and social thought beyond Catholic concerns.

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Bryan, William Jennings (1860–1925)

William Jennings Bryan was the leading spokesman for American FUNDAMENTALISM in the early 20th century and a three-time candidate for the United States presidency. Although best known today for his opposition to the teaching of evolution in the public schools, Bryan was one of the country's leading political liberals and the only pacifist secretary of state.

Bryan was born in Salem, Illinois, on March 19, 1860. He graduated from Illinois College in 1881. After his graduation from Union Law College in Chicago and admission to the bar in 1883, he practiced law in Illinois and Nebraska. A Democratic politician, Bryan held national office for the first time in 1891 when elected to serve as a congressman from Nebraska. Known as "the Great Commoner" because of his midwestern, agrarian roots, Bryan was nominated on three occasions (1896, 1900, and 1908) as the Democratic candidate for president. He lost all three times, however, and the election results revealed the limits of his national appeal. In 1896, he won 49 percent of the popular vote but did not carry a single state outside the South or east of the Mississippi River.

Bryan approached politics with the fervor of a moral reformer, and his greatest speeches had a decidedly religious, almost revivalistic, tone. His "cross of gold" speech at the 1896 Democratic convention, for example, won him tremendous support and soon became the most celebrated political oration since Lincoln's second inaugural address. "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns," he shouted that day. "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." Bryan spoke passionately on behalf of accepting silver as equal in value to gold as the basis of the national currency, a reform favored by the populist forces he represented but opposed by Republican bankers and businessmen in the East, who advocated the gold standard.

In 1912, the American people finally turned to the Democratic Party for a president. Bryan's support was crucial to Woodrow Wilson's election that year. He was rewarded with appointment as Wilson's secretary of state. Yet because of his continuing commitment to the ideals of Christian pacifism, a position typical of his geographic and religious background, the advent of World War I in Europe brought him into opposition to the policies of the Wilson administration. Troubled by protests over Germany's sinking of the *Lusitania* and fearing eventual American participation in the war, Bryan chose to resign his position in June 1915 rather than compromise his beliefs.

The final years of Bryan's life and career reveal similar conflict between the narrow conservatism of his religious views and the necessity for compromise characteristic of American politics. Always a temperance advocate, for instance, Bryan threw himself into the campaign for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. Following the congressional elections of 1916, he played an important role in the eventual passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, which together outlawed the sale and manufacture of liquor after January 1920. In the same period, however, the center of the American population was shifting away from the Protestant rural and agrarian areas that favored Prohibition and toward "wet" urban areas. The 1920 census showed that for the first time most Americans lived in cities—a death knell for the short-lived reform Bryan had championed.

In the early 1920s, Bryan attacked the growing modernist (see MODERNISM) emphasis within American churches and accused liberal Protestants of undermining both traditional morality and civilization itself. He believed that the doctrine of EVOLUTION weakened the trust men and women once placed in God.

Bryan also feared Darwinism's social implications, feeling that the idea of survival of the fittest would lead to greater oppression and war. This position became solidified following interviews with World War I German P.O.W.s who repeatedly spoke in such terms. Championing theological views that soon bore the label "fundamentalist," Bryan campaigned against the teaching of that scientific theory in the nation's schools. Hoping to duplicate the success conservatives had enjoyed in passing prohibition laws, Bryan encouraged the movement in several southern state legislatures to ban instruction about biological evolution.

As a consequence of this antievolution crusade, Bryan headed the prosecution against John Scopes, a young biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, charged in 1925 with teaching evolution, thus violating a new state law. Scopes was defended by Clarence Darrow, a sophisticated lawyer and well-known religious agnostic, who made Bryan look like an ignorant fool. While Bryan believed it was better "to trust the Rock of Ages than to know the ages of rocks," Darrow forced his opponent to admit that no reputable modern scientist shared his views. Although Bryan actually won a conviction of Scopes on narrow legal grounds, the fundamentalist position became thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the national press who covered the trial.

Bryan himself not only was embarrassed by the trial but also was physically broken by the experience. He never left the trial site in Dayton and died on July 26, 1925, a few days after the announcement of the verdict.

GHS, Jr.

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Buchman, Frank Nathan Daniel (1878–1961) Frank Buchman was a Lutheran pastor and the founder of Moral Re-Armament, a movement created to prevent war through the promotion of a worldwide spiritual awakening. Buchman stressed the need for human beings to surrender their individual wills to the will of God. Using small gatherings, or "house parties," where influential people might be converted to his moral vision, Buchman hoped to lay the foundation of a new social order under God's rule.

Born in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, on June 4, 1878, Buchman graduated from Muhlenberg College in 1899 and studied at Mt. Airy Seminary from 1899 to 1902. He served as a Lutheran minister in Overbrook, Pennsylvania, between 1902 and 1905 and then directed the first Lutheran settlement house in Philadelphia from 1905 to 1909. Following a trip to Europe in 1908, Buchman became convinced that religious experience could change the way people behaved. Buchman felt called to become an evangelist of the nonsectarian gospel he discovered and to disseminate his spiritual and psychological insights as widely as possible.

Following service, first, as the secretary of the YMCA at Pennsylvania State College and, later, as a lecturer on evangelism at Hartford Seminary, Buchman arrived at Oxford University in 1921 and launched the movement to which he devoted the rest of his life. Known originally as the First Century Christian Fellowship or the Oxford Group movement, Buchman's organization employed small, informal gatherings as a means of persuading participants to change their lives. At the house parties he arranged, Buchman used his "Five C's" (confidence, conviction, confession, conversion, and continuance) to bring people to a "God-guided" life under the "Four Absolutes" (honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love). The Oxford Group movement attracted worldwide attention during the 1930s, when Queen Mary of Romania was numbered among its many notable patrons. Renamed Moral Re-Armament in 1938, the organization was dedicated to achieving personal, social, racial, national, and international change.

Moral Re-Armament soon lost much of its early spiritual vigor. Eager to attract intellectuals, the wealthy, and world leaders who could aid his goals, Buchman appeared to forget the original popular base on which his movement was built. His emphasis on international peace, moreover, fell into disrepute after war broke out in Europe in 1939. Adamantly opposed to communism and sympathetic to fascism, Moral Re-Armament adopted a prewar policy of appeasement that later was viewed as controversial. Buchman declared in 1936, for example, that he viewed the rise of Adolf Hitler as a heaven-sent opportunity to build "a front line of defense against the Anti-Christ of Communism." Only the patriotic efforts of many Moral Re-Armament members in assisting the war effort against Germany and Japan helped restore Buchman's group to favor in the public eye.

Buchman's health deteriorated in the 1950s, and he was unable to prevent his movement from again declining in influence. He died abroad at Freudenstadt, Germany, on August 7, 1961. Although Moral Re-Armament remains active today, it has never regained the prestige it possessed during its heyday in the 1920s and 1930s. Its popular "Up with People" program folded in 2001.

GHS, Jr.

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Buddhism Buddhism, one of the world's major religious traditions, exists in three major forms. The Theravada ("Way of the Elders") tradition is the oldest and most traditional. It emphasizes monasticism and is widespread in Southeast Asia. The Mahayana ("Great Vehicle") form predominates in East Asian countries such as China and Japan. It provides a more important role for the laity. The third major form is the Vajrayana ("Diamond Vehicle") path of Tibet. This tradition, which has been popularized in the West in recent years by the DALAI LAMA, integrates elements of the esoteric Tantric path of Hinduism into Buddhist practice.

In the United States, there are at least two distinct histories of the Buddhist tradition: the story of the Buddhism of Asian immigrants and their descendants and the story of the Buddhist interests of non–Asian-American sympathizers and adherents. The first story includes the transplantation to the United States of all three major forms of Buddhism by immigrants from Asia. The second story ranges from the interest in Buddhism demonstrated by Unitarians and transcendentalists in the mid-19th century to the more recent Buddhist explorations of the Beat Generation (see BEAT MOVEMENT) and the hip-hop group the Beastie Boys.

The first Asians in the United States came from China to the West Coast around the time of the gold rush of 1849. In 1853, the first Chinese temple in America was built in San Francisco's Chinatown. By the end of the 19th century, there were 400 such shrines on the West Coast. These syncretistic temples enshrined a number of popular folk deities of China and made room not only for Buddhism but also for TAOISM and Confucianism. Chinese immigration declined precipitously after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and remained minute until the law's repeal in 1943. Many of the original temples closed for lack of patrons, and a number of less syncretistic Chinese Buddhist temples arose in their stead.

In the postwar period, new immigrants from China established Chinese Buddhist temples in major U.S. cities. Among the more influential are two in San Francisco: Buddha's Universal Church, established in 1963, which caters primarily to Chinese Americans, and the Sino-American Buddhist Association's Gold Mountain Dhyana Monastery, established in 1972, whose membership is primarily Caucasian. The largest Buddhist monastery in the Western Hemisphere, HSI LAI TEMPLE in Hacienda Heights, California, outside Los Angeles, is also of Chinese origin.

Although Chinese Buddhist arrived in America first, Japanese Buddhists and their descendants have made the greatest mark on American Buddhism. The two largest Buddhist groups in Japan—Jodo Shinshu and Nichiren—are probably the two largest in the United States as well. Founded by the Japanese reformer Shinran (1173–1262), Jodo Shinshu, or "True Pure Land" Buddhism, emphasizes the recitation of the name of Amida, the Buddha of "Infinite Light." Faith in the saving grace of Amida Buddha is thought by Jodo Shinshu practitioners to assure one rebirth in a heavenly realm known as the "Pure Land." Nichiren Buddhism originated with a contemporary of Shinran named Nichiren (1222–82). Nichiren Buddhists view the Lotus Sutra as the epitome of Buddhist teaching and emphasize their own recitation: "Hail to the Wonderful Truth of the Lotus Sutra." Nichiren Buddhists have traditionally distinguished themselves from most other Japanese Buddhists by their proselytizing zeal and their unusual intolerance toward other faiths, although both those characteristics are moderating in contemporary times.

The first Buddhist missionary to what was then the Kingdom of Hawaii was a Jodo Shinshu Buddhist from Japan. After landing in Honolulu in 1889, he founded Hawaii's first Buddhist temple. The earliest Buddhist missionaries to the continental United States were also Jodo Shinshu adherents from Japan. In 1898 in San Francisco, these men established the first Buddhist temple in the United States. They also founded, after the model of the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, a Young Men's Buddhist Association. One year later Jodo Shinshu priests established the Buddhist Mission of North America (BMNA).

This organization, which would change its name to the BUDDHIST CHURCHES OF AMERICA (BCA) in 1944, is currently America's second-largest Buddhist organization, with 61 temples and roughly 17,000 members. Though the BCA consists almost entirely of Japanese Americans, it has nonetheless been considerably "Americanized" and "Protestantized." Worship services incorporate hymns, organs, and sermons. Temples are furnished with pews and pulpits as well as educational wings for Sunday schools.

The largest Buddhist organization in the United States is likely SOKA GAKKAI INTERNATIONAL-USA (SGI-USA). An outgrowth of the Soka Gakkai movement, a nationalistic lay organization within Nichiren Shoshu ("Pure Nichiren"), this organization came to the United States originally as the Nichiren Shoshu Academy, established in California in 1960. In 1991, however, longstanding tensions between priests and laypeople led to a split in the movement. Today SGI-USA runs approximately 70 community centers and claims 100,000 to 300,000 members. The priestly group, now called Nichiren Shoshu of America, controls six temples in the United States, and its membership is considerably smaller.

Like Nichiren Buddhists in Japan, members of both groups orient their spiritual lives around the Daimoku, a chant that invokes the name of their favored scripture, the Lotus Sutra. SGI-USA originally recruited mostly Japanese Americans but now is composed predominantly of non-Asian converts, with a high percentage of blacks and Hispanics.

European-American interest in Buddhism antedates the immigration of significant numbers of Asian Buddhists to the United States. American interest in Buddhism began, like American trade with India and China, in the late 18th century. While many traveler and missionary accounts presented "Orientals" and their religions as barbaric, books such as Hannah Adams's *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects* (1784) and Joseph Priestley's *A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with Those of the Hindoos and Other Nations* (1799) represented Asian religions in a relatively sympathetic light. Both, however, seemed at a loss to distinguish Buddhism from Hinduism, and both in the end cast their vote for Christianity.

Thanks to the emergence of Buddhist studies in Europe and TRANSCENDENTALISM in New England, more cosmopolitan Americans began in the mid-19th century to distinguish between Buddhism and other "heathen" religions. In 1844, these two strands came together when the Transcendentalist HENRY DAVID THOREAU published in the *Dial* an English translation of a French version of the Lotus Sutra by the pioneering Buddhologist Eugene Burnouf. RALPH WALDO EMERSON, another Transcendentalist, also evinced a broad interest in the Orient, but he knew far more about Hinduism than Buddhism.

Despite the efforts of these authors, Buddhism remained largely unknown until the publication of Sir Edwin Arnold's poetic life of the Buddha, *Light of Asia* (1879), helped to touch off a Buddhist vogue in Gilded Age America. During this period, American sympathizers and adherents actually traveled to Asia and reported on their experiences back home.

One influential group of American intellectuals took advantage of Commodore Perry's forced opening of Japan in 1853 by sailing for Japan to learn about Buddhism firsthand. This group included art historian Ernest Fenollosa, Harvard-trained medical doctor William Sturgis Bigelow, and journalist Lafcadio Hearn. Fenollosa and Bigelow officially converted to Buddhism in a Tendai Buddhist ceremony in 1885. Hearn, who took a Japanese name, Japanese citizenship, and a Japanese wife, never formally converted to Buddhism.

A second group that helped to popularize Buddhism in America in the Gilded Age were the Theosophists (see THEOSOPHY). In 1878, HENRY STEEL OLCOTT and HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY, who had cofounded the Theosophical Society in New York in 1875, moved themselves and their society to India. There they became harsh critics of missionary Christianity and equally spirited defenders of Asian religious traditions. In 1880, during a trip to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Olcott and Blavatsky (Russian-born but a recently naturalized U.S. citizen) became the first non-Asian Americans formally and officially to convert to Buddhism overseas. Olcott subsequently published a *Buddhist Catechism* (1881) and became a major contributor to a revival of Sinhalese Buddhism on the island.

Although the Theosophists did much to popularize Buddhism in America, it was the arrival of Buddhist missionaries from Asia at the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS that catalyzed 19th-century American interest in Buddhism. During the parliament, convened in conjunction with the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, Buddhists from Japan and Ceylon represented their own tradition for the first time to an American audience. Soyen Shaku, a ZEN master from Japan, outlined the principles and practices of the Rinzai Zen tradition, while ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA, a Theravada Buddhist and Theosophist from

Ceylon, presented his own brand of Theosophical Buddhism. In the midst of the parliament, a Jewish man named C. T. Strauss became the first non-Asian American publicly to convert to Buddhism in the United States.

After the World's Parliament, a disciple of Soyen Shaku named DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI moved to the United States in an effort to promote Zen. He lectured at American universities and translated books and articles for Paul Carus, the editor at Open Court Publishing Company. Under Suzuki's tutelage, Mrs. Alexander Russell became the first European American formally to study Zen.

Suzuki's efforts bore fruit in the 1950s, when Beat authors like Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, inspired by Suzuki's lectures at Columbia University, began to champion Zen in bohemian circles in New York and San Francisco. Of all the Beats, however, the most serious student of Buddhism was undoubtedly the poet Gary Snyder, who like Fenollosa, Bigelow, and Hearn a century earlier, actually traveled to Japan, in his case to study Zen. Although ALAN WATTS, another Zen popularizer, would eventually dismiss "beat Zen" as "phony Zen," the Beats contributed importantly to America's second Buddhist vogue, which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s.

During those two decades, Zen centers opened in cities from Los Angeles to Rochester, New York, as Americans of many faiths introduced themselves to Zen. Among the more serious students of Zen in this period was the Roman Catholic monk THOMAS MERTON, who attempted to integrate Zen practices and insights into his spiritual life.

The newest form of Buddhism on the American scene is the Vajrayana ("Diamond Vehicle") Buddhism of Tibet. Vajrayana Buddhists distinguish themselves from practitioners of Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism by vowing to rely not only on the traditional "three refuges"—the Buddha, the Dharma (Buddhist teaching), and the Sangha (community of Buddhists)—but also on a fourth refuge, the guru. A guru is necessary in the Vajrayana tradition because the tantric practices employed as a means to enlightenment—chanting, prostrations, meditation, and so on—are said to be both difficult and dangerous. Tibetan Buddhists also look to a series of Dalai Lamas as their spiritual and political leaders. The 14th and most recent Dalai Lama, His Holiness Tenzin Gyatso, has made frequent trips to the United States, and almost single-handedly prompted a third Buddhist vogue. During the 1990s, Hollywood produced three feature films about Tibetan Buddhism (*Little Buddha, Seven Years in Tibet,* and *Kundun*), and celebrities such as Adam Yauch of the Beastie Boys embraced both Tibetan Buddhism and the campaign to free Tibet from Chinese rule. In 1997, *Time* magazine ran a cover story on "America's Fascination with Buddhism."

Tibetan Buddhists first came to the United States in the wake of China's invasion of Tibet in the 1950s. Since that time, all four major forms of Tibetan Buddhism have transplanted themselves onto American soil. Of the Tibetan missionaries to the United States, the most important are Tarthang Tulku and CHOGYAM TRUNGPA.

A monk of the Nyingmapa sect, Tarthang Tulku, was one of the first Tibetans to enter the United States. Shortly after his arrival in Berkeley, California, in 1969, he founded the Tibetan Nyingma Meditation Center, the first Tibetan Buddhist organization in the country. Chogyam Trungpa, a Kargyudpa monk, came to America in 1970. After settling in Boulder, Colorado, he established a series of Dharmadhatus, or meditation centers, in cities across America. In 1973, the year of the publication of his widely read book *Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism,* Trungpa gathered his Dharmadhatu centers into a national organization called Vajradhatu. Both Tarthang Tulku and Chogyam Trungpa also established educational institutions to complement their meditation centers. Tarthang's Nyingma Institute opened its doors in Berkeley in 1973, while

Trungpa's Boulder-based Naropa Institute first offered courses in 1974.

Tibetan Buddhism is practiced not only by Tibetan refugees but also by European Americans. Among the most important non-Tibetan practitioners of Vajrayana Buddhism is Robert Thurman, the first American ordained as a Tibetan Buddhist monk. Thurman, who earned a Ph.D. in Buddhist studies from Harvard University and has taught at Columbia University, is one important representative of a new generation of Tibetan Buddhists in America who are also Buddhist scholars. In 1997, *Time* named him one of the 25 most influential Americans.

An interesting recent development in American Buddhism is the emergence of a generation of American-born Buddhist leaders beginning in the 1970s. While some of those leaders, like Thurman, devoted themselves primarily to teaching in secular universities, others established Buddhist institutes or meditation centers. Among those American-born innovators are Joseph Goldstein, Jack Kornfield, Jacqueline Schwartz, and Sharon Salzberg, who together established the Insight Meditation Society at a former Catholic seminary in Barre, Massachusetts, in 1975.

One of the most vexing problems facing all American Buddhists is whether and to what extent they should accommodate the Buddhist tradition to American circumstances. This problem is compounded by the fact that while some Americans seem to have been attracted to Buddhism by its commonalities with Christianity and American culture, others seem to have come to Buddhism through the COUNTERCULTURE.

Solutions by American Buddhists to the problem of acculturation and assimilation are varied and complex. On the one hand, Theravada monks from Sri Lanka who emigrated to the United States to run the Buddhist Vihara Society (established in 1966) in Washington, D.C., have insisted that Buddhism remain a tradition of monks who have withdrawn from the world in order to practice meditation and, ultimately, achieve nirvana. These monks have made few accommodations to American circumstances and have, as a result, attracted few members. An earlier attempt at a monastic order of celibates, the Followers of Buddha, was founded in 1934 by Dwight Goddard, a former missionary to China and the author of the widely read *Buddhist Bible.* But this experiment was too anticultural for most Americans and quickly folded.

The list of American Buddhists who have self-consciously adapted their tradition to American soil is much longer. One leading advocate for "Americanizing" Buddhism is Philip Kapleau. Drawn to Zen by a D. T. Suzuki lecture in 1951, Kapleau moved to Japan in 1953 to study Zen. He returned to the United States in 1966 and established in Rochester, New York, the Zen Meditation Center. Noting that Zen was "Japanized" when it moved from China to Japan, Kapleau has worked eagerly and self-consciously to "Americanize" Zen by urging his students, for example, to chant Buddhist sutras in English and to wear comfortable Western clothes during sitting meditation.

Perhaps the most significant transformation that Buddhism has undergone in the United States is its "feminization." There is much truth to Gary Snyder's observation that "the single most revolutionary aspect of Buddhist practice in the United States is the fact that women are participating in it." In Theravada Buddhist countries in South Asia, Buddhism is almost exclusively an affair of celibate male monks. Even in Mahayana Buddhist countries, which carve out a place within the tradition for lay practitioners, women are typically seen as inferior beings who must be transformed magically into men before they can become bodhisattvas, or "enlightenment beings." In the United States, however, approximately half of Buddhist practitioners are women, and many Buddhist groups have female leaders.

Buddhism in America is now almost as diverse as Buddhism in Asia, so it is difficult to generalize about some generic American Buddhism. America's Buddhisms do seem, however, to be for the most part in continuity with a broader Mahayana trend away from a tradition of celibate male monks who have renounced the world and toward a tradition of male and female lay practitioners actively engaged in the public sphere.

Approximations of the total number of American Buddhists vary from about 1 million to 5 million. There is widespread consensus, however, that Buddhism is one of the country's fastest-growing religions. Scholars also agree that the vast majority of American Buddhists are Asian Americans. Of the 1,500 or so Buddhist centers in the United States, only about 2 percent were established before the new immigration boom began in 1965.

While Buddhism is clearly new to the United States, the country has already become an important Buddhist nation. Thanks to the old immigration from China and Japan and new immigration from Thailand, Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam, and Taiwan, the United States now offers a wider range of Buddhist beliefs and practices than any place in the world.

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Buddhist Churches of America The Buddhist Churches of America (BCA), the nation's oldest Buddhist group, is a New World manifestation of Jodo Shinshu, or "True Pure Land" BUDDHISM. Jodo Shinshu traces its roots to the 13th-century Japanese Buddhist reformer Shinran and so is popularly known as Shin Buddhism. In the United States, as in Japan, members of that school recite the name of Amida Buddha with the faith that the saving grace of this Buddha of "Infinite Light" will secure their rebirth in the "Pure Land."

Buddhism first came to America with Chinese and Japanese immigrants during the 19th century. In San Francisco in 1899, two True Pure Land missionaries sent by a Jodo Shinshu school known as Honpa Hongwanji founded what was then called the Buddhist Mission of North America (BMNA). As the organization spread across the West Coast, it attracted mostly Japanese Americans. However, in keeping with the Westernization mandate of the Meiji Restoration in Japan, it pursued a policy of warding off anti-Japanese nativism by creatively adapting Buddhism to modern culture.

One BMNA member who facilitated this process was Julius Goldwater. The first European-American priest of Jodo Shinshu, Goldwater had converted to Buddhism after meeting ERNEST HUNT, one of Hawaii's leading Jodo Shinshu Buddhists and himself an eager Americanizer of Buddhism. As a minister in the main BMNA temple in Los Angeles, Goldwater conducted English-language services, taught Sunday school, organized youth groups, and officiated at funerals and weddings.

During World War II, roughly 120,000 Japanese Americans, including virtually all BMNA members and most of its priests, were

Asian immigration to California has led to Buddhism's growth and distinctive places of worship, such as Shensin Temple, Los Angeles. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)*

forcibly relocated to internment camps. Goldwater worked hard to provide liturgical and devotional materials for Buddhists imprisoned in the camps. He founded an interdenominational publication and distribution society called the Buddhist Brotherhood of America, which published and distributed a liturgical manual for camp use. This liturgical manual incorporated Protestant liturgical and hymnodic forms into Buddhist services. Members affirmed Goldwater's anglicizations and Protestantizations of their tradition, at least semantically, when they renamed their organization the Buddhist Churches of America in 1944.

After World War II, the organization continued to adapt itself to American culture. Following the example of the GIDEONS, the Buddhist Promoting Foundation (established in 1965) has placed more than 300,000 copies of *Teachings of Buddha* in hotel rooms across the country. The organization publishes periodicals in both Japanese (*Horin*) and English (*Wheel of Dharma*). The BCA also moved into higher education, establishing the Institute of Buddhist Studies (IBS) in Berkeley in 1966. The IBS is now affiliated with the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California. During the 1980s and 1990s, the BCA began to make its presence known in the public sphere of politics, weighing in for multicultural education and against school prayer.

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, membership in the BCA remained fairly stagnant, with about 17,000 adult members in 61 temples throughout the United States. Many of these members are now aging, and some older temples, such as the one in Oakland, have closed, although there have been new temples opening, particularly in retirement communities such as Phoenix, Arizona.

Now more than a century old, the BCA struggles to retain its American-born members. It continues, however, to provide its older members with a community that links them with their ancestral homeland of Japan even as it aids their descendants' full participation in American society.

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Burned-Over District A popular 19th-century designation for the region of upstate New York west of the Catskill Mountains and south of the Adirondacks, the term *burned-over* referred specifically to the effects of evangelical revivals (see REVIVALISM) on this area between 1800 and 1850. First used by the itinerant preacher CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY (1792–1875) as a term of derision to describe the harmful effects of Methodist preaching on the local population, the phrase came into wider use to indicate the analogy between the sweeping and recurrent effects of western forest fires and the burning "fires of the soul" that accompanied seasons of revival.

After 1790, increasing numbers of New Englanders seeking better soil and more land moved across the Appalachian Mountains into new settlements in the fertile valleys of the Genesee country. At the same time, a smaller migration moved northward up the Susquehanna River from Pennsylvania. In the 1820s, the construction of the Erie Canal lured more settlers, including significant numbers of foreign immigrants, to the area. Coinciding with this rapid movement were a series of evangelical revivals collectively known as the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, events sponsored by traveling preachers with the support of local churches, in which large numbers of people were converted to Protestant evangelicalism. Although the Second Great Awakening affected settlers in other parts of the nation as well, its effects on the newly established settlements of western New York were perceived by contemporaries to be particularly intense, culminating in waves of revivals in 1799–1800, 1807–08, and the late 1810s, reaching a peak in 1825–37. During and after the depression of 1837, the seasons of revival reportedly subsided as swiftly as they had come.

The Burned-Over District has retained its importance because of several religious developments that had national impact but seemed to be more noticeably present or had their origins in this region. The first was the growth in evangelical organizational strength that resulted from the revivals. A good amount of "church-shopping" followed revivals, where religious "salesmen" tried to convince new converts to join their church rather than another, and denominations competed for members. Furthermore, as settlers moved into the area, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists all sent missionaries to the region in order to establish what they saw as "proper" Christian influence in new communities. The work of missionary societies in western New York thus established a pattern of domestic, or "home" missions (see MISSIONS, HOME) that governed denominational strategies throughout the antebellum era, as Euro-Americans continued to move westward across the Mississippi. Evangelical churches in the area, experiencing great numerical growth, also contributed financially to denominational efforts in other locales.

Revivals also led to religious and social innovations, many of which had their roots in the district. Charles G. Finney's famous preaching tours and revivals resulted not only in increased numbers of churchgoers, but in theological, revivalistic, and social changes that soon affected Protestants throughout the country. Rejecting key features of Calvinism that he felt interfered with the goal of conversion, Finney stressed the power of the individual to choose God's salvation. He also instituted a series of "new measures" in his revivals, including praying for people by name, calling them forward to an "anxious bench," and allowing women to pray in public, that laid the groundwork for the popular development of revivalism into the 20th century. Finally, he linked the advocacy of social transformation with conversion, compelling thousands of newly committed Christians to work for antislavery, temperance, and other reform movements of the day.

Other religious innovators also found fertile soil in western New York. Two indigenous American religions, the SHAKERS and the Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS), gained strength from revival participants who joined their movements after experiencing conversion. Communitarians and other utopians, including the Oneida community and JEMIMA WILKINSON's "New Jerusalem," moved to the area after experiencing persecution elsewhere. After the 1830s, one could find more religious and socialist utopian experiments in the Burned-Over District than any other part of the country. The Millerites (see SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH), an adventist group that attracted tens of thousands of Americans with the conviction that the world would end in the mid-1840s, were also centered in the region. When the world survived after their prophecies, the ensuing disillusionment, along with the nagging effects of prolonged economic depression, led to the slow decline of western New York as a thriving center for religious innovation.

LMK

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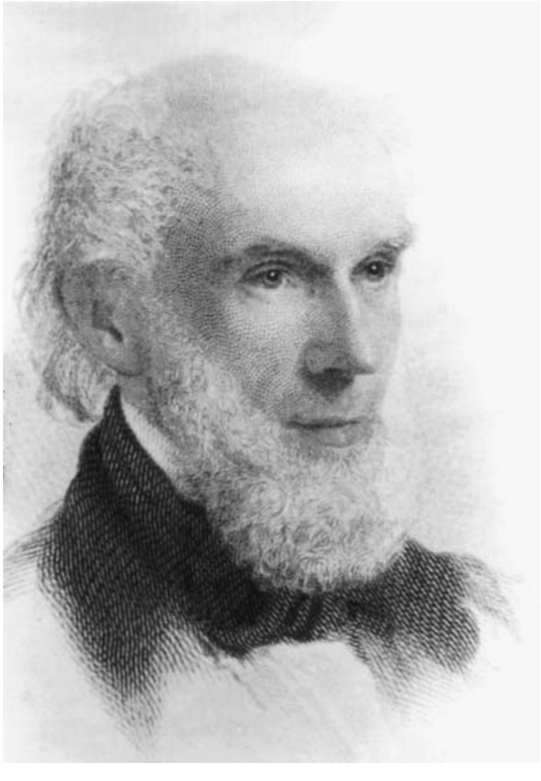
Bushnell, Horace (1802–1876) Congregational minister Horace Bushnell, the greatest American theologian of his generation and one of the most important thinkers in the history of American Protestantism, framed the intellectual system that eventually evolved into the movement known as theological MODERNISM.

Bushnell was born in the village of Bantam, Connecticut, on April 14, 1802. After graduating from Yale College in 1827, he studied law for a time but, following a conversion experience during a revival in 1831, entered Yale Divinity School, from which he graduated in 1833. Although he studied under NATHANIEL WILLIAM TAYLOR there, Bushnell went beyond Taylor's liberalized version of Calvinism. He found greater inspiration in the religious romanticism of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Friedrich Schleiermacher and their understanding of God's dwelling within the human soul and humanity's intuitive access to the divine.

After leaving Yale, Bushnell was called to the North Church in Hartford, Connecticut, where he served throughout his pastoral ministry. At the North Church, Bushnell sought to meet the religious challenges of the day not only by rejecting the harshness of traditional Calvinism and the excesses of revivalism, but also by projecting the optimistic spirit of American democracy into the theological sphere. Bushnell argued that nature and the supernatural constituted "the one system of God," faith and reason being part of a single continuum; religious truths, therefore, ought to correspond to actual human experiences.

In 1847 Bushnell published his most important book, *Christian Nurture.* This work, which dealt with the problem of original sin and provided a useful alternative to revivalism, laid the foundation for future approaches to religious education. Accepting the insight of his teacher William Taylor that "sin is in the sinning," Bushnell denied the Calvinist notion that children were hopelessly lost



Horace Bushnell, the 19th-century Congregational theologian whose preaching at North Church in Hartford reshaped mainline Protestantism.

in sin until they were converted. Instead, he hoped that children growing up would never know a time when they were not part of the Christian household. Bushnell's organic view of family and church helped him view Christian nurture as a means of drawing out the essential goodness in human nature. This opinion was sufficiently close to Unitarian theology, however, that it laid him open to charges by conservatives that he considered natural development, not conversion, the key to the Christian life.

Bushnell made another notable exposition of modernist religious thought in his *God in Christ* (1849) and *Christ in Theology* (1851). Both books suggested that verbal communication was essentially symbolic in nature and thus was never as precise as some orthodox theologians insisted. All religious language, including that of traditional Christian creeds, of doctrinal statements, and even of the Bible itself, Bushnell believed, was poetic rather than literal. Such assertions were anathema to many 19th-century believers. As a consequence of publishing these views, Bushnell was charged with heresy, but he retained his position at the North Church despite the uproar against him.

Bushnell also made important contributions to the development of American CIVIL RELIGION during the CIVIL WAR. In his sermon "Reverses Needed," delivered following the Northern defeat at Bull Run in July 1861, and in his postwar address to the Yale graduating class almost exactly four years later ("Our Obligations to the Dead"), Bushnell stressed the social nature of human existence and saw in the war a means by which his nation might realize its true, God-given unity. In the wartime period, moreover, Bushnell composed his treatise on the doctrine of the atonement, *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, which interpreted Christ's death at Calvary against the backdrop of young Americans suffering and dying in the Civil War. Bushnell thought the war was beneficial for the United States in the same way that the sorrows of Good Friday had been redemptive for the human race.

Bushnell's declining health led to his resignation from the North Church in 1859, although many years of travel and writing lay ahead of him. He lived long enough, in fact, to influence the emerging SOCIAL GOSPEL movement, which sought to relate religious beliefs and biblical insights to the need for social reform in the last decades of the century. Bushnell remained active in theological and church circles until shortly before his death in Hartford on February 17, 1876.

GHS, Jr.

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Cabrini, Francesca Xavier (1850–1917) The first U.S. citizen to be canonized and founder of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, Francesca Cabrini was born in Lombardy, Italy, in 1850, the youngest child of a prosperous farmer. In 1870, she graduated with honors from an academy run by the Daughters of the Sacred Heart in Arluno. She desired to join the order, but a smallpox infection in 1872 left her so weak that she was refused for health reasons. Cabrini spent the next several years (1872–74) as a schoolteacher and as the director of an orphanage (1874–80). At the orphanage, she attempted to form the staff into a religious order, taking vows herself on September 14, 1877. The closure of the orphanage led Cabrini to gather seven companions at an abandoned Franciscan monastery, where they organized the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart on November 14, 1880. The order received papal approval in March 1888.

Although the sisters desired to undertake missionary work in China, they were directed to serve Italian immigrants in America, and one year later Cabrini and six compatriots arrived in the United States to begin that work. The poverty and need of the Italian immigrants threw the order into a flurry of activity, all under the careful administrative eye of "Mother Cabrini." She supervised the order's catechetical work with youths and prisoners and directed the establishment of numerous orphanages and schools as well as hospitals in New York, Chicago, and Seattle.

Cabrini was an indefatigable organizer. In the course of 35 years, she made more than 30 trips across the Atlantic and organized

Francesca Cabrini founded an order of women religious who worked to alleviate the poverty of Italian immigrants. She became the United States' first citizen to be canonized by the Roman Catholic Church. *(Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)*

67 houses of her order throughout Europe, the United States, and South America—this despite a physical weakness so marked that it would be noted in Pius XII's speech at her canonization. Suffering from malaria for much of her life, she succumbed to it in 1917, dying at her order's Columbus Hospital in Chicago on December 22, 1917.

The process leading to her canonization was begun by the archbishop of Chicago, Cardinal George Mundelein, in 1928. The list of her merits was approved by Pius XI in 1931, who pronounced her venerable in 1933, the first step toward canonization. Beatified in 1938, Mother Cabrini, who had become a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1909, officially became a saint in the Roman Catholic Church on July 7, 1946.

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Cahenslyism Cahenslyism, a 19th-century movement in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) for the establishment of parishes organized along national and linguistic lines rather than geography, was named after Peter Paul Cahensly, a German parliamentarian who visited the United States in 1883. A member of the Germany Center Party and an official of the St. Raphael Society, founded in 1871 to aid German immigrants, Cahensly was shocked by Irish dominance of Roman Catholicism in the United States and appalled by the decline of the German language and traditions among the immigrants. Like many at the time, he blamed the indifference of the "hibernearchy"—the predominantly Irish bishops—for the loss of thousands of German Catholics from the faith.

His solution, and that of many others, was the establishment of Roman Catholic parishes based on culture and language. Such parishes would allow German-speaking Catholics to maintain German culture and the traditions of German Catholicism. Cahensly was instrumental in having a petition placed before Pope Leo XIII in 1890 that called for a radical restructuring of the American church. Not only did it ask that parishes be organized along national lines but suggested that every parish should have priests of the same nationality as the parishioners, that parochial school instruction be in the students' mother tongue, and that there be representation of each nationality in the American hierarchy.

This petition infuriated most of the American bishops, who were committed to the creation of a unitary American Catholicism, and after a second petition on the subject was sent to Rome, Cardinal JAMES GIBBONS formally protested the meddling in American affairs by "officious" European gentlemen. Although the pope rejected the idea of establishing national parishes, the letter from the papal secretary of state informing Gibbons of this rejection also urged the American bishops to pay greater attention to the needs of new immigrants.

(See also AMERICANISM.)

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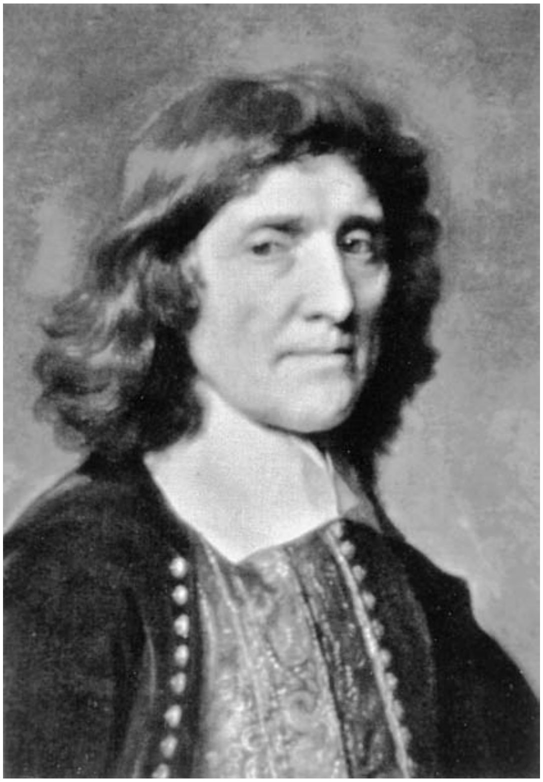
California See NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: INTERMONTANE/CALIFORNIA.

Calvert, Cecilius (1606–1675) Born in London, England, in 1606, Cecilius Calvert was the eldest son and heir of George Calvert (1580–1632), the first Lord Baltimore. The Calverts were a Roman Catholic family who outwardly conformed to the rituals and practices of the Church of England until 1625, when Cecilius's father publicly announced his Roman Catholic faith (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). Although legal proscriptions against Catholics forced him to resign several of his public offices, George retained his position as a privy counselor to James I.

By this time, the elder Calvert had turned most of his attention to aiding his fellow English Catholics, who suffered from social and legal liabilities in England. To accomplish this goal, he devised various colonization schemes. Purchasing land in Newfoundland in 1620, Calvert established the settlement of Ferryland in 1623. A visit to the colony in 1628 forced him to realize that the climate was not conducive to easy colonization, and he persuaded Charles I to grant him the right to purchase land farther south in Virginia (see VIRGINIA, COLONY). The protests were so great that Charles rescinded the permission, granting him land north of the Potomac instead. George Calvert died (1632) before receiving the charter for this land, to be named Maryland (see MARYLAND [COLONY]) after Charles I's Roman Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria, and the grant was then made to Cecilius as heir.



Cecilius Calvert, the second lord Baltimore, established the colony of Maryland, where his fellow Roman Catholics and all Christians could worship freely. *(Enoch Pratt Free Library)*

Desirous of fulfilling his father's wish of establishing a colony where Roman Catholics were secure, Cecilius sent out two ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove*, to Maryland the following year under the governorship of his brother Leonard Calvert. This group was comprised of 30 gentlemen, 200 mostly Protestant laborers, and two Jesuit priests, who would perform the first public mass in British North America.

To preserve the peace, Cecilius directed his brother to allow complete religious freedom to all Christians. The Catholics also were warned to avoid antagonizing their fellow colonists and not to practice their religion too publicly. As added insurance against conflict, Calvert attempted to control the activities of the Jesuits, extracting from the Jesuit General the ruling that all priests must conform to the colony's laws and gaining veto power over appointments of priests to the colony.

Hostility from English Protestants who opposed a colony ruled by a Catholic and from the colonists who chafed under the absolute rule of the proprietor forced Cecilius to grant a measure of self-government to the colony, retaining only the right of veto over the colony's laws. This brought little respite, however, and until his death, Cecilius's energies were expended in attempting to control the colony. After a period of armed rebellion in the early 1640s, he reestablished his control in 1647. In 1649, Leonard's successor, the Protestant William Stone, attempted to establish peace by convincing the colonial assembly to pass an "Act Concerning Religion," otherwise known as the Toleration Act of 1649 (see ACT OF TOLERATION, MARYLAND), which allowed religious freedom for all those not denying the Trinity and made it illegal to disparage anyone's religion.

This did not have the desired effect. In 1650, Protestants gained control over the colony's government and in 1654 forced the assembly to disfranchise all Catholics and to outlaw "popery, prelacy, and licentiousness." The Calverts once again regained control of the colony in 1658. For the next 17 years, until Cecilius's death on November 30, 1675, Maryland remained relatively peaceful and stable, and the proprietorship passed to his son George.

The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 in England, which deposed the Roman Catholic James II and replaced him with the Protestants William and Mary, marked the end of the Catholic proprietorship in Maryland. Galvanized by the revolution, a group of Maryland Protestants seized control of the government. In 1691, King William III relieved the Calverts of their grant, and Maryland became a royal colony, thereby ending one of America's earliest experiences in religious liberty.

(See also COLONIAL PERIOD.)

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Calvinism A theological tradition that began with the reformer John Calvin, Calvinism is based upon the principle of God's absolute sovereignty and initiative in granting eternal salvation to human beings. English Calvinism, which found expression within the Puritan (see PURITANISM) movement of the 16th and 17th centuries, decisively shaped religious life in early America. Indeed, Calvinism has been the single most important force in religious thought in the United States, having influenced perhaps three-quarters of all American Christians in the years prior to the War for Independence.

John Calvin (in French, Jean Cauvin) was born in France in 1509. Sometime around 1533 or 1534, Calvin underwent a profound experience of religious conversion. He broke away from the Roman Catholic Church in May 1534 and dedicated himself to restoring Christianity to what he conceived to be the purity of biblical times. In the same period, he also began to write his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which would become one of the most important statements of Protestant belief. Calvin completed the first edition of the *Institutes* in 1536, the same year he arrived in Geneva, Switzerland, to begin the reformation of the church in that city. Over the next three decades until his death in 1564, he devoted himself to transforming Geneva into (in the words of Scottish reformer John Knox) "the most perfect school of Christ."

Eventually, nearly 5,000 Protestant refugees from other countries flocked to Calvin's Geneva in the mid-16th century. Harassed in their own homelands, these exiles were attracted both by Calvin's intellectual stature and by the safety his city offered them. Between 1553 and 1558, many English Protestants, fleeing persecution in the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary, were among the group of refugees in Geneva. There they imbibed Calvin's ideas on creation, divine redemption, history, and politics, which they brought back to England after Mary's death. Thanks to the tutelage of those English exiles under Calvin, most serious Protestants in England were committed to Calvinist theology by the end of the 16th century.

Calvin had borrowed heavily from the ideas of Augustine of Hippo, the great Christian theologian of the fourth century. In his writings about the church, Augustine distinguished between its visible and invisible manifestations. Only God knew, on the one hand, who belonged to the invisible church. God had chosen the members of that church, Augustine said, even before the creation of the world. The visible church, on the other hand, was the human institution known on Earth. While insisting that membership in the visible church was no guarantee of eternal salvation, Augustine acknowledged that God's elect (see ELECTION) almost invariably belonged to the visible church during their lifetimes.

Calvin adopted Augustine's emphasis on the omnipotence of God and the passivity of humankind, and he employed those ideas as the foundation of his religious thought. Without divine grace, Calvin wrote, no person could repent and become a Christian. Yet God's grace was a gift that only the elect received. Calvin also denied the freedom of the human will. Humans were "free" to sin but not to save themselves. The credit for salvation belonged solely to God who, from eternity, had predestined the fate of the soul. Only God knew who would be saved and who would be damned. Although his teaching on predestination appeared to undercut participation in the visible church, since no amount of piety or faithfulness could ever change God's eternal decrees, Calvin contended that the elect would inevitably lead pious, Christian lives. He counseled people not to dwell on their failings, but simply to trust in the all-sufficient grace of God.

In the early 17th century, Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius advanced a conspicuous challenge to Calvin's teachings on predestination (see ARMINIANISM). Arminius, who doubted that God arbitrarily would have chosen to save some human beings and damn others, wished to reaffirm the importance of the human will in spiritual matters. After Arminius's death, his followers formally disputed the deterministic logic of Calvinism. The "Arminians" argued that God foreknew, but did not foreordain, who would be saved and gave all people the grace to accept eternal salvation. Orthodox Calvinists vigorously counterattacked and at the Synod of Dort in 1619 officially condemned Arminianism. The *Canons* of the Synod of Dort promulgated what are now recognized as the five principal tenets (popularly summarized by the acronym TULIP) of Calvinism:

1. total depravity (human beings are wholly sinful and entirely incapable of saving themselves);
2. unconditional election (God predestined some human beings for salvation without regard to their individual merits or possible good works);
3. limited atonement (Christ suffered and died on the cross to save only those whom God had already chosen for salvation);
4. irresistible grace (God's chosen ones can never reject salvation);
5. perseverance of the saints (the chosen will never fall away from their state of grace).

At the same time that Calvin's disciples on the Continent were debating his doctrines, Calvinists in England had also become engaged in a controversy. Arminians such as William Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, desired to return participation in the sacraments of the church to the center of the process of salvation. Calvinists, called "Puritans" after the 1620s, continued to emphasize God's initiative and devalued human endeavors. Arguing about a number of important issues, including the role of bishops in church government, the use of vestments in worship, and the meaning of the church's sacraments, Arminians and Puritans in the Church of England eventually went their separate ways. Between 1620 and 1640, approximately 20,000 Puritans left England and migrated to New England, thereby conveying Calvinism to the New World.

In the century and a half between the arrival of the Pilgrims in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620 and the start of the American Revolution, Calvinism became well established in America. Thousands of continental Calvinists belonging to the Dutch Reformed, German Reformed, and French Reformed (or Huguenot) traditions followed the English Puritan migration and streamed into the American colonies. British Calvinism was strengthened, moreover, by the arrival of Scottish and Scotch-Irish immigrants in the late 17th century. And, although the revivals of the GREAT AWAKENING often aroused violent controversies within the American churches in the mid-18th century, Calvinism provided the theological foundation on which the value and meaning of the awakening was debated.

By the late 18th century, however, Calvinist hegemony in America began clearly to decline. The fatalism implicit in the doctrine of predestination, for example, appealed less and less to a society that prized freedom of action and the opportunity for self-improvement. The view of the human condition advanced by the "Consistent Calvinists" like Congregational theologian SAMUEL HOPKINS, who claimed he would be willing "to be damned for the glory of God," appeared too harsh to increasing numbers of Americans. Extreme Calvinism placed believers in a moral quandary. They never could be sure whether or not they should *try* to be good. As a popular ditty of the day put it:

You can and you can't,
You shall and you shan't;
You will and you won't.
You're damned if you do,
And damned if you don't.

The SECOND GREAT AWAKENING of the early 19th century further undercut Calvinism's authority. American evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM), even those who belonged to denominations like the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists that had affirmed wholeheartedly Calvinist theology, reacted strongly against the notion of predestination. Anyone *could* achieve salvation by undergoing a spiritual rebirth. Presbyterian revivalist CHARLES G. FINNEY was renowned for pleading with men and women to change their hearts and surrender to God. His most famous sermon, "Sinners Bound to Change Their Own Hearts," argued that God required people to act for themselves. Despite the Calvinist insistence that men and women were morally unable to choose between heaven and hell, Finney taught that common sense showed they had the God-given power to make up their own minds.

Despite such noteworthy modifications, Calvinism did not entirely die out in the United States in the 19th century. In fact, the threat to it made some theologians even more vigilant in upholding the essential truth of Calvin's teachings. Among Presbyterians, the theological tradition cultivated at Princeton (see PRINCETON THEOLOGY) Seminary in New Jersey was the most resistant to altering Calvinist orthodoxy in any way. While some Presbyterians sought a flexible version of Calvinism more in accord with revivalism and religious emotions, the Princeton theologians held firm. As Princeton professor CHARLES HODGE remarked about his school, "a new idea never originated in this Seminary." The Princeton Theology continued to influence conservative Presbyterians and other evangelicals throughout much of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Despite revisions and resistance to change, Calvinism has dominated American Protestantism, especially denominations within the REFORMED TRADITION. While the direct heirs of colonial Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the United Church of Christ, no longer emphasize strict Calvinist beliefs, smaller denominational bodies such as the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church in America militantly maintain Calvinist orthodoxy. Moreover, among members of the Dutch Reformed tradition, represented by the Reformed Church of America and the smaller, more conservative Christian Reformed Church, faithfulness to the traditional confessions of Calvinism is strictly preserved. And since many Baptists, Episcopalians, and members of various other independent churches also adhere to the principles of Calvinism today, the breadth of commitment to this theological tradition remains indisputable.

GHS, Jr.

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Cambridge Platform Adopted in August 1648, the Cambridge Platform set forth the basic doctrines and church polity of the Puritan (Congregational) churches (see PURITANISM; CONGREGATIONALISM) in New England. The document was the first official statement of these churches and made explicit what previously had only been implied in the writings of Puritan theologians. It remained the basis for Congregationalism until the 1830s.

The adoption of the Cambridge Platform was the result of many forces. During the 1630s, the colonies had been threatened by individuals whose teachings challenged their religio-political unity. These challenges led to the calling of a ministerial synod by the Massachusetts General Court in September 1646.

The Cambridge Synod, as it was known, drew delegates from all the Massachusetts churches, except Concord, as well as from New Hampshire, Plymouth, and Connecticut. Among the Connecticut delegates was THOMAS HOOKER, who had pushed for such a gathering for five years. The synod's deliberations continued intermittently until August 1648. Its result, "A Platform of Church Discipline Gathered out of the Word of God," combined the church polity of Hooker with the theology of JOHN COTTON and Richard Mather. It duly affirmed the Westminster Confession of Faith as the fundamental expression of doctrine and then turned to its major points.

The first was limited church membership. The church was to be composed of those who could give evidence of a conversion experience. The children of these members could be baptized, but full membership would await their own conversion experience (see HALFWAY COVENANT). The autonomy of the individual congregation was proclaimed, as well as its freedom from coercion by any synod or association of churches.

Religious and civil authorities were to be separate but mutually reinforcing. The civil authorities were not to hinder the churches but to "help and further them." In return, the churches should seek the approval of magistrates at every legitimate opportunity. While the state could not compel church membership, it was to enforce uniformity and punish persons guilty of idolatry, blasphemy, and heresy. Finally, the magistrates were allowed to call synods "to counsell & assist them in matters of religion."

The Cambridge Platform was the crowning glory of the first generation of Puritans. A succinct and coherent statement of Puritan beliefs and practices, it created a solid and stable system for subsequent generations of believers. Although requiring some adjustments in later years, the platform stood the test of time as a defining statement of Congregationalism for nearly two centuries.

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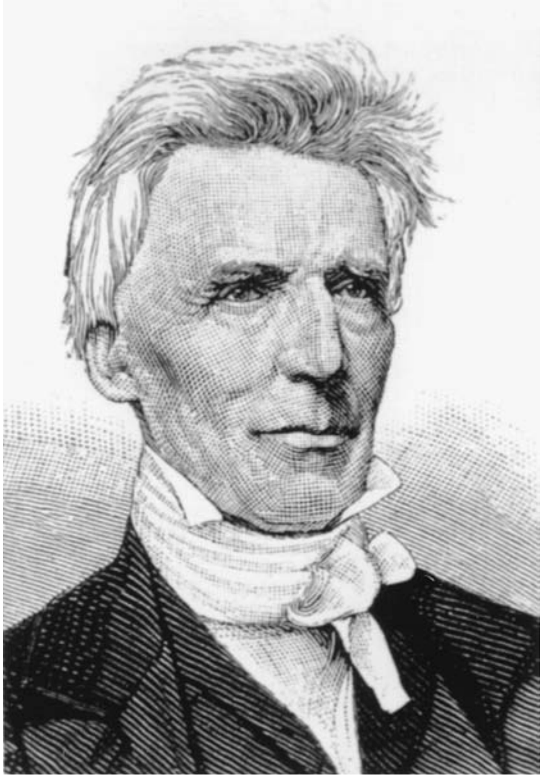
Campbell, Alexander (1788–1866) Alexander Campbell was a Protestant minister and, with his father, Thomas, cofounder of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST). He was also the most influential figure of American "restorationism" (see RESTORATION MOVEMENT), the religious movement that sought to return 19th-century Protestantism to the beliefs and practices of New Testament times.

Alexander Campbell was born at Ballymena, Ireland, on September 12, 1788. His early education was at home under the tutelage of his father, then a Presbyterian clergyman, and he later studied at the University of Glasgow in Scotland. When Thomas migrated to the United States in 1807, Alexander followed him, eventually settling in Pennsylvania in September 1809.

Disturbed by petty theological quarrels among his fellow Presbyterians in America, Thomas decided to withdraw from his denomination and promote unity among members of all Christian traditions. In 1809, he founded a new religious fellowship, called simply the "Christian Association of Washington" (Pennsylvania). Guided by principles that Thomas outlined, the Christian Association adopted a single, biblically based creed: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." In 1811, Thomas and Alexander together organized a church at Brush Run, Pennsylvania, and served as its clergy. Because of the Campbells' belief that immersion was the only proper form of the Christian baptismal rite, their church joined the local Redstone Baptist Association in 1813, an affiliation that lasted until 1827.

Alexander soon assumed sole leadership of the church, and he began to travel extensively over what is now the Midwest and upper South to win members for the nondenominational movement he championed. He formed groups called "Disciples of Christ," which became one of the fastest-growing religious organizations of the time. Campbell emphasized a Christianity based upon the New Testament, a faith both free from doctrinal hairsplitting and broad in focus. Noted for his detailed expositions of the structures and practices of primitive Christianity, he insisted that 19th-century Americans could, if they wished, reconstruct the first-century church and thereby transform their society.



Alexander Campbell, a Scotch-Irish missionary and cofounder of the Disciples of Christ. His "restoration" of the Gospel had wide appeal to 19th-century Americans.

Tension over a number of theological matters led eventually to the withdrawal of the Brush Run Church from the Redstone Baptist Association. After meeting Barton Stone in 1830 and finding common ground with Stone's "Christians," Campbell brought his Disciples of Christ into fellowship with Stone's group. On January 1, 1832, 12,000 of

Campbell's "Disciples" and 10,000 of Stone's "Christians" came together for a meeting at Lexington, Kentucky. While its internal organization was not completed until 1849, a new denomination emerged out of the self-consciously nondenominational movements that both Campbells and Stone had launched. The Disciples of Christ grew from 22,000 members in 1832 to almost 200,000 in 1860. Alexander Campbell chartered Bethany College in Bethany, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 1840. Under his leadership as president from 1840 to 1866, the college provided an educated ministry for his rapidly expanding church.

Campbell remained active, writing and teaching for many years to come. He had already published an English translation of the New Testament in 1827. Later, he wrote other books on the Bible, baptism, and primitive Christianity. He also expounded his theological views over the course of five decades in two successive monthly journals: *The Christian Baptist*, published from 1823 to 1830, and *The Millennial Harbinger*, published from 1830 until 1866. The authority of Campbell's teachings in the denomination he helped found continues strong today. He died at Bethany on March 4, 1866.

GHS, Jr.

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Campbell, Thomas See CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER.

camp meetings The camp meeting was the most distinctive feature of religious life on the American frontier in the first decades of the 19th century. A notable offshoot of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING and a highly effective means of evangelizing unsettled areas, camp meetings were interdenominational revivals (see REVIVALISM) held in the open air over several days. While a revival was taking place, most participants, who had often traveled great distances, camped at the site where the religious exercises were held.

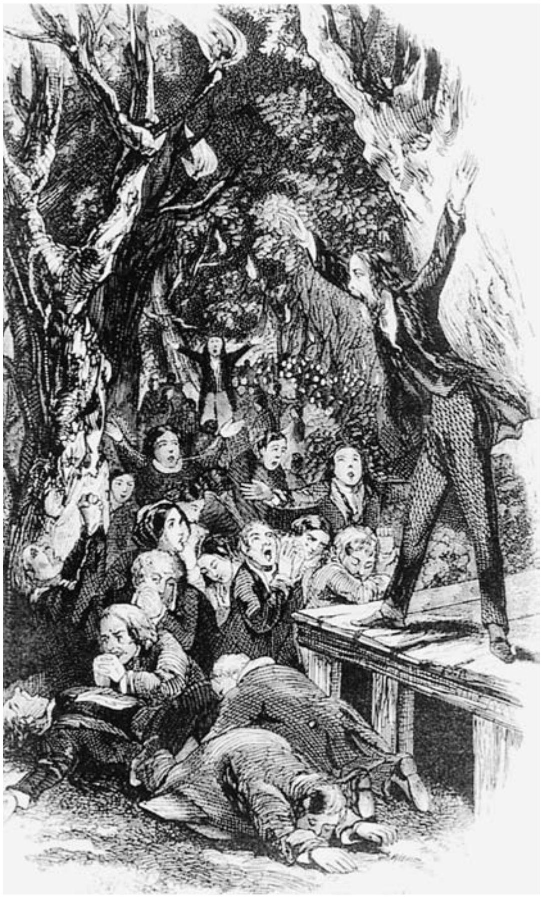
Although the camp meeting was popularized in the United States, the phenomenon itself originated in Scotland and northern Ireland. Scottish Presbyterians had developed a pattern of assembling once or twice a year to celebrate the Lord's Supper and hear sermons stressing the need for repentance. These gatherings lasted for several days, during which worshipers prepared themselves spiritually before sharing bread and wine at large tables. Presbyterians transported their "communion seasons" to the New World. That practice provided the basis for the revivals that began to occur on the American frontier in the 1790s.

Presbyterian minister James McGready of Logan County, Kentucky, is generally regarded as the person who initiated the camp meeting technique in America. He led a well-attended four-day revival at Red River, Kentucky, in June 1800 and repeated his success a month later at Gasper River, Kentucky. At the Red River revival, McGready, two other Presbyterians, and two Methodist clergy exhorted the men and women present to renounce their sins and let God reign over their hearts. Worshipers began to shout for mercy as the preachers moved among them, and scores reportedly sank to the ground in religious ecstasy. The outdoor setting, the welcome break from the ordinary routines of farm life on the frontier, and a genuine sense of their own sinfulness made many responsive to the preachers' appeals for spiritual conversion.

BARTON W. STONE, whom McGready had earlier influenced, attended the Gasper River revival and determined to duplicate what he had seen there. Stone summoned thousands to his own church at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in early August 1801. The CANE RIDGE REVIVAL proved to be the largest and most successful camp meeting ever held, as over 10,000 people—more than five times the size of the largest settlement in Kentucky at the time—assembled for a week under Stone's direction. The unusual bodily motions of those caught up in the religious enthusiasm at Cane Ridge (e.g., falling, dancing, jerking, laughing, and even barking) forever marked revivalism in the popular mind. While critics condemned the shocking delusions and excesses of camp meetings, defenders simply noted the extraordinary number of converts and new members revivals brought into churches on the frontier.

Camp meetings like the Cane Ridge Revival, however, proved to be relatively short-lived. Although McGready and Stone, the earliest proponents of the camp meeting, were Presbyterians, Americans who belonged to that denomination tended to value order over enthusiasm and quickly withdrew support for outdoor revivals. Baptists also soon abandoned camp meetings in favor of protracted revival services held inside church buildings in towns and cities. As a result, by 1840 the camp meeting became the almost exclusive domain of the Methodist denomination. Moreover, as the scattered populace and isolation found on the frontier were replaced by settled communities and organized church life, the urgent evangelistic impulses that shaped the first camp meetings became institutionalized and domesticated. Instead of the frenzied excitement of the frontier revivals, the next generation of camp meetings were carefully controlled, dignified affairs. Methodists transformed the grounds where gatherings were held into permanent Bible camps, conference centers, and summer resorts, such as at Chautauqua, New York, and Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts.

Camp meetings again became a vital feature of religious life in the United States as the Holiness movement emerged out of American evangelicalism in the late 19th century. In 1867, several Methodist ministers issued a call for a camp meeting to be held at Vineland, New Jersey. After that gathering, many who had been involved in it formed the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness, which sponsored more than 50 meetings over the next 15 years. Camp meetings continue to be associated with the Holiness movement today. A 1987 directory published by Asbury College in Kentucky, for example, listed 114 meetings that were to be held that year. Camp meetings still provide an opportunity for believers to leave behind



A popular method of evangelization, camp meetings spread Protestantism to the scattered frontier population in the 18th and 19th centuries. *(Library of Congress)* their ordinary routines and come together for extended periods of worship and Bible study.

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Cane Ridge Revival The Cane Ridge Revival (see REVIVALISM), a gathering of at least 10,000 people at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801, was the largest and most memorable of the frontier CAMP MEETINGS of the early 19th century. For a week, hundreds of men and women prayed, sang, and proclaimed their new faith in Jesus Christ.

James McGready, a Presbyterian minister who took charge of three churches in southwestern Kentucky in 1796, was the first great frontier revivalist. At Red River, Kentucky, in June 1800 and at Gasper River, Kentucky, the next month, McGready and his associates gathered worshipers from as far as 100 miles away. They exhorted people to "let the Lord Omnipotent reign in their hearts," and many responded by shouting for mercy and by falling to the floor in spiritual ecstasy. Barton W. Stone, a Presbyterian minister who had been converted by McGready and attended the Gasper River revival, soon adopted the same methods. Stone announced that a great meeting would be held at the small church at Cane Ridge, where he served as pastor.

Wooden preaching platforms were hastily constructed and a rough clearing made for the revival. Ministers of the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist Churches all came together and cooperated in a common, nonsectarian effort. Since nearby Lexington, then Kentucky's largest city, had fewer than 2,000 residents, the volume of people attending the Cane Ridge meeting was itself stupendous. After the revival ended, some participants referred to the experience at Cane Ridge as the greatest outpouring of the Holy Spirit since the biblical day of Pentecost.

The gathering was a scene of milling crowds and immense confusion. Everyone walked about, assembled in small groups, and listened to ministers shouting at them simultaneously from several preaching platforms. The traditional process of religious conversion that had once required months, even years, of spiritual preparation was forgotten. Instead, at Cane Ridge all was compressed into mere hours, as believers passed rapidly through stages of guilt, despair, hope, and finally assurance of the forgiveness of their sins. The psychological stress caused by the tremendous throng of preachers and believers forced those who were wavering to respond immediately. Outbursts of religious emotion punctuated the affair: people sobbing, screaming, dancing, and jerking their limbs spasmodically.

Cane Ridge symbolized the tremendous religious changes occurring in the United States in the early years of the new republic's life. Camp meetings became the principal means by which Protestantism spread on the western frontier during the period of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. Over the next three years especially, similar revivals were held throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, and southern Ohio, and thousands of previously unchurched settlers were incorporated into Christian denominations. While all churches in these areas gained new members in the wake of the revivals, the most insistently democratic denominations, the Baptists and the Methodists, expanded the most rapidly over the next decades. As a result of the enthusiasm Cane Ridge helped inspire, Baptists and Methodists soon became the largest church bodies in the United States.

GHS, Jr.

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Carolinas (colonial period) The religious life of the Carolinas during the COLONIAL PERIOD was quite mixed. The early history of both colonies manifested much religious diversity, but while attempts to establish the Church of England (see ANGLICANISM) in North Carolina were unsuccessful, South Carolina eventually managed both an establishment and legislation requiring religious conformity.

The earliest attempts at colonization in what is now the Carolinas were made by the Spanish (see NEW SPAIN). In 1526, Spanish colonies were planted in both modern-day North and South Carolina, but they soon failed. The French (see NEW FRANCE) made the next attempt, establishing a settlement at what is now Parris Island, South Carolina, in 1562. This settlement was equally unsuccessful, and despite repeated attempts at revitalization, it was abandoned by 1680.

North Carolina saw the first British attempt at colonization in North America as well as the creation of an American legend, when Sir Walter Raleigh established a colony at Roanoke Island in 1585. This colony survived only with constant resupply from England, and when the threat of a Spanish invasion interrupted British shipping between 1587 and 1590, the colony disappeared and with it the first English child born in North America.

No other formal attempts at colonization took place until the 1660s, although northern Carolina had begun to receive some settlement by Virginians (see VIRGINIA) who migrated south during the 1650s. Carolina was organized as a proprietary colony along feudal lines with the settlers required to pay fees to the proprietors. Despite this feudal form, its constitution—which John Locke (see ENLIGHTENMENT) supposedly helped write—allowed religious tolerance in a bid to encourage settlement.

Settlement in the northern part was slow, but South Carolina soon developed into a thriving colony, and by 1681 Charleston had an Anglican church. In 1704, the colonial assembly established the Church of England and required conformity with its laws and rites. By 1723, there were 13 parishes in the colony, most of which were prosperous and well served.

Despite the existence of an established church, colonial South Carolina contained significant religious diversity. Beyond the pockets of Native Americans who survived European diseases and war to maintain their traditional religious beliefs, South Carolina had one of the largest populations of Africans in the colonies. Many of these enslaved Africans retained their traditional religious beliefs or merged them with the incipient Christianity they received. Given the high mortality rate among slaves in the rice and indigo plantations of the colony, South Carolina imported more recently enslaved Africans who helped to maintain the traditions longer there than in most other colonies.

European diversity was also marked. The colony's first governor was a Puritan (see PURITANISM), and many of its earliest settlements had distinctively Baptist leanings (see BAPTISTS). Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF) were also well represented in the colony, and one, John Archdale, served as colonial governor from 1694 to 1695. A group of Huguenots—French Protestants—arrived in 1680, and in 1730 German and Swiss Lutherans settled in the colony. Charleston was also the center of colonial Judaism, with the largest Jewish population (500) in the colonies at the beginning of the American Revolution.

One group markedly absent from both northern and southern Carolina was the Roman Catholics. Strictly enforced laws against their presence, Catholic priests, and the performance of the Mass prevented any noticeable Roman Catholic migration to the colonies.

Religious life in colonial North Carolina was equally diverse, albeit much less regularized. Settlement was slow in North Carolina, and the colony had no incorporated town until 1706, when Bath was organized by a group of Huguenot settlers. Religious diversity in North Carolina owed much to the stringent religious laws of Virginia, which led many dissenters to migrate south.

From the earliest time, North Carolina included large numbers of Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM), and the unchurched, along with the indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans. Attempts to establish the Church of England in the colony met with much resistance and even violence. In 1701, the colonial assembly officially established the Church of England and followed this in 1705 with a law for tax support for Anglican churches. Both of these met with much opposition, and the proprietors quickly vetoed the establishment law, while an armed rebellion forced the repeal of the support law.

North Carolina reverted to royal control in 1729. This led to greater stability in the colony, although it was still prone to numerous insurrections. The Church of England was officially established in 1741, and while this put dissenters on an unequal political footing, it did little to end the colony's religious diversity. In the 1750s, a group of Moravians established Salem, and their presence, along with that of the Quakers, had a lasting influence on the religious ethos of that part of the state.

More importantly, however, has been the Baptist role in the history of both the colony and later the state. Baptists were among the earliest settlers of the colony, joining Quakers who drifted south from Virginia. These Baptists received a major organizational boost in 1751, when the Baptist missionary Shubal Stearns settled in Sandy Creek, North Carolina. There he organized several churches that formed the Sandy Creek Association, with 10 churches by 1760. This growth continued for the next decade, but increasing religious persecution and political conflicts soon forced many Baptists to flee the colony. This was especially true after 1771, when government troops crushed the Regulator movement at the Battle of Alamance. The Regulators, who were in revolt against the eastern aristocracy, were particularly strong in Baptist-dominated areas, and Baptist hostility remained great, resulting in widespread Baptist support for the revolution and, later, support for laws guaranteeing religious liberty.

While their small populations and distance from the center of colonial development have resulted in little attention being paid to them, the Carolinas provide an interesting example of colonial religious diversity. As such, they served to demonstrate the peace that is possible in the absence of religious coercion and, in the North Carolina case, the hostilities and animosities that emerge when it is attempted on a varied population.

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Carroll, John (1735–1815) The first bishop of the Roman Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) in the United States, John Carroll laid an admirable foundation for the church's growth and stability. More importantly, he set the example for future American Catholic bishops by his support for the U.S. political system and its commitment to religious liberty.

John Carroll was born on January 8, 1735, to a wealthy and distinguished Maryland Catholic family. His father, Daniel, an Irish immigrant, was a successful merchant and tobacco farmer, while his mother, Eleanor Darnall, was from an old Maryland Catholic family. Through her, John was related to the most important Catholics in the country.

Despite their social and economic standing, Catholics in Maryland lived under legal restrictions. Public celebration of the Mass and the building of churches were illegal. Even Bohemia Manor, the Jesuit school Carroll attended beginning at age 12, was unlawful. Sent to Europe the following year for further study, he attended St. Omer's in French Flanders and graduated in 1753. At this time, Carroll entered the Society of Jesus (see JESUITS) and spent the next several years training at Jesuit seminaries in France and Belgium. After his ordination around 1769, he taught philosophy and theology at several Jesuit schools and served as a tutor to English Catholics touring the European continent.

The suppression of the Jesuits by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 hit the young man hard. His life and dreams shattered, Carroll returned home to the America he had not seen in a quarter-century. Settling at his mother's estate at Rock Creek, Maryland, he began a small mission church and ministered to the needs of local Catholics.

The American Revolution saw Carroll a committed patriot. With his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton (the wealthiest man in America and the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence), and Benjamin Franklin, he undertook an ultimately unsuccessful diplomatic mission to Canada designed to gain French Catholic support for the Revolutionary cause.

While American victory in the Revolution eased most legal burdens on American Catholics, it left the church in the United States with no administrative center. No longer could it take directives from London, or anywhere on the continent for that matter. The church needed its own bishop. In 1783, Carroll and five other priests petitioned the pope to provide some structure for the American church by appointing a leader from among its members.

In response, the pope appointed Carroll superior of the American church. Disturbed by the lack of consultation in the appointment and the limited authority vested in the position, Carroll delayed acceptance. Only after receiving an expansion in authority and the title of vicar apostolic did Carroll accept, undertaking the job of imposing order upon a weak church spread over a vast nation.

This job was made somewhat easier when, in 1789, Pius VI appointed Carroll bishop of the diocese of Baltimore, which covered most of the United States, from Vermont to Louisiana. The selection had followed Carroll's suggestions. He had been chosen by the priests in the United States and his name submitted to Rome for approval. This was consistent with Carroll's view of the church. For him, the Roman Catholic Church was a combination of national churches united by doctrine and belief under the headship of the pope. As long as each national church was consistent with Rome in faith and doctrine, it should be allowed to organize its own affairs according to its traditions and national character. For Carroll, this meant an American church committed to religious liberty and to American democracy.

To increase the number of clergy in America, he encouraged European orders to establish themselves in the United States. In this, he was aided by the French Revolution, during which many French priests and nuns emigrated to America. Most visible among these were the Sulpicians, who would form the bulk of America's second generation of Roman Catholic leaders.

Most importantly, Carroll recognized that the Roman Catholic Church in the United States needed a complete infrastructure of institutions and organizations. This included the creation of American religious orders, like ELIZABETH SETON's Sisters of Charity. Education was preeminent in the mind of this former professor, and he was instrumental in the creation of what is now Georgetown University (1789), Mount St. Mary's College (Annapolis, Maryland, 1792), and St. Joseph's College (Emmitsburg, Maryland, 1809).

Carroll also established his authority over individual parishes, ending a long conflict about the ability of parish trustees to choose their own priests and control church money. At the Synod of Baltimore (1791) and the Provincial Council of 1810, he oversaw the first codification of church law for the United States.

Although many of his dreams for the American church would not be realized—Carroll was both the first and last American bishop chosen by the priests—Carroll created an admirable foundation for the growth of Roman Catholicism in the United States. At his death on December 3, 1815, the American church had four bishops and one archbishop, numerous schools and colleges, as well as a growing population. More importantly, it had an American character and ethos that aided it during the next 150 years as it struggled to respond to massive immigration and growth.

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Carter, Jimmy (James Earl, Jr.) (1924–)

Perhaps the most conventionally and actively religious U.S. president since Woodrow Wilson, Jimmy Carter brought to the broader American public a new sight: a southern, evangelical Protestant, comfortable with African Americans, committed to civil rights, and outspoken in his religious faith. He brought the term *born again* into the pages of the *New York Times* and turned a large but relatively unnoticed reality (with the exception of the BILLY GRAHAM crusades) into front page news.

Born on October 1, 1924, in Plains, Georgia, and raised in the small town of Archery, Carter led a life typical of many small-town white boys in the rural South. His father worked a family farm and ran a small business; his mother was a registered nurse. After finishing public schools in Plains, Carter attended Georgia Southwestern College and Georgia Tech University before graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1946. Shortly after his graduation and receiving his commission in the U.S. Navy, he married Rosalynn Smith.

Carter was well on the way toward a successful naval career, having served in both the Pacific and Atlantic fleets and under Admiral Hyman Rickover, the father of the nuclear navy. This career was cut short by the death of Carter's father in 1953. As a result, Carter abruptly resigned his naval commission, returning home to run the family farm and, with his wife, Carter's Warehouse, a local feed and seed store.

Carter became a regular member of the local Southern Baptist (see SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION [SBC]) congregation and an active participant in community affairs. During this time, his political career began. He was elected to the county school board and served as president of the Georgia Planning Commission. In 1962, he successfully campaigned for a state senate seat, only to lose the 1966 gubernatorial race. The defeat did not deter him, and he ran again in 1970. This time he was successful and became Georgia's governor in January 1971.

Carter became a rising star in the national Democratic Party, serving as Democratic National Committee campaign chairman for the 1974 congressional elections. In December of that year, he announced his candidacy for president of the United States. He built a strong grassroots base throughout the country, which propelled him to victory in the Democratic presidential primaries and eventually in the presidential election.

Carter's presidency was a period of much domestic and international turmoil. Domestic economic woes and the Iranian takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran led to the increasing polarization of American politics. Despite these difficulties and an overwhelming defeat in the 1980 election, Carter's presidency had numerous successes, including the Panama Canal treaty, the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union, and the establishment of U.S. diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Domestically, the deregulation of energy, transportation, communications, and finance and the establishment of the Departments of Education and Energy left their mark on the country.

Carter also made human rights part of the international and domestic agendas. After his presidency, disregard of this issue was no longer possible. The human rights agenda reflected in many ways Carter's moralistic approach to politics. While this approach would cause him numerous difficulties, as it did Woodrow Wilson, it set him apart from the Kissinger-inspired realpolitik of the previous eight years and made him a distinctive personality in American politics. It also would serve him well after his defeat in 1980.

Perhaps no former president since John Quincy Adams has had a more active and successful public life. Unlike Adams, who spent his post-presidential years in the House of Representatives, Carter has worked in the worlds of religion and nongovernmental organizations, notably HABITAT FOR HUMANITY. Carter and his wife have also taken leadership roles in the areas of international peace and health, both through the work of the Carter Center—the combination Carter library and research center located in Atlanta—and as election observers. Carter also has been an active negotiator for peace in many of the world's trouble spots.

Religion continues to play a major role in his life. Carter still teaches Sunday school at his local church and speaks readily of the importance of faith to his life. One of his books, *Sources of Strength* (1977), is a compilation of his weekly Sunday school lessons. His disagreement with the SBC's increasingly conservative views, especially on the role of women, led to Carter's formal break with the Southern Baptist Convention in October 2000.

While a final verdict on Carter's public life must wait for future historians, it is clear that he set the standard for speaking comfortably about religion in the public realm. Carter's words about his faith never seemed forced or false. He also seemed willing both in and out of government to live through his faith. His work for Habitat for Humanity, the ease with which he spoke of his personal struggles, and his passionate commitment to peace all served to elevate Carter in the public eye to heights he never reached while president.

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Cartwright, Peter (1785–1872) An itinerant Methodist minister and frontier preacher, Peter Cartwright served for nearly 70 years, first in a circuit covering Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana and later in Illinois. Cartwright's evangelistic zeal, coupled with his wit and homespun sermons, contributed greatly to the expansion of Methodism throughout the Midwest and upper South in the first half of the 19th century.

Cartwright was born in Amherst County, Virginia, on September 1, 1785. His family moved to Kentucky when he was five years old. Cartwright had little formal education, and he later said he reveled in the horse races and gambling then so common in Kentucky society. Converted to Christianity, however, at a camp meeting (see CAMP MEETINGS) in 1801, Cartwright was licensed the next year as an exhorter of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He became a circuit rider in 1803, and having mastered extemporaneous preaching, he preached an average of more than a sermon a day for the next 20 years. He was ordained a deacon in 1806 and an elder in 1808. After serving as presiding elder of the Methodists' Cumberland District from 1821 to 1823, Cartwright was transferred in 1824 to the Illinois Conference, where he was a presiding elder for most of the next 50 years.

Cartwright scorned religious formalism and believed that daily Bible reading and regular prayer were the keys to the spiritual life. He preached a simple message of free salvation and rigorous moral conduct—hallmarks of early American Methodism. He also claimed that Methodist ministers could set the world on fire while other clergy were still earning degrees and negotiating their salaries. However, over the course of Cartwright's career, Methodism itself began to change, gradually abandoning its former simplicity. In his 1856 autobiography, Cartwright lamented that Methodists had turned their backs on the popular enthusiasm that once had fueled their movement. He feared that Methodist clergy, too, had become "downy doctors and learned presidents and professors," while lay men and women desired only wealth, fashion, and material comforts.

Cartwright's own successful political career in many ways exemplifies the rising respectability and influence he decried among members of his denomination. He was elected twice to the Illinois state legislature, representing his district from 1824 to 1840. He also ran for United States Congress in 1846 but was defeated by Abraham Lincoln. As the question of slavery began to divide the nation, Cartwright emerged as an important opponent of the slave system. When the Methodist General Conference of 1844 debated the question of slaveholding, Cartwright attempted to hold the two factions in his church together. When the split came and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was formed in 1845, he sided with the antislavery party and remained loyal to the continuing Methodist denomination in the northern states.

Cartwright is said to have preached nearly 15,000 sermons and baptized almost 10,000 converts over the course of his long career. Although Methodism evolved culturally in that time and his methods became outdated before his death, he maintained his plain manner and homey preaching style. Cartwright died in Pleasant Plains, Illinois, on September 25, 1872.

GHS, Jr.

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Catholic Worker movement Founded in 1933 by DOROTHY DAY and Peter Maurin to "popularize and make known the encyclicals of the Popes in regard to social justice," the Catholic Worker movement is a Roman Catholic (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) lay movement committed to the participation of all in the mystical body of Christ. Maurin, the leading theoretician of the movement, called for a "green revolution" that would combine sacramental piety, farming communes, voluntary poverty, houses of hospitality for the urban poor, and pacifism (see PEACE REFORM). The eventual goal was the establishment of a communitarian society free of the profit motive where the divine value of each human being could be grasped. Through its newspaper, also called the *Catholic Worker,* the movement drew on Day's journalistic experience to spread its message widely throughout American Catholicism.

Numerically strongest during the 1930s, when it touched thousands affected by the Great Depression, it lost ground during WORLD WAR II as a result of its pacifism. During the 1950s and 1960s, its influence rebounded as numerous priests and laypeople who had done stints in the houses of hospitality moved into positions of authority. This influence was strengthened by the fact that despite constant conflicts with governmental authorities, the movement rarely challenged church authority and was accepted, albeit grudgingly, by even the most conservative bishops.

The Catholic Worker movement reached its apex during the late 1960s and early 1970s. During that time, the movement's pacifism and its call for dramatic social transformation influenced the antiwar movement and found a receptive audience among many individuals, particularly those who had been touched by the changes wrought in the Catholic Church by VATICAN COUNCIL II. Also during this time, many who had undergone important formative experiences while working in Catholic Worker houses in the post–World War II period, such as Michael Harrington and the Berrigan brothers, became important social critics, in Harrington's case, or activists, as did the Berrigan brothers.

With the end of the Vietnam War and amid the general decline in social activism during the 1980s, the Catholic Worker movement also saw a decline in its visibility. Despite this, the movement continued on its course. While Catholic social action in the United States tended to reject the agrarianism and "Christian anarchism" of the Catholic Worker movement, these emphases blended well with growing environmental concerns, giving the movement's farming emphasis a new importance in the late 20th century. Through its various communities, hospitality houses, and farms (168 in the United States and 21 internationally in 2006), as well as the *Catholic Worker* newspaper (still only a penny a copy), the Catholic Worker movement continued to challenge individuals to live out the claims of the gospels and to play a powerful moral role in the U.S. Catholic Church.

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Catholicism See ANGLO-CATHOLICISM; ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) The professional association of Reform Jewish rabbis (see REFORM JUDAISM) in the United States and Canada, the Central Conference of American Rabbis is the oldest and largest rabbinical association in North America. Organized in 1892 under the watchful eye of ISAAC MAYER WISE, the founder of Reform Judaism in the United States, the CCAR has long been the central defining institution of Reform thought and doctrine.

Historically, this rabbinical dominance has hindered Reform Judaism's ability to respond to changed conditions. In its early years, the CCAR's control by rabbis whose cultural and linguistic homeland was Germany resulted in its failure to adjust to the needs and attitudes of the eastern European Jews who dominated Jewish immigration from 1890 to 1927. Although willing to aid them materially, the CCAR's membership had little respect for their religious orthodoxy (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM). As Wise wrote in 1894, "the Central Conference at once rejected all illiberal elements, and stands only . . . for the American Israel of the liberal and progressive school. . . ."

This commitment to an "American Israel" also led the CCAR initially to adopt a hostile stance toward ZIONISM and to reject the traditional Jewish prayers for the return of the Jews to Israel and the restoration of the temple. The rise of Nazism and the horrors of the Holocaust, however, forced a revision of that policy. In 1937, the CCAR adopted a policy of neutrality on the issue of Zionism. After WORLD WAR II, its position became even stronger when it adopted a resolution announcing its solidarity with Israel, declaring that "their triumphs are our triumphs. Their ordeal is our ordeal. Their fate is our fate." This shift became institutionalized two years later when the CCAR made Israeli Independence Day part of Reform Judaism's religious calendar.

By the late 1940s and early 1950s, there was growing pressure within the CCAR to move toward more traditional forms of Judaism. Led primarily by the descendants of eastern European immigrants, this movement produced some major changes within the organization. These included greater use of Hebrew within worship, the restoration of Jewish symbols and customs, and the inclusion of a prayer for Israel in the prayer book.

Despite the increased traditionalism in religious forms, the CCAR remained committed to its purpose of creating an American Judaism attuned to the needs and realities of the modern world. Significantly, the CCAR was the first rabbinical association to ordain a woman as rabbi, in 1972. The CCAR also has been the only rabbinical association to vocally support the religious rights of gays and lesbians, including the recognition of same-sex unions.

While many of these changes would have been inconceivable to the founders of classical Reform Judaism, in enacting them the CCAR continues to express its connections with those founders as it struggles to make the ancient religion speak anew to the world.

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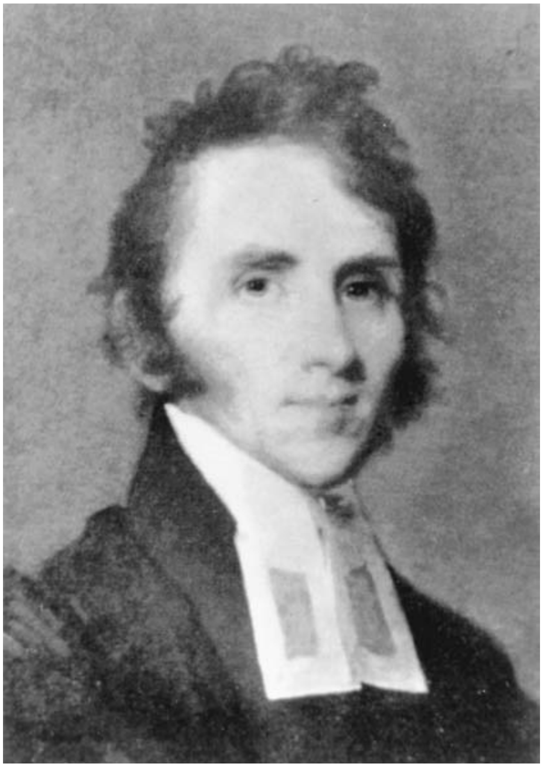
Channing, William Ellery (1780–1842)

William Ellery Channing is generally acknowledged to be the most important representative of the Unitarian movement that emerged out of New England CONGREGATIONALISM in the early 19th century. Channing's greatest contribution to Unitarian thought is contained in an ordination sermon he preached in 1819. There he spoke out against such traditional Protestant beliefs as the threefold nature of God, the deity of Jesus Christ, and the total sinfulness of human beings.

Born in Newport, Rhode Island, on April 7, 1780, Channing graduated from Harvard College in 1798 and served briefly as a private tutor in Richmond, Virginia. After a course of theological study, he was ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1803 and assumed the pastorate at Federal Street Church in Boston. Although Channing said he had long been troubled by the extreme CALVINISM he learned as a youth, he did not emerge as a spokesman for Unitarian theology until 1815. In "A Letter to the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher," however, Channing responded to fellow Congregationalist Jedidiah Morse's attack on liberals such as himself. Channing also published two open letters to Samuel Worcester, a conservative minister in Salem, who had entered the fray in support of the anti-Unitarian position.

The sermon Channing preached at the ordination of Jared Sparks in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1819, later published under the title "Unitarian Christianity," outlined the intellectual bases for the theological liberalism he and other Unitarians were championing. Channing declared that the New Testament taught God's essential oneness, not threeness, that is, God as Unity rather than as Trinity. While he believed that Jesus had been inspired by God to effect the moral and spiritual deliverance of humankind, Channing rejected the prevailing Calvinist doctrine that Jesus' death had paid a price to atone for humanity's innate guilt. Channing spoke of the essential similarity between God and humankind. The significance of Jesus' ministry, he thought, was his leading men and women toward perfection and bringing them into closer communion with God their Father.

Most of Channing's published work was in the form of lectures and sermons, not systematic theological treatises. His faith, like Unitarianism itself, was not entirely novel but a restatement of many beliefs already implicit within the Christian theological tradition. He emphasized the benevolence of God and, rejecting the doctrine of human depravity, underscored the divinely given potential within every human being. He also criticized others such as the transcendentalists (see TRANSCENDENTALISM) for moving too far away from accepted Christian beliefs. Channing's thought perpetuated a liberal religious outlook reminiscent of the late 18th century, and he helped bring stability and respectability to the new Unitarian denomination that first took shape in 1825.



William Ellery Channing, the "Luther of Boston," led the flowering of Unitarianism in antebellum New England. *(Painting by Gilbert Stuart)*

Toward the latter stages of his life, Channing's trust in human perfectibility impelled him into increasing devotion to social reform, especially the nascent antislavery movement. He published an important indictment of the slave system in "Slavery" in 1835, and his last work, the "Address at Lenox" (1842), sought to arouse abolitionist sentiment in the North. In identifying theology with ethics, Channing exemplified, according to many, the best of the New England religious culture of his day, and a number of American reformers in the middle years of the 19th century were to be counted among his disciples.

Although Channing served at the Federal Street Church for his entire ministerial career, he gradually withdrew from his pastoral responsibilities when his health began to decline. He died at Bennington, Vermont, on October 2, 1842.

GHS, Jr.

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Charismatic movement Among the distinguishing marks of the Charismatic movement is the claim that the *charismata* ("spiritual gifts" in Greek) manifested by Christians in the apostolic age can still be enjoyed by Christians today. These gifts, which are typically bestowed through the ritual of the baptism in the Spirit, include spiritual healing, prophecy, and, most notably, glossolalia, or "speaking in tongues."

Most Charismatics, as participants in the movement are called, tend toward conservative Christian positions on doctrinal matters such as the Trinity, biblical inspiration, and the atoning death and physical resurrection of Jesus Christ. What draws Charismatics together, however, is not a common theology but a shared experience of baptism in the Spirit and a shared commitment to renewing and expanding the Christian church through the exercise of a wide range of spiritual gifts. These gifts are especially evident in Charismatic worship services, which typically emphasize praising God rather than the Eucharist or preaching.

Charismatics trace their origin back to the biblical day of Pentecost, when spiritual gifts, most notably speaking in tongues, were bestowed by the Holy Spirit on the early Christians. Historians view the Charismatic movement as a more recent creation that emerged out of PENTECOSTALISM in the 1960s and 1970s. For this reason, it is sometimes referred to as "Neo-Pentecostalism."

Charismatics differ from Pentecostals in at least two respects. First, Charismatics tend to be white and middle class, and Pentecostals African American and working class. Second, Charismatics have not typically withdrawn from their churches in order to form separate denominations. The Charismatic movement, therefore, represents a transplantation of the Pentecostal impulse from the storefront churches of working people and minorities into the sanctuaries of white, middle-class members of the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant mainstream denominations.

One person who facilitated this shift to respectability was ORAL ROBERTS, who through his broadcasting empire did much to introduce non-Pentecostals to spiritual healing and speaking in tongues. Another key figure was Demos Shakarian, who in 1951 in Los Angeles founded the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. Members of this fellowship were, like Shakarian himself, both lay Pentecostals and successful businesspeople. The success of their well-publicized meetings signaled a shift in Pentecostalism toward middle-class, mainline respectability and away from clerical authority.

The Charismatic movement participated in these broader trends in Pentecostalism. It first received public attention in 1960, when the Reverend Dennis Bennett announced from his pulpit at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, that he had received the spiritual gift of speaking in tongues. Bennett's revelation split his church, and he was soon exiled to a less prestigious post at St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle, Washington. Bennett's new church expanded rapidly, testifying to the strength of the Charismatic movement.

From Bennett's Episcopal churches in California and Washington, the movement spread during the 1960s to Methodist, Lutheran, and Presbyterian congregations in the West, the Midwest, and New England. Charismatics enjoyed particular success on college campuses. In 1963 and again in the early 1980s, speaking in tongues broke out at Yale University among members of the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, an evangelical student group.

The Charismatic movement first emerged among Roman Catholics at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh in 1966. From there, it spread through networks of Catholic student groups to other college campuses, including the University of Notre Dame and the University of Michigan. Roman Catholic authorities warned against divisive tendencies within the movement, but they have nonetheless made a place in their church for Charismatics. Like leaders in other, more sacramental Protestant denominations, however, they have tended to view baptism in the Holy Spirit not as a second experience of grace, as many Charismatics claim, but as an event coterminous with water baptism.

In 1994, the Charismatic movement received a boost when congregants at a small church called Toronto Airport Vineyard in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, began experiencing what would come to be known as "holy laughter," or the "Toronto Blessing." While some parishioners wept or spoke in tongues in typical Charismatic style, others laughed uncontrollably. Soon this new form of Charismatic practice spread throughout the United States. And while it won the endorsement of such luminaries as Oral Roberts, many evangelical Christians and some Charismatics denounced "holy laughter" as unbiblical nonsense.

Members of conservative denominations, including the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, opposed not only the "Toronto Blessing" in particular but also the Charismatic movement in general as overly emotional and even demonic. Still, the Charismatic movement has enjoyed considerable success. The "gifts of the Spirit," almost unknown at the turn of the 20th century, are widely practiced in America at the start of the 21st.

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charitable choice The term *charitable choice* refers to a specific section (section 104) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, known popularly as the "Welfare Reform Bill." Although arousing little notice or controversy when adopted, Charitable Choice and the subsequent attempts to expand it eventually led to the creation of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives at the White House and became the subject of much political debate and public attention. (see FAITH-BASED INITIATIVES)

Most simply, the charitable choice provision was designed to make it easier for faith-based organizations (FBOs) to bid for contracts to provide services funded by federal block grants under Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), the successor program Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Many in Congress felt that such a law was needed to prevent discrimination against religious organizations in contracting service. Many also felt that the wider use of FBOs would lead to greater success in moving individuals from welfare into employment.

The charitable choice provision contained several major components. Although the legislation did not require states to contract with nonprofit organizations to deliver services paid for with TANF funds, it did stipulate that states could not treat religious service providers differently from other contractors or demand changes in their governance structure or religious character in order to receive funds. Additionally, under the legislation, religious organizations need not remove religious objects, art, or iconography from the buildings or rooms in which services are delivered. Finally, the law expressly exempts religious organizations from laws forbidding employment discrimination on the basis of religion.

The law also contains provisions protecting the religious beliefs (or nonbeliefs) of beneficiaries and forbidding the use of governmental monies for religious purposes, including proselytization, worship, or instruction. Service providers cannot discriminate against beneficiaries on the basis of religion or require that they attend religious services or engage in any religious practices. If a beneficiary does not wish to receive the service from a religious provider, the law requires that the state must ensure equivalent service by a secular provider.

Although many viewed charitable choice as a new development, governmental use of religious organizations to provide social services has a long tradition in the United States. FBOs were common in the international development field and quite prominent domestically before the adoption of charitable choice. Organizations such as Lutheran Social Services, Jewish Welfare and Family Services, and Catholic Charities received 50 percent or more of their operating budgets from public funds prior to 1996. Charitable choice, however, was the first legislation explicitly to address the ability of religious organizations to receive a particular type of governmental funding on an equal basis with other nonprofits and to do so without having to alter substantially their religious character. To a great extent, one could argue that the provision did little to change the prevailing landscape, at least on its face, although it did ensure a level of uniformity in practice.

Charitable choice elevated to the level of public policy a series of unexamined assumptions about the structural strengths of faith-based providers. These assumptions were that FBOs were more effective and more efficient than secular providers and capable of serving as major sources of services and funding to fill the gap brought about by decreased government spending.

Such assumptions had almost no significant research data behind them. Indeed, research into the magnitude, scope, and potential of religiously motivated service providers was woefully inadequate at the time the legislation was adopted. Since the legislation, greater attention began to be paid to the role of religion and religious providers in the overall social services mix.

Despite the lack of knowledge about the "success" of charitable choice and the process of its implementation in various states, there has been a marked push to adopt similar rules for other federally funded social service programs and to encourage greater use of religious providers. This resulted partly from a generalized feeling about the manner in which religious providers worked as well as from subjective assessments of the qualities of services provided.

Much of the impetus behind welfare reform in the United States rested on the view that poverty—at least to some extent and for some individuals—resulted from bad values. If these values could be changed and those individuals removed from the welfare rolls, then more attention and funds could be provided to the truly needy. Since the end of poverty required a change in values, the best way to accomplish that change would be by increasing the places where recipients came into contact with individuals modeling the necessary values. Moreover, it was believed that recipients would benefit from being seen more as people rather than as clients. Organizations driven by religious principles and motivations were assumed to satisfy these requirements. Even if the service provided had no religious content per se, the mere experience of being served by people in such a way would help transform individuals.

Combined with this was a view shared by many across the political spectrum that local organizations familiar with local needs and already doing productive service work had value and should be used more aggressively. Proponents of charitable choice pointed to the innumerable local organizations, many faith-based, that were doing wonderful work without governmental support. How much more work, they asked, could these organizations do with more funds? If the contracting system were made more welcoming, if religious organizations were not discriminated against or disfavored because they were religious, then they would be more willing to apply for funds and to submit bids. These very successful organizations would become even more successful, and the problems of poverty would soon begin to subside.

Such views drove the passage of charitable choice during the debate in 1996. A decade after its passage, questions about the validity of the assumptions that led to its adoption and the success of its implementation remained unanswered. Although some research has suggested an overall increase in the number of faith-based providers contracting with state governments, other studies have found significant problems in various states. Additionally, legal challenges to the manner in which the law was implemented in several states suggest that despite the safeguards within the legislation itself, state officials have been lax in oversight and enforcement of the bill.

Despite the problems, many have found the basic ideas driving charitable choice and the use of faith-based providers viscerally compelling. During the 2000 political campaign, both presidential candidates spoke in favor of the idea. After his election, President Bush created the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and placed liaisons with FBOs in six cabinet departments. Although changes in the leadership of the White House office and the attack on the World Trade Center in September 2001 slowed the momentum somewhat, charitable choice remained a major part of the George W. Bush administration's domestic agenda.

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Chauncy, Charles (1705–1787) In his 60-year ministry at the prestigious First Church of Boston, Charles Chauncy made liberal theology the dominant force in that city to such an extent that it became the prevailing orthodoxy. While not as radical as his younger contemporary and friend JONATHAN MAYHEW, Chauncy espoused a reasonable, enlightened version of Christianity that set the stage for the emergence of Unitarianism (see UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY) in the next century.

Chauncy, born January 1, 1705, was not a cold-hearted rationalist but one who believed that human reason served as the integrative source of religious experience. This view gave him a positive vision of the role of human activity and human will in doing good. In this position, Chauncy found himself as the defender of the status quo, a leader of the "Old

Lights" against the revival movement known as the GREAT AWAKENING.

Chauncy viewed the revivals as a resurgence of the antinomian and enthusiastic heresies that his Puritan forefathers had crushed the century before. GEORGE WHITEFIELD he viewed as a theologically ignorant ranter. He felt that JONATHAN EDWARDS's congregation in Northamptom suffered from insanity.

The emotionalism and passion of the revivals demanded a response. Chauncy provided one in his *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (1743). This book, beyond providing a catalog of the emotional and behavioral excesses of the revivals, detailed Chauncy's view of human reason as the center of religious faith. He did not reject religious emotions but argued that they must be subordinated to reason if chaos, disorder, and schism were to be avoided.

Jonathan Edwards responded with *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746), one of the most significant works on religion ever written in America. Chauncy ignored it, having dismissed Edwards as a "visionary enthusiast not to be minded in anything he says."

While his opponents preached human sin and weakness, placing all in the hands of an omnipotent God, Chauncy turned the sermon into a lecture designed to expound religious truths and the moral obligations of humanity. His emphasis on the reasonableness of Christianity led him to a study of the doctrines of election and eternal damnation. These he could reconcile neither with reason nor with the existence of a benevolent deity. The conclusion to Chauncy was unavoidable. Salvation would be granted to all. By 1762, he had become convinced of this view, known as UNIVERSALISM, but hesitated making it known. Not until 1784, just three years before his death on February 10, 1787, would he publish his book on the subject, *The Salvation of All Men*, and then only anonymously in London.

Chauncy's views represented a transition from the Puritan theology of the 17th century toward the development of Unitarianism in the 19th century. The result would be a major alteration in the religious and social makeup of New England and especially Massachusetts.

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Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral See EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Christadelphians An outgrowth of ALEXANDER CAMPBELL'S RESTORATION MOVEMENT and the Adventism of WILLIAM MILLER, the Christadelphian movement has been more successful in Great Britain than in the United States, where it claims only a few thousand members. The movement is a significant example, however, of these two influential impulses in American religious life.

The founder of Christadelphianism was John Thomas (b. 1782), a medical doctor who immigrated from England to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1832. There Thomas was introduced to the Restorationist theology of Alexander Campbell. Convinced that it was the duty of 19th-century believers to restore the Christian church to its apostolic purity, Thomas was rebaptized and became a member of the Disciples of Christ (see CHRISTIAN CHURCH [DISCIPLES OF CHRIST]). Soon he was traveling across the country as an itinerant preacher for the Campbellite cause and editing a series of Campbellite periodicals, beginning with the *Apostolic Advocate* (established in 1834).

Thomas eventually split from Campbell over what he saw as a lack of attention to a key principle of the Christian movement: the imperative to restore the contemporary church to the primitive purity of apostolic Christianity (see PRIMITIVISM). "Disfellowshipped" by

Campbell in 1837, Thomas turned an eager ear to the millennial and apocalyptic teachings of William Miller's Adventists. Thomas then creatively combined themes from Miller and Campbell into his mature theology, which he articulated in a series of books, beginning with *Elpis Israel: An Exposition of the Kingdom of God with Reference to the Time of the End and the Age to Come* (1850).

The first Christadelphian "ecclesia" (Christadelphians prefer not to refer to their associations as "churches") emerged in 1852 in New York City. That group initially called itself the Royal Association of Believers. Not until 1864, when his followers needed to demonstrate their membership in a bona fide religious organization to justify their opposition to military service in the CIVIL WAR did Thomas refer to his movement as "Christadelphian" ("Brethren in Christ").

Like other religious sectarians, Christadelphians draw a sharp distinction between those who are "in the truth" and those who are not. One way they articulate their separation from the evils of the world is through their refusal to participate in government. Typically, Christadelphians are pacifists. They generally refuse to join political parties, vote, hold political office, or sit on juries. Each of these refusals, along with their taboo against marrying outside the Christadelphian fold, helps to ensure their purity in the midst of what they believe is a polluted world.

Christadelphian theology is based on the Bible, which according to believers is the infallible word of God. But Christadelphians interpret the Bible through the writings of their founder. They tend, as a result, to emphasize prophetic books, such as Daniel and Revelation, which they read alongside and in light of accounts of important historical events, especially military clashes, that signify in their view the imminence of the Second Advent of Christ.

Christadelphians distinguish themselves from other Restorationist and Adventist groups by their preference for Unitarianism over trinitarianism. Jesus is embraced as King of Israel and Son of God, but Christadelphians insist that he was "adopted" by God and thus did not exist before the creation of the world. In 2007, there were about 6,500 Christadelphians in around 200 ecclesias in the United States.

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Christian and Missionary Alliance See HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

Christian Broadcasting Network See ELECTRONIC CHURCH.

Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) traces its roots to the RESTORATION MOVEMENT of the early 19th century. The Restoration movement, an outgrowth of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, was composed of diverse religious elements all seeking to reestablish the primitive (see PRIMITIVISM) Christianity of New Testament times. Restorationism was marked by one primary goal: the reunification of all churches under the lordship of Jesus Christ and the absolute authority of the Bible.

In 1831, the two major Restorationist strands in the United States joined forces when many of BARTON W. STONE's "Christians" merged with ALEXANDER CAMPBELL's "Disciples." While its internal organization was not completed until 1849, a new body emerged out of the self-consciously nondenominational movements Campbell and Stone launched. Since Campbell preferred the name "Disciples of Christ," that became the label usually applied to the movement after 1831. (Stone's term, "Christian Church," while equally proper, was less commonly used.) Despite the fact that there was never perfect uniformity among the Disciples, emphasis on a New

Testament precedent for all beliefs and practices was central to the united movement.

Although the Disciples for many years refused to call themselves a denomination, because they believed such a designation was unbiblical, they still became the fastest-growing church in America in the 19th century. They competed with the Baptists and the Methodists in seeking the allegiance of common people on the western frontier. The Disciples were most successful in what is now the Midwest and the upper South. During the 1840s, they established two important institutions. Alexander Campbell founded Bethany College in western Virginia (West Virginia today) in 1840, and the Disciples created the American Christian Missionary Society, the movement's first semiofficial organization, in 1849. The sixth-largest religious body in the United States on the eve of the CIVIL WAR, the Disciples contained 192,000 members in 1860.

Since most of the church's leaders were border state moderates, the Civil War, which was so disruptive of other Protestant denominations, did not seriously threaten the Disciples' unity. In fact, the Disciples were one of the few American churches that did not split during the Civil War. However, a number of other factors, including continued growth, sociological diversity, and doctrinal disputes, soon threatened their unity after 1865. The inherent tension in the Restoration movement between primitivism, which demanded a literalistic interpretation of the Bible, and inclusivity, which allowed openness to the modern world, split the Disciples apart early in the 20th century.

The first schism was officially recognized in 1906, when the United States Census Bureau differentiated between the Disciples of Christ and the CHURCHES OF CHRIST, a group of highly conservative congregations. The use of pipe organs and instrumental music in churches, as well as the role of missionary societies and other ecclesiastical agencies, were cited as the reasons for the breakup. The issue dividing the two religious bodies, however, actually went far deeper than that. The true conflict was over how biblical teachings in general were to be applied to the present-day life of the church. Conservative congregations, of which the majority were located in the South, refused to follow what they believed were the more liberal, modern theological tendencies adopted by the church's leadership in the upper Midwest.

The Disciples' congregations that remained after the defection of their ultraconservative brethren were by no means wholly united in belief. While few questioned the old verities of 19th-century Restorationism, many of the denomination's leaders actively embraced new theological trends. In the early 20th century, in fact, the *Christian Century*, a Disciples journal that had begun as the *Christian Oracle* in 1884, became the most prominent forum of liberal Protestant opinion in America. This trend toward liberalism further exacerbated denominational ties already stretched to the breaking point by intellectual controversies over Darwinism and biblical criticism.

During the heyday of the dispute between fundamentalists and theological liberals in American Protestantism, conservatives within the Disciples of Christ accused their leadership of undercutting the traditional authority of the Scriptures. When the traditionalists did not think their concerns had been given a fair hearing, they formed their own alternative denominational body, the North American Christian Convention, in 1927. The boundary line between the Disciples and the new association of independent Christian churches was not always clear. The publication of a directory of the conservative congregations in 1955, however, clearly denoted where the division had occurred. And when the Disciples restructured themselves in 1968 and created a regional and national structure akin to the organization of other mainline Protestant (see MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM) denominations, an estimated 2,000 conservative congregations refused to acknowledge the change.

Throughout their history, the Disciples of Christ have maintained most of the practices common to the early Restoration movement: baptism by immersion for the forgiveness of sins as a condition for church membership, the celebration of Communion every Sunday, and the local autonomy of individual congregations. The Disciples also continue the tradition of having "no creed but the Bible." Always proponents of church unity, they were active in founding the Federal Council of Churches (1908), the World Council of Churches (1948), and the Consultation on Church Union (1962). Typical of all the mainstream denominations since the 1960s, moreover, the church has experienced a slight numerical decline in the last quarter-century. Some attribute the apparent defection of members to various liberal social pronouncements made by the national leadership in recent years.

While the denomination reported more than 2 million members in the late 1940s, those figures have now been cut in half. The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) had approximately 3,700 congregations and slightly more than 770,000 members in 2006.

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Christian Churches and Churches of Christ See CHURCHES OF CHRIST.

Christian Coalition See CHRISTIAN RIGHT.

Christian Commission See CIVIL WAR.

Christian Connection See RESTORATION MOVEMENT.

Christian Holiness Association See HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church Originally known as the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America until its name change in 1954, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (C.M.E.) has known a very different history from the two other historically black Methodist denominations. Like them, it owes its existence to disgust with racism, but whereas the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (A.M.E.) and AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH (A.M.E. Zion) emerged out of northern Methodism before the Civil War, the C.M.E. emerged from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the period following the war.

This separation, part amicable and part hostile, was symptomatic of the exodus of the former slaves from the churches of their erstwhile masters. African Americans' dissatisfaction with inferior status in the white church made them exceedingly susceptible to the missionary activity of the A.M.E. and A.M.E. Zion Churches, and by 1870, only 40,000 blacks remained in the southern Methodist church. In December of that year, with the blessing of the leadership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. The senior bishop and three ministers of the southern Methodist Church presided over the new denomination's organization, and the bishop consecrated the C.M.E.'s first two bishops, William H. Miles and Richard H. Vanderhorst.

Throughout the 19th century, the C.M.E. remained a primarily southern denomination, centered mostly in Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi. The increasing migration of southern blacks to the North meant that the church also migrated and by 1945 had expanded to 18 northern states. It remains the smallest of the three black Methodist churches, however, numbering about 850,000 in the United States in 2003. The denomination operates five colleges—Miles, Paine, Texas, Lane, and Mississippi Industrial—and one seminary, Phillips, which is affiliated with the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta.

(See also African-American religion; Methodists.)

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Christian Reformed Church The Christian Reformed Church was created out of the wave of Dutch immigrants who came to the American Midwest from 1840 to 1920 and were dissatisfied with the Dutch Reformed churches (see Reformed Church in America) already established there. The denomination had its institutional beginnings in April 1857 among a small group of settlers at Zeeland, Michigan, who formed the True Holland Reformed Church, later called the Christian Reformed Church. Most of the new Dutch settlers who entered Michigan and Iowa in the 1840s had already separated from the state church of the Netherlands over its supposed theological laxity. Refusal to join the main Reformed Dutch denomination, therefore, merely continued that separatist trend in America.

Earlier in the 19th century, some Dutch Reformed clergy already had expressed fears that revivalism would erode the doctrinal conservatism that had been the hallmark of the Reformed tradition. To resist this trend, Solomon Froeligh and other Dutch Reformed ministers in New York and New Jersey seceded from their church and formed the True Dutch Reformed Church in 1822. A later dispute within the Reformed Church in America over the propriety of its members being Freemasons led to another exodus of dissidents in 1882. Finally, in 1890, both the True Dutch Reformed Church and the 1882 secession movement were subsumed into the Christian Reformed Church. Dutch immigration to the United States helped this united denomination grow steadily into the early 20th century.

Although the language of its worship was changed to English in the 1930s, the denomination continues to be profoundly marked by its Dutch heritage. Maintaining an unceasing struggle against theological liberalism but rejecting narrow-minded fundamentalism, the Christian Reformed Church maintains a heartfelt piety mingled with strict adherence to the traditional confessions of Calvinism. A strong emphasis on intellectual matters has led members to support both the largest Protestant private school system in the United States and a heritage of theological education exemplified by Calvin College and Theological Seminary in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Still, the denomination has been doggedly insular and sectarian, refusing even to engage in ecumenical activity with a Christian body as compatible as the Reformed Church in America. An old proverb has sometimes been applied to explain this denomination's combative character: "One Dutchman a church, two Dutchmen a denomination, three Dutchmen a schism."

Consisting of about 275,000 members in more than 1,000 churches in 2008, the Christian Reformed Church seeks to be a solid bastion of conservative doctrine and church discipline in 21st-century America.

GHS, Jr.

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Christian Science Christian Science was one of the most successful new religious movements of 19th-century America. Incorporated by Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) in 1879, the Church of Christ (Scientist) distinguished itself from contemporaneous American religious creations such as Theosophy and Mormonism (see Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) by insisting that all healing should be accomplished by spirit and mind without the aid of drugs or doctors. Christian Science has exerted an important influence not only on adherents but also on New Thought and the positive thinking tradition popularized after World War II by Norman Vincent Peale.

Mary Baker Eddy was born Mary Morse Baker in rural New Hampshire in 1821. She suffered from a series of physical and nervous ailments and was an invalid for much of her early life. In 1862, Eddy met Phineas P. Quimby (1802–66), an itinerant mesmerist whose nonpharmaceutical cures relieved Eddy from many of her ailments. Soon Eddy was studying Quimby's theories regarding the mental origins of disease and using terms such as *Christian Science* and *science of health*.

Following Quimby's death in 1866, Eddy slipped on ice and severely injured her back. "On the third day" after this "fall," Eddy reportedly cured herself and "rose again" from her bed. Eddy later described this resurrection experience as the founding moment of Christian Science. From that point forward, she devoted herself to developing and spreading her own version of Quimby's science of health.

Eddy organized the first Christian Science service at her home in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1875. That same year she published the first edition of her most important book, *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*. Eddy organized the Christian Science Association in 1876 and incorporated the Church of Christ (Scientist) three years later. In 1881, she moved the church's headquarters to Boston, where in 1895 the spectacular "Mother Church" was built.

Led by Eddy (now "Mother" to the faithful), Christian Scientists publicized their theories and practices through a monthly, the *Christian Science Journal* (established in 1883), a weekly, the *Christian Science Sentinel* (1908), and a daily, the *Christian Science Monitor* (1908). Between 1881 and 1899, converts were taught and practitioners were trained at Eddy's Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Under its founder's firm direction, the church grew from a small band who followed a charismatic healer to a large and bureaucratic international institution. By the time of Eddy's death in 1910, the church boasted nearly 100,000 members. Her *Manual of the Mother Church* still functions as the movement's charter.

Any discussion of the theology of Christian Science must begin with Eddy's *Science and Health*, the distinctive scripture of the Church of Christ (Scientist). *Science and Health* is read alongside the Bible at Christian Science services, and in deference to the final and incontestable authority of both texts, no sermon is incorporated into the liturgy.

Eddy described the awakening in her of Christian Science as both a "discovery" and a "revelation," and, in keeping with her view that revelation was both natural and ongoing, she revised her life-work numerous times. Earlier versions of that text include references to HINDUISM, for example, while later versions do not. In all its iterations, however, *Science and Health* represents a decisive turn away from the modified CALVINISM of Eddy's youth. All editions of the book portray a friendly cosmos in which God is All and All is Mind. Only the spiritual world is real. Like matter itself, sickness, sin, pain, and death are illusions that can be manipulated by mental and spiritual means. Thus, Eddy urged her followers to shun both drugs and doctors and to rely on faith for their well-being and on Christian Science practitioners for healing.

Eddy moved beyond Quimby, who ignored theology in favor of therapy, to develop a theology for the science of health. But Christian Science still seems to appeal to its members more for its this-worldly benefits than for its otherworldly promises. More than everlasting salvation in a life to come, the church offers its members health, happiness, and prosperity here and now. Many Christian Scientists have apparently achieved at least some of those fruits. Members of the Church of Christ (Scientist) consistently rank very high in the United States in wealth per capita. A disproportionate number of Christian Scientists are, like their founder, women.

Christian Science has been described as a form of religious liberalism, and Eddy's theories do bear important resemblances to the TRANSCENDENTALISM of RALPH WALDO EMERSON and the pragmatism of WILLIAM JAMES. Like Emerson, Eddy shunned Calvinist verities such as the absolute sovereignty of God and the total depravity of humans in favor of a more optimistic and egalitarian worldview in which humans who are fundamentally good are united to a decidedly nonthreatening God. Eddy joined James in justifying her truths primarily on the pragmatic ground that they worked.

Christian Science has been called a "harmonial religion," but this description ignores Eddy's fundamental disagreements with practitioners of more unabashed forms of harmonialism such as New Thought. Eddy proved herself at least a bit more gloomy than her optimistic New Thought contemporaries when she insisted that human beings, at least in their unregenerate state, are not with God but against God. It is through Jesus Christ that Scientists (as members of the movement are called) are able to penetrate the illusions that keep them separate from God and so live a life of freedom from sickness and sin. Eddy further distinguished Christian Science from New Thought by her abiding conviction that the human mind was capable not only of healing through "animal magnetism" but of injuring through "malicious animal magnetism."

Following Eddy's death in 1910, Christian Science grew into an international movement with hundreds of churches and "Christian Science Reading Rooms." It also controls a major publishing house that includes a highly acclaimed newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor.* The *Monitor,* begun by Eddy in 1908, is widely noted for its objectivity and for covering stories underreported or ignored by other newspapers. Although final control rests with the church's board of directors, the newspaper has significant editorial freedom. There are a few areas, however, where the church's control affects its coverage. The newspaper rarely prints stories critical of the denomination, and its coverage of medicine and health tends to avoid criticizing the church's positions. Additionally, in its obituaries, the *Monitor* rarely mentions the cause of death, and the ages of individuals usually are not mentioned in the newspaper.

Since the late 1980s, the newspaper has experienced significant turmoil over its inability to turn a profit, and rumors have abounded about its possible sale or closure. Stories in other media also have turned a brighter light on the church and its wealth, particularly its extensive property holdings in downtown Boston. Such scrutiny generally is unwelcomed by the church, particularly given the ongoing debate over Christian Science healing.

Christian Scientists usually shun medical doctors and rely on the use of Christian Science healers. As a result, arguments regularly emerge in the wider society both about the validity of the practice and the legal culpability of Christian Science parents whose children die after being treated by such healers.

While many believe that the Constitution's "Free Exercise" clause (see FIRST AMENDMENT) protects such practices, this is not the case. A majority of states, however, do have laws limiting the criminal liability for parents who choose religious means to treat their children. These statutes came under increasing challenge during the 1980s and 1990s, as prosecutors charged parents with crimes in the death of children who did not receive traditional medical treatment. While some were prosecuted successfully, none involving Christian Scientists have held up on appeal. Publicity about these cases, however, has led some states to limit the religious exemption. In 1992, Massachusetts repealed much of its religious exemption following the death of a two-year-old boy whose Christian Science parents had used spiritual healing.

Membership in the denomination has declined steadily since the 1950s, and today it probably has fewer than 200,000 members in the United States. Despite this decline, the denomination has a seemingly ubiquitous presence through its Christian Science Reading Rooms. Christian Science also has a central place in American religious history as a vivid example of the vitality and creativity within American religious life.

SRP/EQ

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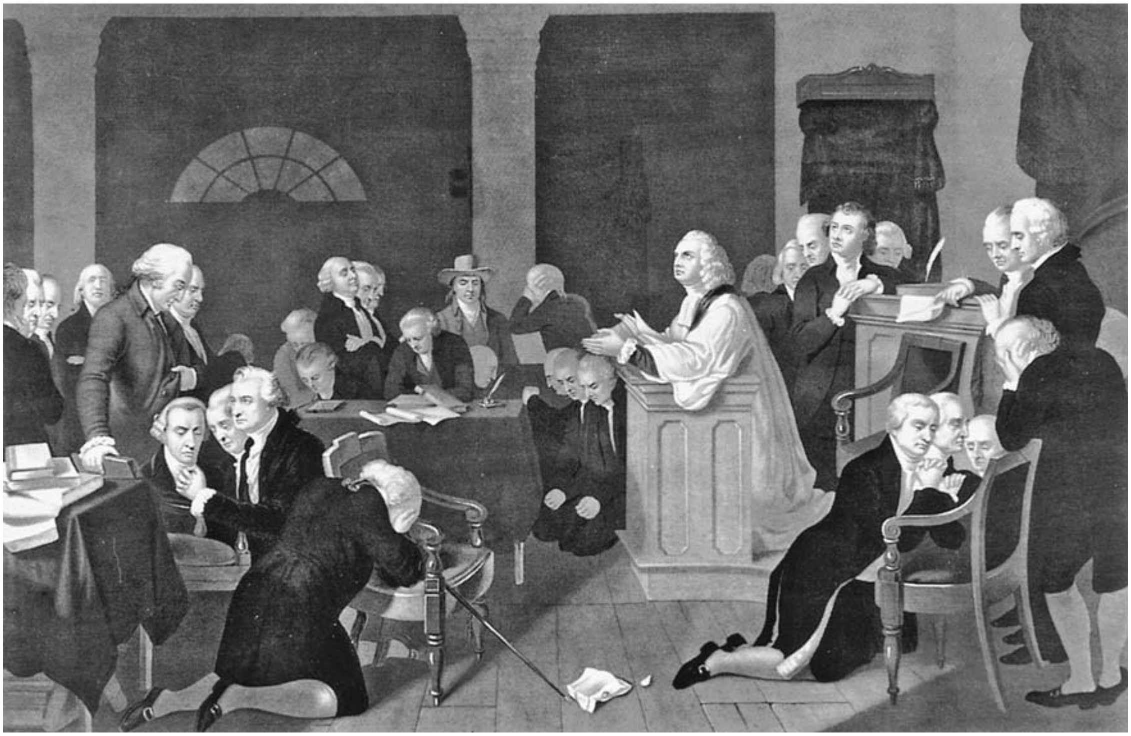
Christmas Conference

See METHODISTS.

church and state, relationship between

The relationship between religion and the state in the United States is an issue that has engaged the minds of some the nation's best thinkers, from THOMAS JEFFERSON to the late Supreme Court justice Hugo Black. The governments of the United States and of the states must constantly find a balance between two phrases in the FIRST AMENDMENT to the CONSTITUTION. One forbids the government from making any law respecting the establishment of religion, the other forbids any limits on the free exercise of religion. The need to interpret and apply these phrases to an increasingly complex religious landscape has made the federal judicial system the final arbiter of what is and is not allowable.

During the colonial period, an established church was the accepted ideal—in NEW SPAIN and NEW FRANCE, Roman Catholicism, in British America, Protestantism, either the Church of England or its congregational version known as PURITANISM. In the short-lived New Sweden and New Netherland, Lutheranism and the Dutch Reformed Church were established as well. These churches were supported by taxes, and membership in them often was required for the exercise of full civil rights—voting, holding public office, serving on juries. The strength and power of these establishments varied according to the will, circumstances, and resources of the colonies and their leaders.



The first prayer in Congress illustrates the complex relation of religion and government in the United States. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

Of all the colonies in British America, none was so scrupulous in maintaining its religious character as Massachusetts (see MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY). The Puritans desired religious and social uniformity and used the civil law to enforce religious behavior. While ministers held less real power than they had in most of Europe, they exercised a strong influence over public opinion. The persecution of one of its inhabitants, ROGER WILLIAMS, led to the creation of Rhode Island, the first colony to guarantee religious tolerance. The colony of Maryland (see MARYLAND [COLONY]) also allowed some religious leeway, although not as great as that permitted in Rhode Island. Founded as a refuge for English Catholics, Maryland allowed civil equality for everyone who did not deny the Trinity.

The period of the American Revolution changed this. The need to rally all segments of the population to support the war weakened the religious establishments. The hostility to the established churches by nonconforming groups and the growing influence of Enlightenment ideas strengthened this tendency. This was especially true in Virginia, where a coalition of deists, BAPTISTS, and Presbyterians ended the colony's religious establishment with the passage of Thomas Jefferson's "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom."

This same coalition was instrumental in forcing the adoption of a Bill of Rights to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing what is known as religious liberty. The Constitution originally applied only to the national government, however, and several states, primarily in New England, retained established churches. While such establishments were often merely nominal, they conferred influence and respectability to a particular church. These states could not stand against the tide, and the churches were slowly disestablished. Massachusetts was the last to yield, giving up its Congregational establishment in 1833.

That the early 19th century saw few judicial decisions on church-state issues does not mean there were no conflicts over religion and political affairs. Indeed, in these years, a semi-official religious establishment emerged. This was the heyday of the Protestant empire, when Protestant civilization and democratic values seemed coextensive. By midcentury, the growing influx of Catholic immigrants challenged the nation's Protestant predominance, resulting in numerous conflicts. A main source of contention was schools. Catholics objected neither to religious instruction nor Bible reading in the public schools. They did object to Protestant instruction and Protestant Bibles. Opposition to Protestant dominance sparked riots and violence in many states (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM).

Jews also suffered under this quasi establishment. Maryland, North Carolina, and New Hampshire retained colonial laws denying them full civil rights (holding state office, serving on juries) into the 19th century, although the evidence suggests enforcement was lax (see ANTI-SEMITISM).

With the passage of the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT, the number of legal challenges to state laws increased. Swelling immigration weakened the Protestant empire by diluting its numbers. By the 20th century, the federal courts were forced to arbitrate debates touching on religion.

There were several reasons for this. The first was the growing willingness of the federal courts to apply the First Amendment guarantees to the states through the use of the Fourteenth Amendment. The second reason was the dramatic increase of different religious groups in the nation. Attending this were growing conflicts among different religious perspectives. Finally, greater federal involvement in education, medical care, and social programs brought the national government (and tax money) into increasing contact with religious organizations.

The expansion of conflicts over religion in the 20th century forced the federal courts to decide what is and is not acceptable. During this century, the courts and especially the Supreme Court have groped slowly for a method of applying the First Amendment. The Court has declared numerous activities to be unconstitutional violations of the establishment clause. These have included the use of public schools for religious instruction even after school hours (*McCollum v. Board of Education*), government-sponsored prayer in school (*Engel v. Vitale*), and Bible reading in school (*Abington School District v. Schemp, Murray v. Curlett*).

The courts have had to determine when laws undermined the free exercise of religion. Most of these decisions guaranteed protection to religious minorities. Many involved the JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, and the Court has overturned laws limiting their ability to distribute literature and upheld their right to refuse to salute the flag (*Cantwell v. Connecticut, West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*).

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the issue of free exercise took a surprising turn. Many conservative religious organizations that previously opposed attempts to remove religion from the public schools began to argue that their free exercise of religion was violated by the introduction of secular-humanistic religion into the public schools, primarily through the teaching of evolution (see CREATIONISM). While the federal courts have not accepted such arguments, they have been more inclined to allow tangential involvement between governments and religion based on the free-exercise clause. Resulting decisions have allowed the placement of nativity scenes and menorahs in city halls and state capitols.

The end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century found the conflicts over church and state intense in many ways and confused in others. Concern about the perceived relaxation of the Supreme Court's standard of review in determining whether a law unduly burdened religious liberty issues led Congress to pass the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) in 1993. Supported by religious groups from across the political spectrum, it was declared unconstitutional in 1997 as a violation of both separation of powers and federalism.

Additionally, the tendency of politicians of all stripes to look to faith-based service providers to address seemingly intractable social problems led to a relaxation of the limitations under which some thought these agencies suffered when accepting government funds. While the implications of this "Charitable Choice" provision of the welfare reform bill of 1996 remain hidden, the thinking behind it played a major role in the 2000 presidential elections as both major candidates made strong pleas for greater involvement by religious communities in meeting social needs. In fact, one of the first actions of the newly inaugurated George W. Bush was the establishment of the Office of Faith-based Community Organizations.

The perception that the United States was beset by unending social evils—school shootings, drug abuse, single motherhood—led to increased demands for a greater religious presence in schools. Everything from a return to prayer in schools to posting the Ten Commandments in schools and other public places was demanded as a way of fighting this seeming moral decay. The result was greater litigation in local courts, with some of the cases eventually finding their way to the Supreme Court. These cases concerned prayer during graduation ceremonies and the funding of religious newspapers at public universities. The decisions in these cases have not demonstrated a coherent First Amendment jurisprudence at the beginning of the 21st century, making it increasingly difficult to discuss the developments in what already was a confused arena.

Some things can be said, however. The first is that if something breaks the connection between the government and religion, particularly as it relates to the issue of individual choice, the Supreme Court is reluctant to find a violation of the Establishment clause. For example, if an individual can receive monies directly to seek a particular service and there exists a variety of service providers, then the individual may choose a provider with an express religious component, even if the government reimburses the organization directly rather than the individual. The legal right of the individual to that money and the individual's choice become the operative components. The government, however, cannot contract directly with providers that have express religious content in their services. One way of looking at this is that the government cannot buy religious services directly, but it can pay for individuals to receive a service with religious content when that individual is legally entitled to the service.

If, however, the situation suggests that the government is sponsoring the activity, such as a high school football game or a graduation ceremony at a public school, then no government actors, be they coaches, principals, or school board members may initiate any form of religious practice, namely prayers. This would violate the Establishment clause of the Constitution. If a student commencement speaker were to deliver a speech with an express religious content, school officials could not stop her or him from doing so. This would be an unconstitutional violation of her or his religious exercise.

The contentious issues of EVOLUTION and CREATIONISM continued to be fought out in the courts throughout the last two decades of the

20th century and into the 21st. The courts have been consistent in affirming that creationism, in all its forms, is inherently religious and cannot be taught as science in public schools without violating the Establishment clause of the Constitution.

Since new issues raise new questions about the definition of what constitutes an establishment or the limits of free expression, there never can be an end to the litigation over the appropriate relationship between church and state. What is fortunate, however, is that these conflicts are solved in the courts and not in the streets.

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Churches of Christ The Churches of Christ (Noninstrumental) and the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ (Independent) are associations of churches that represent the most conservative wing of the RESTORATION MOVEMENT. In 1831, the major American Restorationist strands, under the leadership of BARTON STONE and ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, together formed a single denominational body called the Disciples of Christ (see CHRISTIAN CHURCH [DISCIPLES OF CHRIST]). In the early 20th century, this coalition broke apart as two large groups of theologically conservative congregations left separately and organized their own quasi-denominational organizations.

Thomas Campbell, one of the early leaders of the Restoration movement, coined the phrase that best describes the Restorationists' original intent: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." Alexander Campbell, Thomas's son, believed that the Bible contained a clear description of those aspects of the early church that ought to be reconstructed. He thought Christians should reject the empty theological divisions that separated them and reunite to restore the purity of the apostolic age. Barton Stone was committed to similar goals, though he was less interested in structures than in simple holiness. Stone's followers tended to reject "worldly" concerns and were generally antimodern in their intellectual outlook. While these dissimilarities were overlooked when Stone and Campbell brought their groups together in the 1830s, they presaged a later conflict.

A critical figure in the breakup of the Restoration movement was Tennessee preacher DAVID LIPSCOMB. Lipscomb stressed three important teachings. First, he thought loyalty to the plain teachings of Scripture required that believers take no active role in politics or in other earthly affairs. He looked forward to the return of Christ, when all human governments would be destroyed and the thousand-year reign of Christ would be inaugurated. Second, Lipscomb attacked the use of instrumental music. (Hence, the term *noninstrumental* as a title for the churches that followed his leadership.) He considered church organs as worldly contrivances with no warrant either in the Bible or in the worship of the early church. Third, Lipscomb opposed missionary societies and other ecclesiastical agencies. He feared they only routinized the sacred and detracted from genuine Christian spirituality.

The popularity of Lipscomb's positions in the late 19th century symbolized that a clear division had taken place within his denomination. In 1906, after prodding by Lipscomb, the United States Census Bureau officially recognized the existence of two separate organizations: Lipscomb's militantly antimodern Churches of Christ (Noninstrumental) and the more mainstream Disciples of Christ. The census of 1906 also revealed marked sectional differences between the two groups. Of the Churches of Christ's 159,000 members, 100,000 lived in states that had seceded from the Union in 1860 and 1861. Even today, an overwhelming majority of members in the Churches of Christ live within 200 miles of a line drawn from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to El Paso, Texas.

Other social divisions split Restorationist groups in the 20th century. The census of 1936, for instance, showed that, while the majority of the members of the northern-dominated Disciples of Christ lived in urban areas, more than half of the Churches of Christ's members were affiliated with rural churches. Lipscomb had earlier articulated what that distinction meant for him: His conservatives wanted people to come to Christ, but "the society folks" (i.e., the Disciples) only desired "fine houses, fashionable music, and eloquent speeches."

The Churches of Christ grew rapidly during the early 20th century, thanks largely to their evangelistic fervor. They spread their message with virtually no denominational organization or financial support for their preachers. Religious periodicals proved to be a unifying force in the movement, especially Lipscomb's *Gospel Advocate.* The Churches of Christ also founded a number of colleges that acted as centers of influence: David Lipscomb College in Nashville; Harding College in Searcy, Alabama; Abilene Christian University in Abilene, Texas; and Pepperdine University in Los Angeles.

The focus on biblical authority, the impulse that initially persuaded the Churches of Christ to separate themselves from the Disciples of Christ, however, tended to encourage further sundering of the conservative movement. In the 1930s, for example, Louisville preacher Robert H. Boll took a strong premillennialist (see PREMILLENNIALISM) stand. When the majority of the church rejected his position, approximately 100 congregations became alienated from the Churches of Christ. Recent disputes have concerned such matters as marriage and divorce, the covering of women's heads in worship, and the number of cups used in Communion services. The search for the purity of the early church, therefore, has often led members of the Churches of Christ into bitter controversy with one another.

The Christian Churches and Churches of Christ (Independent) are a second group of conservative congregations that drifted away from the Disciples of Christ early in the 20th century. During the heyday of the battle between fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM) and theological liberals in American Protestantism, conservatives within the Disciples accused their leadership of undercutting the traditional authority of the Bible. When the traditionalists did not think their concerns had been given a fair hearing, they formed their own denominational body, the North American Christian Convention, in 1927. Although the boundary line between the Disciples and the new association of independent Christian Churches was not originally clear, the publication of a directory of conservative congregations in 1955 helped denote where the division had occurred. And when the Disciples restructured themselves in 1968 and created a regional and national structure akin to the organization of other mainline denominations, an estimated 2,000 conservative congregations officially withdrew their names from the Disciples *Year Book.*

The Christian Churches and Churches of Christ (Independent) have much in common with American EVANGELICALISM. They believe that the Bible is divinely inspired, and they are opposed to most forms of theological and social liberalism. They have been distinguished as well by their belief in the necessity of baptism by immersion as a condition for church membership. These churches are divided, however, over the question of whether the forgiveness of sins occurs before or during the act of baptism.

The Churches of Christ (Noninstrumental) is the largest of the three denominational bodies that presently make up the American Restoration movement. It reported more than 14,500 congregations and nearly 2 million members in 2006. The Christian Churches and Churches of Christ (Independent) now contain more than 13,000 congregations and about 1.3 million members.

GHS, Jr.

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Church of England See ANGLICANISM.

Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) See HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee)

The Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) is the second-oldest Pentecostal (see PENTECOSTALISM) denomination in the United States. The origins of the church lie in a revival that occurred in east Tennessee in 1886, when eight Baptists joined together and dedicated themselves to the ideal of restoring primitive Christianity. Organized in 1902 as the Holiness Church of Camp Creek (North Carolina), the denomination moved to Cleveland, Tennessee, and adopted its present name in 1907.

The Pentecostal movement emerged out of American Protestantism in the early 20th century. The AZUSA STREET REVIVAL, a period of intense religious excitement at a storefront church in Los Angeles, sparked Pentecostalism's growth after 1906. Part of a diverse movement that eventually inspired millions, Pentecostals were united by one central conviction: the belief that religious conversion must be followed by a second miraculous experience known as the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The ability to speak in tongues, that is, uttering ecstatic languages intelligible only to God (also known as glossolalia), was generally considered evidence that a person had received Spirit baptism.

The Church of God originated in the late 19th century in the mountainous region that covers eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina. The Tennessee Baptists who united in 1886 merged with a similar group of North Carolinians who had spoken in tongues at a revival held near Camp Creek, North Carolina, in 1896. The two groups adopted a formal church government in 1902.

The Camp Creek organization might well have remained in obscurity if it had not been for the leadership of A. J. TOMLINSON, an itinerant preacher and erstwhile Sunday school superintendent. In 1889, Tomlinson had organized a congregation that advocated Holiness doctrines of entire sanctification and Christian PERFECTIONISM. After several years of missionary work spreading these teachings in the Tennessee and North Carolina mountains, Tomlinson encountered and quickly assumed control over the Camp Creek church. He renamed the organization the Church of God to emphasize that it was the only true church, a community in continuity with the church of New Testament times. In 1909, Tomlinson was elected general moderator (later called general overseer) of the new denomination.

The acceptance of faith healing and glossolalia quickly set the Church of God apart from other churches in the area. After learning of the doctrine of divine healing taught by Pentecostal minister Carrie Judd Montgomery, Tomlinson began praying for the healing of the sick in his revival services. His ideas about Christian holiness convinced him that God would not merely help believers overcome sin in the present life, but would bring them physical healing as well. In January 1908, Tomlinson underwent a tremendous spiritual experience that was the Spirit baptism he longed to receive. From that point on, he looked upon the ability to speak in tongues as evidence of divine favor, and glossolalia became a regular feature of worship in the Church of God.

A general assembly of the denomination's ministers met yearly in various locations between 1906 and 1920. In 1920, a new auditorium was built in Cleveland, Tennessee, and while the general assembly has since gathered in a number of places, the church's headquarters have remained in Cleveland. After the creation of the post of general overseer, Tomlinson held the position and also edited the denomination's official journal, *The Church of God Evangel.* However, his refusal to share power with other church officers alienated his colleagues and led to a schism in the church. Accused of financial mismanagement, Tomlinson was deposed from his position in 1923.

Tomlinson took about 2,000 adherents with him to form a new denomination, which he also named Church of God. Following a lengthy period of litigation, the original denomination retained its name, and Tomlinson's denomination eventually accepted the designation Church of God of Prophecy. Although this church also split when Tomlinson died in 1943, his son Milton retained control over the main body. Tomlinson's Church of God of Prophecy, like the Church of God, maintains its headquarters in Cleveland and now has around 73,000 members.

In 1948, the Church of God formulated an official declaration of faith professing such conservative theological beliefs as the verbal inspiration of the Bible and the premillennial (see PREMILLENNIALISM) return of Jesus Christ. The church also affirmed the distinctive doctrines of Pentecostalism, namely, the availability of divine healing and the belief that baptism of the Spirit is evidenced by speaking in tongues. The denomination's strength remains in the region of the South where it was first formed, being heavily concentrated in Tennessee and North Carolina. In 2006 the Church of God reported approximately 1 million members in more than 6,500 congregations.

GHS, Jr.

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Church of God in Christ The Church of God in Christ (COGIC) is the oldest Pentecostal (see PENTECOSTALISM) denomination in the United States. Founded in Mississippi in 1897 by Baptist ministers C. H. Mason and Charles Price Jones and comprised primarily of African Americans, COGIC has grown over the years from a small sect into a substantial denomination. Today it is the largest black Pentecostal body in the world.

The Pentecostal movement, which emerged out of American Protestantism in the early 20th century, has produced more than 300 denominations and several million adherents. One conviction unites all members of this otherwise diverse movement: the belief that religious conversion must be followed by a second transforming experience called the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The ability to speak in tongues, that is, employing ecstatic, incoherent forms of speech intelligible only to God, is considered evidence that a person has been baptized in the Spirit.

The Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles is commonly considered the birthplace of American Pentecostalism. The revival was started in 1906 by William J. Seymour, a black Holiness preacher. Seymour earlier had espoused the doctrine of entire sanctification, the belief that Christians could be set free from the power of sin and attain holiness in the present life. In 1905, he accepted that speaking in tongues was proof of sanctification, and in April 1906, the group he led experienced its first outbreak of glossolalia. When the private home he used became too small for the crowds flocking to his revival, Seymour moved the meetings to an old building at 312 Azusa Street in a rundown section of Los Angeles.

At the height of the revival, worship at the Azusa Street Mission was held three times a day, beginning at midmorning and continuing past midnight. Miraculous healings and a general spiritual ecstasy marked the event. The revival also was notable for its interracial makeup, a feature some observers saw as a special sign of divine favor. Thousands flocked to Azusa Street. Seymour's ministry helped spark important growth in the Pentecostal movement, because many visitors who participated in the Los Angeles revival took its message back to their local churches.

C. H. Mason, then pastor of a Holiness congregation in Memphis, Tennessee, was among the people who came to the West Coast in that period. Mason, who had undergone a dramatic religious experience in 1880, was licensed as a Baptist preacher in 1893. Two years later, Mason met another Baptist preacher, Charles Price Jones of Jackson, Mississippi. Jones and Mason worked closely together for several years and formed a loose confederation of Holiness congregations that they named the Church of God in Christ. After hearing about worshipers speaking in tongues at the Azusa Street revival, Mason traveled to Los Angeles to witness the event firsthand. In March 1907, he himself experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. Mason stayed in Los Angeles for five weeks, before returning home to report on what had occurred.

At his church in Memphis, Mason began to hold meetings lasting from 7:30 in the evening until 6:30 the next morning. Soon even the city's white newspapers took notice of this activity as people came to Mason's church to witness to their faith, to be healed of their illnesses, and to speak in tongues. Although Jones disapproved of Mason's Pentecostal practices and eventually parted company with him, most of the nascent denomination remained loyal to Mason. Mason's group kept the name Church of God in Christ and incorporated itself in the fall of 1907. Mason was elected general overseer of the church, a post he held until his death in 1961.

After Mason's death, the issue of authority surfaced, and for a time COGIC was divided into three contending factions. Each group claimed to be Mason's genuine successor, and all adopted the same denominational name. Six years of litigation led to the convening of a constitutional convention, which determined that an elected board of bishops would oversee the work of the church. James O. Patterson, Mason's son-in-law, was elected presiding bishop, and despite some defections, most dissident ministers and their congregations returned to the main fold.

The complexity of the denomination's governance sets it apart from the generally loose associations typical of other Pentecostal churches. The denomination also is more concerned with social problems than most white Pentecostals. Although its membership statistics may be somewhat inflated, its influence in the African-American community is unquestionably immense. Still headquartered in Memphis, COGIC reported more than 6 million members in more than 15,000 congregations in 2008.

(See also Holiness movement.)

GHS, Jr.

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Church of God of Prophecy See CHURCH OF GOD (CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE).

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) is the largest denomination of the Mormon movement. One of America's most successful and controversial new religious traditions, Mormonism emerged in the 1830s out of Christianity in much the same way that Christianity emerged from Judaism—by claiming to fulfill the promises of the tradition out of which it emerged even as it reformed that tradition's doctrines, practices, and institutions. Mormons accept the Bible ("so far as it is correctly translated") as divinely inspired Scripture, but they have added to the Christian tradition new scriptures (including the BOOK OF MORMON), new doctrines (e.g., the plurality and corporeality of gods and the "eternal progression" of humans toward divinity), and new practices, such as polygamy, marriage for eternity, and baptism for the dead by proxy. Because of these and other innovations, Mormonism is seen by some scholars not as another Christian denomination but as an entirely new religious creation. Mormons, however, typically describe themselves as Christians.

Mormonism first appeared publicly in 1830, the year that JOSEPH SMITH, JR., published the Book of Mormon and organized the Church of Jesus Christ in Fayette, New York. This church is now known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints because of Smith's conviction that the saints of God were living in the last days before the return of Jesus Christ. Smith's new scripture and new church synthesized venerable Jewish and Christian themes with the 19th-century concerns of the BURNED-OVER DISTRICT of western New York state. Like other liberal religious traditions that prospered in that region, Mormonism rejected harsh Calvinist orthodoxies such as predestination and original sin in favor of more modest accounts of divine sovereignty and more generous accounts of human character. It also participated in the populist strain of other Burned-Over District religious movements by minimizing the distinction between clergy and laity.

The Book of Mormon presents itself as a historical work narrating the New World drama of two ancient Hebraic peoples who sailed to the Americas long before Columbus. Both these groups eventually died out, but one left Native Americans as a remnant. Another claim of the book is that after his death and resurrection, Jesus Christ came to America, where he preached, performed miracles, ordained disciples, and established a Christian church. These early Christians eventually turned from God and thus disappeared, but they left behind a secret history of their New World experiences engraved on gold plates by a father named Mormon (hence "Mormonism") and a son, Moroni. Moroni developed over time from a human into an angel and eventually led Smith to this hidden historical treasure.

In their early history, the Latter-day Saints moved frequently, largely as a result of anti-Mormon propaganda and persecution. Wherever they settled, Mormons were greeted by debunkers who denounced Mormonism as heresy and the Book of Mormon as fraud. On a number of occasions, this criticism precipitated violence. Smith typically responded to this violence by uprooting his church and moving west. He transplanted his church from New York to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, then to locations in Missouri, and, finally, to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839.

The Mormons experienced both economic prosperity and demographic growth in Nauvoo, but in the early 1840s Smith announced a series of new beliefs and practices that solidified brewing anti-Mormon sentiment and secured his own martyrdom. The most controversial such practice was "plural marriage," or polygamy. In January of 1844, he announced himself as a candidate for the United States presidency. Later that same year, anti-Mormon sentiment erupted into violence. Smith and his brother Hyrum were arrested and imprisoned in Carthage, Illinois. On June 27, 1844, an anti-Mormon mob sacked the jail and killed Smith and his brother.

After Smith's death, a struggle ensued over the leadership and direction of the Mormon movement. This battle resulted in the division of Mormonism into its two main groups: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as the Utah Mormons), which followed BRIGHAM YOUNG and affirmed controversial practices such as polygamy, and the much smaller Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (the COMMUNITY OF CHRIST), which followed Joseph Smith III and denied polygamy and other Nauvoo innovations as both unbiblical and contrary to the Book of Mormon.

Young's most celebrated act as Smith's successor was his spearheading of a massive Mormon migration, between 1846 and 1848, to the state of "Deseret" in the basin of the Great Salt Lake in present-day Utah. There, under Young's tenure as territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, the Mormons prospered as they once had in Nauvoo under Smith. Initially they emphasized their distinctiveness from the rest of American religion and culture, but after midcentury the Mormons felt increasing pressure to conform. A federal law passed in 1862 made polygamy illegal; in 1879, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld antipolygamy laws as constitutional; and an 1882 act disfranchised all polygamists. As a result of these actions, a number of Utah Mormons were imprisoned in the early 1880s. Finally, in 1890, LDS president Wilford Woodruff announced a new revelation against plural marriage. This change, accompanied by the abandonment of a nascent Mormon political party, paved the way for Utah statehood in 1896.

The temple in Salt Lake City, Utah, is a mecca for Mormans worldwide. *(Library of Congress)*

Not all members of the denomination recognized the new revelation, however, and many continued to practice polygamy. Initially, this was an underground movement within the denomination itself. As the church became more aggressive in excommunicating those who continued the practice, polygamists established their own "churches" and undertook a clandestine existence, particularly in the vastness of the Rocky Mountain and intramontane West. During the 1990s and 2000s, the presence of these communities became the source of much tabloid journalism as several leaders of breakaway Mormon groups faced prosecution for polygamy and "statutory rape" for taking underage wives.

Interestingly the church has managed to become viewed both as an intensely patriotic and "American" denomination while remaining a fairly controversial and distinct subculture. While much of the latter results from its secretiveness and the intense commitment of its members, in many ways the church always has been aggressively countercultural. During the 19th century, this was seen in its adoption of polygamy. In the late 20th century, the church was distinguished most by its strict ethical codes and commitment to traditional gender roles and family life. Mormons are enjoined to abstain from alcohol, tobacco, and caffeine, and most Mormon youths, particularly males, spend at least a year doing mission work for the church. Even established Mormon professionals often leave their jobs to undertake mission work of several months, if not years. Mormons also are under a religious obligation to practice "provident living," avoiding debt and overspending. Additionally, they are prodigious givers to charity (see PHILANTHROPY), being required to tithe as part of church doctrine. Many liberals view the church's position on women and personal morality with much suspicion, while evangelical Protestants often continue to deny that it is a Christian denomination at all.

During the 1960s and 1970s the group drew fire for its refusal to ordain African Americans to the priesthood—a policy reversed by a new revelation in 1978. Many observers identify the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as the fastest growing major religion in the world. In 2008, it claimed an American membership of more than 5.7 million and a worldwide membership of 13 million.

SRP/EQ

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Church of the Brethren (Dunkers) The Church of the Brethren is an anticreedal, pietist denomination of German origin that stands alongside the Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]) and the MENNONITES as one of America's three major "peace churches."

Like other Anabaptist groups, the Brethren are primitivists (see PRIMITIVISM) who aim to restore at least a remnant of modern Christianity to its ancient purity. They practice a number of rituals attributed to the apostolic church, including foot washing, the holy kiss, the love feast, and anointing of the sick. They live simply and avoid drugs and alcohol. The Brethren follow other Anabaptist groups in rebaptizing adult converts, but their method of adult baptism is distinctive. Typically, they immerse the initiate three times, face first, in running water. Because of this practice of "trine immersion," members of the Church of the Brethren are popularly referred to as Dunkers, from the German *tunken* ("to dip or immerse").

The founder of the Church of the Brethren was Alexander Mack, Sr. (1679–1735), a radical pietist (see PIETISM) who in 1708 in Schwarzenau, Germany, called the first group of Brethren out of the German Reformed tradition in which he (and most of them) had been reared. The eight founding members of the group devoted themselves to Bible study, prayer, and fellowship. In typically pietist fashion, they minimized the importance of Christian doctrine and eschewed creeds. They incorporated ostensibly apostolic rituals such as foot washing into their Holy Communion services. Like other Anabaptists, they rebaptize adult members and manifest their withdrawal from the world by refusing to take oaths, fight wars, or otherwise participate in government. Initially, they also practiced celibacy and a form of Christian communism, but those practices later fell away.

Largely because of their pacifism and unyielding commitment to the separation of church and state, the Dunkers were persecuted in Europe. The first group of Brethren migrated to America in 1719, seeking religious freedom. A second group came with Mack 10 years later, virtually emptying Europe of Dunkers. Like many other German sectarian groups, these members of the Church of the Brethren settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania, where they enjoyed a climate of greater tolerance and established the first New World congregation.

One of the most famous of the German-born Dunkers was Christopher Sauer (1693–1758), who came to America in 1724. Like Mack, Sauer was educated at the University of Halle. He worked as a medical doctor in Germantown and a farmer in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, before turning to printing, the profession that would bring him fame. He began publishing the *Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschichts-Schreiber* for the benefit of German-speaking Americans in 1739. In 1743, he produced a German edition of Luther's Bible, the first Western-language version of the Christian Scriptures printed in the Americas.

The Dunkers, who like the Mennonites eventually left urban areas for rural lives devoted to agriculture, existed in North America for nearly 200 years before they came to be known officially as the Church of the Brethren. Like other pietistic sects of German origin, they have suffered multiple schisms. Between 1881 and 1883 both a progressive and an ultraconservative faction split off from the main body of Brethren. The progressive group, whose members sought to downplay their German roots by accommodating themselves to American culture, formed the Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers). The ultraconservative schismatics established the Old German Baptist Brethren (Old Order Dunkers), which objected to practices, including the payment of salaries to ministers and the establishment of church-based schools and missionary societies, that in their view contravened apostolic models.

Another important offshoot of the Church of the Brethren was the EPHRATA COMMUNITY, a monastic group established in 1732 at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, by Conrad Beissel (1691–1768), a German-born pietist inclined toward solitude and asceticism. Because of their observation of the Sabbath on Saturday rather than Sunday, Beissel's followers came to be called the German Seventh-day Baptists.

The Church of the Brethren has endured its schisms by maintaining a middling position between its progressive and ultraconservative offspring. A member of both the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, it has roughly 132,000 congregants in the United States. Like other peace churches, the Church of the Brethren maintains voluntary associations devoted to assisting its conscientious objectors. Other voluntary associations, such as Brethren Volunteer Service, provide humanitarian relief to the needy both at home and abroad.

SRP

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Church of the Nazarene The Church of the Nazarene is the largest American denomination to emerge out of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT of the 19th century. It was founded in 1908 through the union of several religious bodies, including Phineas F. Bresee's Church of the Nazarene in Southern California and the eastern-based Association of Pentecostal Churches. The denomination emphasizes the doctrine of entire sanctification as a "second blessing" that comes to believers after conversion. Nazarenes believe that, by the action of divine grace, Christians can be freed from inbred sin, brought into a state of full devotion to God, and enabled to adopt a lifestyle reflecting "holiness of heart."

Phineas Bresee, a Methodist clergyman and pastor of the First Methodist Church in Los Angeles, first encountered the Holiness movement during his ministry at that church. Some members of the congregation requested Bresee to call evangelists from the National Holiness Association, an organization founded in 1867 to help lead Methodists back to John Wesley's teachings on Christian perfection (see PERFECTIONISM). Bresee soon underwent an experience of sanctification and began conducting revivals with the aid of Holiness preachers. Conflict with his bishop over these activities, however, eventually forced Bresee to withdraw from the Methodist ministry in 1895.

Holiness leaders like Bresee believed in the importance of opposing the worldliness they saw spreading within American Methodism. Attempting to revive the simplicity of the early Wesleyan movement, they organized churches that welcomed, rather than rejected, the poor. With such goals in mind, Bresee founded a congregation known as the Church of the Nazarene in Los Angeles in 1895. Similar in some ways to the SOCIAL GOSPEL then being preached in mainline Protestant denominations, Bresee's ministry offered both spiritual and material care to modern city-dwellers. The Church of the Nazarene proved to be hugely successful, and the organization grew rapidly.

The eastern branch of the future Church of the Nazarene began when several independent congregations merged into the Association of Pentecostal Churches in 1896. Many of these churches were led by clergy who left the Methodist Episcopal Church because of its opposition to their teachings on sanctification and Christian perfection. Representatives of the association met with Bresee, and in 1907 the two groups united at Chicago to form the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. The following year, this church also accepted the Holiness Church of Christ, a southern group, into its membership at a meeting in Pilot Point, Texas. By 1915, the new church numbered nearly 35,000 members. The title *Pentecostal* was dropped in 1919 in order to avoid confusion with groups that spoke in tongues, a practice the Nazarenes did not embrace.

Since the Church of the Nazarene emerged out of American Methodism, its beliefs reflect many features of the WESLEYAN TRADITION. Like Methodist founder John Wesley, Nazarenes teach that faith necessarily has a social component. True to Wesley's Perfectionist moral ideals, they pledge themselves to assisting the poor, hungry, and sick while refraining from the use of alcohol, tobacco, or drugs. Their Articles of Faith (contained in the denomination's *Manual*) also condemn the "indulging of pride" in either behavior or dress. Finally, Nazarenes are committed to missionary work both in American cities and in more than 80 locations outside the United States.

Headquartered in Kansas City, Missouri, the Church of the Nazarene reported in 2006 an American membership of approximately 630,000 people in nearly 4,900 congregations.

GHS, Jr.

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Church of the United Brethren in Christ

See UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.

Circuit Riders Circuit Riders were the itinerant Methodist preachers who spread Methodism throughout the American frontier. By the mid-19th century, the work of these men had made Methodism the largest Christian denomination in the United States.

The circuit rider system owed its genesis both to early Methodist doctrine and the realities of 17th- and 18th-century American life. Doctrinally, the idea of itinerancy goes back to John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Wesley firmly believed his duty was to take the Christian message anywhere and everywhere, proclaiming once that "The world is my parish."

This obligation to take Christian teaching wherever people needed it was challenged by the realities of the American landscape. Numerous individuals spread over vast distances required the creation of a ministry able to travel those distances. While Methodism did have a system of settled ministers, throughout the 19th century, most Methodist ministers were itinerants. They had responsibility for a series of churches or communities within a set geographical area; this area, known as a circuit, was his charge. Since horseback was the only logical means of travel, these Methodist ministers soon became known as circuit riders. Tradition has it that one of the first questions a Methodist bishop asked regarding a candidate for the ministry was, "Has he a horse?"

The minister was expected to visit every church in his charge during the course of a year and, additionally, gain converts and start Methodist churches in those communities lacking one. Many circuit riders had charges that encompassed vast areas. With few roads and bridges and minimal amenities, their ministries required a sense of duty and obligation.

Despite working with little supervision in sparsely populated areas, the typical circuit rider was committed to fulfilling his ministerial obligations. The circuit riders struggled with grueling travel conditions, bad weather, and poverty. They lived in the most difficult conditions, sleeping wherever they could find a room. Often they slept outdoors when darkness found them miles from any habitation. They ate whatever was available. In his autobiography, PETER CARTWRIGHT, one of the most famous circuit riders, wrote that he "ate roasting ears for bread, drank butter-milk for coffee; took deer or bear meat, or wild turkey, for breakfast, dinner, and supper. This was old-fashioned Methodist preacher fare and fortune." More than half of all the circuit riders in service prior to 1847 died before the age of 30, and two-thirds died before they had spent 12 years as an itinerant.

Weather, illness, poverty, and exhaustion took their toll, but so did hostility and violence. Another notable preacher, Freeborn Garretson, wrote, "I was pursued by the wicked, knocked down, and left almost dead on the highway, my face scarred and bleeding and then imprisoned." Cartwright's autobiography also detailed numerous physical attacks on him during his career.

Francis Asbury, the first Methodist bishop in the United States, illustrates the reality of this life. From his detailed letters and writings, historians have estimated that Asbury traveled more than 270,000 miles and preached more than 16,000 sermons during his career. When exhaustion finally overtook him and he was forced to recuperate at White Sulphur Springs (now West Virginia), Asbury continued to read a minimum of 100 pages a day, led public prayers five times daily, preached publicly every other day, and gave a lecture nightly.

Such dedication, commitment, and sheer endurance led to the numerical growth and geographical expansion of Methodism in the United States. In 1784, Methodism in the newly independent United States was a small (15,000 members) and suspect denomination, hindered by its association with England; 60 years later it had more than a million members and a position of dominance in American Protestantism that it would hold until well into the 20th century.

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civil religion The phrase *civil religion,* used by the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *The Social Contract* (1762), has come to refer either to the processes and rituals by which modern states reinforce their legitimacy among and increase support from their populations. American civil religion draws upon biblical religion as well as the traditions of Greek and Roman political life. Often expressed most clearly during times of crisis or war, American civil religion seems to ebb and flow in its ability to contribute to social cohesiveness.

The phrase *civil religion* has been subjected to considerable debate since sociologist Robert N. Bellah first brought it into academic and public discourse in 1967. Bellah claimed that Americans had developed "alongside of and rather clearly differentiated from the churches an elaborate and well-institutionalized civil religion." Bellah was particularly concerned to show that while this form of religion often served to legitimatize the state's conduct, it also provided a means whereby the state could be held subject to a higher law. Historians and sociologists have argued over how constant and how "well institutionalized" such a religion might be; theologians have debated its value. Other terms, such as *public religion, religious nationalism,* or *patriotic faith* are preferred by some scholars. And one may well question the extent to which civil religion maintains a distinctive institutional form. Bellah himself eventually abandoned the term. Nevertheless, the concept points to some extremely important features of religious life in modern societies.

The historical roots of American civil religion are twofold. One thread comes from the Hebraic tradition of the Bible, brought to American shores by Puritans in the early 17th century (see PURITANISM). Puritans often spoke of themselves as "a chosen people," selected by the biblical God to accomplish a great work—the creation of a righteous society, a "city on a hill," as JOHN WINTHROP put it, which would serve as a moral beacon for the rest of the world. Puritans read their own experience of migration and settlement in a land already populated by indigenous people as a repetition of the biblical story of the Exodus. Thus, they were the "new Israel," led out into the American wilderness, a proving ground that they often viewed as the haunt of Satan and his children, the Algonquin tribes. And like the Jews of old, many Puritans accepted that their position as God's chosen people required a willingness to suffer for their righteous goals. Such suffering for the faith came in the form of external threats from papist European states or neighboring tribes and from the internal threats of their own sinfulness.

The second thread in the development of American civil religion emerged out of the Revolutionary era (see AMERICAN REVOLUTION). It, too, consisted of an effort by Americans to understand their experience of creating a new society by seeking parallels with that of another ancient tradition: Greco-Roman republican politics. American Revolutionaries certainly drew upon their Puritan heritage in their struggle with Britain, often viewing the conflict itself as the millennial battle between Christ and Satan foretold in the Bible. But, as did many during the ENLIGHTENMENT, American leaders and educated citizens discovered enormous intellectual resources in the Greco-Roman heritage. In striving to create a new form of government, they found instructive and inspirational parallels between their own attempt to unify a number of ethnic and religious groups under one political structure and that of the Roman Empire. As a consequence, one finds significant borrowings from ancient Rome in many aspects of American culture, ranging from the political ideal of liberty to the production of political rituals such as those for the inauguration of George Washington in 1789 (often referred to by his contemporaries as the "American Cincinnatus," after the famous Roman citizen/general) or the processions accompanying the heroic Marquis de Lafayette in 1824 and 1825. The Roman thread is perhaps most visible in such shared features of American life as the architectural designs common to public buildings, in which post offices and court houses often look like Greek or Roman temples, or in the engraving styles found on American currency. The dollar bill, with its Latin phrases *e pluribus unum* ("one out of many") and *novus ordo seclorum* ("new order of the ages"), has become an icon of the Roman influence on the formation of American civil religion.

Over the years, the civil religion emerging out of the country's birth struggles has changed. Certain elements have come to provide a core. Americans follow a ritual calendar of holidays, ranging from overtly political celebrations such as July 4th and Labor Day to the more family-centered holidays of Christmas and Thanksgiving. A set of sacred scriptures has emerged, including the Constitution (1789), the Declaration of Independence (1776), speeches by leaders such as Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and John F. Kennedy, and perhaps even a few Supreme Court decisions, such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). But these "core elements" just as easily suggest that if there is a civil religion in the United States, it remains far distant from the realities of most citizens' lives.

A more fruitful way of discerning the patterns of civil religion might be found by focusing on the functions or problems for which Americans have drawn on religious expressions in their public life. Two particular problems, first faced by citizens of the early republic, have continued to shape the development of American civil religion and account for its episodic appearance. The first is the problem of *national integration,* the creation of common sentiment capable of binding together a population of diverse ethnic, geographic, and religious backgrounds and interests. Elites have thought such sentiment was needed to assure the priority of national loyalty over more immediate, deeply felt regional, ethnic, or religious ties. This dimension of American civil religion often remains weak, especially in the ordinary ebb and flow of political life. Symbols such as Uncle Sam, the American eagle, the Great Seal, or the commemorative holidays of Memorial Day or July 4, lose their power and focus over time, or only resonate within certain segments of the population. In addition, the basic task of insuring the priority of national over more immediate loyalties has been steadily resisted by many Americans, who often seek to downplay the symbolic presence of the federal government in their daily lives.

But if Americans have resisted the nationalization of sentiment in ordinary times, they have been much more willing to respond positively under circumstances of danger or threat, a function that we could label *national mobilization.* American civil religion has been far more successful when developed in response to extraordinary times. On occasion, social crises (the Great Depression), natural disasters (the Chicago Fire), or even technological breakdowns (the Challenger explosion in 1986) have triggered the development and expression of civil religion. In the face of such crises, Americans have urged each other to put aside their differences and unite to stave off threat or loss. But it is especially the potential or necessity of war that has most consistently shaped the mobilizing tenor of civil religion.

Having seen in both European and Native American military power a kind of demonic attack on their divinely inspired goals, Americans in the colonial, Revolutionary, and early republican eras found the most compelling rationale for national unity arising out of their perceptions of violent threats to their common life. Thus THOMAS JEFFERSON in the Declaration of Independence (1776) spoke of those who possessed the natural (divinely given) rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" as also having the duty to take up arms against those forces who would try to deprive a people of those rights. Jefferson's language of duty has given rise to a longstanding tradition in which those who possess liberty are required to be ever-vigilant and ready for personal sacrifice in liberty's defense.

Throughout American history, the occasion of war has served to link Jefferson's themes of liberty and sacrifice (see CIVIL WAR, WORLD WAR I, WORLD WAR II). During the period of western expansion (see MANIFEST DESTINY), Americans viewed their losses of life and property stemming from wars with numerous Native American tribes as sacrifices. General George Armstrong Custer, defeated by Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe warriors at the Little Big Horn in 1876, became a national martyr, dying a Christlike death for the advancement of civilization. Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address (1863) spoke forcefully about the blood spilled by American soldiers as providing the means of "a new birth of freedom" for the nation.

If civil religion has grown strongest during times of war, it also showed its limits during the VIETNAM WAR, a time of widespread national self-examination. In subsequent years, civil religion has not faded away, as some predicted. Increased ideological conflict with the Soviet Union during the 1980s, undergirded by a continued threat of nuclear war, was interpreted by both supporters and opponents of American policy in terms consistent with the tradition of civil religion. In a 1983 address, President Ronald Reagan spoke of the Soviet Union as "evil incarnate in the modern world." Large numbers of church members active in the widespread anti-nuclear weapons movement at the time saw American military expansion and increased support of counterinsurgency efforts by third world governments as violating America's fundamental identity as a country based on the ideals of liberty.

Americans have most frequently used civil religion to help sustain a sense of their own uniqueness in relation to an outside power. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought not an end of the tradition but another shift in its form. In initiating the Persian Gulf War in 1991, President George H. W. Bush demonized Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein as part Satan and part Hitler. He also elicited sympathy for the Kuwaitis, whose land had been occupied by Iraqi forces, as people yearning for liberty. Finally, President Clinton led a troubled North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) coalition in an air war against Serbian president Slobodan Milošević in 1999, maintaining solidarity in that campaign by claiming that NATO was waging war in defense of human rights. Both presidents drew from the Declaration of Independence in justifying their actions and characterizing their opponents. As post-Vietnam policy makers, however, both Bush and Clinton feared that America would be reluctant to sacrifice its citizens for any cause not vividly and directly tied to the country's security.

Responses to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks (see SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, RELIGION AND) on the United States clearly demonstrated the power and reality of American civil religion, regardless of its inchoate and relatively indeterminate content. From the huge upsurge in donations to charities trying to deal with the consequences (including the massive number of blood donations) to the innumerable prayer services among religious communities throughout the country, Americans responded to the horror and tragedy with an unabashed mix of religious and civic emotion.

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq demonstrated that, contrary to many fears, Americans were willing to sacrifice once again, but only to the extent to which they could understand the need for the sacrifice and that the sacrifice made sense. As the war in Iraq dragged on and seemed to be marked by gross incompetence and bad planning, many Americans began to doubt once again. Additionally, the failure of the administration of George W. Bush to speak the language of sacrifice and national unity diminished its ability to call upon the powerful symbols of civil religion to galvanize the American public during a time of crisis.

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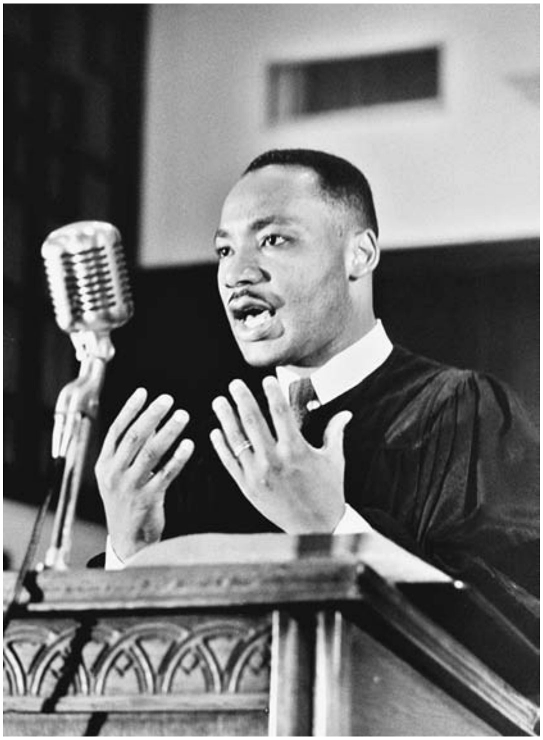
Civil Rights movement The Civil Rights movement, the struggle for the universal application of legal and social rights in the United States, was a milestone in American religious, social, and political history. The term has two meanings, one narrow and one wide. The narrow meaning—which many intend when they refer to “the Movement”—defines the struggle for black political equality that leapt into public view in the 1950s and continued through the late 1960s.

The wider meaning includes all the struggles and attempts to ensure that political rights are applied equally to all Americans regardless of religion, background, color, sex, heritage, and other extraneous factors. In this sense, the Civil Rights movement never ended. Its roots permeate human history in all the places where individuals suggested that equality before the law was a natural right.



Civil rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr., gesturing during a sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church. *(Getty)*

The roots of the movement for black civil rights are long and deep. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the roots began when the first African resisted the process of enslavement by revolting, running away, or committing suicide rather than submitting to captivity. Similar forms of resistance marked the entire slave period. From work slowdowns to poisonings, from feigning illness to staging rebellions, slaves resisted enslavement and worked to affirm their human dignity and independence.

Such actions were not confined to the slaves alone. Freed blacks also resisted the social and legal constraints under which they labored. Racism in the churches led many into separate black churches and even denominations (see African-American Religion; African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church). Discrimination in social services and fraternal organizations led blacks to create their own institutions, which reflected black dissatisfaction with second-class status. In many of these organizations, religious leaders took the lead.

Not all institutions working to overcome the limitations under which blacks were forced to live were black institutions. Some, like the Quakers (see Friends, Religious Society of), were composed of a majority of white members. While these predominantly white institutions might oppose slavery, organize schools for blacks, and even accept that blacks and whites were equal before God, they could do little to overcome the increasingly entrenched mores and laws that relegated blacks to the status of second-class beings.

Abolitionism, the struggle to end slavery, would become the most institutionalized of the early attempts to recognize the dignity and equality of blacks. The abolitionist movement was a precursor of the Civil Rights movement in form, in its level of integration, and also in its internal conflicts and disagreements. Bursting on the scene with the first issue of William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator,* the abolitionist movement had been long in coming. Preceded by the so-called Negro conventions organized by Bishop Richard Allen of the A.M.E. Church and black opposition to the American Colonization Society, formed to convince slaveholders to free their slaves and then return them to Africa, abolitionism brought blacks and whites into an integrated sociopolitical movement for the first time.

For many, this crusade was driven by a Perfectionist religiosity emerging from the Second Great Awakening and took the form of moral suasion, nonaccommodation to evil, and nonviolence. This was the route of Garrison, Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina and Sarah Grimké, and, for a while, the black abolitionists Frederick Douglass and Charles Lenox Remond. Some abolitionists favored the political approach. Still others, eventually including Douglas and Remond, favored ballots if possible and bullets if necessary.

Speeches, testimonies by fugitive slaves, escapes along the Underground Railroad, and aborted rebellions all attested to the struggle against slavery and to the refusal of African Americans to accept second-class citizenship. As the black abolitionist Samuel Cornish declared, "[B]rethren! You are COLORED AMERICANS. The Indians are RED AMERICANS, and the white people are WHITE AMERICANS, and *you are as good as they, and they are no better than you.*"

As abolitionist efforts waxed and waned, the country divided and moved closer to the conflict that would define the nation for nearly a century. If the Civil War decided the question of slavery, the period of Reconstruction attempted to settle the question of black political equality. The so-called Reconstruction amendments (see Fourteenth Amendment) abolished slavery, defined citizenship, and forbade limitations on voting imposed solely because of color. But as Reconstruction faded due to political compromise, the promise of equality was replaced with the reality of white political and social domination known as Jim Crow (see segregation). This was enshrined in law by the Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* which established the legal acceptability of separate but allegedly equal facilities for blacks and whites. In reality, it established an entire system of white domination and black subjection, white power and black degradation, a white world and a black one. It was this world that the Civil Rights movement challenged and changed.

The struggle for black civil rights in the 20th century is an incomplete struggle in two parts. The first part encompasses the work of men like W. E. B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, and Roy Wilkins, and organizations like the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Congress on Racial Equality, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The second part was the work of men like MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Bob Moses, RALPH ABERNATHY, and new organizations such as the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) and STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

The first half of the 20th century saw increasing institutionalization of segregation. Laws were written to meet new conditions as well as older situations that had not been covered. This included enforced segregation in airport waiting rooms, for example, as well as laws such as the one passed by the Birmingham, Alabama, city council forbidding whites and blacks to play checkers together or in the presence of each other.

Simultaneously, the institutionalized political and social inequality of blacks was under growing attack. At the turn of the 20th century, the leadership of black America was firmly in the hands of BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, an accomodationist who was the most powerful black leader America had ever seen. Republican administrations made no appointments of blacks and few, if any, whites in the South, without his approval. But Washington was challenged by newer and younger black leaders who rejected Washington's accomodationism. These men organized the NAACP in 1909 and used its journal, *The Crisis*, as their voice. Edited by W. E. B. DuBois, *The Crisis* articulated the need for a concerted attack on legal segregation and the training of a black elite (the "talented 10th") who could lead the black masses to social equality.

Under the direction of Walter White, who served the organization from 1918 until 1955 and who was so light-skinned that he traveled through the South by passing as a white man, the NAACP documented the number and gruesomeness of lynchings. Blacks' increasing political strength was illustrated by the ability of the African-American community to prevent Senate approval of Judge William Parker to the Supreme Court due to his support for laws that restricted black suffrage. Under White and his successor, Roy Wilkins, the NAACP became the organizational center for black opposition to segregation. The NAACP remained, however, an elite organization centering its work on legal and political remedies.

More in touch with working-class blacks was A. Philip Randolph, longtime president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph had a long and distinguished career. He fought with W. E. B. DuBois over the latter's suggestion that blacks should fight in World War I and with John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, over his speech at the 1963 March on Washington. Randolph was a working man, and his concerns always extended beyond race to include issues of economic justice. Not only Randolph but leaders within the Pullman Porters Union like E. D. Nixon in Montgomery, Alabama, would provide much of the local work for civil rights prior to the 1950s.

The 1940s and 1950s saw growing successes by both of these organizations in the area of civil rights. Franklin D. Roosevelt showed a greater interest in black concerns than any president since Theodore Roosevelt and had his own black "kitchen cabinet." His wife, Eleanor, had an even more active concern with civil rights issues, serving on the executive committee of the NAACP.

Black activists themselves also achieved marked success in this period. Randolph's threat to march against Washington in 1943 forced Roosevelt to issue an executive order integrating all war industries. During this period as well, the NAACP's legal challenges began to bear fruit, as its lawyers won a series of cases striking down "whites-only" primaries and segregation in higher education. This work culminated in 1954 with the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, declaring public school segregation illegal.

To have the courts overturn legal segregation was not the same as ending it in fact. During the next two decades, the Civil Rights movement tried to achieve in practice what law and the courts had said were rights. This struggle would be long, savage, and bloody. Also, more than any period since the abolitionist movement, it would be rooted in religion.

During this time, the drive for civil rights became a mass movement, due primarily to the work of Martin Luther King, Jr. When he and others formed the Montgomery Improvement Association in 1955 to end unfair treatment on city buses, the movement was born. Preaching a message of justice and nonviolence, King and his colleagues, working through the SCLC, slowly began to peel away the layers of racism and economic exploitation under which African Americans labored. The struggle was difficult but included dramatic successes in places like Birmingham and Selma, Alabama, where the viciousness of the attacks upon peaceful demonstrators galvanized public opinion, ultimately helping to end legalized segregation and paving the way for the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The SCLC was a churchly organization, drawing its strength from the power of the African-American religious tradition. Rooted in the call for justice announced by the prophets in the Hebrew Bible, symbolized in the Exodus story of Moses leading the Israelites from slavery in Egypt to freedom in Canaan, and organized around Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, the SCLC spoke eloquently to the African-American situation and powerfully of their claims for justice.

King, Ralph Abernathy, and the SCLC taught that only through nonviolence could blacks win their rights. For them, nonviolence was more than a tactic, it was the strategic use of divine love and power. For King and his colleagues, nonviolence embodied the Gospel by effecting both CONVERSION and forgiveness. While this message dominated the movement during the early 1960s, others began to question both nonviolence and white involvement.

Some of this opposition came from expected critics, primarily MALCOLM X. Other critics of nonviolence included Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, who urged that blacks should be willing to shoot back in self-defense. More surprising was the change in the attitude of SNCC. Organized as a younger, more active, and less clergy-driven counterpart to the SCLC, SNCC achieved its greatest visibility in 1964 with the creation of the Mississippi Freedom Summer and the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which tried to unseat the regular (all-white) Democratic Party at the 1964 presidential convention. Freedom Summer brought students (primarily white northerners) into Mississippi to teach black children, participate in organizing, and fight segregation. One of the most shocking results of this endeavor was the brutal murder of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner in May 1964. This killing, accomplished with the participation of the local police, went far to radicalize SNCC.

King's assassination on April 4, 1968, with the resulting riots and violence, also weakened the appeal of nonviolence. There were increasing calls for aggressive response to racism and injustice. These voices included the Black Panthers advocating armed rebellion on one hand and the Conference of Black Churchmen demanding reparations on the other. As nonviolence gave way to Black Power, "We shall overcome" became "Burn, baby, burn." The refusal of entrenched white power structures to change and the violence with which they defended their bastions led to an increasing militancy among blacks. This militancy led to numerous violent confrontations with police and increasing violence in America's cities.

Richard Nixon's election as president in November 1968 did little to ease the calls for increasing militancy. The Republican administration's apparent lack of concern for African Americans, the Vietnam War, and increasing social conflict diverted attention from civil rights. Although this revived somewhat during the presidency of Jimmy Carter, President Ronald Reagan's administration was particularly hostile to advances on the civil rights front.

Equally significant was the fact that after the ending of legal segregation and the guaranteeing of voting rights, the more complex and tedious issues of economic justice were less amenable to traditional mass protests and legal challenges. Declining economic fortunes also led increasingly to situations where economic justice for blacks was seen as an economic threat by poorer whites, thus exacerbating racial tensions and animosities.

By the 1980s and 1990s, questions surrounding race in the United States seemingly had become more complex and resistant to straightforward legal solutions. The scourge of drug abuse and the rise of what seemed to be a permanent underclass composed primarily of people of color made many individuals question traditional approaches to racial issues. Opinion polls showed that blacks and whites in the United States had widely divergent views on the continuing power of racism and its affects on individuals' daily lives. Some commentators even claimed that the civil rights leadership intentionally favored policies designed to keep blacks subservient to the government in order to further their own ends. While such opinions remained minority views, their emergence suggested the apparent intractability that certain aspects of race had taken on. Additionally, questions surrounding police brutality and racial disparity in the application of the death penalty continued to show the lingering vestiges of racial inequity in American society.

The period of the Civil Rights movement remains a symbol of America's struggle to realize its most deeply held values. It had a particular appeal because of its religious thrust, its nonviolence, and its martyred leader. The religious dimension of King's vision and that of his colleagues stirred chords in the hearts of many Americans and helped to bring an end to racial divisions enforced by law.

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Civil War (1861–1865) The Civil War, the bitter four-year struggle between the North and the SOUTH, proved as traumatic for American religion as it was for the nation as a whole. The Civil War era was profoundly shaped not only by competing political ideologies, but also by religious ideas expressed within the churches of both the Union and the Confederacy.

Several decades before the bloodshed began, debates over SLAVERY had caused the country's three largest denominations to divide on regional lines. The Presbyterians were the first to split, when in 1837 the southern-oriented "Old School" faction expelled the northern-oriented "New School" from its fellowship. Next, the northern section of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted an antislavery position so offensive to southern whites that a new Methodist denomination was formed in the South in 1845. Finally, a firm stand by northern Baptists against appointing slaveholders as missionaries led to the organization of the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION in 1845.

When the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN in November 1860 helped impel the southern states to secede from the Union, many conservative northern ministers urged caution by the government. Those with strong commitments to ABOLITIONISM even argued that the departure of the South might be beneficial, freeing the United States of the taint of slavery. But when war broke out in April 1861 and Union-held Fort Sumter surrendered to southern forces in Charleston, South Carolina, virtually all religious bodies of the North (with the exception of historic peace churches such as the Mennonites and the Church of the Brethren) blessed the Union war effort.

Millennialism (see POSTMILLENNIALISM) became a strong theme in northern preaching during the Civil War. The United States was envisioned as a political paragon that would aid in the reformation of world civilization and prepare the way for the entrance of God's kingdom on Earth. Most northern Christians complacently trusted that final victory over the Confederacy would be the judgment of a righteous God against the wickedness of the rebellious, slaveholding southern states. JULIA WARD HOWE expressed this idea most vividly in her "Battle Hymn of the Republic," portraying Union soldiers as actors in a cosmic struggle between God and the forces of evil.

Frederick Douglass, slave-born and self-taught, escaped slavery to become the most eloquent American advocate of abolitionism. *(Library of Congress)*

The formation of the two great wartime philanthropic organizations (see PHILANTHROPY), the United States Christian Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission, epitomized the blending of practical and spiritual concerns that characterized northern religious efforts. The Christian Commission was the fullest institutional expression of 19th-century religious benevolence. Organized in November 1861 under the guidance of the New York YMCA, the commission was intended to help northern chaplains lead worship and distribute religious tracts. The conversion of Union soldiers was its initial aim. After the first year of the war, however, commission agents increasingly found themselves ministering in practical ways to the physical needs of the troops, acting as nurses on battlefields and in hospitals. George H. Stuart, a Philadelphia merchant and Presbyterian lay leader who was its president, once replied to critics who wished his commission to deal solely with soldiers' spiritual concerns, "there is a good deal of religion in a warm shirt and a good beefsteak."

The Sanitary Commission, the largest and most tightly organized American philanthropic body of its time, was formed in June 1861 under the direction of Henry Whitney Bellows, a prominent Unitarian minister in New York City. Bellows conceived its mission to be the dispatching of salaried inspectors to the Union armies to oversee general medical care during the war. Although less forthrightly pious than the Christian Commission, the Sanitary Commission had prominent members of the more liberal denominations among its leadership, men and women who viewed their charitable labors as essentially religious in character. Novelist Louisa May Alcott, a Unitarian, for example, sewed shirts for the Sanitary Commission and wrote about the organization in her 1863 book, *Hospital Sketches*. And as "Mother" Mary Ann Bickerdyke, an agent who labored tirelessly with wounded soldiers, said to an army surgeon who inquired about her nursing qualifications, "I have received my authority from the Lord God Almighty!"

The Sanitary Commission eventually won the cooperation of the War Department and the army's Medical Bureau and was able to become involved in all aspects of aid to the troops. The Christian Commission was even more popular. It evolved into a vast interdenominational fellowship, supporting a hierarchical structure that reached to more than 5,000 volunteers stationed throughout the Union armies. It also raised and distributed more than $6 million in money and supplies over the course of the war. Both the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission accomplished their wartime goals and disbanded when the conflict ended.

Clergy and lay people in the South, no less than their Northern counterparts, were almost unanimously convinced that their national cause was holy and just. The new Confederacy, they said, had a special mission to maintain biblical values and the ideals of ordered liberty, which the North had perverted in the prewar period. Clergy also saw proof of their national righteousness in the constitution of the Confederacy for, unlike the United States Constitution, the Southern document explicitly recognized a national dependence on God. White Southern Christians, too, had their own millennialist interpretation of the struggle: Slavery symbolized the divinely ordained pattern for the relationships of capital to labor and of a superior to an inferior race. As Stephen Elliott, the Episcopal bishop of Georgia, declared, "We do not place our cause upon its highest level until we grasp the idea that God has made us the guardians and champions of a people whom he is preparing for his own purposes."

Clergy actively supported the war by serving both as military chaplains (approximately 2,300 in the Union army and roughly a third that number in the Confederate army) and—in a few notable cases—as soldiers. Holding worship services was the only duty specifically assigned to chaplains, but ministers performed many other useful tasks: teaching men how to read and write, delivering mail and writing letters home for wounded and dead soldiers, distributing Bibles and religious tracts, and serving as nurses during battles.

For some clergy, especially those of the depleted Southern armies, the temptation to pick up a rifle and fight, or to serve as a line or staff officer, was strong. Leonidas Polk, for example, was the Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, but having been trained at West Point before entering seminary, he accepted a general's rank in the Confederate Army. William Nelson Pendleton, an Episcopal clergyman in Lexington, Virginia, also had been educated for military service. He commanded the artillery forces of the Army of Northern Virginia in the war and was said to have prayed for the souls of his opponents before opening fire on them in battle.

Major religious revivals broke out in the armies over the course of the war. Among the Northern troops, between 100,000 and 200,000 soldiers were said to have converted to Christianity, while at least 100,000 were similarly converted in the smaller Southern forces—approximately 10 percent of all the men engaged in the Civil War. Soldiers viewed the army revivals as intensely spiritual experiences in which, amid the dangers and often random violence of the battlefield, they were able to feel God's providence guarding and guiding them. One Virginia soldier wrote in his wartime diary: "Oh Lord, if we should go into battle, be thou our shield & hiding place." And as an African-American soldier in the Union Army was heard to pray, "Let me live with the musket in one hand and the Bible in the other,—that . . . I may know I have the blessed Jesus in my hand, and have no fear."

The revivals among the Civil War soldiers had a particularly lasting effect on Christianity in the South, where after 1865 little seemed to be left *except* religion. Two former Confederate chaplains wrote books detailing the religious life of the Southern forces. In 1877, William W. Bennet, a minister who had headed the Methodist Soldiers' Tract Association, published *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed in the Southern Armies*. Bennett believed the Confederate Army camp had been "a school of Christ," in which pious generals like Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson led their men both in battles and in prayer meetings. Religion had become the "'silver lining' to the dark and heavy cloud" of the South's defeat. Popular Baptist minister J. WILLIAM JONES described his own experiences and those of other chaplains in Lee's army in a book entitled *Christ in the Camp* (1887). He thought that the soldiers converted during the war had been able to look beyond their misfortunes and set to work rebuilding Southern society after the Confederacy's crushing defeat.

Protestants in both sections hoped that the Civil War would be what they termed a "baptism of blood" for Americans, reconsecrating them for a high and holy mission. HORACE BUSHNELL, a Congregational minister in Hartford, Connecticut, explored this theme in sermons and addresses throughout the war. Only by the path of suffering could the United States be purged of its sinfulness and attain a more perfect national identity, Bushnell preached. Abraham Lincoln's death symbolized for Northern clergy a final ritualized meaning of the war. His assassination on Good Friday in 1865, like Jesus' sacrifice at Calvary, redeemed a people from their sins and brought them new life.

White Southerners, on the other hand, fashioned an interpretation of the war that transformed military loss into a glorious spiritual triumph, also akin to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Through the formulation of what came to be known as the myth of the Lost Cause (see LOST CAUSE MYTH), Southern whites spoke of the moral benefits they gained from adversity. While temporal prosperity made a people arrogant and seduced them into thinking they did not need God (witness the North in the Gilded Age, southern clergy argued), the hardships endured by the South taught forbearance and genuine Christian humility.

In the haze of nostalgic romanticism and myth making that shrouded the nation in the last few years of the 19th century, the fallen Confederacy soon became—in the eyes of whites in North and South alike—a paragon of moral virtue. Victor and vanquished clasped hands of friendship over the bloody chasm of war and tacitly agreed to ignore the material needs and political rights of the newly emancipated slaves. As a result, the deeper ethical issue of slavery that once had divided American Christians was forgotten by all but African Americans and a few conscientious whites. The lynching of black men reached epidemic proportions throughout the South, and discriminatory Jim Crow laws were created to keep African Americans socially subservient. The moral rebirth many Christians had hoped the Civil War would bring never materialized. Not until the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1950s and 1960s were the larger moral concerns first raised during the Civil War era finally addressed by American society.

(See also AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION; PROSLAVERY THOUGHT; VEROT, JEAN PIERRE AUGUSTIN MARCELLIN.)

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Clarke, James Freeman (1810–1888)

James Freeman Clarke was a mid-19th century Unitarian minister and transcendentalist (see TRANSCENDENTALISM). He is credited with providing the classic summary of Unitarian beliefs: "The fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the leadership of Jesus, salvation by character, and the progress of mankind onward and upward forever."

Clarke was born at Hanover, New Hampshire, on April 4, 1810. Stepson of James Freeman, who had led King's Chapel, Boston, into Unitarianism in 1785–87, Clarke thoroughly imbibed optimistic religious rationalism as a youth. He graduated from Harvard College in 1829 and from Harvard Divinity School in 1833, then went west to serve in a new Unitarian congregation in Louisville, Kentucky, from 1833 to 1840. During that period, Clarke also edited a monthly religious magazine, the *Western Messenger* (1836–39) and became involved in the growing antislavery movement. He returned to New England and in 1841 organized the Church of the Disciples in Boston. Clarke's greatest work was *Ten Great Religions*, a two-volume examination of the world's religions that appeared in 1871 and in 1883. These books exemplified the fascination with Asian thought that surfaced in American religion during the 19th century.

Like fellow Unitarian minister Frederic Henry Hedge, Clarke represented the moderate, churchly side of the transcendentalist movement. Although many transcendentalists were openly hostile to organized Christianity, Clarke was an irenic advocate of liberal religion who sought to keep Unitarianism a Christian denomination. He was a reformer who envisioned a "Church of the Future" that would combine all the best elements of the many branches of the Christian tradition. After 1867, he served as an adjunct member of the faculty at Harvard Divinity School, and as both a teacher and minister he had a profound impact on the shape of Unitarianism in his day. Trusted by both radicals and conservatives, he was also an important figure in the formation of the National Conference of Unitarian Churches, which in 1865 established a denominational bureaucracy and a regular assembly to set church policy.

With the exception of a period of convalescence and travel between 1850 and 1854, Clarke served at the Church of the Disciples from 1841 until his death more than four decades later. He died in Boston on June 8, 1888.

GHS, Jr.

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Clarke, William Newton (1841–1912)

A Baptist minister and one of the leading systematizers of theological MODERNISM in his day, William Newton Clarke believed that religious experience, not religious belief, was the essence of faith. The textbook he published in 1898 *(An Outline of Christian Theology)* became the essential handbook of late-19th-century liberal Protestant ideas.

Clarke was born in Cazenovia, New York, on December 2, 1841. After graduation from Madison College and from Hamilton Seminary (both now Colgate) in 1861 and 1863, respectively, Clarke worked in short-lived pastorates at churches in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Canada, and New York. He was professor of New Testament at Toronto Baptist College from 1883 to 1887. In 1891, he came to Colgate Seminary as professor of theology and remained there until his death.

Christian theology, Clarke consistently taught, should not view the Bible as a book filled with irrefutable facts or as a proof-text for doctrinal statements, the position on which conservative biblical interpretation was based. The Scriptures were the inspiration for theological inquiry rather than the objects of that study. Clarke's thinking followed the arguments German theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher had advanced in the 1820s concerning "the religious sentiment." Since the quest for the divine that both Clarke and Schleiermacher celebrated was a universal human attribute, every religion was assumed to contain some measure of truth. Although Clarke was unwilling to abandon the missionary enterprise entirely or repudiate traditional claims about the uniqueness and superiority of Christianity, a simpler, more realistic, and scientific faith (he argued in *A Study of Christian Missions* in 1900) needed to be carried to foreign lands.

Clarke resigned his professorship at Colgate in 1908 but continued to lecture on Christian ethics. Failing health led him to spend winters in Deland, Florida, where he died on January 12, 1912.

GHS, Jr.

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Coffin, William Sloan, Jr. (1924–2006)

William Sloane Coffin, Jr., was born in New York City on June 1, 1924, into a life of wealth and privilege. By the late 1950s, he would become one of the country's leading political activists and clergymen, playing a notable role in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and in opposition to the VIETNAM WAR. He also would become one of the sources for the Rev. Scott Sloan, "the fighting young priest who can talk to the kids," one of the characters in the Doonesbury comic strip by Gary Trudeau.

Coffin's grandfather was a co-owner of the W. and J. Sloane Company, which sold furniture and rugs to the city's elite and played a major role in setting America's decorating tastes for decades. His uncle Henry Coffin served as president of Union Theological Seminary; his father, William Sloane Coffin, Sr., was a wealthy real estate developer active in community affairs, including serving as president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Great Depression took a toll on the Coffins' wealth, as William, Sr., and his brother refused to evict tenants who could not pay their rents, and the stock market collapse cut deeply into the Sloane Company's earnings. The greatest blow, however, was the death of William, Sr., in 1933. In an attempt to ease the family's finances, Coffin's mother, Catherine, moved the family to Carmel, California. There Coffin and his siblings attended public schools for the first time, and the young boy apparently had his first real introduction to economic and social inequality and injustice.

Aided financially by their uncle Henry, the Coffins had a much easier time of it than most individuals during the depression, and, in 1938, Coffin entered Deerfield Academy in Deerfield, Massachusetts, to pursue his planned career as a concert pianist. The following year, Coffin and his mother moved to Paris, where he continued his piano studies, receiving individual lessons from some of the most important pianists of the 20th century.

With the outbreak of World War II, Coffin and his mother moved to Geneva, Switzerland, eventually returning to the United States in 1941. Coffin finished high school at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. He then entered Yale University, where he initially majored in music.

America's entry into the war drove the young man to attempt to join the Office of Strategic Services (the predecessor to the

CIA), but the recruiters felt that he did not look French enough to be a successful spy and turned him down. Instead, he left college and enlisted in the army, where he soon was moved to officer training. Coffin joined military intelligence. As a liaison officer to the French and the Russian armies, Coffin learned firsthand about Stalinism and political violence in the Soviet Union. After the war, his role in forcibly repatriating Soviet citizens previously held prisoners by the Germans affected him deeply. The disappearance of those individuals into Stalin's prison camps (or worse) left Coffin with, as he wrote in his 1977 memoir, *Once to Every Man*, "a burden of guilt I am sure to carry the rest of my life." This experience also would have a major affect on his early life and career choices.

After World War II, Coffin returned to Yale, where he befriended George H. W. Bush, who later would become the 41st president of the United States. He was president of the Yale Glee Club and inducted into Skull and Bones, the most elite secret society at Yale. Graduating in 1949 with a degree in government, Coffin attended an event that played a major role in his life. At the urging of his uncle Henry Coffin, he attended one of Union Theological Seminary's conferences. There, for the first time, he heard REINHOLD NIEBUHR speak. Niebuhr's fusion of religious language and faith with deep political insight affected Coffin deeply, and he decided on a career in the ministry.

The next year, he entered Yale Divinity School but shortly afterward took a leave of absence when, at the urging of his brother-in-law Franklin A. Lindsay, he joined the Central Intelligence Agency. For three years Coffin served as a CIA officer, overseeing Russian agents who were infiltrated back into the Soviet Union. Nearly all these individuals were captured or killed, a fact that left Coffin with a deep sense of the limitations of American power and the magnitude of its naiveté. He also began to develop serious reservations about some CIA actions, including the overthrow of the government in Iran.

Coffin left the CIA in 1953 and returned to Yale Divinity School. He graduated in 1956 and accepted the position of chaplain at Phillips Academy. In that year, he also married his first wife, Eva Anna Rubenstein, the daughter of the pianist Arthur Rubenstein.

In 1957, he became chaplain at Williams College, and in 1958, Coffin returned to Yale as dean of its chapel. During this time, as the Civil Rights movement gained increasing momentum, Coffin began to undertake the social and political activism for which he would become well known.

Rather than simply preach against racism and segregation, Coffin undertook to join the nonviolent protests. These activities would lead to several arrests. The first was in 1961 in Montgomery, Alabama, when he was part of the Freedom Riders trying to integrate interstate transportation. Other civil rights–related arrests included one in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1963, while protesting segregation at an amusement park and a 1964 arrest in St. Augustine, Florida, for attempting to integrate a lunch counter. While some at Yale looked askance at these arrests, Coffin proclaimed that he was only setting a moral example as a minister should.

If Coffin's commitment to integration made him something of a hero at Yale, his increasingly outspoken opposition to the Vietnam War made him a much more controversial figure. Coffin, who had joined with several others in 1965 to form Clergy and Laity Concerned About the War in Vietnam and to advocate a change in American policy, became increasingly convinced that the only way to end the war was through civil disobedience. His first act was to offer the chapel at Yale as a sanctuary for young men seeking to avoid the draft. His second undertaking, and the one that generated the most difficult time for him, was when he, Dr. Benjamin Spock (the nation's leading expert on childrearing), and several others collected draft cards and draft notices. In October 1967, they then returned these documents to the Justice Department. Nothing happened until January 1968, when Coffin, Spock, and three other individuals were indicted on charges of conspiring to counsel draft evasion. The trial was a cause celebre, and although the three were convicted at trial, the convictions were overturned on appeal, primarily due to errors on the part of the trial judge.

Coffin left Yale in 1976, desiring to focus on world hunger and to write his memoir. In 1978, he left this semiretirement to take the position of senior pastor at Riverside Church in New York City, which had been built by John D. Rockefeller for another liberal pastor, HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK.

During his time at Riverside Church, Coffin remained politically active, leading international movements against nuclear weapons and local programs focusing on racism, unemployment, and homelessness. In 1987, he left Riverside Church to spend his time as president of SANE/FREEZE, whose goal was complete nuclear disarmament. He felt that the threat of nuclear destruction was the greatest challenge facing humanity, and he continued in that position up until 1993, when he retired.

Coffin lived the remaining years of his life at his home in Stratford, Vermont, with his third wife, Virginia Randolph Wilson. (His first marriage ended in divorce in 1968, and his second, to Harriet Gibney in 1969, ended in divorce in 1976.) Although slowed by congestive heart disease and several strokes, he continued his political and social advocacy, including speaking out against the war in Iraq and supporting gay rights, up until his death on April 12, 2006.

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Coke, Thomas (1747–1814) Thomas Coke was an English Methodist minister and one of the first two superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. Always desirous of extending Methodism's evangelistic outreach, Coke spent most of his career fostering the growth of his denomination not only in America, but also throughout the world.

Coke was born in Brecon, Wales, on October 9, 1747. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford, from which he received a doctorate in civil law in 1775, he was ordained to the Anglican ministry and held a parish position between 1771 and 1777. He was ejected from his parish in 1777 because of his enthusiastic preaching and activities on behalf of the Methodist movement then emerging within the Church of England. Coke's religious fervor, however, won the attention of Methodist founder John Wesley (see WESLEYAN TRADITION), and he soon became his trusted associate. He served for six years as a minister in London. In 1784, Wesley chose Coke to undertake work in the newly independent United States, and he appointed him as a superintendent, a title later changed to bishop, with authority over the American church.

Coke traveled to the United States on nine occasions between 1784 and 1803. After arriving in America for the first time, he joined with Francis Asbury and other Methodist leaders in the critical "Christmas Conference," held in Baltimore in December 1784, at which the new Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. Although Coke had Wesley's authority to ordain Asbury as his joint superintendent without further consultation, he acquiesced to the democratic inclinations of the Americans who wished to elect Coke and Asbury themselves. Following that election, Coke and two other English Methodist clergymen ordained Asbury to the ministry.

Coke attempted to maintain cordial relations with Asbury and other Methodists in the United States, despite increasingly successful American efforts to escape from English supervision. Like Wesley, who referred to human slavery as "the sum of all villainies," Coke opposed slaveholding and threatened to exclude those who owned slaves from the church. While American Methodists gradually modified their original antislavery stance, Coke himself refused to compromise. By the early 19th century, Coke's conflict with church members under his charge reached a point of crisis over a number of issues. Although he remained nominally an American bishop for the remainder of his life, he gave up virtually all his institutional responsibilities in the United States after 1808.

Filled with a zeal for foreign missions, Coke continued to direct his energies into building up churches in England's overseas colonies. En route to Ceylon during a missionary journey, he died at sea on May 3, 1814.

GHS, Jr.

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cold war Following the conclusion of WORLD WAR II in August 1945, tensions between two former allies, the United States and the Soviet Union, grew quickly as their leaders grappled with a new postwar international order in which they had clearly emerged as the two leading powers. The term *cold war* refers to the long period of struggle between the two countries for dominance in world politics, beginning with the Soviet Union's occupation of much of Eastern Europe after World War II and ending with the collapse of COMMUNISM in Eastern Europe between 1989 (the fall of the Berlin Wall) and 1991 (the end of the Soviet Union).

Although never engaging in a "shooting war," the United States and the Soviet Union each developed massive military capabilities, pursued armed conflict through networks of client states, and sought to direct the course of global development through foreign aid, propaganda, and covert operations. Such a commitment of energy and resources required the nearly perpetual mobilization of their own populations. In America, this mobilization took the form of a religious crusade, supported initially by most religious organizations and the majority of the population. Over time, however, the nearly mythical vision of American identity worked out at the beginning of the nuclear age came under increased scrutiny by Americans of many religious and intellectual perspectives. As a consequence, while America exercised great global influence and developed the world's largest economy during the cold war, the nation was also beset by social and cultural crises that at times threatened America's self-identity as "God's Country."

While the cold war was about many things—economics, spheres of influence, and the uses of power—its participants framed it primarily as a conflict over ideas of national identity and purpose. For Americans, those ideas had developed over the course of time into a CIVIL RELIGION. Americans were already used to seeing their own country as the embodiment of divine will and their enemies as demonic. But in contrast to earlier wars (see AMERICAN REVOLUTION; CIVIL WAR; WORLD WAR I), in which the tide of patriotic fervor rose and fell within a period of time limited by the conduct of actual war, the cold war seemed to many a struggle that would continue indefinitely, creating a problem of sustaining long-term support for militarization among a people who historically saw little benefit in standing armies.

The cold war began in the failure of the Allies at Yalta to agree on the organization of postwar Europe. Its tenor, however, emerged in the shock waves of the atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 6 and 8, 1945. To many Americans, "the Bomb" marked not only the ending of World War II, but also a transition into a completely new period in history, and perhaps the end of history as well. Thus, the bomb became a potent symbol of the risks and responsibilities facing Americans during the ensuing economic, territorial, and ideological struggle with the Soviet Union. President Harry S. Truman, in his August 10th announcement of his decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki, said "we thank God it has come to us instead of to our enemies, and we pray that He may guide us to use it in His ways and for His purposes." Truman combined the traditional civil religious idea of America as a redeemer nation, carrying out God's will, with the new idea that nuclear technology was itself a divine gift.

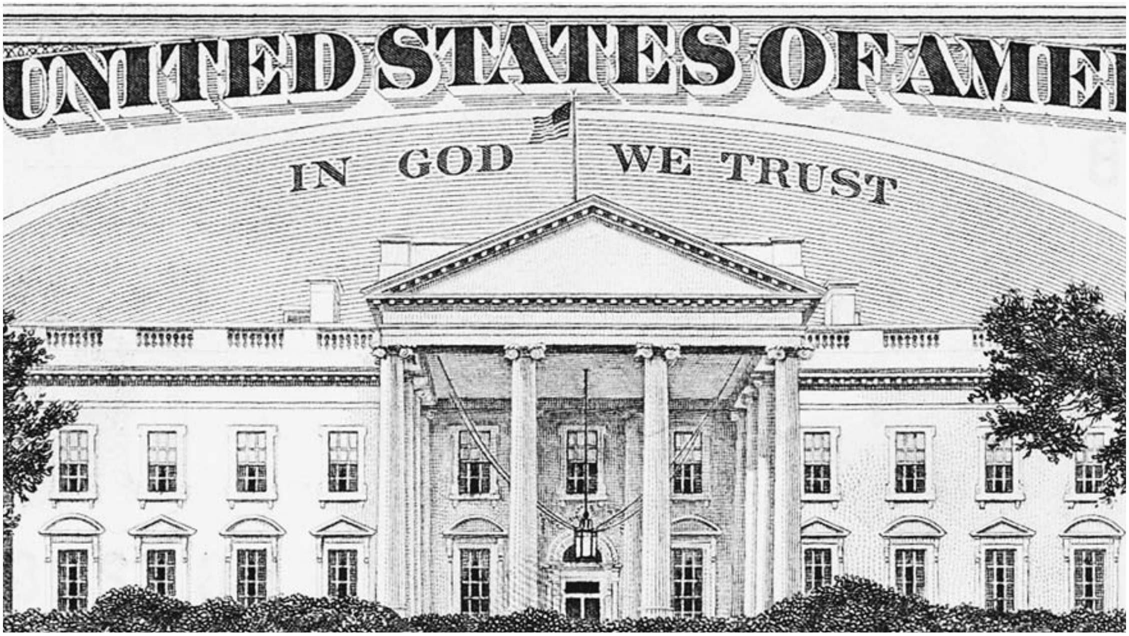
While a number of Americans, including Protestant REINHOLD NIEBUHR and Catholic Paul Furfey, questioned the morality of the bombings, most were content to view them in the terms set by Truman, and "the Bomb" rapidly became a symbol of American power and national identity. During the decade from 1945 to 1955, images of the bomb's cloud appeared everywhere, as a marketing device and in popular music, literature, science fiction films, sermons, and theological works. The equation of technological achievements with divine providence gave Americans the symbolic substance to sustain their advance into an uncertain postwar future.

But at the same time as the new technology provided a positive symbol, its horror was inescapable, and Americans frequently vacillated between hope and fear. When the Soviet Union detonated its own atomic bomb in 1949 and a hydrogen bomb in 1954, widespread confidence in America's divine mission slackened, as it became clear to many that the mission might entail the potential end of civilization.

To some religious leaders, such a catastrophe called for caution, and commissions conducted by the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES urged American leaders to restrain their growing tendency to see themselves locked in an eternal struggle with the demonic Soviet Union. Catholics, with large groups of immigrants from Eastern Europe, did tend to support the growing ideology of anticommunism, but even JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY argued that the conflict should be fought with ideas, not nuclear arsenals. Among Jews, initial pride over the prominence of Jews among the scientists who developed atomic weapons and hopes that general recognition of their achievement would help erase ANTI-SEMITISM largely eroded by 1946. National organizations such as the Synagogue Council of America and the CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS supported never-implemented plans to subject nuclear weapons to international control, thus echoing the growing critical concern among the nuclear scientists themselves. By contrast, Protestant premillennialists (see PREMILLENNIALISM) often spoke of the bomb as the culmination of biblical prophecy concerning the end of the world and for the next few decades produced an enormous popular literature correlating prophecy and cold war developments.

During the 1950s, anticommunism affected domestic American life in a number of ways. American Catholics were confirmed in their opposition to communism by the Soviet Union's treatment of Eastern European Catholics, and while Catholics tended to avoid social activism during the decade, Catholic students organized large rallies in support of persecuted Czech and Hungarian Catholics. FULTON SHEEN and other leaders campaigned actively against communist expansion and domestic influence. Wisconsin's Senator Joseph McCarthy, who organized growing fears into a purge of communist influence in the federal government, received widespread, though not uniform, support from fellow Catholics.

The stridency of cold war anticommunism issued from a remarkable American consensus contrasting with the social turmoil of preceding decades. Postwar abundance, shared by a growing middle class of mostly white Ameri-



In 1954, Congress approved the slogan "In God We Trust" for use on American currency. *(Getty)*

cans, suggested America really was favored by God, as Puritan forebears had thought (see PURITANISM). Vice president Richard Nixon argued with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in their famous "Kitchen Debate" about the merits of American household appliances at a trade show in 1959. Under these conditions of affluence, and for the first time in American history, the major faiths achieved a harmony of purpose, leading Jewish sociologist Will Herberg to speak in his popular *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (1955) of an "American Way of Life" cherished by all.

At times playing upon and at times ignoring the "doomsday" political climate, embodied most clearly in the Soviet construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, during which nuclear war seemed imminent, religion was everywhere. Religious groups grew at remarkable rates during the 1950s, church membership climbing from 86.8 million to 114 million between 1950 and 1960 as Americans moved to suburbs and took on the largest campaign of church-building in American history. *Time* magazine proclaimed BILLY GRAHAM the best-known religious leader in the world, apart from the pope. Books by Trappist monk THOMAS MERTON sold widely. Hollywood produced *The Ten Commandments* and other enormously popular Bible spectacles. Radios played "Big Fellow in the Sky." Americans thought positively (see POSITIVE THINKING), extending Norman Vincent Peale's own program by purchasing titles such as *Pray Your Weight Away* and *The Power of Prayer on Plants.* In 1956, Congress officially approved the slogan "In God We Trust" for American paper currency and inserted "under God" after "one nation" in the Pledge of Allegiance. The prevalent assumption that religion and America went hand in hand appeared in a remark frequently attributed to President Eisenhower: "Our government makes no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith—and I don't care what it is."

The consensus established during the cold war's first decade dissolved gradually during the late 1950s, as racial tensions increased and various intellectuals, "Beats," and young people came to regard the consensus as stifling (see BEAT MOVEMENT; COUNTERCULTURE). By the mid-1960s, racial tensions and the United States entry in the VIETNAM WAR unleashed a torrent of protests and riots (see CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT).

In response to these crises, new cultural divisions appeared, no longer along denominational lines, but across the older religious divides of Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and secular. Likewise, new interfaith alliances appeared; the relevant religious dividing lines became those between liberals and conservatives, traditionalists and modernists of all faiths. At the same time, a wide variety of racial and ethnic groups asserted their cultural independence (see ETHNICITY; PLURALISM). In the wake of Vietnam, religion grew increasingly political, as liberals and conservatives fought over whose vision was sufficient to guide the country out of national turmoil and perceived decline.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the end of communism internationally, with the exceptions of Cuba, North Korea, Laos, and (to a lesser extent) China, raised important questions about the future of the world. Were we finally seeing a Hegelian end of history in which liberal democracy, while not necessarily emerging painlessly victorious, would be the only coherent system and option for social organization? Or was the world entering some chaotic period marked by growing numbers of small-scale conflicts as the order and stability provided by the cold war ended and economic, environmental, and ideological instability emerged. The following decade showed examples of both possibilities. While many parts of Africa, the former Yugoslavia, and the Caucasus descended into violence and chaos, the Baltics, Mongolia, South Korea, and Taiwan moved toward greater democracy and stability.

The collapse of communism also meant a shift from state-sponsored atheism. Religion began to return throughout the former communist world. Americans played a major role in this revitalization and pluralizing of religious life. Protestant missionaries brought a new tradition to many of these countries, Jewish emissaries strove to revitalize an oppressed and diminished tradition, and new religious movements such as Hare Krishna (see INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS) and NEOPAGANISM also began to make inroads in those countries, often due to leadership by Americans and in the face of resistance by political leaders and the predominant religious traditions, whether Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic, or Buddhist.

While many continued to agonize over the divisions in America and the seemingly increased level of political polarization, the fact that for 45 years the United States held off a major political and military threat without engaging it in a major military conflict and emerged as the world's sole superpower suggests a strong sense of internal cohesion at some basic level. To do this while simultaneously integrating a significant number of religious and ethnic minorities reflects the integrative power of the American system, particularly its ability to make room for a wide array of religious traditions.

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colonial period The colonial period of American history constituted one of the most innovative in terms of religious development and organization. This outcome is surprising considering that all the European powers that colonized what is now the United States desired to recreate their religious establishments in this land.

Both the French and Spanish colonies established Roman Catholicism as the state church, and the Spanish colonies implemented the Inquisition as a means of guaranteeing religious conformity (see New France; New Spain). Even the small and short-lived colonial possessions of Sweden and the Netherlands (see New Netherland) attempted to ensure that the Church of Sweden (Lutheran) and the Dutch Reformed Church would be established in the colonies. Similarly, in the British colonies, such as Virginia and Massachusetts Bay, religion was established by law, and religious uniformity was the goal.

In British North America, however, this goal was thwarted by many different realities. The first was the fact that many English colonies were established by groups seeking to escape the religious persecution they experienced at home and in America. Colonies such as Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland allowed for a diversity of religious views and practices unknown back in England. Pennsylvania actually encouraged diverse religious groups to settle there and drew many small sects that eventually would be wiped out in Europe.

Even a colony like Massachusetts Bay helped make British North America a religiously plural society. Although the Puritans' (see Puritanism) opposition to bishops was at odds with the ideal of the British monarchs, the Puritans believed they were establishing the Church of England, albeit in a more perfect form. This led to conflict with those Puritans, the Separatists, who favored a complete break with the established church. Most notable among these opponents was Roger Williams, whose clashes with the colonial authorities in Massachusetts led him to establish Rhode Island on the basis of religious tolerance.

Similarly, persecution of Quakers (see Friends, Religious Society of [Quakers]) both in England and in North America led to the formation of Pennsylvania, primarily as a refuge for that group, but with religious toleration as one of its guiding principles. Its founder, William Penn, actually encouraged numerous small sects to come to the colony, which soon became a haven for all religious groups, including Roman Catholics.

Like Pennsylvania, Maryland was originally designed as a refuge for another religious group persecuted in England, Roman Catholics. The colony's proprietors, the Calvert family (see Calvert, Cecilius), recognized that the existence of the colony as a refuge was dependent upon a policy of religious tolerance for all Christians and instituted such a policy at the colony's founding. This was extended by the colonial legislature with the passage of its "Act Concerning Religion" in 1649 (see Toleration, Act of [Maryland]). The act had a fitful existence, however, as the colony's Protestant majority overthrew the proprietary government and outlawed public religious services by Catholics. Restored in 1657, the act was finally abrogated in 1689 when, following the English overthrow of the Catholic king, James II, Protestants took permanent control of the colony's government.

The other source of opposition to the Puritan model were those who desired to see the establishment in North America of the Church of England in all its forms. Although the Puritan colonies, including those with both Congregational and Presbyterian leanings (see Congregationalism; Presbyterianism), were capable of preventing such inroads until the formation of the Union of New England in 1686 placed them under royal control, other colonies were established with the intention of making the Church of England, as it truly existed in England, the established church.

Virginia and South Carolina were perhaps the most successful at this, with Georgia and North Carolina slightly less so. In these colonies, the organization of parishes with resident priests was the goal. There also was occasional talk of appointing a bishop for the colonies, although this came to naught. Despite the laws, the Church of England never received the level of establishment and organization in these colonies as it did back in England. Anglicanism, moreover, was severely damaged by its association with England and loyalism during the Revolutionary War. The future of American religion lay with those smaller and more despised sects that were just coming into their own during the late 18th century. These groups, among them the Baptists and the Methodists, would soon sweep over the land, and while the descendants of the Puritans, the Congregationalists, would continue in their strength in New England and make some inroads into the Midwest, the colonial troika of Congregationalism, Anglicanism, and Presbyterianism would soon lose religious dominance.

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Colored Methodist Episcopal Church

See CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Columbus, Christopher (1451?–1506)

More than 500 years after he landed on the island of San Salvador (Watling Island) in the Caribbean in October 1492, Christopher Columbus had become more important as a symbol than as a historical figure. Although not the first European to land in the Americas—he had been preceded by the Vikings and probably English fishermen—Columbus opened up an entirely new phase in European exploration. Although he died believing he had landed in Asia (the Indies), Columbus truly "discovered" America for Europe. Some view him as an exemplar of European and Christian advance, while others see his career as the archetype of European violence and rapaciousness.

Since Columbus, more than any other individual, was responsible for opening up the Western Hemisphere for European settlement, his name has become linked inextricably with the evils and horrors that accompanied it. During the 1980s and 1990s, as the 500th anniversary of his first expedition neared, he became vilified increasingly and took on, in an almost mythological way, the sins of all Western culture. As a result, there was an increasing tendency to relegate the historical Columbus to the sidelines and replace him with the Columbus of metaphor. Despite this tendency, he was very much a man, a man who had marked strengths and weaknesses, both of which appeared during his four expeditions to the West.

Born in Genoa, modern-day Italy, probably in the year 1451, Christopher Columbus grew up in a family of skilled laborers. His father was a weaver, and Columbus appears to have followed this trade while young. He went to sea during his teens and by his mid-20s had traveled to Tunis and Marseilles. In 1476, while on a voyage to Flanders and England, his ship was sunk by French privateers. Columbus made his way to Portugal, where he was taken in by a Genoese family in Lisbon. While there he gained what formal education he had, learning to speak, read, and write Portuguese and Castilian (Spanish). He also learned some Latin and improved his knowledge of sailing and navigation.

During his time in Portugal, Columbus became a successful merchant captain and was financially secure enough to marry into the lower nobility (1479). His wife, Felipa Perestrello e Moniz, had property in Madeira, where Columbus moved following their marriage. In the following year, Felipa gave birth to Columbus's only legitimate son, Diego.

Columbus left Madeira in the 1480s for at least one expedition, this time sailing to West Africa. After observing the trade in slaves, gold, and goods, he was convinced that a fortune could be made trading in the East.

Deeply religious, Columbus was increasingly concerned with the Muslim control of Jerusalem and with the prophetic books of the Bible, notably Daniel and Revelation. He became convinced that by sailing west he could arrive at Cathay (China) and Cipangu (Japan), thereby avoiding the Arab middlemen who controlled the China trade and creating a base from which Christian Europe could move to liberate Jerusalem.

Contrary to decades of mythology, Columbus did not create the view that the world was round. This had been known and accepted by learned men since the ancient Greeks. What Columbus did was underestimate its circumference and overestimate the size of China. According to his calculations, the distance from Europe to Japan—actually 10,000 miles—was 3,000 nautical miles. This shorter distance made the trip a relatively easy affair, convincing Columbus that it could be done.

Looking for financial backing, Columbus took these convictions to the Portuguese court in 1484, but the early successes of Portuguese navigators on the Africa route to India led to a rejection. He also offered the idea to Henry VII of England. Again he was rebuffed. There followed another attempt with Portugal, but the news that Bartholomew Diaz had rounded the Cape of Good Hope ended these negotiations as well.

Following this rejection, Columbus turned his attention to the Kingdoms of Castille and Aragon—Spain. There he also met early disappointment, especially when a panel of experts dismissed his estimation of the earth's circumference and recommended against the trip. Columbus persisted, however, and with the aid of King Ferdinand's keeper of the privy purse, Luis de Santangel, he won over the monarchs. Ferdinand and Isabella, ebullient over the surrender of the Moorish Kingdom of Granada and the unification of Spain under Christian control, granted Columbus numerous subsidies for the expedition. The ships and salaries were paid for from royal funds, as were the supplies. Columbus himself was to receive numerous concessions if the trip were successful, including a title and coat of arms, appointment as Admiral of the Ocean Sea, and a percentage of all the wealth obtained.

The expedition set sail on August 3, 1492, from the Spanish port of Palos, the country's major port of Cadiz being overwhelmed by the Spanish Jews, who had been expelled from the kingdom. After a stop in the Canary Islands for water and some minor repairs, Columbus and his crew would sail for 33 days before sighting land on October 12, 1492. Columbus and the crew went ashore on the island of San Salvador and took possession of it in the name of the Spanish monarchs, believing that they had landed on an island west of the Japanese archipelago. Convinced that he had missed Japan, Columbus continued sailing west in hopes of finding Cathay, China. But the wreck of his main ship, the *Santa Maria*, forced him to return home with a little gold and several Arawaks from the island of Hispaniola (the island consisting of present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic).

He arrived in Spain to a hero's welcome and was soon preparing for a second voyage. The colony planted by this expedition on Hispaniola suffered from neglect by Columbus, who spent his time exploring Cuba, which he believed was a peninsula of China. Although increasingly suspicious of Columbus's abilities, the monarchs outfitted a third expedition in 1498 under his leadership. On this expedition, Columbus first sighted the South American continent, reporting to the king and queen his belief that it was the terrestrial paradise. Reports of his highhandedness and a revolt among the Spanish colonists at Hispaniola led to an investigation, and Columbus was returned to Spain in chains.

Although the monarchs restored his titles and income, he was removed from any position of real power in the West Indies and had difficulty securing permission for a fourth expedition that left in May 1502. On this expedition, he made land in modern-day Honduras and explored the Central American coast down to the isthmus. Conflict with the natives and the loss of two ships forced his return to Hispaniola in April 1503. By this time, the ships were no longer seaworthy and had to be beached on the Jamaican coast. Requests for assistance from Hispaniola were ignored for a year, and Columbus and his companions did not return to Spain until November 1504.

Although this expedition had been the most financially successful, Columbus was ignored by the monarchs. Not until 1505 was he granted an audience with the king, who was growing weary with Columbus's demands. Increasingly ignored and engaged in numerous lawsuits, Columbus died on May 20, 1506. His remains were buried in Valladolid and then reinterred in Seville in 1509. Following the wishes of his son Diego's will, they were again removed and buried in Santo Domingo in 1541. At the time of this writing, their location, like Columbus's legacy itself, is a matter of much dispute.

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Committee of Southern Churchmen A small, nondenominational Christian service organization based in Nashville, Tennessee, and led by Baptist minister WILL D. CAMPBELL, the Committee of Southern Churchmen was formed in 1964 out of the remnants of an earlier religious movement, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Like the fellowship before it, the committee was dedicated to working for interracial justice and social reform in the South.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (originally named the Conference of Younger Churchmen) was founded at a gathering in Monteagle, Tennessee, in May 1934. By the early 1950s, the fellowship had approximately 400 members, of whom roughly 80 percent were white and 20 percent African American. Ministers and teachers represented the largest portion of the membership. The fellowship emphasized a neo-orthodox position (see NEOORTHODOXY), that is, it synthesized traditional theological beliefs about God, sin, and the Christian gospel with a liberal, sometimes radical, political commitment to the poor. Aware of the South's hostility to "outside agitators" from the North, the fellowship restricted its membership almost exclusively to the southern-born.

Until the 1950s, the fellowship's members, like most southern liberals of the time, seemed confident that their policy of gradual racial integration would result in worthwhile social progress for African Americans. However, as matters turned out, the decade witnessed a devastating counteroffensive by conservative whites. The fellowship was unable to adjust to changing circumstances, as segregationists sought to block the forward strides southern blacks had made throughout the region. The fellowship's membership dwindled, and its funds became depleted. Although individuals such as Presbyterian writer James McBride Dabbs and Will Campbell focused their attention on the emerging black-led CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, the fellowship ceased to exist as an organization by the end of 1957.

Then serving with the National Council of Churches, Campbell had been among those who escorted African-American children through jeering mobs in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. That same year, he was the only white to participate in the establishment of Martin Luther King's SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE. Campbell resigned his post with the National Council of Churches and returned to the South in 1963. Seeking justice for downtrodden whites as well as for African Americans, he helped form the Committee of Southern Churchmen in 1964. Campbell believed that the overthrow of the idea of white supremacy and the success of the Civil Rights movement represented the South's reconciliation with God. The judging and classification of groups by race, he said, denied God's sovereignty over humankind.

Campbell's committee was a smaller, more conservative association than the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. While it continued the earlier group's emphasis on the SOCIAL GOSPEL, it also recognized the limitations imposed upon any social reform program by the reality of human sinfulness. The committee has emphasized, therefore, the need for individual as well as collective action in addressing the problems of society. During the VIETNAM WAR, the group ministered to draft resisters and antiwar activists. From 1975 to 1983, the group published a theological journal called *Katallagete—Be Reconciled,* which mirrored the committee's emphasis on sin, forgiveness, and Christian service. Campbell has argued that the real enemies of human rights in the South have been the government and the business community. Those institutions, he thought, have traditionally oppressed blacks and poor whites together.

GHS, Jr.

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Common Sense Philosophy See SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM.

communism Communism, broadly defined, is a social theory advocating the holding of the means of production in common rather than individually. As a worldview of history, communism became a powerful alternative to the capitalism shaping western Europe and the United States in the 19th century. Undergirding a global wave of revolutions in the 20th century, communism, despite its avowed atheism, often appeared to foster a religious dedication among its followers. In the United States, where communist activities remained marginal, the movement gave rise to a far more powerful worldview of anticommunism, arising in conjunction with early 20th-century IMMIGRATION. Anticommunism, similar in form to the NATIVISM that inspired the persecution of many non-Protestant groups in American life, became prominent during the "Red Scare" following WORLD WAR I. However, it was not until the COLD WAR that anticommunism gained a lasting hold in America, shaping political life, religious understandings, and popular culture.

Communism shared a millennarian desire quite widespread in the 19th century: to establish a perfect society based on the norms of community rather than manipulation (see MILLENNIALISM; COMMUNITARIANISM). Such desire for a perfect society, going back into the foundations of Western thought, also played an important role in the creation of America (see PURITANISM; AMERICAN REVOLUTION).

Communism emerged out of debate and controversy among a number of thinkers but was best expressed by Karl Marx (1818–83), a secular German Jew drawn to the budding workers movement after studying philosophy and law. In *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875), Marx summed up the young movement's goal: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Arising in opposition to the industrial capitalism radically reshaping Europe in the early 19th century, communism envisioned a future in which private property, and the state's protection of it, would be abolished and humans freed from the bondage of wage-labor. To accomplish this Marx envisioned the emergence of a universal class. In Marx's writings, the proletariat, unlimited by particular interests in preserving privilege, and fully aware of the alienation caused by private property, would unite to emancipate all by exercising universal suffrage. Only by altering "the relations of production"—that is, private ownership of the productive process—could emancipation proceed. Marx consequently dismissed the efforts of socialists and trade unionists to redistribute the fruits of production.

European revolutionary movements remained unsuccessful until the Russian Revolution of 1917. The victorious Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Vladimir Illych Lenin (1870–1924), seriously modified Marx's social theory and in the process built a centralized state that took on the task of abolishing many features of traditional Russian culture, including its ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY.

Communist ideals, present in some form in 19th-century America among communitarian groups such as the SHAKERS, the Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS), and Oneida Community (see NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY), have attracted the support of Americans troubled by the social inequality that became prominent as a result of industrialization after the CIVIL WAR. SOCIAL GOSPEL preachers, such as WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH and SOLOMON WASHINGTON GLADDEN, were critical of entrenched features of American capitalism and thought genuine religious faith impelled believers to seek the abolition of social injustice. Indeed, some form of radical critique of capitalism characterized many American religious and secular political viewpoints throughout the century (see CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT; COUNTERCULTURE; KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR.; NIEBUHR, REINHOLD; SOJOURNERS FELLOWSHIP). In organized form, however, the Communist Party of the United States, present since 1919, remained weak, garnering only 102,000 votes in the 1932 election, its highest number.

But if organized communism was mostly invisible, its specter loomed everywhere. In the wake of post–WORLD WAR I labor strikes and several bombings, U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer employed the wartime Sedition Act to curb dissent, rounding up 4,000 suspected radicals on January 1, 1920. Most of those detained, primarily Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe, were eventually released, but the "Red Scare" spawned widespread concern about foreigners polluting American life.

Many American intellectuals developed favorable views of Soviet efforts to construct a classless society during the years of the Great Depression, and official anticommunism declined as a result of the American alliance with the Soviet Union during WORLD WAR II. But by the late 1940s, as the Soviets occupied eastern European countries liberated from the Germans, President Harry Truman (1884–1972) and his administration recognized that Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) was intent on world conquest. In addition to military and diplomatic efforts to "contain" the spread of communism, Americans turned increasingly to ferreting out its influence at home. While the earlier Red Scare had been a predominantly Protestant enterprise, the anticommunism of the cold war united Protestants with Catholics and Jews, all of whom now identified themselves as partakers in the "American Way of Life." Both America and the Soviet Union came to stand for opposed millennial ideals, one divine, the other diabolical. Additionally, the persecution of religions by the various communist regimes provided a significant point of convergence for religious leaders in the United States. Whether it was the imprisonment of Catholic bishops in Hungary and Poland, the killing of Protestant missionaries following the victory of the Chinese Communists, or the persecution of Jews, nearly every religious group in the United States was affected by the antireligious practices of the communist regimes. With the Chinese Communist invasion of Tibet, even Buddhism, particularly as exemplified by the Dalai Lama, became an unceasing reminder of communism's hostility to religion and religious individuals.

Anticommunism increasingly took on a powerful role in shaping the worldview of American culture during the cold war. Fear of communist subversion and infiltration fostered by the opportunistic Catholic senator Joseph R. McCarthy spread across the society. States passed laws making criticism of the government illegal, and pleading the Fifth Amendment often was seen as proof of Communist Party membership. Prior to their execution for espionage in 1950, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg claimed during their well-publicized trial that they were victims of ANTI-SEMITISM. The House Un-American Activities Committee launched full-scale investigations of Hollywood in 1947, "blacklisting" hundreds of actors and directors because of presumed connections to the Communist Party. Nearly 40 feature films were produced echoing the fear of Communist subversion. Anticommunism also targeted education as a seedbed of communism. Libraries were purged of material critical of the American way of life, and several hundred college professors were dismissed. Ecumenical organizations such as the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES were suspect.

The publication of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* in three volumes between 1974 and 1978 brought to a wide audience the horrors of the Soviet system and the regime's active and complicit role in the deaths of millions. They presented a detailed accounting of the murders, jailings, and forced starvation that could neither be denied nor dismissed as excesses. When combined with the growing awareness of the consequences of the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–76) and the horrors of the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia (1975–79), which murdered about 2 million of its own people (out of a population of 7.1 million), it became increasingly difficult to argue that communism offered a legitimate social and political alternative.

As a counterimage to what America was supposed to represent, communism enabled several generations of Americans to retain the original Protestant view that America was *the* Christian nation. It also enabled many non-Protestant Americans to gain status in American society by demonstrating their own commitment to the American way of life.

The opening of the Soviet archives following the collapse of the Soviet Union further demonstrated the level of horrors perpetrated by the Soviet police state. The materials in these archives also documented that the level of Soviet-inspired espionage in the United States, while not reaching the level of some paranoiacs, was much greater than had been acknowledged by many in the academic and religious worlds.

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communitarianism The practice of communitarian living, usually signifying a community in which there is some degree of sharing common resources and property, has a long history in Judeo-Christian cultures. The term is sometimes also used to indicate a system in which social reform is attempted through small communities. In practice, these two meanings often have overlapped: Many communities constitute themselves and share goods with the express purpose of providing a template for society as a whole. Thus, communitarian groups often have utopian aims (see UTOPIANISM).

The most successful American communitarian enterprises have been explicitly religious, motivated by the conviction that believers must separate from the world and renounce certain aspects of their former lives in order to practice religion in its pure and authentic form. Persecution from outsiders often has added to the sense that spiritual purity cannot be maintained in society at large. All communitarian religious groups assume that purity of beliefs and practices is possible in this world and that their particular social form is best suited to the maintenance of holiness. Such communities are frequently characterized by the meticulous ordering and ritualizing of all aspects of life, including work patterns, diet, sexual practices, and even the definition of family.

Communitarianism can be traced back to the ancient Essenes, a male, celibate order in Palestinian Syria that emerged sometime before the birth of Christ. Some 4,000 members held property in common and observed strict religious rituals, but they lived scattered in various towns and villages. Early Christian groups, similarly, advocated the sharing of resources and property, although it is less clear that the apostolic church constituted itself this way. Nonetheless, many later communitarian movements were inspired by the biblical formulation of the book of Acts 4:32–35, "they had all things in common," a passage that describes the intimate connection between sharing resources and sharing spiritual goals. Christian movements therefore have frequently construed communitarian living as a spiritual restoration, a return to the model of the early church.

Traditional renderings of the communitarian impulse move rather quickly from the early church to several medieval European communities, including the Albigenses and the Waldenses, and on to the flowering of sectarianism catalyzed by the Protestant Reformation. The Cathars in France, the English Lollards, the Labadists in Holland, and the Anabaptists in central Europe all shared the desire to create a purified religious community and to separate themselves from a sinful world. With the European discovery of the "New World" of America, new sectarian communities were afforded the land and the relative freedom to fashion their own religious havens.

Communitarianism in America flourished most noticeably between the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and the CIVIL WAR. The opening of western lands, the social possibilities unleashed by the severing of traditional political and religious ties, a pervasive sense of the latent perfectibility of both individuals and society, millennialist prophecies, and growing qualms about an unabashed cultural commitment to the individualistic and competitive world of the capitalist marketplace led to the appearance of dozens of communitarian enterprises in this period. During the course of the 19th century, more than 100,000 people scattered in more than 100 colonies experimented with alternative social forms. This enthusiasm peaked in the 1840s with the emergence of groups such as Hopedale, Bethel-Aurora, Bishop Hill, Amana, Oneida (see NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY), Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and the SHAKERS. Interest waned rapidly in the late 1860s and 1870s, as Americans struggled to recover from the devastating effects of the Civil War, but communitarians continued to follow the line of westward settlement, seeking new opportunities for purity and further separation from the perceived sinfulness of American life. Other eras, most recently the late 1960s and early 1970s, witnessed a resurgence of many of the same impulses.

Although many American communes have looked back nostalgically to earlier periods or "golden ages," such as the Garden of Eden or the apostolic church, for their models of communal living, communitarians occasionally characterize their experiments as progressive and bold ventures, not as retreats from the "real" world. Many see themselves setting an important example as pioneers, using the small community model to force upon the wider society certain kinds of spiritual and/or social reforms. The communitarian template offers a noncoercive path to societal change, whether characterized as a "city upon a hill," a garden in the midst of the wilderness, or a pad where people can "discover" themselves.

Nonetheless, by focusing on communitarianism primarily as a consequence of the radical Reformation, historians often have ignored the many other social experiments in America that are also communitarian in nature. A most obvious example can be seen in Roman Catholic religious orders (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM), small communities of believers who often share resources and possessions, who live lives of ritual observance, and who have renounced key aspects of secular life. More recently, African Americans (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION), Hasidic Jews (see HASIDISM), and Buddhists (see BUDDHISM) have established communitarian enterprises in the United States. Few scholars have analyzed these social experiments in the same detail that has been applied to Euro-Protestant or quasi Protestant examples, but such study would undoubtedly enrich and perhaps qualify our assessments of communitarianism as a whole.

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Community of Christ The Community of Christ, originally known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, received its current name in 2001. The decision to adopt a new name had been made the previous year at the church's World Conference, where it was argued that the new name reflected more correctly the church's theology and mission. Such a shift also reflected the outcome of a long and complicated history.

For decades the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS Church) was the largest and most moderate of the many Mormon groups that split off from the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (the LDS Church), founded by JOSEPH SMITH, JR., in 1830. Historically, members of the RLDS Church, headquartered in Independence, Missouri, have been referred to as "Missouri Mormons" to distinguish them from the "Utah Mormons" of the LDS Church.

The roots of the RLDS Church go back to an intra-Mormon controversy precipitated by

Joseph Smith's murder in a jail in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844. At issue in that controversy were two key questions: Who would succeed Smith as the Mormons' temporal and spiritual leader and in what direction would the Mormon church move?

On one side of the controversy stood Brigham Young, who argued that Smith's successor should come from the Mormons' chief governing body, the Council of the Twelve Apostles. Young also contended that the Mormon movement should continue to distinguish itself from more mainstream Protestant denominations by persisting with controversial practices instituted by Smith while the Mormons were centered in Nauvoo, Illinois. Because many of these practices—polygamy or "plural marriage," temple ordinances such as marriage for eternity, theocratic rule, and the ordination of a patriarch—were derived by Smith from Old Testament examples, it is fair to say that Young envisioned a Mormonism that freely mixed Christian and Jewish themes.

The other side in the controversy insisted that only a descendant of Smith should follow the founder as the movement's prophet. Lineage rather than office should determine Smith's successor, who should come not from the Young-led Council of the Twelve Apostles but from Smith's own flesh and blood. This contingent contended, moreover, that Smith had never instituted some of the most controversial post-1830 innovations, notably polygamy and marriage for eternity. Their Mormonism was, therefore, less Jewish and more plainly Christian than the Mormonism of the Young contingent. It was, as one scholar has noted, a "reformation" of Christianity rather than a "radical restoration." While RLDS members joined LDS members in their hope of restoring the primitive Christian church, they distinguished themselves by harboring no hope of restoring ancient Israel as well.

Although many of Smith's family members, including his first wife, Emma Smith, opposed the "Brighamites," in the end it was Young who emerged victorious. He was ordained the president of the LDS Church in 1847, and one year later led the "Utah Mormons" westward to their current headquarters in Salt Lake City. Those who refused to recognize Young as Smith's successor organized a conference at Zarahemla, Wisconsin, in 1853 and established what they called the "New Organization." They eventually tapped as their leader Joseph Smith III (1860–1914), who became president and prophet of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (also known as the "Reorganization") upon its inception on April 6, 1860.

From the beginning, LDS and RLDS members agreed on many things. Both groups accepted the Book of Mormon and the Bible ("in so far as it is translated correctly") as divinely inspired Scripture, and both saw revelation as an ongoing process in which God revealed his will to his people through prophets such as Joseph Smith. Over time, the two main divisions in the Mormon church came together on key issues. In 1890, for example, the LDS Church, under pressure from the federal government, joined the RLDS Church in repudiating plural marriage.

"Utah Mormons" and "Missouri Mormons" continue to disagree, however, about many things. LDS members still call their president from the Council of the Twelve Apostles, and until 1996 RLDS members still insisted that their president be a direct descendant of Joseph Smith. The Reorganized Church also rejects some of Mormonism's later doctrinal developments—e.g., the plurality of gods and the eternal progression of humans toward divinity—as unbiblical. Finally, the Reorganized Church tends to be more liberal on social questions. Unlike the LDS Church, which excluded African Americans from ordination to the priesthood from 1847 until 1978, the Reorganized Church never set up racial barriers to ordination. And while the LDS continues to bar women from ordination, the RLDS welcomes women priests.

In 1991, the RLDS experienced its own schism when a small group of more traditionalist members left to form the Restoration Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day

Saints. This schism reflected opposition to the RLDS's move toward defining itself more as a "Christian" church, with doctrines similar to mainstream Christian denominations in the United States. The Community of Christ also has a more liberal political bent than the Utah church, participating in the "Call to Renewal," a multidenomination Christian movement to end poverty and racism and strengthen families and communities. The church also has a strong emphasis on teaching peace and has built a "Children's Peace Pavilion," an interactive, public museum located at its world headquarters in Independence, Missouri.

Few events reflected the church's process of change during the 1980s and 1990s as much as the choice of W. Grant McMurray as its head in 1996. McMurray became the first leader of the church not a direct descendant of Joseph Smith. This constituted a major shift in the church's self-understanding, since part of the reason for its founding was the conviction that Mormons should be headed by a descendant of Joseph Smith. In 1997, McMurray proclaimed a new direction calling for a "clear and compelling Christ-centered theology of peace and justice grounded in the scriptures, faith, and tradition of the Restoration movement." This new course resulted in the decision to change its name, and the RLDS Church became the Community of Christ, an international denomination, which, in 2006, reported more than 250,000 members in 50 countries.

SRP/EQ

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Congregational Christian Churches See UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST.

congregationalism Congregationalism is a form of church government that evolved out of the English Puritan (see PURITANISM) movement of the 16th century. As distinct from episcopacy (governance by bishops) and presbyterianism (governance by ministers and elected laity), classic congregational polity maintains that local Christian congregations may govern themselves without reference to any wider church authority or hierarchy.

Beginning in the late 16th century, groups of radical Puritans called Separatists broke away from the parish churches of the Church of England and established their own independent congregations. They believed that church membership should be restricted to those who were convinced believers in Jesus Christ. They also taught that each congregation was given authority by God to determine who might participate in its institutional and sacramental life. The PILGRIMS who settled Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620 were Separatists and the first adherents of Congregationalism to come to America. After 1629, other Puritans under the leadership of JOHN WINTHROP found the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY a welcome outlet to escape from the English parish system. By the end of the 17th century, Congregationalists, the dominant religious group in New England, effectively had become a new Protestant denomination.

The government of the Congregational churches in America received its first official definition at a church synod convened at Cambridge, Massachusetts, between 1646 and 1648. The CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM of 1648 established a system of independent local churches in which members and their elected officers shared equal authority. A half century later, a synod meeting in Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1708 further systematized Congregational government. The SAYBROOK PLATFORM, adopted in four Connecticut counties, provided that lay and clerical representatives of the churches would meet and offer judgments in disputes between local congregations. Ministerial associations also were created to approve candidates for ordination and oversee clergy. However, because the Saybrook Platform undercut the principle of absolute congregational independence and favored a modified connectional system, many churches both in Connecticut and in Massachusetts rejected its provisions.

Congregationalism next endured two major schisms that altered significantly its membership between 1735 and 1825. First, following the revivalist fervor of the GREAT AWAKENING of the 1730s and 1740s, some New England Congregationalists insisted that their clergy and fellow church members lacked true piety. Many of these dissidents, called New Lights (see NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS), eventually split from the Congregational establishment and later reorganized themselves as Baptist congregations. Second, in the early 19th century, the emerging Unitarian (see UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY) movement caused nearly 100 more parishes in the Boston area to break formally with Congregationalism. These liberal churches allied themselves with one another and in 1825 formed the American Unitarian Association, the forerunner of the modern-day UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION.

Official Congregational polity continued to develop after these defections, although because of the principle of strictly independent church bodies, a true denominational bureaucracy did not emerge until the late 19th century. The first state conference of Congregational churches was held in Maine in 1822, but only in 1871 were Congregationalists organized fully on a national level, with the founding of the National Council of Congregational Churches.

In 1865, the Boston Platform superseded the two-century-old Cambridge Platform. The Boston Platform reaffirmed the idea that the local congregation, which derives its authority directly from Jesus Christ, is also sole basis of the church. However, the Boston Platform also allowed the conferring of ministerial standing and the installation of clergy to be shared by associations and conferences.

While the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, formed by a union of the Congregational Christian Churches with the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1957, is the most direct heir of the Puritan Congregational impulse today, many other churches in the United States trace their ecclesiastical lineage back to 16th-century English Congregationalism. These include the several Baptist denominations, the Unitarian Universalist Association, the Conservative Congregational Christian Conference, and a number of independent churches that maintain a self-governing Congregational polity.

GHS, Jr.

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Conservative Baptist Association See BAPTISTS.

Conservative Congregational Christian Conference See UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST.

Conservative Judaism Although the division of JUDAISM into three "denominations," or branches, is an American phenomenon, Conservative Judaism claims to be the "authentic American Judaism." While perhaps overstated, there is some basis for this claim.

Unlike REFORM JUDAISM and ORTHODOX JUDAISM, which have their roots in Europe as institutions, Conservative Judaism is an indigenous phenomenon brought about by American conditions and circumstances. Conservative Judaism attempts to follow the "middle way" between Reform and Orthodoxy, adapting to new realities when necessary but committed to the preservation of the tradition. Although a definite minority in the 19th century and without organizational form until 1913, in

2006 Conservative Judaism had more than 1.5 million members in 760 congregations.

The beginning of this major movement can be traced to a minor event that occurred in 1883 at a banquet honoring the first graduating class of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. The school, although dominated by Reform thinking, had been established to serve the entire American Jewish community. Knowing that several members of the college's board of directors followed *kashrut,* the Jewish dietary laws, the banquet's planners hired a Jewish caterer. When the first course was set before the participants, several rabbis stalked from the room, for on their plates were shrimp, one of the forbidden foods. This event demonstrated to the traditionalists that they could not work with the reformers. The magnitude of their differences became obvious two years later when the Reform group issued its statement of principles. In this statement, the PITTSBURGH PLATFORM, so much of Jewish tradition was rejected that for many traditionalists accommodation was impossible.

While the "*trefa* banquet" (*trefa* is Hebrew for forbidden food) was the immediate occasion for a separation between the more traditionally minded Jews and the reformers, it was not the sufficient cause. Conservative Judaism has its roots in the historical development of Judaism in the United States and in European intellectual currents.

Not all Jews in the United States were comfortable with the radical break with Jewish tradition represented by the reformers. This group, composed of more Orthodox immigrants and members of America's older Sephardic Jewish community, was concerned with retaining their Jewish identity, Jewish dietary laws, and the traditional religious rituals—including the use of Hebrew. This group, led by ISAAC LEESER, SABATO MORAIS, HENRY PEREIRA MENDES, Marcus Jastrow, and Benjamin Szold, rejected the complete disregard for tradition and Jewish law they saw among the reformers—as exemplified by the *trefa* banquet and the Pittsburgh Platform. These men stood for the maintenance of the dietary laws (which the Reform leader ISAAC MAYER WISE disparaged as "kitchen Judaism"), the exilic character of the Jewish people, and unity with Jews throughout the world.

Many of these traditionalists agreed with the reformers that the 16th-century codification of Jewish law by Joseph Caro in the *Shulhan Arukh* needed alteration. The dead letter of the books had replaced the living letter of rabbinical synods. They rejected, however, what they saw as Reform's emphasis on utility—the attitude that the laws needed alteration not because they were tried and found wanting, but were tried and found difficult.

These men, generally referred to as the Historical School, were influenced by the thought of Rabbi Zechariah Frankel of Dresden. Frankel, affiliated with the Wissenschaft des Judentums (Science of Judaism) movement, felt that precise scholarship on the tradition was demanded, but unlike the reformers he used this scholarship not to denigrate tradition but to infuse it with new life.

Frankel desired to place Judaism on its "positive historical foundations." Rather than emphasizing the negative, he desired to see how the traditions expressed the living faith of a people. For Frankel, and for Conservative Judaism generally, the traditions were valuable because they were living vehicles of the religious expressions of the Jews. Not every element of the tradition was ordained by God; many were simply the creations of their age and location. But any alteration of that tradition would be equally so. As long as a tradition expressed the religious will of the Jewish people, it should be retained. If a practice no longer functioned as a source of religious value and meaning, then change was permissible, but only as an expression of the "total popular will." Rabbi Alexander Kohut of Ahavath Chesed in New York expressed the ideals of this movement in his first sermon (1885): "I desire a Judaism full of life . . . a Judaism true to itself and its past, yet receptive of the ideas of the present."

The emphasis on the totality of the community, *klal Yisrael* ("universal Israel"), has been dominant within Conservative Judaism. In fact, those involved in its formation viewed themselves as creating a religious organization that would bring together all Jews. The result, as so often happened in American history, was the formation of one more denomination.

It is telling that such a group first formed not a denominational organization, but a seminary—Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Organized "to impart the love of the Hebrew language, and a spirit of fidelity and devotion to the Jewish law," the first class met on January 2, 1887, in the Shearith Israel synagogue in New York. Although its first graduate went on to become chief rabbi of the British Empire, the seminary struggled during its early years. By 1901, the school was close to folding.

The school was saved by the activities of CYRUS ADLER, who convinced a large number of Jewish laymen to re-endow the school. Even more important was Adler's ability to convince SOLOMON SCHECHTER to accept its presidency. Schechter, a Romanian-born rabbi and professor of Hebrew at the University of London, transformed the fortunes of the school and of the Conservative movement itself. Schechter viewed the school as a "theological center which should be all things to all men, reconciling all parties, and appealing to all sectors of the community." While it failed to achieve this goal—the Reformed and Orthodox went their own ways—it provided a middle way between the accommodationism of Reform and the parochialism of the Orthodox.

Giving organizational form to this middle way took time. In 1901, an Alumni Association of Jewish Theological Seminary was formed, then reorganized in 1919 as the Rabbinical Assembly of America, with the responsibility for ordaining rabbis and overseeing issues of Jewish law and practice within the movement.

Not until 1913 did an institution bringing together all like-minded congregations form. Its very name expressed the universality desired by the movement: the United Synagogue of America (see UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM). Originally comprised of 60 congregations, by 1980, it had become the largest branch of American Judaism. It owed this growth to the huge numbers of eastern European immigrants who swept into America between 1880 and 1924. As they and their children drifted away from traditional Orthodoxy, some became nonobservant, others became Reform, but many joined the Conservative movement as a compromise. In institutional terms, this middle way served Conservatism well.

The fusion of tradition and change, however, has made it impossible for Conservatism to adopt either the majoritarian decision making of Reform or the authoritarianism of the Orthodox. Its commitment to tradition resulted in the secession of its more liberal members, who founded RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM—a fourth branch of American Judaism. Its commitment to change has led to growing tensions with the Orthodox community.

Over no issue has this conflict with Orthodoxy been greater than over the role of women within Judaism. The abolition of the barrier (*mehitzah*) separating women from men was only the first of many conflicts; the introduction of mixed seating in many synagogues was an even greater breach of traditional practice. The worst violations of Jewish law from the Orthodox perspective were changes allowing greater participation of women within religious services. Some of these were relatively minor, allowing women to read from the Torah during services, for example. Others were major transformations of Jewish tradition.

The first was the 1973 issuance of a *takhanah* ("legislative enactment") by the Rabbinical Assembly's law committee allowing women to be counted in a *minyan,* the 10 Jewish adults necessary to conduct services. There followed a decade-long conflict over whether to accept women in the rabbinate. This debate closed in 1983, when the faculty of Jewish Theological

Seminary voted 34-8 to admit women to the rabbinical school. In May 1985, Amy Eiberg became the first woman ordained by the Rabbinical Assembly.

The conflict over the role of women led to the formation of the Union for Traditional Conservative Judaism, composed of those opposed to women's ordination. This did not lead to a split within the denomination, however some of the more conservative rabbis and laity drifted into the Orthodox camp.

There are other ongoing tensions within the movement. The first of these is the traditionalism of the seminary faculty and the realities of life as a Conservative rabbi. While the movement itself is committed to the observance of the dietary laws, more than 60 percent of its members do not keep kosher homes, and Conservative rabbis have little authority to oppose this nonobservance. This separation found its expression in the adoption of a new name for the movement in 1990, the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism.

Lack of authority is the source of yet more conflict between a traditionally trained rabbi and a less traditionally minded congregation. Power rests in the hands of the latter. While the rabbi can condemn, demand, and plead, there is little she or he can do. People can always leave or dismiss the rabbi. Many Conservative rabbis find themselves in the position of being their congregations' representative of tradition.

The 1970s and 1980s were difficult years for Conservative Judaism. A more traditionally oriented Reform movement attracted many of its liberal members, and an increasingly aggressive Orthodoxy appealed to the more conservative. There also was vigorous criticism from within, especially from those raised in the movement. Younger members criticized the sterile and impersonal nature of the synagogues, adaptation to middle-class values, as well as lax observance. Many founded *havuroth,* religious communities based on the pharisaic brotherhoods of the Roman era. While favoring more traditional observances, these *havuroth* also pushed for a greater involvement of women and increased social concern.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the Conservative movement struggled to find a way to reinvigorate itself. Attempting to articulate a positive identity, the movement issued a statement of beliefs and principles in 1988, Emet Ve-Emunah, that placed Conservative Judaism religiously between the Reform on the left and Orthodox on the right. It expressed Conservatism's commitment to the normativity of the Halakhah (Jewish law) and the Jewish tradition, while noting the role of development and change within the Halakhah. Most significantly, it recognized the role of religious authorities within the Conservative movement to interpret and adjust Jewish law, thereby rejecting the Orthodox claim that the law cannot be altered. To a great extent, the Emet Ve-Emunah simply restated officially the premises upon which Conservative Judaism is based. The statement, however, explicitly separates the movement from both the Reform and Orthodox. In no area were the tensions within Conservative Judaism and between it and Orthodoxy more visible than in the Conservative movement's 2006 response to homosexuality. In this decision three different opinions were accepted. One continued the ban on ordaining gays and lesbians as rabbis or cantors, while the other two permitted their ordination and the participation of Conservative rabbis in commitment ceremonies, but not weddings, for gays and lesbians.

The last decade of the 20th century saw Conservative Judaism at a crossroads. Seemingly outflanked on the left by Reform and on the right by the Orthodox, Conservative Judaism appeared to lack a clear focus. Interestingly, this difficulty saw a solution in changing demographics.

By focusing increasingly on serving local congregations and addressing the needs of the growing numbers of young professional couples with children, Conservative Judaism found a new population eager for structure and strong religious learning. Many of these families were products of "mixed" Jewish marriages, where one spouse had been raised in a more religious household and the other in a less observant environment. For them, a Conservative synagogue provided an alternative comfortable to both.

This position as a "half-way house," or default option, did not lead to a clear identity, however. At the beginning of the 21st century, Conservative Judaism entered a challenging period. Defections from the left and right and the lack of a positive religious and organizational self-understanding seemed to leave Conservative Judaism with little soul or spirit. Many doubted its ability to survive until the 2020s. Despite these predictions, Conservative Judaism's deep historical roots and its commitment to using the power of religious tradition to answer pressing contemporary concerns continue to provide it, at least potentially, with the tools for renewal and revitalization.

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Consistent Calvinism See NEW DIVINITY.

Constitution (U.S.) The Constitution of the United States of America is the fundamental law of the nation. It provides the country with the basis for its national government, setting forth the government's functions, powers, and roles. The genius of the document rests in its flexibility. Rather than legislate for all contingencies, the Constitution is formulated on broad principles that allow for responses to changing situations and conditions. The Constitution is specific, however, when it enumerates the limits of governmental power. These limits serve to prevent the rise of a despotic and tyrannical government.

Based on the philosophical and political ideas of the ENLIGHTENMENT, the Constitution is preeminently the work of JAMES MADISON, although the text as adopted was penned by Gouverneur Morris of New York. Between May and September 1787, delegates from 12 of the 13 states then composing the United States of America met in Philadelphia to find some way to strengthen the existing federal government. The instructions given the delegates by the various states empowered them only to modify the existing fundamental law of the land, the Articles of Confederation. Under the leadership of Madison, however, those present took it upon themselves to write a completely new constitution. When they had finished, 39 of the 42 delegates signed the new document, which they then presented to the people for ratification. By June of 1788, ratification by the people of the required nine states had been secured, and the Constitution took effect as the basis for the national government.

Religious issues played an insignificant role in the drafting of the Constitution. None of the delegates suggested that the document allow for a religious establishment. In fact, the only mention of religion in the document, in Article VI, Section 3—adopted over the objections of the delegates from Maryland, North Carolina, and Connecticut (North Carolina being the only one eventually to vote against it)—expressly forbids the requirement of religious tests for the holding of political office.

During the debates over ratification, some objected to this clause, fearing that it would allow Catholics and pagans to hold political office. The biggest fear, however, was from the other side, that the document did not sufficiently protect religion from governmental meddling. This and related fears led to the adoption of the first 10 amendments to the Constitution: the Bill of Rights. Of these amendments, one specifically deals with religion. The FIRST AMENDMENT states that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;. . . ."

These amendments, however, applied only to the national government and not to the various state governments. Several states retained their pre-Revolutionary religious establishments well into the 1800s. The relationship of the state governments to religion was a matter only of state law, not constitutional guarantees.

This changed with the adoption of the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. This amendment, ratified in 1868, was designed primarily to protect the newly freed slaves from political abuse by their former masters. Among its various provisions, the amendment states that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States."

Through the use of this amendment, the federal courts, and the Supreme Court as the ultimate arbiter of the Constitution's meaning, began to apply the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights to the states. The first Supreme Court decision to apply the "free exercise" clause of the First Amendment to the states was in *Cantwell v. Connecticut* in 1940. In 1947, the Supreme Court for the first time applied the "establishment clause" of the First Amendment to the states via the Fourteenth Amendment in its decision in *Everson v. Board of Education.*

Beyond its legal and political importance, the Constitution has deeper significance in the United States as one of the icons of America's CIVIL RELIGION. An overwhelming majority in the United States pays homage to the document. Those who have never bothered to read the Constitution esteem it as one of the greatest works of the ages. All politicians favor it, and the epithet "unconstitutional" is often hurled at legislation the speaker opposes. This level of reverence for the Constitution illustrates its importance in American society. Everyone fights over the Constitution, and people with opposing views claim its support. While the desire of so many to wrap themselves in the Constitution does not necessarily honor it, the fact that the Constitution protects so many under its banner does. The constitutional guarantees to religious equality and religious freedom, despite the occasional lapses in application, cannot be overestimated in importance. They have made it possible for the United States to become a religiously pluralistic nation with a minimum of religious violence and bloodshed. Despite prejudice, hostility, and sporadic violence, the United States has been spared the large-scale conflicts that have marked other diverse nations. This must be attributed primarily to the guarantee of free religious exercise and prohibition of a religious establishment in the Bill of Rights.

(See also CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN.)

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conversion The word *conversion* derives from the Latin *conversio,* which means "a turning round" or "revolution." In religious terminology, the word implies a change from one type of life to another—in Christianity, a rejection of sin and the acceptance of a new life in Jesus Christ. Emphasis on conversion and ongoing spiritual regeneration always have been hallmarks of EVANGELICALISM in America. Evangelicals traditionally regarded the experience of religious conversion as a mark of the genuine Christian.

The willingness to testify to one's conversion experience was a central feature of the Puritan movement of the late 16th and early 17th century. Most Puritans believed that conversion was a gradual process. PURITANISM encouraged prolonged and continual self-analysis, a process in which believers searched their hearts for evidences of divine grace. After the Puritan migration to New England, candidates for church membership were required to undergo an examination about their conversion. When a person requested membership, the petitioner would be asked to describe how the results of God's grace were first perceived and then acceded to.

As the original fervor of first-generation Puritanism waned, more and more New Englanders failed to recognize in themselves signs of the experience of saving grace that their parents and grandparents had known. Although most were professing Christians and tried to lead moral lives, these unconverted persons increased dramatically in number and presented a critical spiritual problem for the Congregational churches of New England. At the end of the 17th century, prominent clergy such as INCREASE MATHER and SOLOMON STODDARD introduced periods of intense preaching in their churches. Their goal was the inauguration of a "revival" (see REVIVALISM), that is, a time when people would experience conversion, feel their hearts changed, and enter full church membership.

During the GREAT AWAKENING, the religious explosion that shook the American churches in the middle decades of the 18th century, the need for conversion became an overarching theme in the preaching of revival leaders. JONATHAN EDWARDS, for example, minister of the Congregational church in Northampton, Massachusetts, was alarmed by the spiritual complacency he perceived among many of his parishioners. To counter this, he preached a series of sermons on JUSTIFICATION by faith alone in 1734. He soon noticed important changes in his people: Religious interest and conversions began to increase markedly.

As Edwards realized, however, there was an inherent tension in the way preachers such as he approached the task of evangelism. Orthodox Calvinists knew that, from eternity, God had arbitrarily chosen to save some human beings and damn others without regard to actual merit. Calvinists believed that God would awaken faith within the hearts of the predestined elect (see ELECTION), while those predestined to damnation never would experience a conversion. Yet if conversion were solely a divine action, indeed an event foreordained by God before creation itself, there would seem to be little justification for pressing a sinner to repent. To stress the importance of the human will in conversion not only was inappropriate, but might even signal a lack of faith in divine grace.

Despite Calvinist misgivings, pressing for conversion rapidly became a highly successful recruiting technique for churches during the Great Awakening. Conversion changed from being a purely individual affair to being a mass concern. By the time of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING in the early 19th century, emphasis on the use of one's free will, coupled with pressure tactics about the need for acceptance of God's grace, began to dominate American evangelical ideas on conversion. CHARLES G. FINNEY, arguably the greatest revivalist of all time, exemplified the attitude of that period. Finney was renowned for pleading with men and women to change their hearts and surrender to God. His most famous sermon, "Sinners Bound to Change Their Own Hearts," argued that God had given people power to make up their own minds and act for themselves. Anyone who wanted *could* undergo a spiritual rebirth and attain salvation.

Later in the 19th century, revivalist DWIGHT L. MOODY combined Gilded Age optimism with classic theological ARMINIANISM. He urged the crowds that flocked to hear him to effect salvation by giving their hearts to God. Moody's message was a simple one. Through an act of will, a person could accept divine grace and instantly be saved. Moody would hold up a Bible and assure his congregations that eternal life was available for the asking. All people had to do was "come forward and t-a-k-e, TAKE!"

This form of conversion that Moody popularized is typical of conservative Protestantism in the United States today. Evangelicals believe that individuals must welcome God's saving grace into their hearts in order to authenticate any claim to being a Christian. Conversion, feeling "born again" or "saved," therefore, remains the central experience by which a person enters into a life of religious commitment.

GHS, Jr.

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Conwell, Russell Herman (1843–1925)

Russell Conwell was a Baptist minister and popular lecturer of the late 19th and early 20th century. The most celebrated clerical spokesman for the GOSPEL OF WEALTH movement, he was famed for the lecture "Acres of Diamonds," in which he admonished listeners that it was their Christian "duty to get rich." Conwell also founded Temple University in Philadelphia to educate working men and women who were unable to attend a traditional college but still wished to better themselves. He served as Temple's first president between 1888 and 1925.

Russell Herman Conwell, the founder of Temple University. His "Acres of Diamonds" spoke of a Christian "duty to get rich."

Conwell was born in South Worthington, Massachusetts, on February 15, 1843. He studied at Yale College for two years before serving as an officer in the Union Army during the CIVIL WAR. He graduated in 1865 from the School of Law at Albany University in New York and practiced law in Minneapolis, Minnesota, from 1865 to 1868. Although wounds he received in the war forced him into a two-year convalescence period, Conwell returned to work in 1870 and found employment as a traveling journalist, lawyer, and businessman. The death of his first wife in 1879 led him to consider the ministry as a new career. Having taught Bible classes in local churches and having worked with the YMCA, he was called to a Baptist church in Lexington, Massachusetts, where he was ordained in 1880.

In 1882, Conwell came to Grace Baptist Church, a struggling congregation in Philadelphia. Conwell soon won renown not only for his preaching and evangelistic fervor, but also for his promotion of educational and social concerns. His ministry in Philadelphia reflected a mixture of religion and social activism that paralleled aspects of the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement. By 1893, Conwell's church, then called the Baptist Temple, contained more than 3,000 members and had become one of the most active Protestant congregations in the country. A new building was built with a gymnasium, Sunday school, and reading rooms—the perfect model of the "institutional church" of the period, not simply a place of worship, but a community center as well. Conwell provided free night-school classes in the basement of his church, and in 1888, this venture evolved into Temple University.

Conwell was undoubtedly best known for the speech "Acres of Diamonds," which he delivered on over 6,000 occasions. Conwell believed that God gave everyone opportunities for material advancement. All people have "diamonds" in their own backyards, he declared, and they can uncover them if they look hard enough. When he was asked why he did not preach a less worldly gospel but only exhorted people to get rich, Conwell replied that "to make money honestly is to preach the gospel." A self-made man who amassed a fortune, Conwell took seriously the idea of Christian stewardship. He believed in civic responsibility and charity, and he used his money to aid poor students at Temple.

Conwell's opinions on industriousness, self-help, and the universal potential for success struck a responsive chord in the minds of many Americans in the Gilded Age. He remained active both as minister of the Baptist Temple and as president of the university until the end of his life. He died at Philadelphia on December 6, 1925.

GHS, Jr.

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Cotton, John (1584–1652) John Cotton was one of the leading ministers of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY. His theological and social views helped form the "New England Way"—the religious and political structures of the Puritan colonies (see PURITANISM). This was an interesting role for someone so bookish that he daily spent 12 hours in his study and was heard to remark, regarding the many interruptions a minister suffers, that he found it much more rewarding to converse with the dead (in books) than with the living.

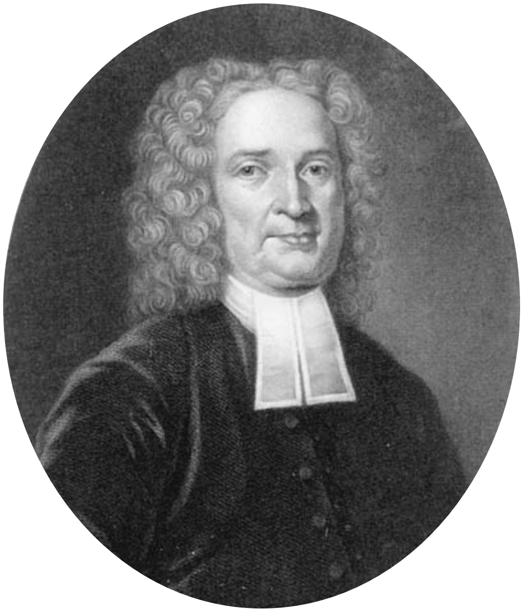
For Cotton, the road to America was not a direct one. Born in Derby, England, on December 4, 1584, Cotton attended Trinity College, Cambridge, where he received his B.A. degree in 1603 and his M.A. degree in 1606. In 1607, he became chief lecturer and dean of Emmanuel College, a position he held until 1612, when he took religious orders, receiving his B.D. degree from Emmanuel College the following year.

In the year of his ordination, Cotton received the prestigious appointment to St. Botolph's in Boston, England. The way to advancement seemed assured to the scholarly and accomplished minister. By 1615, however, Cotton had become a Puritan and brought the worship services at St. Botolph's into line with Puritan views. A lenient bishop allowed Cotton his ways for 18 years, but the king's opposition to Puritanism was stronger than the indifference of a bishop, and in 1632, Cotton was ordered to appear before the Court of High Commission (Star Chamber) to answer for his views. He went into hiding in London, where he remained until his departure for America in September 1633.

Cotton's arrival in Massachusetts was welcomed. (It was rumored that Boston had been given its name in hope of increasing the likelihood of his emigration.) The church of Boston appointed him teacher, the ministerial post responsible for supervising doctrine and delivering sermons. His influence in the colony was felt immediately. Cotton began a series of sermons on the Covenant of Grace, warning people against falling into the belief that their actions could aid in bringing about their salvation.

Because of this strong belief in human inability regarding salvation, Cotton helped give birth to the ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY of 1636–37. In fact, Cotton was the ministerial idol of ANNE HUTCHINSON, the leader of the so-called Antinomians. Cotton initially supported Hutchinson, but he eventually acquiesced in her banishment, partially in response to pressure from his fellow ministers.

Although Cotton gave some support to Hutchinson, he firmly opposed another dissenter, ROGER WILLIAMS. Williams's belief that religious affairs should be removed from civil enforcement was something Cotton could not countenance either theologically or socially, and Cotton led the movement to banish Williams from the colony (1635). This did not end the conflict, however, and the two carried on a pamphlet war over the issue during the 1640s and 1650s.



John Cotton, a Cambridge University graduate and Boston minister, whose preaching and writing shaped New England Puritanism. *(Boston Public Library)*

In his works, primarily *The Bloudy Tenent, Washed, And made White in the Bloud of the Lambe* (1647), Cotton sets forth his view that the secular government must enforce religious uniformity. For Cotton, obedience to true religion was necessary for a functioning society. God judged societies on their godliness. Societies that allowed the existence of heretics and blasphemers called divine retribution down on themselves. Also, diversity of religious views led to conflict within society that threatened its existence. For these reasons, Massachusetts could not suffer the existence of those who deviated from Puritan orthodoxy; to do so imperiled the colony's continued existence. Those who did not conform must be made to do so or be removed from the colony.

Until his death on December 23, 1652, Cotton was most influential in setting the religious standards of Puritan New England. At his insistence, the churches of Massachusetts adopted (between 1635 and 1640) the testimony of a conversion experience as a requirement for church membership. He prepared the standard catechism, *Milk for Babies* (1646), setting out for children the basic doctrines of Puritanism. Finally, in 1648, along with Richard Mather, Cotton drafted the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM, the document that would serve as the basis for the polity and doctrine of CONGREGATIONALISM until the 19th century.

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Coucouzes, Iakovos (1911–2005) During a long career begun in 1939, Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes became the most familiar public representative of ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY and the longest-serving Orthodox hierarch in American history.

The future leader of the GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA was born Dimitrios Coucouzes on the Aegean island of Imvros in 1911. Educated at the Ecumenical Patriarchate's seminary at Halki near Istanbul, he was ordained to the diaconate in 1934 and took the monastic name Iakovos.

He immigrated to the United States in 1939 and joined a small circle of clerics who helped Archbishop ATHENAGORAS SPYROU forge a centralized and unified Greek Orthodox Church in North America. Closely associated with the founding of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Iakovos was ordained to the priesthood in 1940 and served several parishes, including an influential pastorate in Boston from 1942 to 1954.

Consecrated a bishop in 1954, he played an important role in the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. He represented the patriarchate at the World Council of Churches in Geneva from 1955 to 1959 and eventually served the council as copresident.

Enthroned as archbishop of North and South America in 1959, Iakovos returned to the United States at a point when the children of the first generation of Greek immigrants were coming to maturity. His style of leadership was activist, and he was determined to claim a visible place for the Orthodox in American life.

Iakovos soon became a familiar figure at public events, offering prayers at presidential inaugurations and other such gatherings. A photograph of Iakovos standing with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., at Selma, Alabama, in 1965 became one of the best-known symbols of the ecumenical movement during the 1960s.

His major administrative achievement was the sweeping reorganization of the archdiocese in 1978, when the centralized structure adopted during the 1930s was replaced by a more traditional Orthodox system in which a synod of diocesan bishops sits under the leadership of the archbishop.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Iakovos also emerged as an important ethnic leader, rallying Greek Americans against the Turkish intervention in Cyprus and the persecution of the patriarchate in Istanbul. Although his 1972 candidacy for the patriarchate was vetoed by the Turkish government, Iakovos eventually served as an effective advocate of the patriarchate with the Turks.

In 1994, Iakovos chaired a meeting of all the nation's Orthodox bishops in Ligonier, Pennsylvania. The group issued an unprecedented declaration that the process of uniting all Orthodox jurisdictions into a single North American church had already begun. The Ecumenical Patriarchate reacted angrily, viewing the Ligonier Declaration as a threat to its own position in North America. Patriarch Bartholomew announced in 1995 that he had accepted Iakovos's resignation. Iakovos retired reluctantly in 1996. He died in April 2005 and was interred on the campus of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts.

AHW

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Coughlin, Charles E. (1891–1979) A Roman Catholic priest and radio personality, Charles Edward Coughlin was one of the many people who gained notoriety during the Great Depression with their views on how to solve the country's economic problems.

Born in Hamilton, Ontario, on October 25, 1891, Coughlin grew up in a Catholic neighborhood surrounded by Roman Catholic institutions. After attending St. Michael's College, Toronto University (Ph.D., 1911), he taught philosophy and English at Assumption College in Sandwich, Ontario.

Ordained in 1916, he served various pastorates in the Detroit diocese. In 1926, sent to found a parish at Royal Oak, Michigan, he established the Shrine of the Little Flower. A cross-burning on the lawn of his newly completed church, combined with parish financial problems, led Coughlin to turn to radio as a means of explaining Catholicism and soliciting money for his church.

He soon developed a wide following and in 1930 signed a contract with the CBS radio network. With the onset of the Great Depression, his talks became increasingly political, and his attacks on international bankers, unregulated capitalism, and the wealthy drew a large audience. It is estimated that 40 million listeners tuned in each Sunday afternoon, and Coughlin received more mail than any American of his time. This popularity did not save him in 1931, when his criticism of President Herbert Hoover became too extreme, and CBS removed him from the air.

Coughlin responded by developing a network of independent radio stations and in the election of 1932 threw his support behind Franklin Roosevelt. During this time, Coughlin's radio talks became increasingly anti-Semitic (see ANTI-SEMITISM) and supportive of the policies of Mussolini and, later, Hitler. In 1934, he organized the National Union for Social Justice, whose principles included the abolition of private banking, the nationalization of major resources, and price controls. Increasingly opposed to Roosevelt, he supported the newly formed Union Party in 1936, vowing that he would leave the air if its nominee, William Lemke, received fewer than 9 million votes.

His 40 million listeners delivered few votes, however, and the Union Party garnered only 1 million ballots. True to his word, Coughlin left the airwaves for seven weeks. When he returned, he continued his anti-Semitic and anti-Roosevelt diatribes, speaking of a British-Roosevelt-Jewish conspiracy to drag the United States into war.

After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Coughlin continued his isolationist and pro-Axis views, steadily losing listeners and stations. In 1942, the U.S. government barred his magazine from the mails for violating the Espionage Act, and the bishop of Detroit gave him the choice of keeping silent on social issues or leaving the priesthood. Coughlin chose the former and continued as pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower until his retirement in 1966. Although he ceased his involvement in politics, he did continue to write pamphlets opposing communism and, later, Vatican II until his death on October 27, 1979.

Father Coughlin's social protest during the Great Depression at first won the radio priest wide popularity. The bishop of Detroit eventually silenced him for his isolationist, pro-Axis advocacy. *(Library of Congress)*

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Council on American-Islamic Relations

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is the largest civil rights organization in the United States focused on Islamic affairs (see ISLAM). Established in 1994 as an advocacy group under section 501(c)4 of the U.S. tax code, CAIR is based in Washington, D.C., and works to promote a positive image of Islam and Muslims in the United States. CAIR's mission is to "enhance understanding of Islam, encourage dialogue, protect civil liberties, empower American Muslims, and build coalitions that promote justice and mutual understanding." The council does this through advocating for policies that ease the integration of Muslims into American society; opposing laws, policies, and practices believed to discriminate against Muslims; and encouraging American Muslims to participate in political life.

The local chapters, of which there are 34, have been commended for their work with local governments and law enforcement officials. They often play a major role in community interfaith discussions, explaining Islam and Islamic beliefs and practices. Much of this work involves dealing with hate crimes and working with employers to convince them to accommodate Islamic religious practices.

Since its inception, however, CAIR has been embroiled in controversy about its funding and the associations of several of its founders and directors. One of CAIR's founders, Rafeeq Jaber, was affiliated with the Islamic Association of Palestine and received money from the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, an organization run by the group Hamas. Later the foundation was designated a terrorist entity and closed. Other CAIR funds have come from the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, an organization also designated a terrorist funder. Less fraught, but still disturbing to many (including many of CAIR's members and local chapters), is the funding it receives from international donors, including the Saudi royal family and the ruler of Dubai.

Presenting a different face of CAIR is one of its core principles that condemns all violence against civilians. Additionally, CAIR has been a leader of the "Not in the Name of Islam" movement, a national online petition drive expressing individual Muslims' opposition to terrorism perpetrated in the name of Islam. Finally, CAIR, along with the ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA, has publicly endorsed and supported the fatwa (ruling on religious law) issued by the Fiqh Council of North America expressly condemning terrorism. As the fatwa states: "1. All acts of terrorism targeting civilians are *haram* (forbidden) in Islam. 2. It is *haram* for a Muslim to cooperate with any individual or group that is involved in any act of terrorism or violence. 3. It is the civic and religious duty of Muslims to cooperate with law enforcement authorities to protect the lives of all civilians."

The scrutiny of CAIR illustrates the difficulties created for American Muslims by the events of September 11, 2001 (see SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, RELIGION AND) and the increased attention to terrorism that resulted. The need for Muslim groups who oppose religiously motivated terrorism to make this opposition clear and ongoing is also a consequence of those events, the long-term results of which remain to be seen.

EQ

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counterculture The term *counterculture* refers to a diffuse set of movements, individuals, ideas, and practices that emerged in self-conscious opposition to dominant trends in American culture during the 1960s and early

1970s. With roots in the BEAT MOVEMENT of the 1950s, the counterculture flourished during a period of severe social tensions (see VIETNAM WAR; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT). While spawning conservative reaction during the 1980s and 1990s (see MORAL MAJORITY), the counterculture left a lasting impact on American values, religious life, politics, and popular culture.

The counterculture was born in the era of affluence following the end of WORLD WAR II. Although the COLD WAR years of the 1950s are often seen as a time of cultural conformity and revived mainstream religion, they also contained a significant current of dissent emerging from various marginal ethnic and racial groups within the culture (see ETHNICITY) as well as intellectuals such as Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse, many of them refugees from Nazi Europe who were dissatisfied with what they saw as the country's shift to suburban conformity. In addition to fueling the growing frustration over continued racial inequality, African-American influence also appeared in the popular culture, particularly in the musical forms of rock and roll and jazz. "Beatniks," such as poet Allen Ginsberg, often combined the language and marijuana smoking of the "hip" jazz subculture of urban blacks, the intellectual critiques of Western culture coming from psychoanalysis and existentialism, and popularized forms of Asian religion (see WATTS, ALAN WILSON) in an effort to articulate a worldview more satisfying than that available from the cultural mainstream.

In 1964, the dissent percolating through the previous decade exploded, fed by the increased political hostility over civil rights, the emerging "Free Speech Movement" in Berkeley, California, and growing American involvement in Vietnam. Increasingly, young people in their teens and 20s saw themselves separated from their elders by a "generation gap"—making the politically and culturally relevant dividing line in America one of age, not class, race, or religion. Hence the popular slogan: "Don't trust anyone over 30." During the 1960s, young people took their awareness of this generation gap in two occasionally related directions. Some university students, inspired directly by the Civil Rights movement and the critiques of mass society developed by emigré intellectuals such as Marcuse, turned to politics. Members of the New Left characterized their efforts to oppose the war, support oppressed people in the United States and abroad, and create a new egalitarian politics as laying the groundwork for "revolution." Their youthfulness itself often seemed to guarantee that, unlike the Old Left, they would not falter for lack of will.

The counterculture itself ran along different lines. Its members were of more mixed origins than the New Left, and while equally inclined to see themselves as revolutionary, they tended to regard politics itself as part of the malaise affecting American culture, since politics by nature perpetuates the power of some versus others. By contrast, the counterculture sought harmony and, when not sharing the New Left's disdain for history, turned to HENRY DAVID THOREAU and WALT WHITMAN rather than Karl Marx for inspiration. Sharing some of the same disdain for a culture based on the "Protestant ethic" as their Transcendentalist forebears, members of the counterculture rallied to the cry of "turn on, tune in, drop out." Assuming the larger society would simply disintegrate if left alone, "hippies" sought alternatives to replace the moribund and, above all, "square" beliefs, practices, and values of middle-class American culture.

The counterculture viewed the human self as inherently creative, once freed from the shackles of conformity; thus individuals were encouraged to "do your own thing." Valuing hedonism over hard work, spontaneity over planning, the new over the old, the "intuitive" over the "rational," the counterculture appeared to outsiders as dangerously chaotic, threatening the framework of American society.

While counterculturists themselves agreed with this assessment, there were nevertheless significant patterns that gave the movement coherence as well as continuity with longstanding trends in American life, in particular the great currents of revival and reform that periodically sweep American life (see REVIVALISM; SOCIAL GOSPEL). For instance, downplaying political change, counterculturists emphasized social transformation through individual self-realization. Whereas earlier reformers had urged individual Americans to take up the Gospel, counterculturists urged the taking of "dope"—psychedelic drugs. To "feed your head," as the Jefferson Airplane sang, would alter consciousness and pave the way for religious enlightenment. Or in the words of Harvard psychiatrist Timothy Leary, an early experimenter with LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide): "Your only hope is dope." While dope provided the medium for ecstatic religious experience, counterculturists also developed their understanding of reality by generally abandoning the religious traditions of their parents, turning instead to popularized versions of BUDDHISM, HINDUISM, or NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS.

In addition to self-realization, the counterculture endeavored to create new forms of communal experience, thereby preparing the way for the dissolution of dominant social institutions. Like the utopian movements of the 19th century (see COMMUNITARIANISM), many "dropped out" completely in order to create a new social order from the ground up, creating communes like The Farm in Tennessee and "getting back to nature." The communal spirit also animated spontaneous gatherings, such as the San Francisco "Be-ins" held during the 1967 "Summer of Love." Rock concerts and festivals such as Woodstock in 1969 promoted both communal solidarity and ecstatic experience, which even at the time were characterized as similar to the CAMP MEETINGS of the great 19th-century revivals. As a form of music, rock was seen to have the power to permeate individual senses, and its lyrics provided the counterculture with a language, a set of images, and stories that helped form personal as well as generational identity.

The counterculture's communalism also gave rise to new forms of social and economic relations, some of which paralleled those of earlier utopian movements. Regarding existing middle-class sexual norms as repressive and outmoded, counterculturists advocated sexual liberation and experimentation and the abandonment of the nuclear family, which many saw as an institution based not on love but on property. Sexual pleasure unconstrained could itself lead to social transformation, as suggested by the slogan "Make Love, Not War."

Like the SHAKERS, counterculturists also redefined the meaning of work. Condemning the growth of corporate capitalism, which despoiled the Earth and produced mindless jobs for alienated workers, counterculturists instead viewed work as self-expression. Indeed, many ridiculed the "establishment" view of economic rewards. The Diggers, for instance, a group of street actors based in San Francisco's mecca, the Haight-Ashbury district, viewed love as the basic economic principle. To that end, during 1967's "Summer of Love," they ran free stores; handed out free food, drugs, and money; and fed the large crowds gathered for free rock concerts in Golden Gate Park. Other enterprising counterculturists developed a counter economy, centered on arts and crafts production, health food stores, and cooperatives of all sorts.

The fate of the counterculture is difficult to trace. Hippies themselves mourned "The Death of Hip" at the end of the Summer of Love. Certainly the nation's climate changed. Continuing escalation of the Vietnam War was accompanied by an increasingly hostile domestic scene: racial hostility and riots, "hippie-bashing," and the debacle of the 1968 Democratic National Convention. But in spite of growing violence, the counterculture did not die at the hands of "rednecks" or enraged parents. Many of the central themes of countercultural life—self-expression, harmony with nature, sexual freedom, the monotony of the "treadmill"—began to appear in the everyday concerns of large numbers of Americans. The history of alternative religious groups such as the utopian communities, the Shakers, or the Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF

LATTER-DAY SAINTS) suggest that it is difficult to maintain a stance of opposition to the dominant American culture. In part, this is due to the power of the idea of individual freedom upon which the culture is based. While the counterculture came into existence as a movement opposed to the dominant culture, at the same time, its members were basically trying to extend the scope of individual freedom, not replace it.

MG

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Covenant Theology Covenant, or Federal, Theology (from Latin *foedus,* "covenant"), was the most original theological doctrine developed by the Puritans (see PURITANISM). Designed to reconcile the doctrine of election with a doctrine of divine justice, Covenant Theology interpreted God's intercourse with humanity as operating under two covenants, or promises. The first was the "Covenant of Works." Here God offered Adam complete happiness and material fulfillment in return for Adam's perfect obedience to the divine law. With the fall of Adam and Eve, God offered Adam the "Covenant of Grace." This covenant is effected by Christ's complete fulfillment of the divine law. The Covenant of Grace offers salvation on the basis of faith, and God makes it possible for the elect to believe, since in their fallen condition human beings are unable to will that belief themselves.

Although the covenant is at God's initiative and hence a work of divine power, it was accepted by Adam. Divine activity is not cold and impersonal but intimately linked to our acceptance of it in faith and is, thereby, very personal. One can rely on God to fulfill the divine promise. For this reason, one need not fear the whimsy of some immovable power that damns us for no reason.

The Covenant of Works is not abrogated, however, by the Covenant of Grace. It is no longer something the literal fulfillment of which is demanded of us but a goal toward which the saint (the redeemed individual) must constantly strive, and toward which the saint will strive because of her or his being numbered among the elect.

The question remained as to how one could know whether one had received the imputing of grace necessary for salvation. It is one thing to know that God will fulfill God's side of the bargain, another to know that one has done so oneself. The depravity of humanity is such that one "will bend the truth to his mind though he break it," according to Thomas Hooker. The Puritans believed that the human capacity for self-delusion was immense, and to think that one is good when one is not is common. How does one know, therefore, whether she is among the elect or not?

The Puritans never developed a completely satisfactory answer to this question. The answer they provided was intimately related to their views of society and morality. The desire for faith, the striving to fulfill the demands of the Covenant of Works, could be viewed as a demonstration of the presence of grace within an individual. This desire or striving does not bring about the presence of grace but shows that grace is already present. This is at best a partial demonstration of the existence of grace, given humanity's ability for falsehood and hypocrisy. It was, however, useful for determining the obviously degenerate. The hypocrites, even if not discovered by the human community, were known to God.

Covenant Theology was a doctrine of election that avoided Antinomian interpretations and their disruptive effects on the community (see ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY) while easing the apparent severity and randomness of the doctrine of election. It simultaneously maintained the necessity and priority of divine action in the saving act and room for human activity.

EQ

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creationism For more than a century, the teaching of EVOLUTION has been the battleground for a bitter conflict between SCIENCE AND RELIGION in the United States. The creationist, or creation science, movement regards the theory of biological evolution, popularized in the mid-19th century by Charles Darwin, as antithetical to the biblical idea of creation described in the Old Testament book of Genesis. According to the creationist view, a literal reading of Genesis 1–2 reveals that God created the universe by fiat in six 24-hour days. Creationists reject any other premise as contrary not only to Christian belief, but also to science itself.

Although the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 sparked this debate, his theories of evolution were not immediately challenged by traditional Christians. Harvard scientist Asa Gray, America's first great proponent of Darwinism, for example, remained an orthodox Congregationalist. He argued that nothing in Darwin's evolutionary scheme necessarily contradicted the possibility of divine guidance over natural processes. Even George Frederick Wright, a colleague of Gray, who in 1912 contributed an essay to the conservative series *The Fundamentals* (see FUNDAMENTALISM), believed that evolution might well be consistent with God's creative designs and a method by which God exerted providential care over history.

Acts Of God—Day 6
1. Formation of all land animals
made on day five).
2. Creation of Man and Women
physical, mental/emotional,
spirit).
3. Dominion Mandate given to
4. Declaration of God
Good!

The Museum of Creation and Earth History in Santee, California, contains exhibits that depict the story of creationism and refute the theory of evolution. *(Getty)*

Over time, however, the original tolerance Christian conservatives evinced toward Darwinism eroded. During the early 1920s, antievolution articles began to appear in the *Princeton Theological Review*, a journal that had earlier carried cautiously supportive views of evolution. The well-publicized SCOPES TRIAL of 1925, moreover, also served to focus attention on the question of evolution. The dismissive reaction of many American agnostics to William Jennings Bryan's defense of the book of Genesis forced conservatives to choose sides in the debate. And in 1926, George McCready Price, a Seventh-day Adventist who had earlier inspired Bryan's questioning of Darwinism, declared that belief in evolution was essentially atheistic. Price and his successors helped devise "flood geology," the theory that all plants and animals were created in the six days of Genesis, with the fossils being formed during Noah's flood.

Advocates of the creationist position have argued in recent years that biological and geological evolution are unproved hypotheses with no basis in scientific fact. Henry M. Morris, a close friend of Price, helped found the Institute for Creation Research in 1972. While Morris's concerns clearly were as much theological as scientific (he blamed Satan for inspiring the idea of evolution), his principal attacks against evolution were based on scientific grounds. The public school edition of his *Scientific Creationism* (1974), for instance, discussed the question of creation without reference to the Bible or any other religious text. Morris offered as an alternative to evolution the theory that the universe is only 10,000 years old. Although geological findings would seem to undermine this thesis, Morris argued that a universal flood might just as well explain the observable data.

Scholars of fundamentalism point to two main intellectual principles supporting the creationist viewpoint: an inerrantist (see INERRANCY) interpretation of the Bible and acceptance of the Scottish Common Sense philosophical system (see SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM). As Morris insisted in his aptly titled article "The Bible *Is* a Textbook of Science," anyone who wishes to know about creation ought to look first in the Bible, which is the "sole source of true information" and the "textbook on the science of Creation." The inerrantist view is based on the belief that since the Bible is the very Word of God, it must be accurate in all matters, in science and history as well as in theological doctrine. When combined with the rationalism of the Common Sense philosophy (an 18th-century philosophical school that emphasized how supernatural truth is discoverable through empirical study), inerrancy leads believers to great intellectual confidence. In the minds of creationists, as in the minds of fundamentalists generally, the Bible is a book of facts, a collection of precise propositions about reality and a dependable repository of scientific truths.

Despite considerable resistance from the regular scientific community and from most mainline American denominations, creationists won a number of legislative victories for their teaching. In 1981, both the Arkansas and the Louisiana legislatures enacted laws that would have given equal treatment in the public schools to "evolution science" and to "creation science." The Arkansas law countered the standard evolutionary view of natural development by positing "a relatively recent inception of the Earth and of living things." When opponents of those state laws argued that they were introducing religious beliefs into the curriculum of public schools, the courts concurred and struck down the laws as unconstitutional.

Creationists continue to insist that what they teach is essentially a scientific premise, not a religious view. They emphasize that since hundreds of scientists with academic doctorates are part of their movement, creation science, though certainly debatable, cannot be dismissed as altogether unscientific. Furthermore, an important result of this controversy has been the increasing awareness among Americans that Darwinism is only a hypothesis, albeit a favored one, about the origins of life on Earth.

Following these defeats in court, the creationists developed a strategy to influence education at the local level by winning election to local and state school boards. Perhaps the most successful example of this was their attainment of a majority of the state school board in Kansas. From this position, they managed to remove evolution as a required curriculum topic in that state's schools. The ridicule heaped on the state nationally and internationally led to a backlash, and in the 2000 elections enough of the creationist members were defeated to result in a 7-3 majority in favor of restoring evolution to the curriculum.

Despite these losses in the courts of law and in the courts of public opinion, antievolutionists have continued to seek ways to diminish the teaching and explanatory power of evolution. The most common method of doing this is to minimize evolution as being a "mere theory." This lay behind the actions of the Cobb County, Georgia, school board, which required that stickers be affixed to science textbooks stating that, "This textbook contains material on evolution. Evolution is a theory, not a fact, regarding the origin of living things. This material should be approached with an open mind, studied carefully and critically considered." In declaring the school board's act in violation of the establishment clause of the Constitution, a federal district court judge stated that "the distinction of evolution as a theory rather than a fact is the distinction that religiously motivated individuals have specifically asked school boards to make."

Still others have attacked evolution by highlighting the conflicts within contemporary biology, arguing that the different views of scientists over certain specifics of evolution demonstrate its inadequacy. In attempting to avoid the explicit religious basis behind much of creationist thought, some individuals affiliated with the Discovery Institute emphasize what Darwinian evolution seemingly has not yet explained. They use these arguments as a basis for criticizing the basic positions of Darwinian evolution. This has been the focus of "intelligent design."

Intelligent design has two basic premises. The first is that there exist certain complex phenomena within the natural world, and particularly within human beings, that cannot logically or reasonably be explained through random adaptation or mutation. The second point is that if human beings had discovered such complexity in any other arena of human life, they would attribute it to a designer. When humans find a statue in an archaeological dig, they do not think it has the same source as a boulder; they presume it had a designer. As one of intelligent design's leaders has stated, "there are natural systems that cannot be adequately explained in terms of undirected natural forces and that exhibit features which in any other circumstance we would attribute to intelligence."

In court, however, intelligent design has fared no better than "scientific creationism." In the one case that has gone to court, a federal district court judge in Pennsylvania ruled that a local school board's requirement that intelligent design be taught clearly constituted a government endorsement of religion and, despite attempts to hide it, intelligent design had a creationist intent. As happened in Kansas, all of the school board members of the district who had supported the intelligent design curriculum were swept out of office in local elections.

Despite the almost universal opposition to creationism in the scientific community, creationists continue to insist that their position is science, not religion. They claim that hundreds of scientists with academic doctorates are a part of their movement, a claim that is minimized by the fact that the overwhelming majority of their scientists are engineers, computer specialists, and physicians, along with the occasional chemist. They number few biologists among their members.

In the more than 80 years since the Scopes trial, the ongoing fight over evolution is a reminder of the power of religious stories on people's lives. It also demonstrates that religious controversies can and do reappear, even when they were thought to be solved.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Crosby, Fanny (Frances Jane) (1820–1915) Fanny Crosby, one of the United States' most important hymn writers, was born Frances Jane Crosby on March 24, 1820, in Putnam County, New York. Her parents, John and Mercy Crosby, were impoverished farmers, and when Fanny became ill at six weeks old, the local physician was unavailable to treat the girl. A local healer suggested the use of poultices, which only exacerbated the problem, leaving the young girl blind.

Her father died the following year. Fanny was raised by her mother and grandmother in a strongly religious home and at a young age had memorized huge sections of the Bible.

At 15, Fanny entered the New York School for the Blind, where her teachers encouraged her interest in poetry and music. She soon became proficient at the piano and the guitar. Fanny also proved to be a gifted student and was a favorite among the faculty and students. In 1847, shortly after graduating, she was invited to join the faculty as an English and history teacher.

Fanny quit teaching in 1858 when she married Alexander Van Alstyne, a fellow teacher at the school and a musician. Both Fanny and Alexander had been influenced by the nascent women's rights movement and such fervently Protestant reformers as THEODORE DWIGHT WELD and the Grimké sisters. At Van Alstyne's insistence, Fanny retained her name following her marriage. The couple had one child who died in infancy. Van Alstyne died in 1902.

Crosby was a prolific writer of both secular and sacred works and a notable celebrity. She began writing as a child but did not publish her first book of poems, *A Blind Girl and Other Poems*, until she was 24. Other collections included *Monterey and Other Poems* (1853) and *A Wreath of Columbia's Flowers.* Crosby also wrote popular songs, many of which proved to be commercial successes. In her later life, she was much in demand as a public speaker. She served as the pianist at the funeral of President Ulysses S. Grant, playing her hymn *Safe in the Arms of Jesus.*

It was as a hymn writer that Crosby made her most lasting mark. During her life, she seems to have written nearly 8,000 hymns using more than 100 pseudonyms. These include some of the most familiar and popular hymns of all time. Although most reflect the romantic and Victorian sentimentality of the late 19th century, they continue to stand the test of time, and few Protestant hymnals currently published fail to include at least one song by Crosby. Among her most famous hymns are "Blessed Assurance," "Jesus is Mine! (This is My Story, This is My Song)," "Pass Me Not Oh Gentle Savior," and "To God be the Glory."

Crosby died on February 12, 1915, and is buried in Bridgeport, Connecticut. In 1975, Crosby was inducted posthumously into the Gospel Music Hall of Fame, making her only its second woman member.

EQ

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Crummell, Alexander (1819–1898) Of the many notable 19th-century African Americans bypassed by historians, Episcopal clergyman Alexander Crummell is perhaps the most fascinating. In his abilities and in the tragedies of his life, he is reminiscent of W. E. B. DUBOIS, who in many ways continued Crummell's legacy.

Born in 1819 in New York City of an African-born father and a free-black mother, Crummell grew up in an African-American community that valued both education and religion. After distinguishing himself in elementary and high school, Crummell was sent to the newly opened Noyes Academy in Canaan, New York. Angered by the presence of black students and the school's abolitionist leanings, the local farmers hitched the school building to a team of 90 oxen and dragged it into a nearby swamp, ending its attempt to integrate education.

The abolitionist dream did not die, however, and the next year (1836) Crummell entered Oneida Academy (Whitesboro, New York), run by the abolitionist Beriah Green. After graduating in 1839, he applied for admission to the General Theological Seminary in New York City to prepare for the Episcopal priesthood, only to be rejected because of his race. Disheartened, he persevered, studying privately with clergymen in Providence and Boston.

Ordained in 1842, Crummell served in Providence until 1844, when he applied for admission to the diocese of Philadelphia. There the bishop refused his application because of his color. Stung by this refusal, Crummell left for New York City, where he organized a congregation among working-class blacks. Although he formerly shunned political activity, he became active in the Negro Convention Movement and abolitionist activities, where he was closely associated with Frederick Douglass.

Encouraged by friends to travel to England to solicit funds for a church building, Crummell left America for a quarter-century. He arrived in 1848 to an England that welcomed and honored him. For three years, he traveled and preached, raising money for his church. In 1851, with the patronage of Sir William Dodie, he entered Queen's College, Cambridge, graduating in 1853.

Rather than return to America, Crummell looked to his ancestral home of Africa and sailed for Liberia. He founded several churches throughout that country and soon expanded his work to include education, becoming master of the country's leading high school in 1858 and a professor at the newly formed Liberia College in 1861. In great demand as a speaker for religious and national events, Crummell—who viewed himself as a public teacher—used these occasions to speak for racial pride and moral strength. However, Crummell's racial views antagonized Liberia's caste-conscious mulatto elite, who looked down on African-born and darker-skinned Liberians. When a coup restored the mulattoes to power, Crummell was threatened and his son jailed. Disillusioned, he returned to America in 1873.

Settling in Washington, D.C., he founded St. Luke's Church, where he served until 1894 as senior minister. Until his death in September 1898, Crummell's major concerns were the role of blacks within the Episcopal Church and the development of a black intellectual elite. To further these goals, he founded the Conference of Church Workers among Colored People (1883) and the American Negro Academy (1897). In his demand for educated blacks to lead in the redemption of the race, Crummell anticipated DuBois's call for an educated class that pursued knowledge not for its own purposes but with a practical intent—the elevation of the race.

Crummell established an organized African-American presence within the Episcopal Church and supported the expansion of black churches and priests. He also created a tradition of black scholarship in the United States through the formation of the American Negro Academy. Finally, Crummell was a "public theologian," calling blacks to racial pride and moral strength, while demanding that whites recognize that racism violated their own higher religious and political values.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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cults See ANTICULT MOVEMENT.

Cumberland Presbyterian Church See PRESBYTERIANISM.

Cushing, Richard James (1895–1970) Perhaps no one embodied the spirit of American ROMAN CATHOLICISM, at least in its Irish and northeastern version, than did Richard James Cushing, archbishop of Boston from 1944 until his death on November 2, 1970. At ease both with his faith and with American society, Cushing was a jovial figure whose free-and-easy air attracted friends and admirers among all classes and religions.

Born in Boston to working-class Irish immigrant parents on August 24, 1895, he early developed the inclination toward the priesthood. After two years at Boston College (1913–15), he transferred to St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts, graduating in 1921. Following his ordination in that year, he took over a parish but was transferred to the Boston office of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, becoming its director (and a monsignor) in 1928. Cushing, long interested in foreign missions, soon turned the Boston office of the society into the most active and effective in the nation. His success as an administrator led to his appointment as auxiliary bishop of Boston in 1939. In 1944, he succeeded Cardinal William O'Connell as archbishop of Boston.

Cushing's episcopacy was a marked contrast from that of his predecessor. Where O'Connell had been an aristocratic and urbane Catholic separatist, Cushing was an informal man of the people who took pride in his humble origins. No separatist, he spoke in Protestant churches as well as synagogues, and was responsible for the establishment of a Catholic chapel at predominantly Jewish Brandeis University, to the horror of many Catholic conservatives. He even arranged for the midnight mass at St. John's Seminary to be televised, with a commentary, so that non-Catholics could understand what was happening.

Although often criticized for his ecumenicity, he refused to back down, declaring in a speech at Harvard in 1963, "I'm all for Catholics being identified with Protestants and Jews . . . in every possible friendly way. Nobody is asking them to deny their faith and they shouldn't be asking anybody to deny their faith." He pressed these views during the second Vatican Council (see VATICAN COUNCIL II) where, although his weak Latin led him to absent himself from most deliberations, he was deeply involved in the discussions leading up to the declaration on religious liberty and on Roman Catholic relations to other faiths.

Cushing welcomed the results of Vatican II as long overdue, seeing them as a legitimate memorial to John XXIII, with whom he identified. He was less favorably disposed toward Paul VI and felt that the encyclical *Humane Vitae* was an unfortunate public proclamation about matters of private conscience.

Despite this, his responses to the council were as contradictory as his responses to other political and social occurrences. A longtime member of the NAACP, he shared the view of his fellow Catholic J. Edgar Hoover that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was a dangerous subversive. Outspoken in his support for labor unions, he also supported the John Birch Society due to its strong anticommunism.

As a bishop, Cushing greatly expanded the work within the diocese. Some 80 churches were built during his episcopate, along with three colleges, the first airport chapel, a seminary for older men seeking ordination, and the first diocesan center for radio and television in the country. His interest in missions continued unabated. He founded the Missionary Society of St. James the Apostle and allowed his diocesan priests to serve in South America.

His greatest concern was for the poor and the weak. The diocese built six new hospitals during his reign, and Cushing made frequent pastoral visits to Boston's jails. In 1947, he established St. Coletta's School for mentally retarded children. This was his special project, and he arranged to be buried on its grounds. Not one for ceremony, during his visits to homes for the elderly, he gleefully joined in the singing or dancing. Cushing saw himself as one of the people, and he took great pride in his free and easy interchange with the poor and the weak.

Although he identified with the working-class Irish of Boston, his influence extended into the ranks of the rich and powerful as well. He often called upon Joseph Kennedy to aid the diocese's fundraising and became friendly with the young John F. Kennedy. When Kennedy announced his candidacy for president, Cushing, although doubtful that the United States was ready for a Catholic president, assisted the campaign. Here Cushing asserted his most common theme, the compatibility of American values and Catholicism, as well as the inviolability of the human conscience, asserting in one statement that, "Whatever may be the custom elsewhere, the American tradition, of which Catholics form so loyal a part, is satisfied simply to call to public attention moral questions with their implications, and leave to the conscience of the people the specific political decision which comes in the act of voting."

Cushing's later years were difficult ones. Cancer, asthma, and ulcers left him drained and weak. He also watched as the numerous institutions he had built pushed the diocese into financial decline. Recognizing the need for new leadership, he resigned in September 1970 and died shortly thereafter on November 2, 1970.

Cushing's significance for the American church was twofold. First was his leadership in calling for the church to recognize that it lived in a dynamic world to which it must respond. Certainly the church had its unchanging essentials, "but beyond these," he said in 1961, "there must always be innovation, enterprise, new vision." Before leaving to attend the 1963 conclave to elect a successor to John XXIII (Cushing had been made a cardinal in 1958), he admitted that the church had not always recognized that fact, expressing his desire that "the new Pope will be living in the twentieth century, and will think the twentieth century, and not the fourteenth or sixteenth century."

Cushing stood in the line of earlier bishops, most notably JOHN CARROLL and JAMES GIBBONS, who proclaimed the compatibility of Catholicism and American political values. The United States had a distinctive political and cultural tradition to which European models did not apply and that held that a person's Catholicism in no way affected her or his ability to be a good citizen or a servant of the general welfare. Cushing felt comfortable around non-Catholics and did much to break down the remaining elements of suspicion that they harbored toward the Roman Church (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM).

Personable, warm, and unpretentious, forward-looking but not cerebral, Cushing had the personality to make American Catholics confront the realities of the time and to cause non-Catholics to see the human, nonthreatening face of the church. For these reasons, he was one of its most popular and loved representatives.

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Dabney, Robert Lewis (1820–1898) Robert Lewis Dabney was a Presbyterian minister, theologian, and one of the most articulate defenders of the defeated South in the post–Civil War period. Chosen during the war to be chief of staff to Confederate general Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, a pious Presbyterian, Dabney published the first major biography of Jackson.

Dabney was born in Louisa County, Virginia, on March 5, 1820. He was educated at Hampden-Sydney College (1836–37), the University of Virginia (1842), and Union Theological Seminary, Virginia (1846). After serving as pastor of the Presbyterian church in Tinkling Spring, Virginia, and as headmaster of a classical academy, Dabney returned in 1853 to Union Seminary, where he taught for the next 30 years. Although he had cautioned political moderation prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, Dabney became a strong advocate of the Confederacy once the fighting began. He was present as the chaplain of a Virginia regiment at the First Battle of Manassas in 1861 and served for a few months in 1862 as Jackson's chief of staff. After Jackson's death in 1863, Dabney gathered materials for his biography. *The Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson*, published in 1866, celebrated both the military and the religious virtues of the Southern military leader.

After the war ended in 1865 and for the rest of his long life, Dabney kept alive the South's Lost Cause Myth. In *A Defence of Virginia, and Through Her of the South* (1867), he defended slavery and the Confederate war effort and reminded his people of the miseries they were suffering at the hands of Yankee "invaders." He was a special critic of the emerging industrial capitalism of the "New South," a trend popularized by Atlanta editor Henry Grady and Methodist educator and minister Atticus G. Haygood. In a commencement address at Hampden-Sydney in June 1882, Dabney argued that the outcome of the war was a providential tragedy, and he lamented the fact that many were seeking to remake the South with a materialistic northern mold. He feared that southerners would make temporal wealth their "idol, the all in all of sectional greatness," thus leading their region and its people into the worship of false gods.

Dabney's reputation as a theological scholar and polemicist brought him a place of prominence in his denomination. Known for his conservative Calvinism, in his best-known academic work, *The Sensualist Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century* (1875), Dabney attacked various forms of modernist (see modernism [Protestant]) theology. Consistently prosouthern even in church debates, Dabney also opposed all efforts to reunite southern Presbyterianism with the church in the North.

Dabney fell ill with bronchitis in 1882, and poor health forced him to leave Virginia the next year. He assumed the professorship of moral philosophy at the University of Texas in 1883 and helped found Austin Theological

Seminary, serving on the faculty there until just before his death. Although he had entirely lost his eyesight by 1890, Dabney continued to lecture from memory for several more years. He died in Victoria, Texas, on January 3, 1898.

GHS, Jr.

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Dalai Lama XIV, Tenzin Gyatso (1935–)

Dalai Lama, strictly speaking, is a title, not a given name. The current Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, or, to give his full name, Jetsun Jamphel Ngawang Lobsang Yeshe Tenzin Gyatso ("Holy Lord, Gentle Glory, Compassionate, Defender of the Faith, Ocean of Wisdom"), is the 14th Dalai Lama, the religious leader of the Gelug, or "Yellow Hat," school of Tibetan (and Mongolian) BUDDHISM. He also is the head of state and government of the Tibetan government in exile. Followers view the Dalai Lama as the incarnation of Avalokiteshvara, the bodhisattva of compassion. Each Dalai Lama is understood to be a reincarnation of his predecessor. Like Pope JOHN PAUL II, the current Dalai Lama has had such an influence on American religion that it is reasonable to include him in this volume.

He was born on July 6, 1935, and named Lhamo Thondup to a family of farmers in the Amdo province of Tibet, the fifth of nine children to survive infancy. When he was about two, the leaders of Tibetan Buddhism began the process of seeking the new incarnation of the Dalai Lama, the 13th Dalai Lama having died in 1933. Among the omens directing the search was the fact that the head on the embalmed body of the 13th Dalai Lama had turned toward the northeast, indicating where to search for his successor. Shortly afterward, the regent, Reting Rinpoche, experienced a series of visions that pointed to Amdo and included a one-story house with distinctive guttering and tiling.

The monks undertook an extensive search. When they arrived in Taktser, the Thondup's village, they saw a house resembling the one in the regent's vision. After questioning the young boy's parents, they undertook the traditional test to determine whether an individual is an incarnation of a bodhisattva. They placed an array of objects before the child: toys, baubles, religious relics, and shiny things guaranteed to draw a child's attention alongside objects that belonged to the previous Dalai Lama. Thondup gravitated to the items owned by the 13th Dalai Lama.

Thondup was acknowledged as the Dalai Lama and received his new name. While Tibetan Buddhists typically refer to him as Yeshe Norbu ("Wish-Fulfilling Gem") or Kundun ("The Presence"), in the West he often is referred to as "His Holiness, the Dalai Lama."

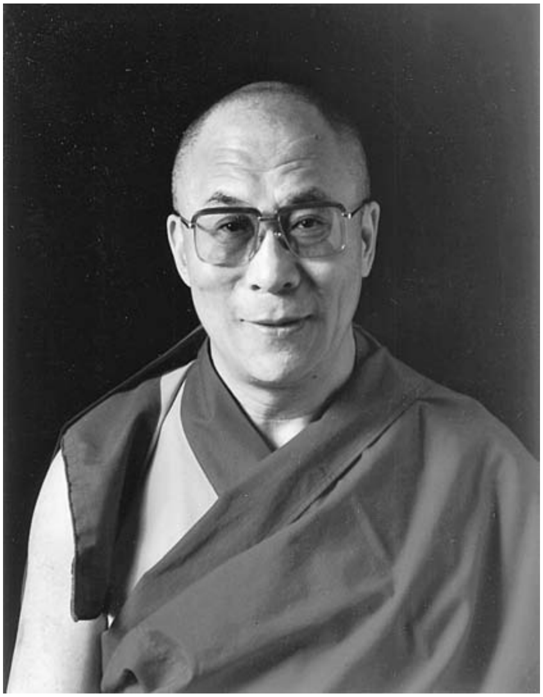
Removed from his family and taken to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, Tenzin Gyatso began his monastic education. A precocious and mischievous child, his autobiography tells of numerous antics and tricks played on older monks. He also was a dedicated student and quickly became aware of the gravity of his position and role. In 1959, he undertook his final examinations, passed with honors, and was awarded the Geshe Lharampa degree (basically a doctorate in Buddhist philosophy).

By this time, however, a dark cloud had engulfed Tibet. Nine years previously, the Chinese Communists had begun to move into Tibet, slowly consolidating control over the country. The Dalai Lama refused to relinquish his position as Tibet's ruler, which he had assumed at the beginning of the Chinese takeover. Growing Chinese violence against the Tibetan people and the harsh crackdown on dissent convinced the Dalai Lama and his advisers that he should prepare to leave the country. This view was intensified when two leading oracles gave similar advice. Disguised as a soldier, the Dalai Lama slipped out of Lhasa on March 17, 1959. Three weeks later he arrived in India, where he was given asylum and began the process of building a government in exile and providing support for the numerous Tibetan refugees who already were in India and those who would soon join him.

Since his exile, the Dalai Lama has undertaken an important series of activities designed to improve the lives of the Tibetan people, to pave the way for the creation of a democratic and independent Tibet once the Chinese end their occupation, to promote Buddhism, and to further the relationships between Buddhism and other faiths and Tibetans and other peoples.

Prior to his exile in 1959, the Dalai Lama had left Tibet only twice, in 1954 to negotiate with the Chinese and in 1956 to attend a Buddhist ceremony in India. Since arriving in India, the Dalai Lama has become a regular international traveler, making more than 300 trips (as of 2006) and visiting more than 63 countries. The United States has been his most popular (non-Indian) destination, with more than 30 visits.

One of the most widely traveled spiritual leaders, the Dalai Lama has used his trips to focus on four commitments: the protection and self-determination of the Tibetan people, the spreading of the dharma (Buddhist teachings), the promotion of human rights and values among all peoples, and the promotion of religious harmony and understanding. He has striven to incorporate modern science into Buddhist understandings and has expressly stated that demonstrated scientific facts should take precedence over ancient religious traditions. At the same time, he has encouraged greater study of the relationship between the mind (particularly Buddhist teachings about the mind), meditation, and health. In his writings (he has published more than 72 books) and speeches, he regularly emphasizes the centrality of spiritual values in constructing a truly humane, just, equitable, and peaceful world. In his Nobel Peace Prize lecture, he stated: "Material progress is of course important for human advancement. In Tibet, we paid much too little attention to technological and economic development, and today we realize that this was a mistake. At the same time, material development without spiritual development can also cause serious problems. In some countries too much attention is paid to external things and very little importance is given to inner development. I believe both are important and must be developed side by side so as to achieve a good balance between them. . . . Inner peace is the key: if you have



The leader of the Tibetans in exile who fled the Chinese invasion, the Dalai Lama has been a leading advocate for Buddhism, peace, and ecology. *(Dan Farber)* inner peace, the external problems do not affect your deep sense of peace and tranquility. In that state of mind you can deal with situations with calmness and reason, while keeping your inner happiness."

In 2005, *Time* magazine named him one of the world's 100 most influential people. The following year, the U.S. Congress awarded the Dalai Lama its highest award, the Congressional Gold Medal (which he received in 2007). This honor is given to individuals who have performed an outstanding deed or act of service that contributes to the security, prosperity, and national interest of the United States. In 2007, the Dalai Lama accepted an academic appointment for the first time, becoming a Presidential Distinguished Professor at Emory University, from which he previously received an honorary doctorate in 1998.

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Daly, Mary (1928–) Mary Daly is America's most widely known and controversial feminist philosopher and theologian. A prolific writer, Daly has published many books that offer sharp criticisms of patriarchal religions and attempt to construct not only a new postpatriarchal feminist theology but also a new language in which to conduct that enterprise.

Born on October 16, 1928, in Schenectady, New York, Mary Daly attended Catholic schools in a working-class neighborhood. She attended the College of Saint Rose in Albany and received an M.A. in English at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. She earned three Ph.D.s: in religion at St. Mary's College (1954) and in theology (1963) and philosophy (1965) at the University of Fribourg. Her dissertation in philosophy is entitled *Natural Knowledge of God in the Philosophy of Jacques Maritain.*

In 1966, Daly began teaching in the Theology Department at Boston College. She was an assistant professor from 1966 to 1969, when she was named an associate professor. She became the first chair of the Women and Religion section of the American Academy of Religion in 1971. Despite the support of professional societies and much student protest, she was not granted promotion to full professorship at Boston College. Daly was forced into retirement in 1999 after a male student insisted on enrolling in one of her courses and Daly insisted on an all-female class. A legal fight between Daly and Boston College ensued and was settled in 2001.

Since the publication of *The Church and the Second Sex* in 1968, which criticized sexism in the Christian church but did not aim to move beyond Christianity, Daly has been at the forefront of FEMINIST THEOLOGY and philosophy. Daly was the first woman to be invited to preach at Harvard University's Memorial Chapel, but in 1971, she and others walked out of that church, calling for an exodus from patriarchal religion. This event marked the beginning of Daly's post-Christian work as well as the initiation of "sisterhood as antichurch," a term she later changed to "Sisterhood as Cosmic Covenant" in *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (1973).

In addition to developing her own feminist theology, Daly has developed her own feminist vocabulary, most notably in the *Websters' First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language* (with Jane Caputi, 1987). Daly has also been at the forefront in raising lesbian concerns in feminist theologizing.

Mary Daly continues to be a major force in religious studies. Her autobiography, *Outercourse,* shows the importance to feminist theology of the narrative retelling of women's experiences. In *Quintessence,* Daly offers a radical feminist philosophical response to the millennial world of genetics, cloning, and environmental destruction.

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Darby, John Nelson See DISPENSATIONALISM.

Darwinism See CREATIONISM; EVOLUTION; SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

Davies, Samuel (1723–1761) Samuel Davies was a Presbyterian minister, educator, and advocate of religious freedom before the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. He was instrumental in establishing the Hanover (Virginia) presbytery in 1755, his denomination's first association of churches in the South. A preacher of great power, Davies was a successful evangelist during the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century.

Davies was born near Summit Ridge, Delaware, on November 3, 1723. After studying at Samuel Blair's academy in Pennsylvania, he was licensed to preach in 1746. In 1748, he moved to Hanover County, where, as a dissenting clergyman in the midst of Virginia's Anglican religious establishment, he faced severe restrictions on his ministerial activities. At that time, pious men and women whose religious needs were not met by the services of the Church of England could gather only in private at their homes. Davies fought a lengthy legal battle on behalf of the seven Virginia Presbyterian churches he served. Arguing that the Toleration Act of 1689, which permitted freedom of worship in Great Britain, applied to the British colonies as well, Davies eventually won a favorable ruling in 1755. After that date, Presbyterians were free to organize their own churches.

Davies traveled throughout Virginia to help build up PRESBYTERIANISM in the colony. His sympathies lay with the prorevival faction within his denomination, and his sermons contributed to the final, southern phase of the Great Awakening. Davies attracted such fame as an evangelist that he was elected to the presidency of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1759. His move to New Jersey, however, left no educated Presbyterian minister in Virginia, a fact that caused his church to enter a period of decline.

In poor health, Davies served only briefly at Princeton. He died on February 4, 1761, just 18 months after assuming the office of college president.

GHS, Jr.

Bibliography: George W. Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971).

Davis, Andrew Jackson (1826–1910) The career of Andrew Jackson Davis as the greatest philosopher of American SPIRITUALISM began when, at the age of 17, he attended a lecture by an itinerant mesmerist and discovered that he apparently possessed the power of clairvoyance. In 1844, Davis went into a hypnotic trance during which he claimed to have learned that he could diagnose and cure diseases, converse with the spirits of deceased luminaries such as Emmanuel Swedenborg (see SWEDENBORGIANISM), and even travel to spiritual worlds. Dubbed the "Poughkeepsie Seer," Davis became America's first and most successful professional medium. Through voluminous writings and an occult healing practice, he helped to precipitate the Spiritualist boom of the mid-19th century.

Born in Blooming Grove, New York, to a family of farmers, weavers, and shoemakers, Davis received little formal education. He attributed his insights into higher truths not to his own work but to the influence of spirits. Davis first outlined his beliefs and practices in a series of lectures that he delivered, supposedly while in a trance. Those lectures were published in 1847 as Davis's first book, *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelation and a Voice to Mankind.* Davis published many more books, including his five-volume magnum opus, *The Great Harmonia* (1850–55). His writings also appeared in *The Univercoelum* (1847–49), a New York weekly friendly to Spiritualism. In addition to writing and lecturing, Davis practiced medicine. He received a medical degree from the United States Medical College in New York City in 1886.

Although Davis was undoubtedly the most important thinker in 19th-century American SPIRITUALISM, his tendencies toward mysticism and philosophy distinguished him from many of his fellow Spiritualists, who lacked interest in theorizing about their experiences and claimed to mistrust anything that they could not demonstrate empirically.

Davis's "harmonial philosophy," which drew on Swedenborgianism, MESMERISM, and other romantic currents, postulated six ascending spheres of existence. According to Davis, humans progressed onward and upward through these spheres until they met God, whom Davis equated with the power of love and wisdom that resided in the Great Celestial Center. This divine power manifested itself, he believed, in all human beings, who were in his view only emanations of the Divine Mind.

Davis demonstrated his kinship with other philosophers of "harmonial religion" by rejecting the reality of both evil and sin. Davis's cosmic optimism was most apparent in his theory of "Summerland," a heavenly abode where people go after death and where the season is always summer.

Davis's theories were not entirely otherworldly. Like other universal reformers of his time, Davis believed that the transformation of individuals would result in sweeping social reforms. Ever the optimist, he looked forward to a utopian social order in which all plants, animals, and human beings would work together harmoniously for their common benefit.

Late in his life, Davis ran a bookstore and conducted a private medical practice in Boston. He died in 1910, but his legacy lives on in 21st-century America in the popular practice of channeling the spirits of the dead.

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Day, Dorothy (1897–1980) One of the most fascinating people in American religious history, Dorothy Day stood in a long line of American converts to ROMAN CATHOLICISM whose faith and life made a lasting impact on that church and on society. As the driving force in the CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT, she inspired many, both Catholics and non-Catholics, to an active Christianity devoted to the poor and to peace.

The third of five children of John and Grace (Satterlee) Day, Dorothy Day was born in Brooklyn, New York, on November 8, 1897. Her father's work took the family to San Francisco in 1903, and the 1906 earthquake drove them to Chicago in 1907. While living in Chicago, the sensitive and studious Day read Upton Sinclair, whose graphic descriptions of work in the Chicago stockyards moved her deeply.

A Hearst scholarship sent her to the University of Illinois, Urbana, in 1914. While there, her radical politics and unconventional lifestyle increasingly alienated her from her family, and Day had to work as a maid to support herself. Often she was poorly clothed and hungry. These difficulties did little to stifle her intellect and much to deepen her compassion for the poor and unfortunate.

Leaving the university in 1916, she moved to New York, where she became a journalist. She worked for the *Call*, *Masses*, and *Liberator*, all leading left-wing magazines. Active in radical politics and living a rather bohemian life, Day became pregnant and had an illegal abortion in 1919. These personal upheavals—along with political turmoil, including the crackdown on radicals during World War I—distressed Day greatly. The source for her only novel, *The Eleventh Virgin* (1924), they drove her to greater introspection.

Drawn increasingly toward religion despite herself, she had her daughter Tamar (born in 1927) baptized over the objections of Tamar's father. Required to take religious instruction as part of Tamar's baptism, Day began to consider being baptized herself, to which she submitted on December 28, 1927. The internal struggle she experienced during this process of conversion is described in her book *The Long Loneliness*, which stands alongside THOMAS MERTON's *The Seven Storey Mountain* as a classic American Catholic conversion narrative.

While her conversion brought Day internal peace, it led to her estrangement from her friends, who viewed religion as an oppressive superstition. Neither was she at ease among her new community. Day's political ideas made her uncomfortable with what she saw as the church's complacency with an unjust social order. The ability to merge her politics and her faith occurred after a meeting with Peter Maurin. A French-born Catholic philosopher, Maurin called for a process of social reconstruction known as the "green revolution." Based upon communal farming and the establishment of houses of hospitality for the urban poor, this revolution was driven by the idea of correlating the spiritual with the material. Those concerned with the poor were to become one with them, not doing *for* the poor and weak but *with* the poor and weak.

These ideas found their voice in the newspaper Maurin and Day founded in 1933. The *Catholic Worker* expressed the ideas of economic justice, pacifism, and racial equality that were the hallmark of Maurin's and Day's thought. In the following year, they founded

Dorothy Day addresses a demonstration in Union Square, New York, circa 1969. *(Getty)* the first house of hospitality, St. Joseph's, in New York City. This was followed by houses in other cities, as well as communal farms where volunteers lived lives of voluntary poverty with the poor and homeless.

During World War II the movement suffered as a result of its pacifism, which cost it much support. Day herself was repeatedly jailed for refusing to participate in New York's compulsory civil defense drills. The Catholic Worker movement supported conscientious objectors and offered alternative service at one of its farms in upstate New York.

Until her death on November 29, 1980, Day continued her struggle for a just social order, a struggle rooted in her belief in divine love as the ultimate transfiguring value. She believed that by literally living out Christ's command to love one's neighbor, the world would be transformed. Day's books, articles, and speeches took the message of the Catholic Worker movement to nearly all American parishes, and there were few areas where these views had not touched some members. Her influence reached Protestants and atheists as well. At the time of her death, Day was revered as America's most influential Roman Catholic voice calling for peace and social transformation.

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"death of God" theology In April 1966, a cover of *Time* magazine was headlined "Is God Dead?" Needless to say, such a public question met with much consternation and dismay, for it identified one of the most extreme, misunderstood, and perplexing periods in 20th-century theology, the so-called radical or "death of God" theology. Never a coherent movement, in fact, many of those associated with it meant different things by the term. This theological phase was an attempt to take seriously the contemporary situation in light of the work of the century's leading theologians.

The roots of "death of God" theology lay in 20th-century neo-orthodoxy, specifically the work of Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Paul Tillich. Although all three would have disavowed the use put to their thought, radical theology took seriously Barth's claim that Christianity was not a religion, Tillich's claim that God does not exist as a being, and Bonhoeffer's cryptic comments about the role of Christianity in a "world come of age."

Theologians such as Gabriel Vahanian, Paul Van Buren, and William Hamilton wondered how humanity in the last half of the 20th century could relate to God when humanity had lost all sense of transcendence. For Vahanian, whose 1961 book *The Death of God* gave the movement its name, this was *the* issue. People whose lives were void of any feeling of the transcendent, who lived in societies with no underlying religious significance, and who existed in historical time without any sense of providence were not people capable of experiencing the divine presence. For such a people and society, God was effectively dead. While Vahanian never concluded that God did not exist, he did believe that unless there were a radical transformation of Western culture, a transcendent God could not be a living, vibrant reality.

Others, however, were not so reticent. Paul Van Buren and William Hamilton took the fact of Western society's absence of transcendental meaning as determinative rather than descriptive. For them, the absence of transcendental values in society demonstrated that there was no God. In place of God, however, was the true humanity of the person Jesus, whose all-embracing love—demonstrated by his treatment of others and his death on the cross—showed us how we should live.

Richard Rubenstein, emerging out of the Jewish tradition, also used the existing historical context as the basis for his conclusion that neither God nor religion as traditionally understood were possible. The evil wrought by the Nazis in the Holocaust prevented one from proclaiming the existence of God and God's covenant with the Jewish people. It also prevented one from believing that individual and social life have any meaning beyond that which individuals and groups create themselves. Any meaning to be found in the life of the Jewish people must be made by the Jewish people themselves in the act of creating their own state and culture.

Perhaps the most extreme and undoubtedly the most flamboyant of the radical theologians was Thomas J. J. Altizer. In his book *The Gospel of Christian Atheism* (1966), Altizer drew on the German philosopher Georg W. F. Hegel to develop a radical incarnational theology. Altizer took seriously the traditional Christian claim that in Jesus, God had become man, or in Hegelian terms, the Universal had become specific and concrete. Once the Universal is concretized, however, it loses its Universal character. God become human in the world is no longer God as transcendent reality independent of the world. At the crucifixion, God as God truly dies. In this act, however, we are shown how to live out our lives in the world.

The extreme language used by some of these theologians and the sensational coverage they received in the popular press gave them a notoriety not often accorded to serious theological reflection. While as a major mode of theological development the "death of God" theology was short-lived, the challenges it presented increased theological reflection on doctrines of God, the nature of the incarnation, and the implications of social realities for doing theology.

EQ

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deep ecology Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess (b. 1912) coined the term *deep ecology* in a 1973 article, "The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movements." The phrase has since become the most widely accepted label for an important branch of the global environmental movement.

Deep ecologists trace their sentiments to personal experiences of "ecological consciousness," which they describe as an intuitive, affective perception of the sacredness and interconnectedness of all life. A person who has experienced the "ecological self" transcends the limitations of ego, viewing the self not as separate from and superior to all else but rather as a small part of the divine cosmos. From this perspective, all life and even ecosystems themselves have inherent value, even if they are not plainly useful to humans. Deep ecologists credit Aldo Leopold with expressing this idea succinctly in his landmark "Land Ethic" essay, published posthumously in *A Sand County Almanac* (1949). There Leopold argued that humans ought to act only in ways designed to protect the long-term flourishing of all ecosystems. Deep ecologists now call this perspective *ecocentrism* (or sometimes *biocentrism*) and trace today's environmental crises to anthropocentrism, the perspective in which nature is valued exclusively in terms of its usefulness to humans. Deep ecologists conclude that only by "resacralizing" our perceptions of the natural world can we put ecosystems above narrow human interests and thereby learn to live harmoniously with the natural world and avert human-caused ecological catastrophe.

While these spiritual sentiments and ecocentric ethics make it possible to speak of a shared deep ecology tradition, differences about the proper means to promote ecosystems have increasingly led to differentiation within the movement.

One important North American branch is bioregionalism. Envisioning communities of creatures living harmoniously and simply within the boundaries of distinct ecosystems, bioregionalism stands against large, growth-based industrial societies, preferring small, self-sufficient, and ecologically sustainable economies along with decentralized political self-rule. Deep ecology is best known, however, as the philosophy underpinning the work of radical environmentalists and Earth First! activists. Adding radical political analyses ("democracy is a sham") to ecological science ("we are in the midst of an unprecedented extinction crisis exacerbated and perhaps caused by human overpopulation") and spiritually based moral sentiments ("all life is sacred"), radical environmentalists believe that it is inadequate to focus exclusively on developing bioregionally sustainable communities. Ecocide must be resisted, they argue, by diverse means, including extralegal tactics and even sabotage. Finally, many deep ecologists believe that the root of the ecological crisis is spiritual. So they promote transformation of consciousness through ritual, poetry, and music designed to evoke wild, authentic, and ecological selves in spiritually dead humans.

In the early 1980s, deep ecology "road shows" resembling itinerant revival meetings began serving as recruiting grounds for the most important ritual process invented by deep ecologists: the Council of All Beings. The council was created primarily by two practicing Buddhists, Joanna Macy and John Seed (who now calls himself a pagan) and functions as a "ritual of inclusion" helping people to feel kinship with other life forms and ecosystems. In council rites, humans are imaginatively or shamanically possessed by the spirits of nonhuman entities (animals, rocks, soils, rivers), allowing those entities to verbalize their anger at being so poorly treated by people and to cry out for fair treatment and harmonious relations among all ecosystem citizens. The humans in these rites seek personal transformation and empowerment for their ecological activism—through the gifts of special powers granted by the nonhuman entities in their midst. More recently, Seed and others have developed workshops that use meditative breath work and evocative music to deepen still further the participants' experiences of their ecological selves.

Today the Council of All Beings can be found at Earth First! wilderness rendezvous, festivals of NEOPAGANISM, and sometimes at NEW AGE RELIGION gatherings and meetings of environmentalist Christians. What distinguishes deep ecology from other forms of contemporary spirituality seeking to resacralize nature, however, is that deep ecologists are much less optimistic about the capacity of humans to change their ways. They do not share the optimism of many New Age practitioners. They also tend to be much more critical of the nation-state and of consumer capitalism than either New Age or neopagan devotees. In fact, deep ecologists tend to view modern industrial societies as incompatible with ecologically appropriate lifeways, preferring decentralized political self-rule and low-technology economic alternatives.

Deep ecology has found fertile ground in North America, particularly within the COUNTERCULTURE that began with the BEAT MOVEMENT in the 1950s and exploded during the 1960s and 1970s. (Beat poet Gary Snyder is now an honored "elder" of the deep ecology movement.) Several followers took the next logical step and in 2001 organized the Church of Deep Ecology. While the church seems to be limited to a small congregation in Minnesota, its Web site and materials have a national reach and promote deep ecology–related events throughout the country.

Some of the premises of deep ecology have generated a backlash and may have hurt the environmental movement. Among evangelical Christians, there is tremendous discomfort with the pagan components (see NEOPAGANISM) of deep ecology and its apparent denigration of human being and human creativity. This latter theme also disturbs others, including many secularists who oppose the movement's flaunting of irrationality as reflected in gatherings such as the "Anarch-Primitivist Gathering, Feral Visions Against Civilization."

In its early years, deep ecology had a wider resonance, given its focus on helping human beings see themselves as linked to the natural world. Beginning in the late 1990s, many of its supporters increasingly gave the impression of waging war against human beings. Which component of the movement gains dominance remains to be seen, however, as the illegal activities of certain groups associated with deep ecology gain greater visibility and notoriety. The entire movement may begin to suffer from the excesses of a few.

(See also JOHN MUIR.)

BRT/EQ

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Dewey, John (1859–1952) John Dewey, philosopher and educator, set many of the terms for discussing liberal approaches to religion, political life, science, and education in America for several decades.

Dewey was born to middle-class parents Archibald and Lucina Rich Dewey in Burlington, Vermont, on October 20, 1859. Dewey grew up in a household devoted to religious and philanthropic concerns, undergirded with a love of learning. In 1875, he enrolled at the University of Vermont. Teaching high school upon graduation in 1879, Dewey grew frustrated with the problems of classroom discipline and left for graduate studies at Johns Hopkins, where he enrolled in 1882.

He took his first academic position at the University of Michigan in 1884, becoming chair of the philosophy department in 1888. At Michigan, Dewey, who had inherited his mother's passion for social reform, focused much of his energy on reconciling his New England Protestantism and what he saw as the democratic potential of American life with the modern evolutionary thought of such Europeans as Charles Darwin, Auguste Comte, and Karl Marx.

A member of the Ann Arbor Congregational Church, Dewey regularly taught Bible classes and served on church committees as well as the board of trustees for the Student

Christian Association there. During this time, he married Alice Chipman, a free-thinking student who was to have a lasting impact on both his social concerns and his theological perspective. The German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel and his English followers, such as T. H. Green, also heavily influenced Dewey during his graduate training. In these years, he spoke of Christian themes in a language that, like Hegel's, sought to emphasize the immanence of the divine within both the natural world and human social life. In Ann Arbor, he focused his sights on economic and social problems, defending the rights of workers in the wake of Chicago's Haymarket Square riots in 1887 and calling for government regulation of industry and business. While Dewey had much in common with other liberal Protestant reformers of his day (see SOCIAL GOSPEL), his Hegelianism led him to conclude that the religious and the secular were inseparable and that humans themselves would eventually make the kingdom of God visible in the democratic community as a whole. Thus, he told students in 1892, "The function of the church is to universalize itself and pass out of existence."

By the time he moved to the University of Chicago in 1894, Dewey was leaving liberal Protestantism behind. In his Chicago years, he spoke of religion in the modern world as best expressed through democracy, science, and art and abandoned the project of reconciling Christianity itself with modernity. Increasingly, he also strove to separate naturalism and empiricism from Hegel's philosophical absolute "Spirit." As he matured, he spoke most frequently of authentic religion as "natural piety," an experience available apart from the authoritative power of religious traditions and institutions.

At the core of Dewey's philosophical approach was a deep belief in the power of education and the need for "reconstruction" in both intellectual and social life. At Chicago, he was responsible for the university's educational work, creating a Department of Pedagogy and an experimental elementary school. Working with progressives such as Jane Addams of Hull House and the National Education Association, Dewey was in the vanguard of a movement to reconstruct public education around the insights obtained from the social sciences and psychology, a movement that had a lasting, and often controversial, impact on American education throughout the 20th century. Angered over Chicago's lack of support for his experimental approach to education, Dewey accepted a position at Columbia University's Teachers College and Department of Philosophy in 1904.

Apart from a two-and-a-half-year stay in China and Japan after World War I, Dewey remained at Columbia until he retired in 1930. In the years between his return from Asia and the end of World War II, Dewey was prolific, producing books on art, epistemology, education, political theory, and religion. He was also extremely active in politics throughout this period. A trip to the Soviet Union in 1928 gave him hope that socialism could become a viable force in American life, and while he soon became an adamant anti-Stalinist, he never abandoned the hope that socialism and democracy could be combined successfully.

In the 1930s, his faith in the potential of a democratic, scientific culture was attacked by a number of intellectuals on both left and right, the foremost being REINHOLD NIEBUHR. A signer of the HUMANIST MANIFESTO, Dewey expressed his religious ideas most clearly in *A Common Faith* (1934), in which he sought to separate the natural "religious" quality of human experience from any association with historic religions, which he saw as limited expressions of such experience at best. In that work, he also attacked the resurgent emphasis on human sin common among Christian theologians and preachers influenced by Niebuhrian NEO-ORTHODOXY.

While his significance endures in many fields, during the 1940s, Dewey's fellow philosophers became absorbed with questions far removed from those of freedom, democracy, and creativity, the concerns that Dewey saw as philosophy's central contribution to modern society. Active until the end of his life, Dewey died of pneumonia on June 1, 1952.

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Dharmapala, Anagarika (1864–1933)

The first Buddhist missionary to the United States and the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society was born David Hewivitarne to a middle-class family in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1864. In his early adulthood, he took the name Anagarika Dharmapala, which means "homeless defender of the Buddhist doctrine."

Though his parents were practicing Sinhalese Buddhists, they sent him to Christian schools where he attended church and endured compulsory Christian education. Following a much-publicized Buddhist-Christian riot, likely precipitated by Catholics who turned a Buddhist procession into a brawl, Hewivitarne left his Christian schooling behind.

Impressed with the pro-Buddhist and anti-Christian lectures delivered during an 1880 tour of Ceylon by the Theosophists HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY and HENRY STEEL OLCOTT, Dharmapala joined the Theosophical Society (see THEOSOPHY). He was soon working alongside Olcott in Ceylon, where they labored to raise money for Buddhist education, and in other parts of Asia, where they endeavored to unite northern and southern Buddhists into one ecumenical International Buddhist League.

Influenced by the lamentations of the Victorian poet Edwin Arnold over the degradation of Bodh Gaya, India, the place of the Buddha's enlightenment, Dharmapala traveled to Bodh Gaya in 1891. There he vowed to restore the site and transform it into a sacred space that would be for Buddhists what Jerusalem is to Christians. To accomplish this task and to rescue other Buddhist sites from ill repair, Dharmapala organized the Maha Bodhi Society in 1891.

Dharmapala achieved international renown when he traveled to Chicago in 1893 as a delegate to the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS. There he advocated a Theosophical version of the Theravada ("Way of the Elders") Buddhism of southern Asia that acknowledged important similarities between BUDDHISM and Christianity and urged all people of faith to practice religious tolerance. He also established an American branch of the Maha Bodhi Society.

Days after the parliament, Dharmapala officiated at a rite in which C. T. Strauss, a Swiss-born Theosophist of Jewish descent, became the first Westerner formally and officially to convert to Buddhism on American soil. Dharmapala returned to the United States for lecture tours on several occasions after 1893. In 1897, he presided over America's first celebration of Wesak, the festival of the Buddha's birthday.

Although he began his public career as a religiously tolerant Theosophist, Dharmapala's Buddhist rhetoric sharpened over time. By the turn of the 20th century, he spoke far more about Buddhism's superiority over all other religions than he did about the fundamental unity of religious traditions. In 1905, Dharmapala severed his long association with the Theosophical Society. "Buddhism is absolutely opposed to the teachings of other existing religions," he concluded, and "Theosophy is irreconcilable with Buddhism."

Dharmapala died in 1933 near the place of the Buddha's first sermon in Sarnath, India. He is recognized worldwide as a champion of a nonsectarian United Buddhist World and at home in Sri Lanka as a leader of a major revival of Buddhism.

SRP

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Dickinson, Emily Elizabeth See LITERATURE AND CHRISTIANITY.

Disciples of Christ See CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST); RESTORATION MOVEMENT.

disestablishment See ESTABLISHMENT, RELIGIOUS.

dispensationalism Dispensationalism is a form of prophetic teaching and biblical interpretation that first became popular among American Protestants following the CIVIL WAR (1861–65). Dispensationalists rejected the optimistic POSTMILLENNIALISM of the day, the belief that human beings could establish God's kingdom through their own moral efforts. Dispensationalists placed virtually no value on human achievement, stressing instead the absolute sovereignty of God over history.

Dispensationalism was developed by John Nelson Darby, an Anglican minister who left the Church of Ireland and in 1831 helped found the movement known as the Plymouth Brethren. Darby emphasized that Christianity as it then existed was hopelessly corrupt, and he urged individuals to remove themselves from it. His central tenet was that the Bible explained historical change as a system of eras, or "dispensations," in which God tested humanity by different plans of salvation. There were seven dispensations in all, and in each one humanity failed and catastrophe and divine intervention ensued. The first five dispensations had already concluded with the expulsion from Eden, the Flood, the Tower of Babel, the Exodus, and the crucifixion of Jesus. The present era, the church age, was soon to end with the RAPTURE of the church to heaven, and following a period of tribulation, Jesus Christ would return to Earth and the millennium (Christ's thousand-year reign) would begin.

Dispensationalism was the virtual antithesis of the modernist creed that also attained prominence in late 19th-century American Protestantism. While modernism was optimistic about social progress, dispensationalism was pessimistic. While modernists tended to emphasize evolutionary development, dispensationalists accentuated the supernatural and God's intervention in historical processes. And while modernism analyzed the Bible in relation to human life and experience, dispensationalism interpreted all human activity exclusively through the lens of the Bible. Dispensationalists believed that human beings were participating in a grand cosmic struggle, the details of which were not only outside their control, but also ordained by God at the beginning of creation.

Darby's teachings arrived in the United States in the 1870s and quickly spread through Bible and prophecy conferences, week-long summer meetings in which participants assembled for Bible study and prayer. His emphasis on supernatural causation was consistent with most Christian interpretations of history advanced prior to the mid-19th century. What was novel about Darby's views was not his stress on God's control over history, but his unique system of classification by eras. Darby won over a number of theological conservatives such as Reuben A. Torrey, A. C. Dixon, and—most importantly—CYRUS INGERSON SCOFIELD, whose Reference Bible (1909) became the standard text for American dispensationalists.

This tradition has proved to be tremendously influential in evangelical circles and is the most accepted teaching about Christ's second coming in American fundamentalist churches today. Dispensationalism received wider exposure in the 1970s, when Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* reached mass-market paperback bookshelves across the United States. This popular dispensationalist tract sold close to 20 million copies by 2000.

While Lindsey's book brought dispensationalist views to a much wider audience, it was dwarfed by the popularity of the "Left Behind" series written by Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins. With the publication of the first book, *Left Behind,* in 1995 and continuing through 13 additional novels, the authors laid out in graphic detail a dispensationalist view of the end time, including the rise of the anti-Christ, the tribulation, and the rapture, as well as the final battle between good and evil. Weaving contemporary events and fiction within a dispensationalist framework, they introduced a much wider population to dispensationalism's complexities.

The books had sold more than 60 million copies by 2006. Six of the series reached the top of the *New York Times*'s bestseller list, and one, *Desecration,* was the best-selling novel in the world in 2001. While some of their appeal can be attributed to their driving narrative and "fantastic" content, there is no doubt that they were able to increase the understanding and acceptability of dispensationalism. Views that once had been the esoteric beliefs of small groups of Christians were, as a result of these novels, discussed in *New York Times* editorials and major news shows and were even credited (probably erroneously) with driving public policy.

(See also ESCHATOLOGY; PREMILLENNIALISM.)

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Divine, Father (ca. 1877/82–1965) Little is known about the early life of the man who, as Father Divine, was worshiped as God by his followers in the Peace Mission Movement begun in 1914. Apparently he was born George Baker on Hutchinson Island, Savannah River, Georgia, sometime between 1877 and 1882. His parents were sharecroppers, and his early life was that of a poor farm boy. Around 1900, he moved to Baltimore, where he worked as a gardener and an itinerant preacher. There he fell in with several self-proclaimed messiahs, including one Samuel Morris (the Father Eternal, Father Jehovah) who anointed Baker "God in the Sonship degree."

This title gained Baker his own followers in Baltimore, who traveled with him to Valdosta, Georgia, in 1914, where he founded a community and proclaimed himself God. After a legal conflict in which he was accused of being a public menace, he and his followers returned to the North, settling in a black section of Brooklyn, where he used the name Major J. Devine. There his wife, "Sister Penny," began serving meals to all comers—a major practice of the movement—and by 1919, Father Divine had formulated the central beliefs of the Peace Mission Movement. His followers were to refrain from sex, alcohol, and drugs, as well as cosmetics, movies, and tobacco. Segregation and prejudice were forbidden.

These were not merely formal requirements, for Father Divine gathered both black and white followers, including many who were quite wealthy and highly educated. The movement was prosperous. By 1919, Father Divine purchased a house in Sayville, Long Island (New York) in a previously all-white area. Here his closest followers lived, and he dispensed the meals, money, and jobs that made him a legend throughout the black community. Conflict with his neighbors, who objected either to the crowds or to their color, led to his arrest in 1931. Convicted of disturbing the peace, on June 5, 1932, he was sentenced to a year in jail. He served three days before the judge—supposedly in perfect health and the prime of life—dropped dead. Divine reportedly remarked, "I hated to do it." This event seemed to some to validate his claim of divinity. In January 1933, the New York Supreme Court overturned the conviction, and Father Divine was a free man.

Following his release from prison, he moved the Peace Mission to Harlem, from where the movement had drawn most of its members. By that time, his followers were so numerous that Fiorello La Guardia sought his endorsement during the New York mayoral campaign. At this time, the Peace Mission movement probably had 2 million members across the globe, although the movement claimed 20 million. It also had businesses spread throughout the world. Centered primarily in New York (including a 25-acre estate next door to President Roosevelt's home), the church owned properties in California, Pennsylvania, and Switzerland. The businesses included farms, barbershops, bakeries, and stores. At both the movement's center in Harlem and in its extensions through the world, members were provided with shelter, food, and clothing.

Father Divine and the Peace Mission movement suffered severe setbacks in the late 1930s as a result of scandals involving the two issues most anathema to the movement—sex and money. A wealthy white follower was arrested in California on charges of violating the Mann Act prohibiting transportation of individuals across state lines for immoral purposes. Around the same time, one of Divine's most important followers circulated tales of orgies. Finally, a New York court ordered him to return $5,000 to a member declared to be mentally incompetent. Divine refused and to avoid imprisonment moved his headquarters to Philadelphia.

Although weakened by these scandals, the loss of his traditional power base in Harlem, as well as his marriage to a white Canadian follower in 1946 (Sister Penny died in 1937), he retained the loyalty of most members and managed to solidify the movement in Philadelphia.

The last 29 years of Father Divine's life were nearly as hidden as his first 24. Although retaining leadership of the movement, he withdrew from the public eye. In 1953, he shifted his headquarters to Woodmont, a 73-acre estate outside Philadelphia. There he lived until his death on September 10, 1965. Control of the movement, and its $10 million in property, fell to his wife, Mother Divine, who continues to direct the Peace Mission movement. Although smaller than in the past, the Peace Mission movement continues the tradition of feeding the hungry and preaching racial equality begun by Father Divine in 1914.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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Dixon, Amzi Clarence (1854–1925) A. C. Dixon was a Southern Baptist (see SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION) minister and evangelist and one of the early leaders of the conservative Protestant movement known as FUNDAMENTALISM. The most notable contribution he made to the fundamentalist cause was his work as the initial editor of *The Fundamentals,* the 12-volume series paperback that gave the movement its name.

Dixon was born in Shelby, North Carolina, on July 6, 1854. He graduated from Wake Forest College in 1874 and studied briefly at the Southern Baptist seminary in Greenville, South Carolina, in 1875 and 1876. Following his ordination to the ministry, Dixon had a lengthy and well-traveled career as a pastor of churches not only in the South, but also in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Brooklyn, and London, England. Committed to the tasks of evangelism and conversion, he viewed each new pastorate as a means for reaching more lost souls with the message of Christian salvation. In 1893, Dixon preached with DWIGHT L. MOODY, the most highly regarded revivalist of the day, during Moody's evangelistic campaign at the Chicago World's Fair. Later, in 1906, Dixon was called to be pastor of Moody's church in Chicago, where he served until 1911.

Because he was interested primarily in the conversion of individual sinners, Dixon engaged in few debates about either doctrinal or social issues during the first decades of his ministry. His displeasure with the increasing respectability of theological modernism and the threats Darwinian evolutionary thought and biblical criticism posed to the Christian Gospel, however, eventually led Dixon to become a spokesman for the fundamentalist movement. When wealthy California businessman Lyman Stewart asked him in 1909 to aid in compiling a series of books setting forth the basic principles of Christianity, Dixon readily agreed. The first book in *The Fundamentals* series appeared the next year. Dixon oversaw the publication of five of 12 volumes, all of which were sent free of charge to ministers, missionaries, and Sunday school teachers throughout the English-speaking world. Although Dixon resigned from his editorial position in 1911 when he left to become pastor of a church in London, he considered that to have been one of the most significant accomplishments of his half-century ministry.

After returning to the United States in 1919, Dixon spent a number of months traveling across the country as an itinerant evangelist and Bible teacher. In 1921, he accepted a call to the University Baptist Church, Baltimore. That was to be Dixon's last pastorate, for he died in Baltimore on June 14, 1925.

GHS, Jr.

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dominion theology See CHRISTIAN RIGHT.

Drew, Timothy (Noble Drew Ali) (1886–1929) As Noble Drew Ali, Timothy Drew, born January 8, 1886, in North Carolina, began the first of several U.S. movements to identify African Americans with ISLAM. This he did with the formation of the Moorish Science Temple of America.

Although a recipient of a poor education, as was often the case of American blacks, Drew received some knowledge of Eastern thought and Islam. He claimed to have traveled to the Middle East, where he received the title "Ali" from Abdul Aziz ibn Saud during a visit to Mecca.

Upon his return to the United States, Drew preached that blacks were Asiatics rather than Africans. Their true ancestral homeland was Morocco, and they properly should be called Moors. Ali developed an elaborate genealogy and history for blacks. Prior to the American Revolution, blacks had been conscious of their nationality as Moors. The Continental Congress had stripped them of this identity, declaring them to be Negro, colored, and Ethiopian, assigning them to slavery in 1779.

Drew opened his first Moorish Temple in Newark, New Jersey, in 1913. This was followed by others in Detroit, Pittsburgh, and several other cities. In 1925, he established his headquarters in Chicago and incorporated the Moorish Temple of Science in the following year. (The latter was later changed to Moorish Science Temple.)

The beliefs of the Moorish Science Temple are set down in *The Holy Koran,* not to be confused with the Qur'an. In 64 pages of small print, Drew set out a strange combination of Islam, Christianity, and SPIRITUALISM, much of it lifted from *The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus Christ,* written by the Spiritualist Levi Dowling.

As the movement expanded, problems developed within and without. Devotees' newfound identity and liberation from fear led to numerous altercations with whites. These conflicts reached such proportions that Drew was forced to issue a statement against provocation, although not before tensions had reached a point where the mention of the "Moors" could turn many a midwestern police chief apoplectic.

Internally, many saw the movement as an occasion for self-aggrandizement and began peddling such items as Old Moorish Healing Oil and Moorish Purifier Bath Compound. When Drew attempted to end such practices, conflict erupted, resulting in the murder of his business manager. Drew was arrested, despite being out of the city at the time of the killing.

Released on bond, he died a few weeks later on July 20, 1929, under mysterious circumstances. While some claim his death was the result of a beating received in police custody, most accept that he was murdered by opponents within the Moorish Science Temple.

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DuBois, W. E. B. (1868–1963) Arguably one of America's greatest intellects, William Edward Burghardt DuBois holds a distinctive position in African-American thought and life. Decades ahead of his time in advocating black educational and economic opportunity, racial pride, and political equality, DuBois was a man whose life was destined for frustration and bitterness, despite great individual ability and even success.

Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on February 23, 1868, DuBois attended the local Congregational church, where, as at school, he was often the only black student. His accomplishments at school were many, and following his graduation from high school, the local church's aid enabled him to attend Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. There he encountered firsthand the harshness of the South's caste system and came in contact with the vitality and plurality of black America.

DuBois excelled at Fisk and, after graduating in 1888, refused a scholarship to study for the ministry in order to attend Harvard. Entering Harvard as a junior, he attracted the attention of the historian Albert Bushnell Hart and the philosopher and psychologist WILLIAM JAMES. He frequently visited the James house, where he encountered secular and liberal thought far removed from the religious intensity of Fisk. His contact with James, DuBois later claimed, turned him from philosophy to social analysis.

He graduated from Harvard College in 1890 and began his doctoral work under Hart. He was preparing to leave for a research trip to Europe in 1892, but a conflict over the availability of research money for minority students led DuBois to write an "impudent" letter to the president accusing him of bad faith. The money was found, and DuBois spent the next two years studying at the University of Berlin.

Returning to "nigger hating America" in 1894, he was appointed professor of Greek, Latin, German, and English at Wilberforce University in Ohio. While there, he completed his dissertation, receiving his Ph.D. in 1895. The thesis, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States,* was the first book issued in the Harvard Historical series and landed him a one-year appointment at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was assigned to write a study of Philadelphia's black community. The result, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), ran counter to the academic tide. Its detailed analysis debunked the "scientific racism" of the time that attributed everything to genetic factors. DuBois's work found that the problems of poverty, crime, and degradation among Philadelphia's urban blacks resulted from historical and environmental factors rather than any racial deficiency of African Americans. In 1897, he accepted an appointment as professor of economics and history at Atlanta University. Here DuBois published several more books, including *The Souls of Black Folk.*

Considered by many his finest work, *The Souls of Black Folk* is a lyrical and reflective essay on the life, burdens, and religious vitality of American blacks, as well as the first scholarly reflection on black religious music. The book's ominous prophecy that the "problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line" proved all too true.

The book also marked DuBois's public break with Booker T. Washington over the issue of political equality for blacks. DuBois became increasingly involved in political affairs. In 1900, he had served as secretary of the first Pan-Africanist Conference meeting in London and in 1905 organized the Niagara movement as a black opposition group to Washington's accommodationism. In 1909, he helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), leaving Atlanta University the following year to assume the editorship of its magazine, *The Crisis.* Underappreciated and volatile, he gave offense as easily as he took it, and conflicts with colleagues over the direction of the NAACP and *The Crisis* led to his resignation as editor in 1934.

He returned to Atlanta University, where he continued to publish works on the history and culture of African Americans. His increasingly radical views led to his retirement from the university in 1944. He returned to the NAACP as director of special research until 1948, when his support for Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party—despite the NAACP's official support for Harry Truman—resulted in his firing.

His views on race, world peace, and economics ran counter to the views of 1950s America. He suffered increasing harassment by the United States government, including arrest for acting as an unregistered agent of a foreign power and revocation of his passport.

Buffeted by the racist society around him, DuBois grew increasingly bitter and angry. Despairing of any change in American society and hopeful about the emerging independent nations of Africa, he accepted the invitation of Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah to assume the editorship of the *Encyclopedia Africana.* He applied for membership in the Communist Party of the U.S.A., to which he was officially admitted on October 13, 1961, a week after he had left for Ghana. In February 1963, he took on Ghanaian citizenship, and at his death on August 27th of that year was given a state funeral.

In the decades since his death, American society has caught up to many of DuBois's views. Not only is his *Souls of Black Folk* considered a classic interpretation of American culture, his *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935) has been validated by recent scholarship that demonstrates that the period of Reconstruction in the South was riddled neither with political corruption nor black violence but was a period when many southern states had the most representative and efficient governments in their histories. DuBois must also be credited with a major role in the establishment of the African-American intellectual tradition in the United States. His seminal scholarship, support of black artists and scholars both personally and in the pages of the *Crisis*, and opposition to Booker T. Washington's emphasis on manual labor helped pave the way for future black intellectuals. Perhaps it was fitting that DuBois died on the day of the March on Washington, D.C., organized by the leaders of the Civil Rights movement. His sometime nemesis at the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, said of DuBois's life, ". . . it is incontrovertible that at the dawn of the twentieth century his was the voice that was calling you to gather here today in this cause."

(See also African-American religion.)

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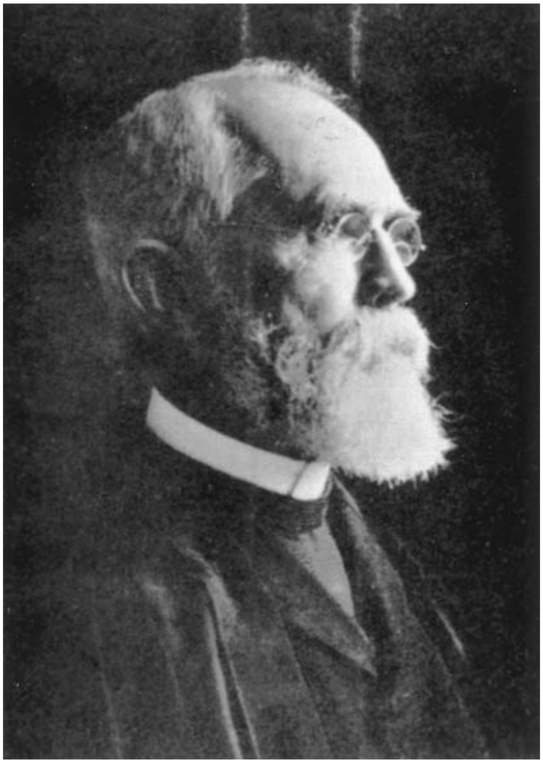
DuBose, William Porcher (1836–1918)

William Porcher DuBose was an Episcopal clergyman and professor at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. The most important theologian in the history of the Episcopal Church, DuBose reflected the theological liberalism that gained ascendancy among American Protestants in the late 19th century. However, unlike the modernist (see modernism) theologians of the North, DuBose's vivid sense of God's presence within human suffering and adversity reflected his critical experience as a white southerner living in the aftermath of the Civil War.

DuBose was born on April 11, 1836, in Winnsboro, South Carolina. The DuBoses were prominent plantation owners descended from Huguenots who had settled the low country of South Carolina in the 17th century. DuBose graduated from the Military College of South Carolina (the Citadel) in 1855 and earned an M.A. at the University of Virginia in 1859. Although he entered the Episcopal diocesan seminary at Camden, South Carolina, in October 1859, the outbreak of the Civil War forced him to withdraw and join the Confederate Army instead. He was wounded in battle and spent two months in a Union prisoner-of-war camp. After the war, he was ordained in 1866 and served briefly as rector, first at St. John's Church Winnsboro, and later at Trinity Church, in Abbeville, South Carolina. DuBose came to Sewanee, Tennessee, as chaplain of the University of the South in 1871. After the establishment of a department of theology at the university, he resigned his chaplaincy position in 1882 to devote himself to teaching. He also held the position of dean of Sewanee's School of Theology between 1894 and 1908.

In his spiritual autobiography, *Turning Points in My Life* (1912), composed for the celebration of his 75th birthday, DuBose explained how his theological position had evolved over the years. He believed that the Civil War had been pivotal in shaping his



William Porcher DuBose, a Confederate army veteran who became the Episcopal Church's most influential theologian.

development as a theologian. In the fall of 1864, when he came to the realization that the Confederate cause was lost, he sensed the ultimate futility of worldly concerns and dedicated himself from then on to the work of the church. Laying particular stress on the doctrine of the incarnation, DuBose taught that God was immanent in his creation, in human imperfection and suffering, and in the ongoing life of the Christian church. While Jesus Christ was the particular incarnation of God, all humanity participated generically in the incarnation of the divine.

Geographically isolated from the mainstream of American theology in his day and relatively unappreciated amid the dominant theological conservatism of the South, DuBose began to receive recognition for his progressive orthodoxy only in the 20th century. He published six major theological books as well as numerous essays over the course of his teaching career. Having lived at Sewanee for nearly five decades, DuBose died there on August 18, 1918.

GHS, Jr.

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Dwight, Timothy (1752–1817) Grandson of JONATHAN EDWARDS, precocious, and wealthy through inheritance, Timothy Dwight had all of life's advantages. He did not waste them. Dwight early became a leading figure in the religious and political life of New England.

Born on May 14, 1752, in Northampton, Massachusetts, Dwight entered Yale at the age of 13. He spent the next 12 years of his life there, first as a student and then as a tutor. In 1777, he joined the American Revolution as a military chaplain. Resigning in 1779 to take charge of family property, he spent the next 16 years as farmer, legislator, teacher, and minister. In 1795, he became president of Yale and in that role made his greatest contributions.

His achievements prior to that time as an epic poet, hymn writer, and preacher were not insignificant, but as president of Yale, Dwight found the "bully pulpit" he desired. He revived the flagging fortunes of the school, augmenting the faculty and adding professional departments in medicine and theology. Dwight also brought a new religious fervor to the school. He began a series of lectures on the Christian religion that led to a revival among the Yale students. Considered one of the harbingers of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, this revival not only infused new religious life into the college, but led to the formation of societies for moral uplift.

Foreign missions (see MISSIONS, FOREIGN) engaged Dwight's passion, and he encouraged his students to take the Gospel to heathen lands. He spoke of his hope that one day soon not a cathedral, mosque, or pagoda would remain standing. Dwight was one of the first religious leaders to favor total abstinence from alcohol, rather than moderation.

Domestic religious and political enemies attracted most of Dwight's energy. He feared the spread of irreligion and the Jeffersonians (see JEFFERSON, THOMAS). As a teacher and a public figure, he spent much of his time combating what he saw as the blasphemous views of THOMAS PAINE, Thomas Jefferson, and their followers. A staunch Federalist, Dwight believed that the party of John Adams provided the one bulwark against the inevitable results of the infidels, results seen in the atheism, violence, and chaos of the French Revolution.

In his defense of revealed religion, Dwight showed himself an heir of his grandfather, with some modification. Dwight, much more than Edwards, emphasized the moral demands of religion and the ability of human beings to act upon those responsibilities. This human action was possible because the moral truths of religion were grounded in the revelation of God manifested in the resurrection of Christ. Dwight, until his death on January 11, 1817, affirmed this truth against the skeptics and in doing so helped initiate a new period of religious activity in the United States.

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Dyer, Mary (ca. 1591–1660) Quaker dissenter Mary Dyer's death by hanging on Boston Common ended her long-running conflict with the rulers of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY. The conflict began with her outspoken support for ANNE HUTCHINSON. It ended in her persistent attempts to spread her Quaker beliefs (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF) within the colony.

Nothing is known of Mary Dyer's early life, the first mention of her being in 1633, when the marriage of Mary Barrett to William Dyer was recorded in London. Two years later the couple joined the Puritan (see PURITANISM) migration to New England, where they became accepted members of the Boston community and the Boston church. This period of harmony soon ended as the entire colony became embroiled in the so-called ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY.

The Dyers supported the group led by Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelwright. When the colonial authorities moved against them in 1637, William Dyer was among those disfranchised and disarmed. This did not dissuade Mary, who remained loyal to Anne Hutchinson throughout her trial. This stance led to Mary Dyer's excommunication by the Boston church as well.

Moving to Rhode Island, she joined other dissenters from Massachusetts. During a visit to England in 1650, Mary became a Quaker. Fired with missionary zeal, she returned to Boston in 1657 to spread the Quaker message. Massachusetts authorities rewarded her concern by imprisoning her. Her husband, who had not adopted Mary's Quakerism, gained her release. Imprisonment did not dampen her spirit. She returned to Boston in the summer of 1659. The authorities again expelled her upon pain of death for reentering the colony. When she returned in September, she and her two companions, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, were tried and condemned to death. The noose had already been placed around her neck when the last-minute intercession of her son with the colonial authorities, who did not wish to execute a woman, gained her yet another reprieve.

Incapable of ignoring the divine will that called her to preach in Massachusetts, Dyer reentered the colony in May 1660. This time she had tried the colony's patience once too often. Condemned to death at the end of May, she was hanged on June 1, 1660. In death, she joined numerous Quaker and religious martyrs who refused to allow human laws to restrict religious belief and action.

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Eastern Orthodoxy See ANCIENT EASTERN CHURCHES; ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST; GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA; ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY; ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA.

Eastern religions See BAHÁ'Í; BUDDHISM; HINDUISM; JAINISM; TAOISM; ZEN.

ecumenical movement The ecumenical movement—the desire for a return to the unity of the Christian church—was a major element of 20th-century Christianity. The word *ecumenical,* deriving from the Greek *oikumene,* meaning the "inhabited world," or more precisely the known world of Greco-Roman culture, however, has a long history. *Oikumene* appears 15 times in the New Testament, eight of them in Luke and Acts, speaking of the world into which Christians must spread the Gospel. In the early church, the word signified the church universal. The seven general church councils from 325 to 787, those that included representatives from throughout the *oikumene* as distinct from local assemblies, were referred to as "ecumenical."

The church universal, however, was soon the church divided. There were repeated ruptures within the early church, culminating with the great split between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Western Roman Church in 1054. The divisions caused by the Reformation of the 16th century helped to splinter Christianity even more. By the 19th century, the unbroken body of Christ had been torn into innumerable pieces.

Credit must be given to these divided churches in that they recognized that the divisions were sinful, to use theological language. The refusal of each church to change its version of the truth while demanding that others do so however, made solving this problem impossible.

This attitude began to change during the 19th century, primarily in the area of missions. In fact, the missionary movement gave birth to the modern ecumenical movement. To a great extent, this new era of interdenominational cooperation began in the United States. The task of meeting the religious needs of a constantly expanding nation was beyond the scope of any one denomination. Denominations combined to meet those needs, creating the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), and the American Home Missionary Society (1826). Equally significant was the PLAN OF UNION between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

While many of these organizations collapsed over doctrinal conflicts and none were completely inclusive, they set the tone for interdenominational cooperation. Cooperation was to be based upon actions, upon what the churches could do together. Theological and doctrinal issues would be ignored while the denominations cooperated on general enterprises such as missions, charity, combatting infidelity, and moral reform. Following the CIVIL WAR, there was an increase in the numbers of these organizations, especially among young people of college age: YMCAs and YWCAs (see YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION; YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION) in the United States, the Interseminary Missionary Alliance, and the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. Organized on an international level in 1895 as the World's Student Christian Fellowship, the last had a major impact on the ecumenical movement, for it created a core of educated, able, and adventurous young people committed to interdenominational cooperation.

In the United States, these movements came together in 1908 with the formation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES). The ability of 33 denominations to join together in Christian work provided a major impetus for further developments. The first of these was the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. The conference, generally considered the birth of the worldwide ecumenical movement, grew out of the earlier World's Student Christian Fellowship and other organizations devoted to foreign missions. In fact, the founder of the WSCF, JOHN R. MOTT, chaired the committee organized to continue the work begun at Edinburgh. The most visible result of the Edinburgh conference was the founding in 1921 of the International Missionary Council, whose function was to stimulate thinking about the missionary enterprise and to coordinate the activities of the various Christian churches in the mission field so that they, where possible, could engage in cooperative rather than competitive action.

The emphasis on the churches combining for shared action was continued by the calling of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm, Sweden, August 19–30, 1925. More than 600 delegates representing 91 denominations and 37 countries met to discuss economic, educational, and international issues. While responses to the conference were mixed, there was sufficient support to create a Continuation Committee to carry on the work of the conference. This committee, later reconstituted as the Life and Work Committee, and its organization of a second Life and Work Conference dealing with church, community, and the state marked a turning point for the ecumenical movement. At this conference (Oxford, July 1937), the idea of merging the Life and Work Commission with the Faith and Order Commission was approved. This approval paved the way for the eventual creation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) following WORLD WAR II.

Cooperation on religious action, what is known in the ecumenical movement as life and work, has been the easiest but not the only element of the struggle for Christian unity. Issues of doctrine and of faith and order have troubled serious thinkers. If there is one truth, then how can there be several churches?

While missions, moral reform, and social service could cause division among churches, nothing divided like questions of doctrine and church governance. For this reason, most interdenominational organizations forbade or severely limited discussions of doctrine. Some viewed this limitation as hindering rather than aiding Christian unity. By an odd historical coincidence, three denominations in the United States took up this issue within days of each other in October 1910. In that month, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Disciples of Christ, and the Congregational churches independently adopted resolutions calling for a world conference of Christian churches "for the consideration of questions touching Faith and Order," as the Episcopal resolution read. Committees formed to implement these resolutions found their work interrupted by WORLD WAR I. Not until 1927 was the first Conference on Faith and Order held in Lausanne, Switzerland.

Like the Life and Work Conference, Faith and Order organized a Continuation Committee to carry on the work of the conference. While little had been solved at the conference, its mere occurrence, including representatives from the Orthodox and ancient Eastern churches (see ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY), marked a major shift in religious discussion. The second Faith and Order Conference, held in Edinburgh in 1937, resulted in a general agreement about the "grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" but little else except a decision to merge with the Life and Work Conference. The result of this merger was the formation in 1948 of the World Council of Churches.

This development, along with the 1951 reorganization of the Federal Council as the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, was a significant development for the ecumenical movement. For the first time, there existed organized institutions with denominational connections whose purpose was to pursue Christian unity, both in terms of action and doctrine. While few solutions have come from these discussions, they have illuminated similarities previously obscured.

Ecumenism, however, has not been limited to the formation of interdenominational institutions. One of the biggest obstacles to Christian unity has been the refusal of the Roman Catholic Church to join either the NCC or the WCC. Changes within the Roman church during the 1960s encouraged greater opening toward other Christian bodies. The Second Vatican Council (see VATICAN COUNCIL II) was most significant in this regard. At this conference, not only were Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox bodies invited to send observers, but the adoption of several documents on the relationship of the Roman church to other Christian denominations and a statement on religious liberty went far toward lessening mutual hostility and suspicion.

The last quarter of the 20th century, while seeing a retrenchment of ecumenism on many levels, did see some movement toward union on bilateral levels. Discussions between numerous Lutheran denominations in the United States led to the formation of the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, which undertook a series of negotiations with the Episcopal Church leading to a mutual recognition of each other's orders and sacraments. On an international level, discussions between Lutherans and Roman Catholics led to a fair degree of agreement on what had been hotly contested doctrinal differences.

Struggling with their own doctrinal and theological differences also made Christians more aware of the complexity of their relationship to the wider world. This has caused many Christian churches to reexamine their traditional attitudes toward non-Christian religions, especially Judaism. The Vatican II document "The Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" transformed the traditional Catholic view of other religions and explicitly rejected Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus. The WCC and NCC have held numerous conferences dealing with the relationship of Christianity to other religions.

What began as a movement toward greater Protestant unity has become a movement of worldwide scope. While no one envisions a religiously united world, the ecumenical movement has produced a greater willingness to meet others in discussions based on mutual concern and appreciation. For this, if nothing else, its historical significance is assured.

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Eddy, Mary Baker (1821–1910) The founder of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE and the woman who presided over its remarkable growth, Mary Baker Eddy stands among a handful of American religious reformers who have demonstrated both the charisma necessary to give birth to a new religious movement and the organizational skills to insure its long life. Her theories and practices, institutionalized in the Church of Christ (Scientist) (established 1879), have found their way into "harmonial religions" such as NEW THOUGHT and the POSITIVE THINKING tradition of NORMAN VINCENT PEALE.

Eddy was born Mary Morse Baker into a farming family in Bow, New Hampshire, in 1821. She received little formal education but was reared in the NEW DIVINITY theology developed by the followers of the Puritan divine JONATHAN EDWARDS. She married three times: in 1843, to George Washington Glover, who died one year later; in 1853, to a dentist, Dr. Daniel Patterson, whom she left after 20 unhappy years; and, finally, in 1877, to Asa Gilbert Eddy, who passed away in 1882.

Eddy's early life was marked by an incessant battle with physical and nervous disorders, including the near-ubiquitous 19th-century malady of neurasthenia. These ailments left Eddy largely incapacitated. Her life took a new turn, however, when she traveled to Portland, Maine, in 1862 to meet PHINEAS P. QUIMBY (1802–66). A clockmaker by trade, Quimby was by avocation an itinerant healer who traveled across New England diagnosing diseases and dispensing cures. Long before Eddy, he used terms such as *Christian science* and *science of health* and theorized that sickness resulted from mental rather than physical disorders and so could be healed through techniques that gave mind priority over matter.

Eddy's health improved dramatically after treatments by Quimby. She moved to Portland later in 1862 in order to continue her treatments and to apprentice under him. Shortly after her mentor's death in 1866, Eddy slipped on ice outside her new home in Lynn, Massachusetts, suffering severe injuries. This incident, which would soon be enshrined in the lore of Christian Science as Eddy's famous "fall," confined her to bed rest until "on the third day" she miraculously "rose again"—a completely healed and completely new woman. Eddy had cured herself, but more importantly she had discovered Christian Science.

After her fall and resurrection in 1866, Eddy supported herself as an itinerant healer and worked out the theological implications of her discovery. She convened the first gathering of Christian Scientists at her home in Lynn in 1875 and in 1879 incorporated the Church of Christ (Scientist). Boston became Eddy's

Mary Baker Eddy, the 19th-century religious reformer, founded Christian Science and wrote *Science and Health*. *(First Church of Christ, Scientist, Boston)* headquarters in 1881. The spectacular "Mother Church" was completed there in 1895.

Eddy described the awakening in her of Christian Science not only as a "discovery" but also as a "revelation," and it was consistent with her view that revelation was both natural and ongoing that on numerous occasions she revised the distinctive scripture of Christian Science, *Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures* (1875). In all its versions, however, *Science and Health* represented a decisive turn away from the modified CALVINISM of Eddy's youth.

Eddy, like her pious Puritan forebears, read the Bible regularly and prayed enthusiastically, but she grew to prefer a loving and immanent deity to the Puritans' radically transcendent and wrathful God. Like many of her contemporaries in Gilded Age America, she moved away from Calvinist orthodoxy and toward religious liberalism.

Eddy's thought incorporated but moved far beyond Quimby's theory that sickness and health are mental rather than physical. Eddy distinguished herself from Quimby by developing a detailed theology and by devoting considerable efforts to interpreting the Bible in light of Christian Science. God, she argued, was Mind. The "mortal mind" reflected but was inferior to this "divine Mind." Humans were by no means utterly distinct from God, but they were separated from God nonetheless by illusions of pain and sickness, sin and death. By turning to Jesus Christ, however, people could break through their illusions and live, in union with God, a life marked by health, happiness, and prosperity.

Eddy's unorthodox theories earned her a coterie of critics. The most famous was the humorist Mark Twain, who turned Eddy-bashing into sport. Although Twain delighted in deriding God for committing grievous grammatical errors in Eddy's revelatory *Science and Health*, he saved his most biting invective for what he saw as her dictatorial leadership style. In a book called *Christian Science* (1907), he predicted (incorrectly) that Christian Science would sweep the country, enslaving all Americans under "the most insolent and unscrupulous a tyrannical politico-religious master . . . since the palmy days of the Inquisition."

Though most of Eddy's converts remained faithful to their founder, whom they affectionately referred to as "Mother," Eddy was criticized by some members of her own movement. EMMA CURTIS HOPKINS, who had served as editor of the monthly *Christian Science Journal*, broke away from Eddy in the mid-1880s and opened the Christian Science Theological Seminary in Chicago as an alternative to the Eddy-controlled Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Hopkins would eventually become one of the most important leaders of the New Thought movement.

Refusing to succumb to her critics, Eddy skillfully steered her way through internal schisms and around outsider contempt. In the process, she built not only a church but also a media empire. When she died in 1910, she left behind a highly acclaimed daily newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor* (established 1908), and a church of nearly 100,000 members.

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education, public school American public schools began in the early 19th century, shifting in focus over time as Americans turned to education in order to meet what they saw as the changing needs of society.

Public education was crucial to the general program of reform stemming from the Second Great Awakening. Reformers saw free, universal education as the best way to create the sort of responsible, religiously and morally grounded citizenry required to preserve the young republic. With heavy emphasis on moral instruction, education developed a noticeably Protestant flavor. By century's end, a second wave of Progressive Era reformers sought to recast education to conform to the needs of a more secular, urban society. Ensuing decades have been marked by continuing tension between those who see education as technical or professional preparation for participation in economic life and those who see it as developing the moral and intellectual insight necessary for citizenship.

Americans in the colonial period took education seriously, though not always formally. Revolutionary leaders such as Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine saw education as the crucible out of which a genuinely new, fully American person would emerge, the basis for a population of what Benjamin Rush called "republican machines." But in the years following the American Revolution, Americans conceived of education broadly, being achieved through a variety of means, such as the press, the churches, the family, and public debate, and pursued throughout an individual's life.

The specific impetus to create public schools came in response to a general demographic change in the early 19th century: the creation of childhood as a distinct phase in human life. As mortality rates decreased, adults began to look on children as unique individuals who required the special attention of parents. The family became a center of nurture and care rather than a center of production. Mothers became idealized for their new role as the dominant family figure. As one minister intoned: "When our land is filled with virtuous and patriotic mothers, then it will be filled with virtuous and patriotic men."

But with a burgeoning population, including immigrants from a variety of countries, reformers in the early 19th century sought to create institutions more capable of providing a uniform education than could be guaranteed by individual families. Expanding upon the educational goal of private evangelical academies (see evangelicalism) and the growing Sunday school movement, religious leaders as diverse as Horace Bushnell and Lyman Beecher campaigned for common schools to supplement education from home and church. Beecher, in his famous *Plea for the West*, called for an educational system capable of insuring America could meet its millennial task: to "lead the way in the moral and political emancipation of the world." In spite of the deep theological divisions at the time, Beecher, Bushnell, and other Protestants united around the goal of creating a public system based on Christian, republican values, where all classes could learn the skills and responsibilities necessary to sustain the expanding American nation.

Since the federal Constitution nowhere mentioned education, states reserved to themselves the right to develop their own approaches, making the creation of public schools an erratic and variable process. In Massachusetts, New York, and some western states, public institutions were well established by the 1830s; but in Virginia a public system did not emerge until after the Civil War. Without a clear separation between public and private, 19th-century American education consisted of a patchwork of institutions: local primary schools, state-authorized universities, and church-supported academies and colleges. Controversies over state control, public funding, and the sorts of knowledge taught troubled Americans from early in the century. However, by the 1850s, a general pattern of public control had emerged, influenced greatly by the nonsectarian views of Horace Mann.

The idea of compulsory, publicly controlled, publicly funded education evolving during the 19th century was contested by many Americans, particularly Catholics, who found themselves being denied funding as the notion of "public" spread. Catholics in New York City and elsewhere argued that "public" really meant Protestant and that the local schools were fomenting anti-Catholic sentiments. Unable to rectify the situation, by the late 1840s, Catholics were forced to establish their own school system, attached to local parishes (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM).

These conflicts were as much over symbolic issues of patriotic loyalty and national identity as they were over funding and structure. In the many decades since their creation, public schools have changed along with the rest of society, but they have also remained an important battleground in American culture. Originally a Protestant vehicle for forging a national consensus of values, they have become a crucial arena for the expression of public conflict, as can be seen in the bitter controversies over racial equality and desegregation that began in the 1950s (see CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT). Religious, ethnic, and ideological groups of all stripes have sought to secure their own view of the world by incorporating it into the school curriculum, or else to insure that they, too, have sufficient access to the resources and opportunities provided by the schools.

In the early 20th century, associates of JOHN DEWEY sought to transform education, contending that the traditional Protestant, rural values and skills enshrined by the schools needed replacement by the more modern values of humanism and the teaching of scientific and technical skills appropriate to an urban, industrial society (see SECULAR HUMANISM; SCIENCE AND RELIGION; SCOPES TRIAL). But there also have been conflicts among the modernists who inherited Dewey's vision, some seeing schools as providing a technically trained, competent workforce for an advanced economy, others arguing for their role in creating critically minded democratic citizens. The struggle between traditionalists and modernists has endured as well, although in recent decades the traditionalists have come to include Catholics and Jews as well as conservative Protestants.

The 1960s saw numerous legal battles over religion and public education. In 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Engel v. Vitale* that required recitation of a prayer composed by New York's state school board was unconstitutional. In doing so, the Court stated that, "it is no part of the business of government to composed official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government." This decision was followed in 1963 by *Abington v. Schempp*. In this case, the Supreme Court declared that daily Bible readings and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in public schools violated the establishment clause of the Constitution.

Political and social conflicts over the presence of religious instruction in public schools continued throughout the 20th century, although the focus shifted to "moments of silence" at the beginning of the school day. The Court decided that such moments of silence are perfectly constitutional as long as they are not intended to serve as a basis for introducing governmentally mandated prayer in public schools. The fight over prayer has continued in other places, including prayers at graduation ceremonies (unconstitutional because the mere act of a public school inviting someone to deliver a religious address violates the establishment clause) and public invocations before football games (unconstitutional for the same reason).

Even more contentious has become the content of public education. While many fights involved evolution and sex education, there increasingly have been conflicts over how different religious traditions are represented in school textbooks and in teaching. California experienced a heated political conflict over the portrayal of different religious traditions during textbook selection in 2005 and 2006. While Jews, Christians, and Muslims all weighed in on the debates, the controversy became greatest over the portrayal of Hinduism. The conflict became so intense that some who opposed the changes demanded by Hindu groups, claiming that they grossly misrepresented the historical record, received death threats.

The biggest quarrel continued to be over the teaching of evolution in public schools. This took a different turn with the introduction of "creation science" and "intelligent design" as supposedly "nonreligious" and intellectually valid alternatives to evolutionary theory. The Supreme Court rejected the claim that "creation science" was not a religious teaching in its decision in *Edwards v. Aguillard* (1987). Intelligent design has not found its way to the Supreme Court, but in the case of *Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District* (2005), a federal district court in Pennsylvania ruled that intelligent design "could not uncouple itself from its creationist, and thus religious, antecedents."

The centrality of public education in the United States and the depth with which people hold religious views means that conflicts over the content and context of education will be inevitable. Both institutions are central to American life and values. Public schools are a central location for education and formation in the United States. As such, they will remain places where the deep disagreements in American public life readily come to the fore.

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education, religion and The relationship between education and religion in America is a very long one, going back to the beginning of settlement. Religions in America usually took the lead in establishing educational institutions of all types. The relationship also has created conflict and hostility and led to some of the most violent riots in American history.

Education in its broadest sense began with the arrival of the first humans to the North American continent as the earliest peoples taught their children the traditions and customs necessary for life in the community. The historical knowledge we have of formal education begins with the arrival of Europeans on the North American continent. The first educators were the Catholic priests and monks who accompanied the conquistadores (see NEW SPAIN; ROMAN CATHOLICISM). These Catholic clergy worked diligently to teach the native peoples the basics of Christianity and to prepare them for conversion. (For more on this topic see RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. This article focuses on education more broadly.) As early as 1523, the first primary school in the Americas had been opened by Franciscans in Texcoco (modern-day Mexico).

In the modern-day United States, formal education had its beginnings with the arrival of the English settlers and found its greatest growth in the Puritan (see PURITANISM) colonies of New England. The religious views of the Puritans demanded first, an educated clergy, but also an educated laity. Individuals were encouraged to read the Bible themselves and to struggle in an informed manner with religious questions. For the Puritans, illiteracy was an invitation to irreligion, or, more precisely, to bad religion. One who was ignorant and unlettered easily could be led astray by superstition and idolatry. The way to combat these evils was to ensure that children received the basics of education. At a minimum, children needed to be taught how to read and write. They also should obtain at least a rudimentary knowledge of arithmetic, grammar, geography, and, of course, religion.

While in the early years of settlement most children were taught at home or by private teachers, in 1636, Charlestown, MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, established its first grammar school; 11 years later, the colonial assembly ordered every town to establish and maintain a free public school. The early educational materials typically were a hornbook and a slate. The hornbook was a wooden paddle covered with transparent horn to prevent damage to the text sandwiched between. Typically, the text on the hornbook consisted of the alphabet, in both block and cursive forms, the Lord's Prayer (in its Protestant version in New England), an affirmation of the Trinity, as well as a list of the vowels and basic vowel-consonant combinations.

On the slate, students would write their lessons and undertake their ciphering, arithmetic. Older students were introduced to more complex materials, although the Bible remained a dominant reading text. In 1690, Benjamin Harris printed the first edition of the *New England Primer*. It would remain a leading textbook until the early 19th century, selling more than 5 million copies.

The primer began where the hornbooks left off. It included the alphabet, consonants and vowels, simple syllables, and lists of words of one, two, three, four, and five syllables. The book also included reading material, moving from the simple to the more complex. Much of the reading material consisted of religious and moral instruction, illustrating how education and religion were inextricably combined. There were biblical texts, prayers, catechisms, and advice from parents to children, including a moral, last testament written to his children, in rhyme, by "Mr. John Rogers, minister of the gospel in London, . . . the first martyr in Queen MARY's reign . . . burnt at Smithfield, February 14, 1554. . . . [H]e was not in the least daunted, but with wonderful patience died courageously for the gospel of JESUS CHRIST." In his text, Rogers tells his children:

Keep always God before your eyes/with all your
whole intent,
Commit no sin in any wise,/keep his
commandment.
Abhor that arrant whore of ROME,/and all her
blasphemies,
And drink not of her cursed cup,/obey not
her decrees.

Not only did the primer teach reading, morals, and Puritan doctrine, it also taught the children of the struggle between "true" Protestant Christianity and the false doctrine of Catholicism. It taught the child that admirable people had been done to death for holding true to the faith and warned them in the strongest language to avoid the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

Such content would have serious consequences for public education in the 19th century as legal changes and immigration increased the variety of religious practices and dramatically increased the number of Catholics in the United States. Not every town or colony (or later state) was as attentive to educational concerns as the Puritan colonies, and in many places there existed few, if any, public schools. Private schools, tutors, or Sunday Schools often filled these gaps. Following the Revolution and the establishment of the United States, the growth of the population increased the concern that an uneducated populace would threaten the democratic institutions. This concern was so great that the law opening up the "Old Northwest Territory"—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana—for settlement set aside one square mile section (section 16) of each township for the "maintenance of public schools in said township." Later laws establishing additional territories tended to incorporate this rule as well. As a result, the 19th century saw a marked growth of public education.

Problems, however, began to emerge regarding the content of that education. While educational reformers such as Horace Mann saw the need to produce a nonsectarian education, they did not think that it should be devoid of religious content. The Bible and other religious texts often constituted a significant portion of the curriculum. What these reformers saw as nonsectarianism, however, Catholics saw as Protestantism. The use of the King James Version of the Bible and the Lord's Prayer in its Protestant version made it clear to many Catholics that this was Protestant instruction.

When Catholics demanded that allowance be made for their versions of these materials or that Catholic children be excused from such religious instruction, violence often erupted. Claiming that Catholics were trying to ban the Bible from public schools, nativists (see NATIVISM) in Philadelphia held a series of public meetings and demonstrations that resulted in rioting that continued sporadically from May 4 to July 7, 1844. Churches and schools were burnt, shops looted, hundreds injured, and at least 15 people killed. It took a militia force of more than 5,000 to quell the rioting (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM).

Such conflicts continued off and on throughout the 19th century. One major result was the growth of private Catholic elementary and secondary (parochial) schools in the United States. In these schools, Catholic children could learn free from Protestant influences. While the freedom to establish such schools has been a markedly important element of U.S. history, many Catholics resented that such a choice was imposed on them by the content of the public school system, one they helped fund through their taxes. This gave rise to one of the longest-standing conflicts involving religion and education in the United States, namely over using public funds to support expressly sectarian schools. In the 19th century, many states adopted laws and even state constitutional amendments prohibiting the use of state funds to support sectarian institutions. An attempt to add such an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the so-called Blaine Amendment (named after James G. Blaine, a representative and later senator from Maine), failed by a mere seven votes in the Senate. The debate over public monies and religious schools continued into the 21st century. During John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign, charges that he would provide funds to Catholic schools dogged his campaign. From the 1980s on, school vouchers, presented as a way of introducing competition into public education, struck many as a stalking horse for funding religious schools.

The desire by many individuals to ensure that their children's education contained a significant religious component, was not hostile to their beliefs, and did not undermine morality led them to create their own private schools. While the largest number of these schools were Catholic, some Lutheran denominations, Jews, Seventh-day Adventists, and Muslims occasionally took that route. This enabled them to control, to a great extent, the content of the education and to ensure that their children received religious instruction. Since the 1970s, evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants (see EVANGELICALISM; FUNDAMENTALISM [PROTESTANT]) increasingly have moved in this direction as well. This development resulted both from concerns about immorality in the wider culture and the feeling that the public school environment was hostile to religion.

For those who did not choose the parochial school route, public schools presented a challenge to ensure that the practices in the public schools did not offend religious beliefs and practices. The struggle to ensure that the public schools did not promote religion or create a hostile environment for minority traditions generated many court cases in the late 20th century. These cases included major conflicts over school prayer and Bible readings in public school (see CHURCH AND STATE, RELATION BETWEEN; FIRST AMENDMENT; FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT). Many court decisions focused on making it clear that public schools were neither places for religious indoctrination nor for the promotion of religion. While some objected to these decisions, others welcomed them, feeling that they led to a public school system that served all citizens regardless of their religious backgrounds.

Other conflicts involving religion and education had less to do with explicit religious practices and more to do with the secular content of education. These have included conflicts over sex education (see SEXUALITY), the manner in which religions were treated in textbooks, and even whether girls should participate in physical education classes. The longest-standing and most heated controversy, however, has involved teaching EVOLUTION in the public schools. This conflict began in the early 1900s and continued into the 21st century.

If religion played a major role in the development of elementary and secondary education in the United States, it has played an even greater role in higher education. All the early universities in colonial America (with the exception of the University of Pennsylvania) were established to train ministers for particular denominations. Additionally, many others had their origins in doctrinal controversies or concerns about theological laxness in existing schools. Yale University, for example, was founded because of fear that Harvard had become infested with liberalism.

As Americans moved westward and settled new areas of the country, numerous denominational colleges also were created. Designed both to form an educated ministry and to provide a bastion of civilization, these schools, from Wabash College in Indiana to St. Olaf in Minnesota to Spring Hill in Alabama, strove to ensure that Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Catholics were both well educated and religiously formed.

These private schools were free from Constitutional limits on the content of their teaching and their religious practices. This fact does not mean that such schools have not had their share of controversy. Many were established because of conflicts over religious beliefs. Still others, like Antioch University, were created because of fights over political and social issues such as slavery and women's education.

Disagreements constantly bedeviled religiously affiliated colleges and universities as well as seminaries. Denominational concerns about what happened in these schools invariably brought clashes. Some of these clashes led to a school removing itself from religious control, such as Union Theological Seminary in New York, or in a reassertion of control and the removal of dissident faculty and students by the denomination, as happened at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in the late 1980s. In some instances, this led to rebellions by students and faculty, as occurred at Lane Seminary in 1834, and to the founding of Oberlin's seminary. More recently, a 1973 crackdown on what the leadership of the LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD saw as dangerous heresy at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis resulted in a massive exodus of faculty and students and the creation in 1974 of Seminex (Concordia Seminary in Exile).

More pedestrian concerns also resulted in conflicts between religious colleges and universities and their denominational founders. Often, these occurred because of money. Beginning in the 1950s as the federal government began to provide greater financial support to higher education and medicine, many colleges desired to seek such funds. While the courts have been much more lenient in allowing federal funds to religiously affiliated institutions of higher education than to lower schools, even in colleges such funds could not be used for religious instruction. As colleges, universities, and medical schools sought out such funds, many denominations objected, fearing that acceptance of such funds would compromise their religious mission. As a result, many schools removed themselves from denominational control. While some continued to affirm their religious connection, for others it became increasingly tenuous.

Similarly, as many schools sought to broaden their appeal and increase their academic standings, they also broadened their student pool. Students affiliated with the founding denomination often ceased to be a majority or even a plurality. Combined with the general decline throughout the 1960s and 1970s of required chapel attendance and the "parental" authority of the schools, the expressly denominational atmosphere of many schools decreased precipitously.

Not all colleges and universities moved in that direction, however, and some vigorously reaffirmed their religious commitments, often requiring students, faculty, and administrators to sign faith statements to maintain their affiliation with the school. Additionally, several new colleges and universities were established with the express goal of affirming strong religious identities. These have included Liberty University, Ave Maria College, Thomas Aquinas College, and Patrick Henry College. Such schools reflect the continuity of the relationship between religion and education in the United States. They, like all such schools, were created to form young people intellectually and religiously and to turn them into religiously informed and committed adults.

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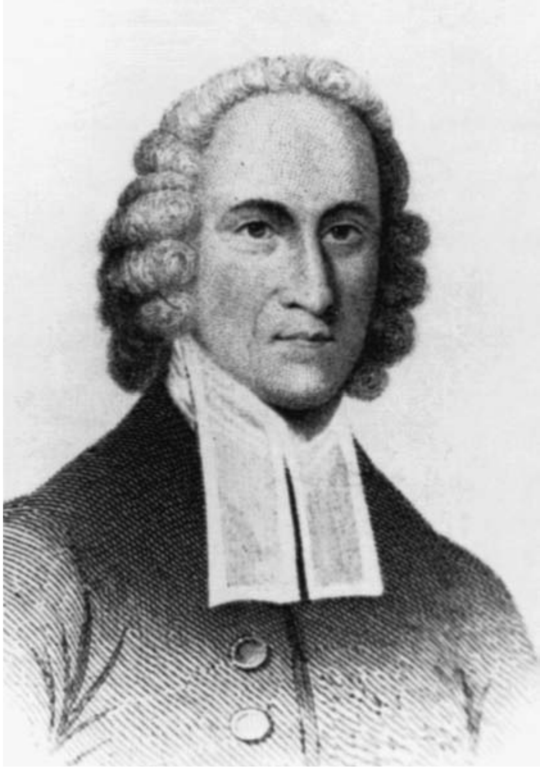
Edwards, Jonathan (1703–1758) One of America's greatest religious thinkers, Jonathan Edwards was deeply influenced by both Neoplatonism and the philosophy of John Locke (see ENLIGHTENMENT). Edwards devised a theology at once orthodox and scientific, logical and mystical.

Edwards was born on October 5, 1703, in East Windsor, Connecticut, into two families of notable Congregationalist ministers. He graduated from Yale College in 1720. After two years of graduate work, he served a pastorate in New York, returning to Yale as a tutor in 1724. Two years later, he joined his grandfather SOLOMON STODDARD at the church in Northampton, Massachusetts, as a junior colleague, becoming the senior minister after Stoddard's death in 1729.

At Northampton, Edwards was immersed in parish duties, although he found some time for writing. To Edwards's surprise, in 1734, during a series of sermons against ARMINIANISM, the belief that human activity could help effect salvation, his parish underwent a religious revival that is generally considered the start of the GREAT AWAKENING.

Although Edwards was the spokesman for a renewal of traditional CALVINISM and orthodox doctrine, he defended these doctrines with the new learning. In doing so, he became a leading exponent of "religious experience." In his *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections,* Edwards argues that true religion is more than



Jonathan Edwards, the eminent American theologian who deeply influenced the 18th-century revival of religion known as the Great Awakening.

mere assent to religious knowledge or doctrine. It is the complete possession of the individual, "driven by love which is the first and chief . . . and the fountain of all affections."

Continued reflection on the nature of God's majestic presence led Edwards to an increasing awareness of the seriousness of both church membership and the sacraments. In response to this awareness, he attempted to reverse some of the practices instituted by his grandfather. Edward's tightening of the criteria for BAPTISM and admission to the Lord's Supper met with increasing hostility from his congregation. His desire to deliver a series of sermons on the latter subject in 1748 met not only with disapproval, but also with a request for his resignation. The conflict lasted until the summer of 1750, when the church voted 200-53 for dismissal. He delivered his farewell sermon July 1, 1750.

Thrown adrift with a wife and seven children, he received a call from the frontier town of Stockbridge, where his duties included services to both whites and the Housatonic Indians. The years spent in Stockbridge proved the most productive of Edwards's life. He continued his arguments on behalf of the traditional doctrines of Calvinism—the supremacy of God, the depravity of humanity, and the bondage of will. Edwards was no arid dogmatist, however. His writings have a sense of feeling and mysticism that seems almost Romantic. He also defended these traditional doctrines with a most complex use of the new, enlightened, and liberal learning of the time. John Locke's psychology and philosophical idealism became Edwards's weapons against the Lockeans. It is unfortunate that Edwards is known chiefly (if at all) through his widely anthologized sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," one of the very few threatening and condemnatory sermons he ever gave.

In 1757, he was asked to fill the presidency of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) following the death of his son-in-law Aaron Burr, who was president. After some hesitation, he accepted the position in January 1758. While there his interest in science and modern thought ended his life. Firmly believing in the usefulness of the new science, he submitted himself to a smallpox inoculation. Complications resulted, and he died March 22, 1758.

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Einhorn, David (1809–1879) David Einhorn was, as his son-in-law KAUFMANN KOHLER called him, "the Reform theologian *par excellence*." Already a major figure in German REFORM JUDAISM before his 1855 arrival in the United States, Einhorn provided American Reform Judaism with an intellectual basis for its beliefs and actions. A theological radical, he had little patience with ISAAC WISE's moderate reform and organizational concerns or with Wise's attempt to create an Americanized Judaism. For Einhorn, Reform Judaism was a German phenomenon, dependent upon the German language and German philosophy.

Born in Dispek, Germany, on November 10, 1809, Einhorn studied at an Orthodox yeshiva, receiving his rabbinical certificate in 1826. He then took the radical step of attending several secular universities. This, along with his increasingly unorthodox views, led to a reaction among the Orthodox rabbis, who prevented his appointment as a rabbi for a decade. He finally obtained a position in Mecklenburg-Schwerin and later in Pesth, Hungary. Following the failure of the Hungarian revolution (1848–49), however, his temple was closed due to his support for the revolution and the hostility of his Orthodox colleagues.

Einhorn came to the somewhat freer atmosphere of America in 1855 as rabbi of Temple Har Sinai in Baltimore. Even there his views caused problems, and in 1861, he left after being attacked for his abolitionist views. Einhorn served as rabbi of Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia (1861–66) and Adath Jeshurun (later Temple Beth-El) in New York (1866–79) until his death on November 2, 1879. During this time, he continued his theological work of placing Reform Judaism on a sound intellectual basis.

David Einhorn was the radical thinker of American Reform Judaism. For him, Judaism needed a drastic restructuring. It had become too encrusted with useless and unnecessary rituals and rules. For Einhorn, the goal was to locate and retain the eternal essence of Judaism and remove all that was temporary. As he said, "Like man himself the divine law has a perishable body and an imperishable spirit." This imperishable spirit lay in Judaism's monotheistic God and in the ethical commandments. These were eternal, while the ritual obligations were deemed to be merely reflections of the spirit of the time that created them.

David Einhorn's teachings about religion dominated Reform Judaism for nearly seven decades. They included a rejection of the ritual law and the idea of a separate Jewish people. Judaism was a religion whose universal mission was to bring ethical monotheism to all. The dispersal of Jews throughout the world was not an exile, for sin but a necessary part of this mission. Since the Jewish people were not in exile, they did not look toward a messianic restoration of the Jewish state, but viewed the messianic age as one of universal peace and justice. Incorporated after his death into the PITTSBURGH PLATFORM of 1885, these views dominated American Reform Judaism until 1937.

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election The word *election* is derived from Latin *electio,* which means "a choice." In a religious setting, the term has traditionally referred to God's choice of certain people to receive forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation. The concept of election appears in the New Testament in the writings of St. Paul, who refers to those whom God "chose . . . before the foundation of the world to be holy and blameless before him" (Ephesians 1:4). Emphasis on election has been a hallmark of CALVINISM and the REFORMED TRADITION.

Fundamental to belief in election is the concept of divine grace. The idea of grace is widespread throughout the Bible and generally denotes the favor God shows to undeserving, sinful human beings. In the fourth century, Christian theologian Augustine of Hippo chose to emphasize divine grace and denigrate the importance of human responsibility in the process of salvation. So strong was Augustine's accent upon the divine, rather than the human, will that he believed God had foreordained the salvation of men and women before the creation of the world. God had predestined from eternity, therefore, the election of some souls to salvation.

The 16th-century reformer John Calvin adopted Augustine's emphasis on the omnipotence of God and the passivity of humankind. He made the doctrine of predestination the foundation of his theological system. Without divine grace, Calvin wrote, no person could repent and become a Christian. Yet God's grace was a gift that only the elect received. The credit for salvation belonged solely to God, who had predestined the fate of human souls, gratuitously granting irresistible salvation to some and inescapable damnation to others. Although his teaching on election appeared to undercut the need for moral effort, since no amount of piety or faithfulness could ever change the divine eternal plan, Calvin counseled people simply to trust in the all-sufficient grace of God.

In the early 17th century, Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius advanced a pivotal challenge to Calvin's teachings on election. Arminius, who doubted that God's choice could ever have been as arbitrary as Calvin suggested, wished to reaffirm the importance of the human will in spiritual matters. Arminius's followers formally disputed Calvin's fatalism and argued that, by God's grace, all people might potentially attain everlasting salvation. Orthodox Calvinists vigorously counterattacked and at the Synod of Dort in 1619 officially condemned ARMINIANISM. The *Canons* of the Synod of Dort asserted that divine election was unconditional. God had predestined some human beings for salvation, Calvinists triumphantly proclaimed, regardless of individual merit or good deeds.

The Puritan movement that emerged in England in the late 16th century also wrestled with the implications of Calvin's doctrine of election. While never directly contradicting Calvin's teaching on predestination, Puritan theologians still sought some gauge by which ordinary believers might be assured that they were numbered among the elect. Puritans came to believe that there were four stages through which a true Christian would pass: effectual calling, justification, SANCTIFICATION, and glorification. The third stage, sanctification, was the key. At that point, believers might note their good works, thereby coming to a realization that God had chosen them and that they were, in fact, saved.

The Puritans carried these ideas about election to New England in their migration in the mid-17th century. Using the idea of the heart's preparation for grace, Puritan theologians intended to keep Arminianism at bay. However, allowing believers to observe the steps they took toward conversion insinuated that the soul's regeneration was more a gradual, contemporary process than a sudden and ancient divine decree. "Preparationism," therefore, helped further Arminian notions about self-reliance in America. Despite Calvin's commonly recognized authority, and even despite the emphasis placed upon divine sovereignty by theologian JONATHAN EDWARDS, predestination would not be the principal focus of later American teaching on divine election.

The person most responsible for overthrowing Calvinist determinism and stressing the free human will in Protestant thought was Methodist founder John Wesley. Wesley transformed Arminian themes and adapted them to the new religious movement he led. While earlier Protestant reformers had emphasized God's role in choosing some women and men for salvation, Wesley underscored the responsibility of human beings in appropriating the salvation that God graciously extended to them. Wesley's theology fit the self-reliant spirit of the young American republic, and by the middle of the 19th century, the Methodists had become the largest denomination in the United States.

A democratic Arminian emphasis on free will dominated the revivals of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. Revival leaders assumed that individuals had the innate ability to reform themselves, and they exhorted sinners to abandon evil and come to God. Anyone who wanted, they said, could be converted and attain salvation. New School Presbyterian clergyman CHARLES G. FINNEY exemplified the era. Finney taught that ordinary reason revealed that God had given people power to make up their own minds. In an exuberantly democratic era that celebrated the importance of the "common man," when politicians pressed citizens for votes, Finney conceived that the Christian evangelist's primary job was convincing Americans to cast their spiritual ballots for God.

By the late 19th century, the emphasis American evangelicals placed, not on God's choice of the individual but on the individual's obligation to choose Jesus Christ, signified the triumph of Arminianism over the Calvinist understanding of election. While Calvin had once asserted that the most pious Christians could not save themselves nor the most heinous sinners damn themselves, the vast majority of Calvin's spiritual heirs in the United States today assume that the prerogative of accepting or rejecting eternal salvation rests entirely with them.

GHS, Jr.

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electronic church *Electronic church* is a contemporary term used to describe religious broadcasting, as well as organizations and leaders who regularly employ the electronic media. Despite the long history of religious broadcasting in the United States, the term *electronic church* usually refers to television programs produced by conservative Protestant figures from the fundamentalist, evangelical, and Pentecostal traditions. The prominence gained in the 1980s by televangelists such as JERRY FALWELL, PAT ROBERTSON (see RELIGIOUS RIGHT), Jim and Tammy Bakker, and Jimmy Swaggart generated unprecedented attention to this type of religious broadcasting.

The first wireless transmission of the human voice took place on Christmas Eve in 1906. The program included Bible readings and a rendition of "O Holy Night." The first regularly scheduled religious programming began at station KDKA in Pittsburgh in 1921, when Calvary Episcopal Church broadcast its Sunday evening service. Radio broadcasting developed rapidly in the 1920s. Church leaders soon realized radio's potential advantages for evangelism, and by 1925, about 10 percent of all American radio stations were owned by religious organizations.

Two of the earliest popularizers of religious broadcasting were highly controversial. AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON, the flamboyant founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, was one of the first evangelists to recognize the potential of radio. The radio, she observed in 1924, carried "on the winged feet of the winds, the story of hope, the words of joy, of comfort, of salvation." Roman Catholic priest CHARLES COUGHLIN began his highly effective radio ministry in 1926. By 1930, he had turned from discussing religious topics to promoting political causes. Credited with aiding the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as president in 1932, Coughlin turned against him as the 1930s progressed. His preaching became so vitriolic that he was eventually forced off the air by church authorities in 1942.

Charles E. Fuller, a more conventional religious figure than either McPherson or Coughlin, was the most successful radio evangelist of the late 1930s. Fuller started teaching Bible lessons over the air at a radio station owned by the Bible Institute of Los Angeles in the 1920s. By 1930, he was broadcasting services from the church where he served as pastor. He moved to a national audience in 1937, and his program, *The Old Fashioned Revival Hour,* was heard on 30 stations with an estimated 10 million listeners. By mid-1943, *The Old Fashioned Revival Hour* and a second program, *The Pilgrim's Hour,* were broadcast on more than a thousand stations at an annual cost of $1.5 million. Fuller, who helped found Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, in 1947, continued his radio ministry until shortly before his death in 1968.

The first religious television broadcast was on Easter Sunday in 1940. Soon, the Federal Council of Churches, an ecumenical association of Protestant denominations, arranged religious programming for NBC. Its initial production, *I Believe,* featured a discussion by leading theologians about religion's applicability to everyday life. In the early 1950s, several conservative denominations launched television ministries. The SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH began its *Faith for Today* program in 1950, with its star, William A. Fagal, assuming the role of television's first on-air pastor. The LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD started its dramatic series *This Is the Life* in 1951. And in 1954, the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION initiated a series of films based on the parables of Jesus.

Roman Catholic bishop FULTON J. SHEEN was the first true superstar of religious television broadcasting. Sheen was already well known to Americans as an author. He had been the featured speaker on *The Catholic Hour* radio program since 1930. His *Life Is Worth Living* television program, which ran from 1951 until 1957, reached approximately 30 million viewers each week. Sheen's cassock and cape and the twinkle that shone in his eye impressed a faithful audience of Protestants as well as Catholics. Testimonials to his success included both an Emmy award and an appearance on the cover of *Time* magazine in 1952.

Despite Sheen's early prominence, religious television broadcasting was to become the almost exclusive preserve of evangelical preachers (see PREACHERS, PROTESTANT). Evangelist Rex Humbard began this trend in 1952 with broadcasts of Sunday services at his church in Akron, Ohio. "I saw this new thing called television," Humbard later remarked, "and I said, 'That's it.'" He believed God wished preachers to use television to spread the Christian Gospel throughout the United States. Pentecostal evangelist and faith healer ORAL ROBERTS also helped establish the religious broadcasting movement. He decided in 1954 to telecast the healing services he held in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Another significant event in the use of television by conservative Protestants was the coast-to-coast broadcast of BILLY GRAHAM's 1957 preaching crusade in New York City.

The real breakthrough for the new wave of televangelists occurred in 1960. The Federal Communications Commission, which regulates the broadcasting industry, ruled that a station's legal obligation to provide air time for "public service" broadcasts could be met by paid, as well as by free, programming. This decision, coupled with the heightened militancy of conservative Protestantism and the rise of the new RELIGIOUS RIGHT in the 1970s, enabled the electronic church to emerge as a significant force in American life. Given the chance to buy air time, evangelicals soon gained a virtual monopoly over religious broadcasting, purchasing more than 90 percent of all programming related to religious topics.

Evangelicals also developed television networks that offered a combination of family-oriented and religious programs. Evangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), which first went on the air in October 1961, was the most successful of these and became the second-largest cable television operation in the United States. Located in Virginia Beach, Virginia, Robertson's network had an annual budget of more than $200 million in 1987 and reached more than 190 stations throughout the world. Robertson even founded CBN University in 1978, offering courses in communications as well as in law, education, and theology. Although his 1988 and 2000 campaigns for the United States presidency met with limited success, Robertson's television ministry established him in a position of considerable influence in the Republican Party.

After Robertson, the most notable televangelist of the 1980s was MORAL MAJORITY leader Jerry Falwell. Falwell, a Baptist minister, organized the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1956. There he launched, first, a daily radio program and, later, a weekly television broadcast of his Sunday morning services (*The Old-Time Gospel Hour*). These ministries became a springboard for the creation of Moral Majority, an educational and fund-raising organization dedicated to lobbying on behalf of conservative political causes. The organization blended fundamentalist religious beliefs with rigidly conservative views on a host of ethical issues that troubled late-20th-century American society. At the height of Falwell's fame in 1983, yearly contributions to his *Old-Time Gospel Hour* totaled more than $52 million.

Two other popular television ministries that gained great prominence in the 1980s later collapsed in the wake of sexual scandals. Jim Bakker, a minister of the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD and a former host on Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, developed his own television show, *The PTL Club,* which by 1987 reached 13 million homes on cable TV. Along with his wife, Tammy, Bakker also built a Christian theme park and resort, Heritage USA, outside Charlotte, North Carolina. However, financial improprieties and revelations of Jim Bakker's affair with his secretary led to his resignation in disgrace in 1987. Jimmy Swaggart, an Assemblies of God evangelist like Bakker, began a weekly television broadcast in 1973. By the late 1980s, *The Jimmy Swaggart Show* was broadcast nationwide from his headquarters in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. After bringing charges of adultery against Jim Bakker in the spring of 1987, Swaggart was publicly exposed for his own sexual encounters with a prostitute. He was defrocked by his denomination in 1988.

One other prosperous television ministry has been the *Hour of Power* broadcasts of Robert Schuller, a minister of the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA. Schuller began telecasting Sunday worship services at his Garden Grove Community Church in Southern California as early as 1970. By the mid-1970s, the program aired nationally in major cities. Schuller dreamed of building a church that would serve both a walk-in and a drive-in congregation. This hope was realized in 1980 with the completion of the spectacular Crystal Cathedral, erected at a cost of nearly $20 million. Fashioning an optimistic theology he called "possibility thinking," Schuller recast the Christian Gospel into a form that appealed to the age-old human quest for self-esteem and worldly success.

At present, about 16 million people, or roughly 8 percent of the national television audience, regularly listen to religious broadcasts. The number of syndicated religious programs increased dramatically between 1970 and 1975, jumping from 38 to 66. This figure further increased to nearly 100 by the early 1980s. Most of the audience of the electronic church is also active in local congregations. These viewers tend to believe that the religious broadcasts they watch are supplements to their Sunday morning churchgoing. Their financial giving to the television ministries is unquestionably substantial. The total annual revenue for religious broadcasting in the United States exceeds $1 billion.

Despite the lurid scandals of the 1980s, most religious broadcasters believe the Gospel they preach on radio and television. Like many popular religious leaders throughout American history, the televangelists insist that Christianity was never intended to be an obscure creed intelligible only to the intellectually sophisticated. Rather, it contains a plain message that anyone can understand. The electronic church simply provides an effective means, they say, of spreading the Gospel widely throughout modern American society.

GHS, Jr.

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Eliot, John (1604–1690) Among the Puritans (see PURITANISM) who fled to America in order to escape increasing persecution was one whose labors among the Algonquin-speaking Indians earned him the title "Apostle to the Indians." John Eliot (born in Winford, England, in August 1604) labored among the Wampanoag and Massachusetts Indians for 44 years, only to see most of his work destroyed by war.

Like most of the Puritan ministers who came to New England, Eliot had been educated at Cambridge University. While there, he was deeply influenced by the work of THOMAS HOOKER, whom he assisted in operating a school at Little Boddon. When Hooker was summoned before the Court of High Commission (Star Chamber) in 1630 for his religious beliefs, Eliot—sensing danger—wisely emigrated to the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY the next year.

Upon arriving, he served as a supply minister in Boston until 1632. In that year, he was called to a church in Roxbury. There Eliot combined work among the English with a growing concern for the Native Americans. He eventually would devote all his energy to the latter.

With the aid of native tutors, he slowly learned the Algonquin language, producing an alphabet, dictionary, and grammar and delivering his first sermon in that language in 1646. Eliot had the consuming Puritan interest in doctrine and the Bible. This led him to produce an Algonquin catechism (1653) and a translation of the Bible. This would be the first Bible printed in America, the New Testament in 1661 and Old Testament in 1663.

Eliot's labors among the Indians bore fruit slowly but steadily. His efforts led to the chartering of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England by the British parliament in 1649 to support missions among Native Americans. In 1651, a group of Eliot's converts formed the town of Natick. By 1674, 1,100 of these "Praying Indians" were organized into 14 self-governing towns, many with their own native ministers. In these towns, the converts were transformed socially into Englishmen and women. They conformed to English modes of dress and economics, settling into permanent villages with the men engaged in agriculture and the women in domestic activities.

The outbreak of King Philip's War (1675–76) virtually destroyed these communities. Racism and suspicion led the New England colonists to vent their fury on these Christianized Indians, who were more accessible than the elusive Metacomet (King Philip) and his warriors. Their towns were burned and hundreds died in concentration camps. By the end of the war, only four towns remained intact. Eliot's work never recovered, although he continued to work among the scattered and demoralized Indians until his death on May 21, 1690.

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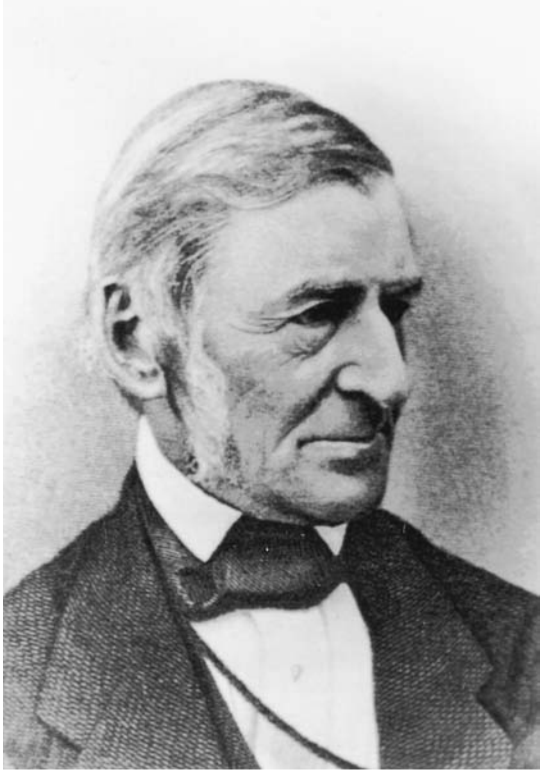
Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803–1882)

Inheriting a mixture of the declining PURITANISM and nascent Unitarianism (see UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY) of his New England ancestors, Emerson gained a considerable reputation as a gifted speaker and an original mind in his own day, becoming the central figure in the school of thought known as TRANSCENDENTALISM.

Emerson was born in Boston to William and Ruth Haskins Emerson on May 25, 1803. His father, who was the pastor of Boston's First Unitarian Church, died of tuberculosis while Emerson was quite young. Emerson grew up under the Calvinist (see CALVINISM) influence of his aunt Mary Moody Emerson. As a boy, Emerson studied Latin, Greek, mathematics, and writing, eventually enrolling at Harvard College in 1817. In addition to the classics, he immersed himself in the works of Shakespeare, Montaigne, and contemporary European authors. After graduating in 1821, he began teaching at a private school for young women run by his brother William. Having decided on the ministry, he entered Harvard Divinity School in 1824.

His vocational choice provided a ready vehicle for his writing. Following his return from a trip to Florida, taken to recover from rheumatism, Emerson preached regularly in a number of neighboring Massachusetts towns. In 1829, after his marriage to Ellen Tucker (who died in 1831), he was called to the pulpit of Boston's Second Church. However, he found the Unitarianism of his day too confining, writing in his journal, "It is the best part of the man, I sometimes think, that revolts against his being the minister. His good revolts against official goodness." After requesting that he be permitted to forego administering Communion to his congregation and being refused by the church board, he announced his resignation following a sermon on "The Lord's Supper," September 9, 1832, and sailed to Europe on Christmas Day. During travels in England, he met Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, John Stuart Mill, and Thomas Carlyle, with whom he formed a lasting friendship.

After his return, he settled in Concord, marrying Lydia Jackson in 1835, and began receiving invitations to preach and lecture. Emerson loved conversation, and the informal Transcendental Club meeting in his home brought together a number of important intellectual figures: BRONSON ALCOTT, WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING JR., MARGARET FULLER, and HENRY DAVID THOREAU. As his reputation grew, lecturing became increasingly lucrative,



Ralph Waldo Emerson, the sage and seer of 19th-century transcendentalism who preached self-reliance as the cardinal virtue. *(Engraving by J. A. J. Wilcox)*

and Emerson spent several decades delivering lectures throughout the United States and in England. Emerson also edited the Transcendentalist organ, *The Dial,* for several years and produced a number of volumes of collected essays and poems.

In line with the concerns for social reform common in his circle (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL) Emerson spoke out on a number of public issues, denouncing the forced removal of the Cherokee from Georgia in the late 1830s and the Mexican War (1846–48). As tensions between North and South mounted, he adopted the cause of ABOLITIONISM. After the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, he voiced frequent support for President ABRAHAM LINCOLN. In later life, conservationist JOHN MUIR also sought to enlist him in the cause of wilderness preservation, though without much success. In the 1870s, declining health forced him to cut back on his writing, which remained sporadic up to the time of his death on April 27, 1882.

Emerson was a dynamic thinker, led by the fluidity of language to question everything he asserted. "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds," he claimed in "Self-Reliance" (1847). Urging independence of mind, he attacked what he saw as the stale conformity of New England, especially its religion. Invited to speak by Harvard students, he encouraged them in his famous "Divinity School Address" to reject the formalism of the existing church and to think: "Yourself a newborn bard of the Holy Ghost—cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity." In the same way, he urged Americans to think the sort of new thoughts demanded by their unique position in history and by the unique continent they were conquering. His own efforts to cast off what he saw as the conformism of New England's intellectual life led him to explore not only the leading European thinkers Kant, Hegel, Schiller, and Goethe, but also classics of Asian thought, such as the *Bhagavad Gita* (see HINDUISM) and to seek direct connection with the divine through nature. While his originality is sometimes questioned, his relentless passion to encounter "the currents of the Universal Being" in the midst of mind, nature, society, art, language, and individual life ensures Emerson a lasting influence on American thought.

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Enlightenment The Enlightenment, which has exerted a tremendous influence on religion in the United States since the beginning of the republic, refers to an intellectual movement in the modern West devoted to utilizing reason to improve society, politics, and religion. Enlightenment thinkers believed deeply in the perfectibility of human beings and the possibility of social progress. Their scientific spirit inclined them toward skepticism and tolerance in religion, but only in exceptional cases to infidelity.

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant described the Enlightenment as "man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity." Kant's definition sums up a diffuse set of intellectual currents accompanying the broad-scale transformations through which medieval Europe became a modern society. Revolutions in science, political and economic life, philosophy, and religion all emerged after the 130 years of religious war and colonial expansion that followed in the wake of the Protestant Reformation (1519–64). The beginnings of the Enlightenment are often traced to England during the Glorious Revolution (1688), a point in time close to the publication of such influential works as Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687) and John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). Its roots certainly extend even earlier to the work of Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Réné Descartes (1596–1650). For these founders of the modern scientific world view, true knowledge was not guaranteed by religious authority or tradition but rather by individual rational effort. The power of reason was sufficient to expose the errors of tradition.

The potential for human reason to cast doubt upon revealed religious truth enabled Enlightenment thinkers to expand and splinter into various, often conflicting, parties. In England, the materialist political philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704), whose political theories played a role in sharpening the revolutionary ideas of American colonists, remained loyal members of the Church of England. In France, on the other hand, with an entrenched aristocracy and a powerful Catholic Church, Enlightenment themes of the triumph of human reason over superstition often took on a much sharper anticlerical tone, eventually culminating during the French Revolution in the movement to confiscate church lands and in French *philosophe* Denis Diderot's complaint that "mankind shall not be free until the last king is strangled with the entrails of the last priest."

Enlightenment thinkers differed sharply over correct scientific method, whether political rule ought to be invested in the people or a sovereign, whether all religion was merely superstition, and whether progress in human affairs was really possible. However, they shared a conviction that human reason or will, once released from the bonds of authority and tradition, could be relied upon as the surest guide to human happiness and the improvement of society.

Americans at first were simply recipients of enlightened ideas arising in England. Much of Puritan social theory, biblical interpretation, and theology was dependent upon the neoplatonic metaphysics the Protestant reformers had inherited from the Middle Ages. But a number of Puritan intellectuals in America were able to form at least some links between their CALVINISM and the new faith in reason. Beginning in the late 17th century, students at Harvard had begun reading directly or indirectly the works of Descartes, Locke, John Tillotson, and to some extent Sir Isaac Newton. John Ray's *Wisdom of God Manifest in the Works of Creation* (1691), an inquiry into nature as a source of knowledge about divinity, became a popular introduction to "natural theology." COTTON MATHER drew on Newton's argument for an ordered universe in *Reasonable Religion* (1700) and *The Christian Philosopher* (1721). Locke's plea for religious tolerance, *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), was read and appreciated far more than his theory of knowledge, though JONATHAN EDWARDS drew heavily on Locke's views of human knowledge.

During the second half of the 18th century, moderate versions of Enlightenment ideas spread across America's upper classes. Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM) in both southern and northern colonies backed up their rejection of revivals and religious enthusiasm (see GREAT AWAKENING) by portraying their own religion as the most reasonable. John Witherspoon, a Scottish Presbyterian convinced of the harmony between Christian faith and the new "natural philosophy," brought the "common sense" ideas of fellow Scots Dugald Stewart and Thomas Reid, as well as those of Adam Smith and even skeptic David Hume, into the curriculum at the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University.

In addition to efforts within church circles to stem the enthusiastic tide of popular religion, others who doubted Christianity were also using the new faith in reason to diminish Christianity's hold on colonial minds. Outright skeptics were few. Benjamin Franklin may have been the only American comfortable in the anticlerical salons of Parisian society during the revolutionary years, and few colonists were familiar with the work of French authors. Another Enlightenment movement, deism, played a more prominent role in American life.

In general, deists, originating in England, expanded upon the work of Locke and Newton, and spoke of the world as a rational order, created by a rational God. Calvinists had often spoken of divine sovereignty, meaning that God's freedom was not subject to the laws of nature. Consequently, God could only be known through faith. Deists, however, thought the creator was bound by the same standards of rationality and morality visible in the natural order. Accordingly, deists were suspicious of biblical accounts of miracles and claims of the Bible's supernatural authorship. Deists did tend to approve the concept of an afterlife, which served as an anchor for moral rectitude.

While deist clubs formed in many colonial towns, the movements as a whole lacked organizational power. Deists found their most congenial home in the lodges of FREEMASONRY, spreading throughout the colonies and often developing a relation of tolerance with Protestant liberals. The rituals and symbols used by the Masonic brotherhood showed a strong Enlightenment influence. The sun symbolized both reason's inner light and natural order. Such architectural symbols as the compass and square signified both the rational order of nature and the human capacity to design and build a well-ordered, just society.

Deists were an ideologically diverse group, although many deists played influential roles in the formation of revolutionary sentiment. Deists spoke of the reasoning powers of all human beings, the possibility of human perfectibility, and universal moral standards serving to judge the actions of states and rulers all shaped the discourse of colonists bent on revolution. THOMAS JEFFERSON's Declaration of Independence is perhaps the most recognizable statement of deist values; 52 of its 56 signers were deists, although the vast majority also were faithful Anglicans. Most members of the Continental Congress and many generals in the Continental Army were deists as well.

In the years following the Revolution, a number of more radical Enlightenment voices were raised, many of them deist, but some, such as that of English immigrant Joseph Priestley, took hold within the growing camp of Unitarianism (see UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY). Priestley forged a unique blend of French materialism, scientific insight, dissenting Protestantism, and a deep commitment to the justness of the American Revolution. TOM PAINE's *The Age of Reason* (1794–96) and *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* (1784) by Ethan Allen gained notoriety for their attacks on Christianity. Rationalist Elihu Palmer drew on the rhetoric of French *philosophes* to portray a postrevolutionary world stripped of priests and kings, a millennial republic of justice and peace built on the foundation of human reason. Virginia's College of William and Mary, where Jefferson had earlier abolished the chairs of divinity, became the leading center of radical learning.

The radical deist influence declined sharply in the first years of the 19th century. In more theologically and politically moderate forms, the Enlightenment lived on in the thought of Protestant liberals and New England Unitarians. But the radical republican vision of Paine and Palmer, which had looked to France for revolutionary inspiration, suffered as Jacobin forces there turned the revolution in a more extreme direction. In the midst of an America undergoing an enthusiastic Protestant revival (see SECOND GREAT AWAKENING), influential Calvinist clergy such as TIMOTHY DWIGHT of Yale increasingly portrayed deists as part of an international conspiracy, threatening the foundations of Christian civilization.

In the long term, Enlightenment ideals played a crucial role in the rise of a more secular American culture (see SECULARISM; DEWEY, JOHN). The language by which Americans speak of their faith in science, their conviction that the future is one of progress, and the value of religious and political liberty is rooted in the worldview of the Enlightenment. At times, Americans have been able to blend the Enlightenment with the Bible. But throughout American history, followers of the two traditions also have repeatedly clashed.

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Ephrata Community An 18th-century monastic order, the Ephrata Community offered its members simple lives of solitude and piety. The community, an offshoot of the CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, was founded by Johann Conrad Beissel (1691–1768), a devoted German pietist who emigrated to Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1720.

From his rebaptism in 1722 until he left the group in 1728, Beissel was officially a member of the Church of the Brethren. But community life among the Dunkers, as members of the Church of the Brethren were popularly called, proved too much for the solitary Beissel, who frequently withdrew from church fellowship for long periods of isolation. By 1732, Beissel had gathered around him enough like-minded pietists (see PIETISM) to form a monastic group in Ephrata, Pennsylvania.

Among the distinctive practices of the Ephrata Community was its observation of the Sabbath on Saturday rather than Sunday. Because of this practice, Beissel's followers came to be known as the German Seventh-day Baptists. Members of Beissel's community also engaged in daily spiritual warfare with the temptations of the flesh, practicing continence in all things. Celibacy and poverty were key ideals, and segregation of the sexes and asceticism key practices.

Beissel's community soon began attracting converts not only from the Brethren but also from the much larger German Reformed community of Pennsylvania. Perhaps because of its successes, the Ephrata Community experienced tensions with other German pietists in the area. But more than anything else, Beissel's inclination toward the solitary life of the ascetic led to the group's demise. Administrative affairs were not the pietist's forte; his resolve to rule with an iron fist created conflicts among community members.

Following his death in 1768, Beissel was succeeded by John Peter Miller (1710–96), who like most Dunkers had been raised in the German Reformed tradition. Miller was able to hold the group together for a time, but shortly after his death in 1796, the Ephrata experiment dissolved. Despite its short life, this community stands as a conspicuous example of monastic living in lay-oriented America. The cloister and its buildings may still be viewed by visitors to Ephrata, Pennsylvania.

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episcopacy Episcopacy is a form of church government in which authority is centered in the office of bishop. The word itself derives from the Greek *episkopos*, meaning "overseer" or, as it is traditionally translated when it appears in the New Testament, "bishop." By the end of the second century, a threefold order of bishops, priests, and deacons had been established as the governing hierarchy of the Christian church. The bishop, whose authority was said to derive directly from the apostles of Jesus, presided as chief pastor and administrator of a geographic district known as a diocese. He alone was sanctioned to perform the sacramental rites of ordination and (by the Middle Ages) confirmation.

Between the second and the 16th centuries, Christianity everywhere was organized on this episcopal system, which Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches maintain today. However, at the time of the Reformation, most Protestant denominations abolished the episcopate, denouncing it as a corrupt institution. They adopted instead either a presbyterian (governance by clergy and elected laity) or a congregational (governance by local congregations) structure. Only Anglicans continued to govern according to the medieval episcopal system. A few Protestant denominations, namely, Methodists, Lutherans of Scandinavian heritage, and Moravians, while still formally maintaining the bishop's office, modified its pre-Reformation functions.

Episcopacy became a source of conflict at one critical juncture in American history. Although the episcopate was central to the governance of the Church of England, no Anglican bishop resided in America during the colonial period. An uproar arose in the 1760s, when some Anglicans in the colonies began to press for their own bishop. Since bishops in England held temporal as well as ecclesiastical powers, American Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and even a few Anglicans reacted negatively to the proposal, fearing it represented an imposition of British tyranny similar to the Stamp Act of the same period. American resistance was successful, and no Anglican bishop was consecrated in America until after the War for Independence. But as patriot leader John Adams later remarked, "the apprehension of Episcopacy" contributed significantly to the outbreak of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Episcopalians, Methodists, and Roman Catholics were the three major denominations with bishops in the United States at the time of the founding of the country. SAMUEL SEABURY of Connecticut was consecrated in

Scotland in 1784 as the first bishop of the Episcopal Church. Thomas Coke was ordained by John Wesley in 1784 as the first bishop (or superintendent, the term Wesley preferred) of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And John Carroll of Baltimore, the first Roman Catholic bishop, was consecrated in 1790.

GHS, Jr.

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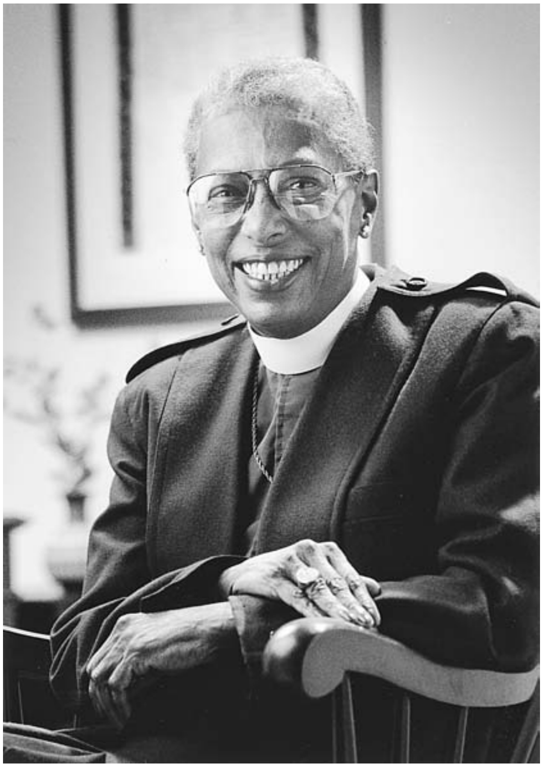
Episcopal Church Originally known as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, the Episcopal Church is a member of the Anglican (see Anglicanism) Communion, the worldwide fellowship of churches that trace their historical roots to the Church of England. The Episcopal Church was organized in October 1789, when its first general convention adopted a constitution, ratified a set of church canons, and authorized a *Book of Common Prayer* for use in services of worship.

Anglicanism came to America in the first half of the 17th century. The English settlers who established colonies in Massachusetts and Virginia were members of the Church of England, and though the New England settlements rapidly adopted a congregational form of church government (see congregationalism), those in Virginia continued loyal to the episcopal (see episcopacy) polity and liturgical forms of Anglicanism. While Virginia remained the center of Anglican strength during the colonial period, Anglicanism had spread throughout all thirteen colonies before the American Revolution. The founding of two missionary organizations in England, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701), also helped revitalize Anglican spiritual life and led to the establishment of many new churches in America.

Anglicanism suffered tremendously during the Revolution. Since the clergy, especially those in the northern colonies, tended to be loyal to the English Crown and preferred to close their church buildings rather than alter their services and pray for the American cause, many were forced to return to England or emigrate to Canada during the war. Most Anglicans in the southern colonies were sympathetic to the revolt from Great Britain. Two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Anglican laymen.

After the Revolution and during the early national period, the new Episcopal Church struggled to reestablish its institutional life. Its principal concern was creating a denomination that was indigenous to America and independent of the English king, the "supreme governor" of the Church of England. Because the sacramental rites of ordination and confirmation (confirmation being a prerequisite for admission to Holy Communion) could not be performed without a bishop, the procuring of an American bishop was absolutely essential. In November 1784, Samuel Seabury, a Connecticut clergyman, was consecrated as the first American bishop by three bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. And after the British parliament passed legislation allowing the consecration of clergymen who were not British subjects, William White of Pennsylvania and Samuel Provoost of New York were consecrated as the second and third American bishops in July 1789.

During the 19th century, the Episcopal Church (like most American denominations) grew rapidly, increasing from roughly 30,000 to more than 700,000 members between 1830 and 1900, and from about 600 to more than 6,200 churches in the same period. In that century, three separate church "parties" emerged, each emphasizing distinctive theological and liturgical views of the Christian life. Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York and Bishop



Barbara Harris is the first woman to become a bishop in the Episcopal Church. She was elected bishop of the diocese of eastern Massachusetts, the largest in the United States, in September 1988. *(David Zadig)*

John Stark Ravenscroft of North Carolina were representative of the high church party (later called ANGLO-CATHOLICISM), which stressed the apostolic succession of bishops and the historic catholicity of the church. Alexander Viets Griswold, bishop of the Eastern Diocese (the New England states except Connecticut) and William Meade, bishop of Virginia, represented the low church, or evangelical, party. Episcopal evangelicals, similar to American Protestants generally, emphasized the importance of individual conversion and a disciplined moral life. And the broad church, or liberal party, which developed after the CIVIL WAR, sought a faith that was open to modern intellectual and social trends. PHILLIPS BROOKS of Trinity Church, Boston, and WILLIAM PORCHER DUBOSE, a theologian at the University of the South, were leading spokesmen for broad church Episcopalians.

Disagreements over "churchmanship" led to the only major schism the Episcopal Church has suffered. When George David Cummins, the assistant bishop of Kentucky, was censured by high church Episcopalians for participating in a Protestant Communion service, he resigned his position and helped organize the Reformed Episcopal Church (REC) in December 1873. The leaders of the new REC adopted a prayer book and rules of order similar to those of the Episcopal Church, but envisioned a closer relationship with other Protestant denominations than had been feasible within the increasingly Catholic-oriented Episcopal fold. Although in recent years the REC and the Episcopal Church have discussed the possibility of reunion, the REC remains a separate denomination with roughly 9,000 members.

The Episcopal Church (despite its internal diversity) has engaged in dialogue with other Protestant churches with some hesitation. In 1886, for example, William Reed Huntington convinced Episcopal bishops to accept a fourfold position as the basis for Christian reunion. Afterwards known as the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, the document Huntington proposed affirmed the following starting points for ecumenical discussions: 1) the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God; 2) the Nicene Creed as an acceptable statement of the Christian faith; 3) the two sacraments instituted by Jesus—baptism and the Lord's Supper; and 4) the historic episcopate. The episcopate remained a subject of controversy in Episcopal ecumenical ventures, but Huntington's document helped open an era of interchurch cooperation that began in the early 20th century and peaked in the 1960s.

The second half of the 20th century proved to be tumultuous for the Episcopal Church. Beginning in 1949 and culminating in 1979, Episcopalians studied and approved the most radical revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* since the introduction of an English-language prayer book in 1549. Although many traditionalists clung to the Elizabethan English used throughout the earlier 1928 edition of the American Prayer Book, scholars insisted that the new prayer book of 1979, which replaced the 1928 book, represented the best liturgical thinking of the day. The place of women in the church was another area of disagreement, as barriers to female participation in the church were gradually removed after 1964. In 1976, church canons were altered to allow the ordination of women to the priesthood. And Barbara Harris, consecrated suffragan (assistant) bishop of Massachusetts in 1989, became the first female bishop of the Anglican Communion, an event marked by protest from theological conservatives.

Beginning in 1965, the church began to decline in numbers, paralleling similar patterns in other mainline denominations. By 2005, the denomination had about 2.3 million members and may experience greater declines as it faces the specter of schism. The church's ordination of women and then its consecration of women bishops had led it into conflict with other members of the worldwide Anglican communion, particularly the churches in Africa and Asia. This conflict was exacerbated by its increasing willingness to ordain homosexuals and to consecrate same-sex unions. The issue became a crisis when the American church consecrated the first openly gay bishop.

Following this act, the Episcopal Church in the United States received a demand from the worldwide Anglican communion to cease ordaining gays and repent. While the denomination offered a conciliatory response at its 2006 convention, it met neither demand. Whether the church will remain in communion with the worldwide Anglican Church remains uncertain, particularly given the increasing strength of the Anglican Communion Network (1994), a group of conservative parishes. If this group moves to separate, the body they establish might become the Episcopal Church within the United States recognized as part of the international Anglican network.

Liberals in the Episcopal Church in the 1960s struggled to relate the Gospel to the realities of the modern world. James Pike, the bishop of California, for instance, denied the virgin birth of Jesus and questioned the relevance of the doctrine of the Trinity for his time. He was eventually censured by his fellow bishops, who objected to his tendency to vulgarize and caricature the "great expressions of the faith." In the 1980s, Bishop John Spong of the diocese of Newark likewise wondered whether the language of the Bible should still inform the thinking of 20th-century Christians. Spong challenged the church's sexual mores when he ordained a homosexual to the priesthood in 1989, an action later repudiated by his fellow bishops.

The organization of the Episcopal Church today is substantially shaped by the American democratic experience of the late 18th century. Although the church derives its name from the bishops who preside over its liturgy and governance, actual authority is divided equally among bishops, clergy, and laity. Each diocese (usually conforming to the boundaries of a state) is administered by one or more bishops and an annual convention of clergy and delegates from local parishes. A General Convention of bishops and elected clerical and lay representatives from each diocese meets every three years to decide church policy. Within the General Convention, there are two houses: the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies, and consent from both bodies is required before a legislative proposal can be enacted. An elected presiding bishop and executive council carry on the work of the national church between meetings of the General Convention.

The Episcopal Church occupies a somewhat anomalous position in American religion, permitting great latitude in belief but defining unity quite rigidly through worship and polity. On one hand, it holds to the ancient creeds of Christendom and through its prayer book maintains uniform orders of worship and preserves the liturgical heritage of Catholic Christianity. On the other, a wide variety of interpretation of both biblical texts and theological tradition has often been tolerated.

One of the most important developments for the Episcopal Church during the late 20th century was dialogue with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America about developing a relationship of full communion. These discussions were concluded in the summer of 2000 when the two denominations adopted a "Call to Common Mission" that committed them to enter into full communion where each denomination would recognize the legitimacy of the other's baptism and ordination on an equal footing with its own. While not a merger of the two denominations, it did bring them into a close theological and working relationship when it became effective at the beginning of 2001.

The Episcopal Church grew numerically through the middle of the 20th century, experiencing a growth of about a million members between 1950 and 1965. After 1965, and paralleling the declines in other mainline Protestant denominations over the same period, membership slipped by 1 million. In 2007, there were about 2.5 million members of the church in 7,500 parishes.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Episcopal Synod of America See ANGLO-CATHOLICISM.

eschatology Eschatology is the study of "last things," or the "end-times" (from the Greek *eschaton*). When employed in American religion, this term usually refers to events Christians believe will occur at the time of the second coming of Jesus Christ. Eschatology has roots within the Jewish and Christian traditions, particularly in the Hebrew Bible Book of Daniel and the New Testament Book of Revelation. Moreover, eschatological beliefs have generally been expressed in relationship to expectations of a coming millennium, a 1,000-year period of unprecedented peace and righteousness alluded to in the 20th chapter of the Book of Revelation.

Scholars of American religion divide Christian millennialism into three main categories:

1. Postmillennialists (see POSTMILLENNIALISM) believe that God's kingdom will be established on Earth by the faithful actions of the church. It is the duty of Christians to labor to transform human society until the golden age begins, at which time Christ will return and inaugurate his reign. In the estimation of postmillennialists, therefore, Christ's second coming can only take place *after* the millennium.
2. Premillennialists (see PREMILLENNIALISM), on the other hand, argue that a radical break must occur between the present age and the establishment of the kingdom of God. They expect that the coming of Christ will *precede* the millennium and that the supernatural Christ, not the church alone, can reform human society. One form of premillennialism that has achieved enormous popularity over the past hundred years is called DISPENSATIONALISM, a division of cosmic time into various dispensations, or stages, in which God reveals himself.
3. Amillennialists (that is, those who believe in "no millennium") do not interpret bib-

> lical references to the 1,000-year reign of Christ literally but believe instead that goodness will simply develop naturally in the world until the second coming of Jesus. Amillennialists also tend to emphasize the presence of the kingdom of God within the institutional church and the hearts of faithful believers.

The optimistic period before the CIVIL WAR was the heyday of postmillennial beliefs in the United States. These progressive religious ideas were manifested principally within Protestant REVIVALISM and numerous reform movements, such as antislavery, peace, and temperance. After the Civil War and amid the widespread disillusionment of the Gilded Age, however, premillennialism gained the upper hand. It heavily influenced the fundamentalist movement that emerged late in the century and is widely accepted among most conservative Christian groups in 20th-century America. And since millennialism is seldom discussed at present by the leadership of either the mainline Protestant denominations or Roman Catholicism, the amillennial interpretation of the Bible may be said to dominate that portion of American Christianity today.

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a burgeoning interest in eschatology and the proliferation of millennial movements in America. Major denominations that trace their historical roots to the millennialism of that era are the Disciples of Christ, the Seventh-day Adventists, the Mormons, and the Jehovah's Witnesses. The Shakers as well (originally named the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming), although tiny now, had a significant impact on American religion after the Revolutionary War. Eschatology, thus, remains a key concept not only for understanding American religion in the past, but also for interpreting developments in the present day.

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establishment, religious The phrase *religious establishment* refers to the practice in colonial America that granted privileged status to a single Christian denomination in a colony or, later, a state. Prior to the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, nine of the original 13 colonies had religious establishments. In Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and portions of New York, ANGLICANISM was the state-supported faith. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, the Congregational churches were officially established. Only Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware had no established churches.

Providing government support for Christianity had a long history prior to the settling of North America. In the early fourth century, the Roman emperor Constantine, after a military victory he attributed to the Christian God, granted patronage to the church and established Christianity as the official religion of the empire. The idea that church and society should constitute a unified entity continued throughout the Middle Ages. Christianity was viewed as the foundation upon which the medieval European social world was constructed. Despite challenges, church-state unity remained intact even in areas affected by the Reformation of the 16th century.

The American colonial religious establishments grew out of the religious situation in England in the 1530s. After overthrowing the authority of Roman Catholicism in his realm, Henry VIII had declared that he, not the pope, was "Supreme Head" of the English church. Thereafter, the monarch was to have power to appoint the bishops who administer and lead Anglican church affairs, and the government was to raise taxes to support clergy and maintain the church's property. The English settlers who came to Virginia in 1607 brought this heritage with them. As early as 1619, the Virginia legislature made provision for assistance to Anglican clergy. Parish boundaries were legally fixed, farmlands (called glebes) were set aside for the support of ministers, and lay vestries (committees that administered parishes) were given broad powers over ecclesiastical and charitable affairs in the colony.

Although Puritans chafed at the restrictions the Anglican establishment placed upon them in England, they carried their vision of a unified Christian society to New England in the 1630s. While a polity based upon the autonomy of local congregations replaced the episcopacy of the Church of England, Puritan churches still functioned like English parishes. Town governments assessed taxpayers for the support of a minister and maintenance of the meetinghouse. All residents were also expected to attend worship services, even those who were not church members.

Three of the early American colonies, on the other hand, followed distinctive religious paths. Rhode Island was settled in the late 1630s by ROGER WILLIAMS and others who had been driven out of Massachusetts by the Puritan leadership. Rhode Island was to prove a haven for BAPTISTS, Quakers, and other dissenting religious groups throughout the colonial period. Maryland was founded in 1634 under the auspices of a Roman Catholic proprietor, CECILIUS CALVERT, who instructed that all settlers were to be granted religious liberty. This stipulation was codified in 1649 by the ACT OF TOLERATION, which granted legal protection to all Christians who believed in the doctrine of the Trinity. And WILLIAM PENN's colony, which he received from Charles II in 1688, was founded upon the principle that true religion flourished best where there was no coercion about matters of faith.

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the English monarchy sought to expand its authority over the American colonies. One means of accomplishing this political end was the establishment of the Church of England in colonies where it had not been the official faith. The joint monarchs William III and Mary II and their successor, Anne, instructed royal governors to lobby colonial legislatures to establish Anglicanism. The policy met only limited success at first. The royal governor of New York, for instance, persuaded the colonial assembly in 1693 to provide six "good sufficient Protestant" ministers to serve the four counties around New York City. The first church officially chartered under this act, however, was a Dutch Reformed church. The policy proved more effective in Maryland and South Carolina, where the Church of England was established in 1702 and 1706, respectively, and—several decades later—in Georgia (1758) and North Carolina (1765).

Despite Anglican and Puritan intentions, the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century presented a radical challenge that started to topple the colonial religious establishments. In the Congregational churches of New England, the revivals of the 1740s created severe tension, as revivalist "New Lights" began to insist that their fellow church members and clergy lacked genuine piety. Some New Lights withdrew from their parishes, founded new churches, and pressed for tax relief. ISAAC BACKUS, the principal spokesman of this group, argued that state-supported churches corrupted true Christianity. In his most famous work, *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty Against the Oppression of the Present Day* (1773), he pressed for the full separation of church and state.

In the South, Presbyterian minister SAMUEL DAVIES became one of the principal dissenters against the Anglican establishment during the Great Awakening. At that time, pious non-Anglicans in Virginia were allowed to gather for worship only within their own homes. Davies fought a lengthy legal battle on behalf of the Presbyterian churches he served. He argued that the Toleration Act of 1689, which permitted freedom of worship in Great Britain, applied to the British colonies as well. He won a favorable ruling in 1755, and after that date Presbyterians were free to organize their own churches.

The American Revolution eventually made the position of the Anglican colonial establishments untenable. Since Anglican clergy were bound by their ordination oaths to support and pray for the English king, colonial legislatures after 1776 were loath to support ministers opposed to the patriot cause. Thus, southern legislatures finally acceded to requests by dissenting Baptists and Presbyterians and suspended payment of the salaries of Anglican clergymen—in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina in 1776, in Georgia in 1777, and in South Carolina in 1778. Yet because these legislatures often retained their traditional controls over the licensing and selection of ministers, the clergy as well became vocal advocates of disestablishment. They quickly realized the advantages of regulating church affairs entirely free of governmental control.

After the war ended, Virginia legislator Patrick Henry made one last effort to support a religious establishment by championing a "General Assessment" that would distribute funds impartially among all Christian churches. Baptist minister JOHN LELAND was one of the key figures fighting Henry's plan. Because of their earlier refusal to comply with the Anglican religious establishment, Baptist preachers in colonial Virginia had been imprisoned and their worship services disrupted. This experience led Leland to believe that governments could best assist Christianity by leaving it alone. He thought religious establishments had done more to harm the cause of Jesus Christ than all the persecutions of Christianity combined.

In alliance with statesmen such as nominal Anglicans THOMAS JEFFERSON and JAMES MADISON, Leland eventually saw his position vindicated. Madison argued in his *Memorial and Remonstrance* of 1784, for example, that religion was best served when it was taken entirely out of the hands of the state. Jefferson's Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, which was adopted by the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1786, began with the premise that "Almighty God hath created the mind free." The Virginia legislative assembly resolved that citizens should never be compelled against their wishes to worship in or support a church.

When delegates gathered in Philadelphia in 1787 to draft a constitution for the new nation, the role of religion in government received consideration. Article Six of the Constitution provided, for instance, that no religious test would be required for holding a federal office. Madison and Jefferson also wanted the Constitution to make a positive statement about the freedom of religion. Madison, therefore, helped guide the Bill of Rights through the first Congress in 1789 and gave religious liberty the solid base he sought. The FIRST AMENDMENT codified Madison and Jefferson's beliefs: The government of the United States would neither favor nor inhibit the exercise of religious beliefs.

The First Amendment established religious freedom as a binding policy for the nation. However, the restrictions of the federal Bill of Rights did not at that time apply to the individual states, and thus weak Congregational establishments were able to survive in Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts for several more decades. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780, for example, continued a truncated version of the prerevolutionary religious establishment, in which towns were required to elect their own "public teachers of piety, religion and morality." As political power passed out of the hands of Congregationalists in New England, however, the last state establishments fell. In Connecticut in 1818, a coalition of Baptists, Methodists, Anglicans, and nonbelievers passed a new state charter that stipulated "no preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect." New Hampshire passed a similar law in 1819, and in 1820, Maine, originally part of Massachusetts, entered the union as a state with no established church.

The UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY, which tore apart Congregational parishes into Trinitarian and Unitarian factions early in the 19th century, led at last to disestablishment in Massachusetts. Since the "public teachers" elected by towns were not required to be either orthodox Congregationalists or ordained ministers, voters in some localities started to choose Unitarians to fill those positions. Divisions between Unitarians and Trinitarians became so heated that lawsuits resulted. In the famed "Dedham Decision" of 1820, the Unitarian-dominated Supreme Court of Massachusetts ruled that control of church property and the right to call a minister belonged to the parish (that is, to the town) rather than to the communicant membership of the local church. The effects of this decision were far-reaching, for it meant there was no further reason for orthodox Congregationalists to support their own established status. Numerous Congregationalists withdrew, formed separate churches, and in 1833, joined forces with other dissenters to abolish the religious establishment.

Connecticut Congregationalist LYMAN BEECHER offered one of the most perceptive comments about the end of the old religious system in New England. When Connecticut disestablished Congregationalism, Beecher at first felt depressed. But when he later reflected on the revolution that had occurred, he observed that Christianity had actually gained far more than it had lost by being thrown entirely upon its own resources. The American churches had learned to exert far more spiritual influence through voluntary (see VOLUNTARYISM) societies and revivals, he concluded, than through all the "queues and shoe-buckles, and cocked hats, and gold-headed canes" of former days.

(See also CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN.)

GHS, Jr.

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Ethical Culture The Society for Ethical Culture embodied the concerns of advocates of REFORM JUDAISM dissatisfied with the limitations of the Reform movement itself. Seeking to establish a group committed to moral principles and the need for social improvement, the society was unable to expand beyond a base group of intellectual supporters.

SECULARISM played a large role in the years after the CIVIL WAR, thoroughly reshaping American life. At the institutional level, new organizations emerged—public universities, modern business corporations, and professional bodies, all able to function without reference to the evangelical assumptions about society. At the level of ideas, many prominent people in American culture began to speak publicly about the superior value of a secular society. While some of these figures, such as Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) and Colonel BOB INGERSOLL, railed against the influence of religion in any form, others sought to provide the new secular outlook with the same support religious institutions were able to provide their members.

One organization, the Free Religious Association (see FROTHINGHAM, OCTAVIUS BROOKS), arose in 1867 out of postwar Unitarian efforts to formulate a liberal position in a changing social environment (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION; LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL). The second organization, the Society for Ethical Culture, began under the leadership of FELIX ADLER, who first served as president of the Free Religious Association. Adler's battles for free thought, however, were waged against his own Jewish tradition, not against liberal Protestantism.

Groomed for the rabbinate by his father and the congregation at New York's prestigious Temple Emanu-El, Adler chose teaching instead, taking a position at Cornell University in 1871 after completing his Ph.D. at Heidelberg University in Germany. At Heidelberg, exposure to new methods of biblical scholarship shattered his faith. He replaced religious belief with philosopher Immanuel Kant's conviction in the supremacy of a moral law. However, Adler was not satisfied with simply bypassing the influence of his Reform background.

Returning to New York City in 1876, he presented a lecture on May 15 in which he proposed creating a religious society free from creedal concerns. The Society for Ethical Culture, as this new group came to be called, provided secular-minded Jews with an alternative to the Reform synagogue and what he saw as spurious debates within the Reform movement over how to accommodate Jewish religious identity to American culture.

The society was underwritten by Gentiles like John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as well as wealthy New York Reform Jews, some of whom belonged to Adler's father's synagogue. Reflecting the impact of the Protestant SOCIAL GOSPEL, Ethical Culture adopted the Sunday morning hour for its meetings, where lectures showing "the supreme importance of the ethical in life" became the alternative to traditional ritual and prayer, and the motto "Deed not Creed" replaced doctrinal debate with social concern.

Eventually applauded by liberal Protestants, the movement received considerable criticism in its early days. Conservative Protestants denounced it from one side, while those more secular than Adler attacked it as being "vaguely idealistic." Expanding somewhat in spite of these attacks, local groups formed in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis and banded together in 1889 to form the American Ethical Union. The union served as a clearinghouse for information and also began publishing a journal, eventually known as the *International Journal of Ethics.* In 1896, the movement became international, holding congresses in Zurich and Germany over the next several years that attracted leaders from academia and several European governments.

If the impetus for Ethical Culture lay in repudiating Judaism, Adler insured that it would retain a Jewish identity and thus a limited potential for growth. Joseph Seligman, the society's first president, attracted many young Reform Jews. With a Jewish board of directors, Adler continued to address the issues faced by east European immigrant Jews entering America on the bottom rung. Adler denied his link to Judaism while at the same time attracting other Jews disenchanted with the religion. Thus, by the turn of the century, a new generation of leadership among Reform Jews was able to marshal the growing concern for social justice that Adler had seen as the impetus behind Ethical Culture. In spite of organizing numerous activities to attract members, including a series of summer camps for children and a variety of cultural activities, membership never grew substantially. After more than 100 years, the American Ethical Union claims only a few thousand members.

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ethnicity Ethnicity has long been a powerful force in the United States, often closely tied to religion, race, and class, although historians and sociologists find it difficult to define. One problem is that most definitions of ethnicity, implicitly or explicitly, rest on the idea of an "other" set against a normative center.

For instance, one century-old meaning of *ethnic* in the English language refers to those not Jewish or Christian, that is, pagan or heathen. This meaning lasted well into the 19th century, when Hinduism, Buddhism, or Islam were considered "ethnic" religions by Protestant Christians. But a secondary meaning became increasingly important. *Ethnic* was often used among Anglo-American Protestants as a rough, if somewhat dismissive, synonym for "picturesque" or "exotic" when referring to those peoples, Christian or otherwise, who displayed a degree of local color, remained embedded in folkways, and were not acculturated to the progressive ideals of urban-industrial society. This usage is still current today, although gaining a more universal application. On one hand, *ethnics* as a noun still tends to refer to non-British peoples who came to the United States during the migrations of the 19th century and later. On the other hand, *Anglo-Saxon* is itself increasingly understood to denote a discrete system of folkways, an ethnicity among American ethnicities.

Ethnicity also tends to evoke ideas of kin, common blood, or race, when in fact an ethnic group is often a flexible, constructed fiction, especially in highly mobile, immigrant societies such as the United States. For instance, *Anglo-Saxon* was only clearly defined as a group toward the end of the 19th century, when Jews and Catholics from south and central Europe arrived in numbers sufficient to prompt earlier arrivals to define themselves distinctly. *Anglo-Saxon* then was taken to mean an amalgam of British and Continental peoples with common roots and interests—Normans, Picts, Jutes, Saxons, Angles, Scots, and Welsh, but also Protestant Teutons, Irish, and French. At about the same time, people with regional identities such as Calabrese, Milanese, Sicilian, or Piedmontese found themselves struggling to define themselves as Italian or Italian American. The need to redefine oneself in the United States—whether the particular example is the varied Africans who have been transformed into African Americans or the Indonesians, Saudis, and Moroccans who are laboring to build a Muslim-American community—helps to account for the imprecise nature of ethnic communities' boundaries. The task of building ethnic American identities has been further complicated by the question of who has the power to define. Newly arriving immigrants have often found themselves forced into synthetic categories such as "Asian" or "Latino," when in fact their own sense of self-identity rests on regional, religious, or tribal affiliations. No small part of the history of ethnic groups in America has been the effort to seize the power to define their own identity, a struggle nowhere more marked than in the case of the African-American community.

The relationship between ethnicity and religion is intimate. Religion often supports ethnicity by providing an institutional setting for the maintenance of tradition, but at the same time, ethnic identity can also supersede religion as the source of individual and group identity, particular in a highly secularized culture. Religion and ethnicity often share the same fate in a fluid society, where the pressure to assimilate is strong. When individuals seek to assimilate, they will often reject the religion with which their ethnicity is most closely identified. Other individuals, having struggled free from an ethnic background, have later found traditional religious values and folkways to be important sources of coherence and identity. Ethnicity, like religion, has become for many a matter of choice, one source among others to draw upon in the process of creating an American identity. For still others, ethnicity and religion, particularly when closely tied to race, have become highly politicized and are used as effective tools both to support identity and to work for change in the dominant society.

Since the reopening of immigration in 1965 and the ethnic revival that followed, ethnicity and ethnic identity have been celebrated, decried, and politicized, so there is currently much debate over what role they should play in American society. This is particularly evident in the controversy concerning the teaching of multiculturalism in the primary and secondary schools. One line of thought tends to favor a culture-blind approach to education, to stress the "classics," and to see ethnic identity as emotional and clannish—a threat to the rational individualism at the heart of American democracy. This position is dismissed by ethnic group activists and many religious minorities as an attempt to maintain older, Anglo-Protestant forms of cultural authority. A second line favors a form of education in which the highly varied experiences of different ethnic and religious groups are all accounted for in a curriculum that emphasizes the vitality and texture, as well as the perennial conflicts, in a multicultural and democratic society. Many cultural conservatives see this as caving in to special interests.

RHS

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Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

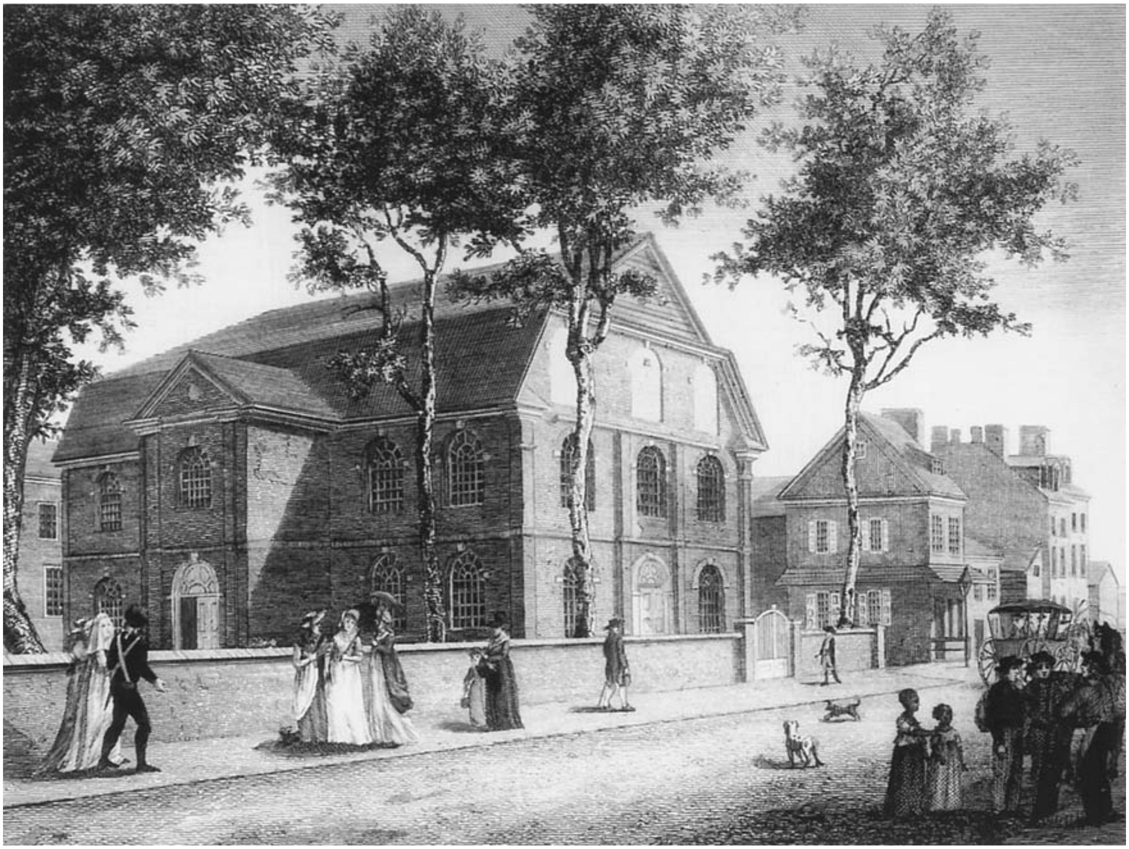
The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) is the largest Lutheran (see LUTHERANISM) denomination in the United States. Organized in 1987, it represents the merger of two major Lutheran bodies, the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) and the American Lutheran Church (ALC), and the smaller Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC). Since American Lutheranism contains what church historian Martin Marty called a "crazy-quilt pattern" of separate ethnic, geographic, and theological traditions, the background of the ELCA is, to say the least, variegated. Both the LCA and the ALC themselves resulted from earlier mergers of several small Lutheran denominations in the 1960s, while the AELC was formed after a split in the ranks of the conservative LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD in the 1970s.

The ELCA's heritage reaches back to the ministry of Pennsylvania pastor HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG. In 1742, Muhlenberg emigrated from Germany to undertake missionary work among Lutheran settlers in the New World. Arriving in Pennsylvania, he discovered Lutheran church life thoroughly entwined with that of the German Reformed population, whose members were committed to the liturgical and doctrinal teachings of John Calvin. Lutherans and Reformed, who shared a common language, also tended to use the same clergy, form "union churches," and worship together. Proselytizers belonging to German sectarian groups such as the MORAVIANS and the Dunkers (see CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN) further confused Lutheran denominational identity and even falsely posed as Lutheran clergy.

Muhlenberg wished to regularize American Lutheranism, keeping it loyal to the teachings of German reformer Martin Luther. The most effective step he took toward attaining that ideal was forming in 1748 the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the denomination's first permanent governing body. A constitution was prepared that gave the laity a voice in church government but subordinated them to the clergy. A new book of worship drew upon Lutheranism's rich liturgical heritage.

In the late 18th century, German Lutherans in the mid-Atlantic states began to move southward along the Shenandoah Valley to the Carolinas and westward across the Appalachians to Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The Pennsylvania Ministerium soon was incapable of providing for those distant settlements. As a consequence, new synods (federations of local congregations with the power to ordain clergy) were founded in South Carolina (1787), North Carolina (1791), New York (1792), and Ohio (1818). Language also became a matter for debate, as German Americans moved away from their original ethnic enclaves. Although Lutherans living in isolated rural locations continued to use German, new English-speaking congregations appeared in relatively populated areas where Germans mingled with British ethnic groups.

By the early 19th century, leaders in the various state synods were seeking a national body to unite them and make corporate decisions about worship and doctrine. Despite resistance to the principle of a centralized hierarchy, which some church members viewed as too much like Roman Catholicism, the formation of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1820 gave a



Old Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, 1880. *(Library of Congress)* new direction to Lutheranism in the eastern United States. In the transitional period that followed, Samuel Schmucker, president of the General Synod's new seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, provided his denomination with critical leadership.

Schmucker wished to see Lutheranism integrated into the Protestant evangelical movement that dominated the religious landscape of the United States. He thought that Lutherans, who had initiated the Reformation in the 16th century, should also play a dominant role in spreading the Christian Gospel in America. Schmucker opposed the narrow doctrinal conservatism of the "Old," or "Historic," Lutherans, who insisted upon staunch adherence to classic Lutheran creedal statements. He believed that Americans should not have to be bound either to antiquated ecclesiastical documents or simply to "the minutiae of any human creed." He argued, moreover, that the genius of the new "American Lutheranism" would lie in its ability to adapt to changing cultural and religious circumstances.

Under Schmucker's direction, the General Synod gathered together two-thirds of the Lutherans in the United States by 1860. But two schisms soon shook the church and radically undermined Schmucker's dream of a broad, unified Lutheran front. First, during the Civil War, five synods in the seceding Southern states organized themselves separately as the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America. After the war, this denomination became known as the United Synod South. Second, in 1867, five other synods that were formerly part of the General Synod withdrew and formed themselves into the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Led by Charles Porterfield Krauth, the General Council, unlike the General Synod, demanded full subscription to the Augsburg Confession, the 16th-century statement of Lutheran beliefs.

The General Synod, General Council, and United Synod South were all centered in the East. Meanwhile, thousands of Lutherans from Scandinavia and Germany flooded into the Midwest between 1830 and 1914. They, too, established their own synods along ethnic lines. Some 60 new Lutheran church bodies were started by Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Finns, Germans, and others between 1840 and 1875. Although the largest midwestern Lutheran organization, the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, remains distinct from the ELCA, the other ethnically divergent, but often theologically congruent, traditions gradually began to coalesce into a single denominational stream in the early 20th century.

With the outbreak of World War I, the process of Lutheran unification started in earnest. The war not only suspended the flow of immigrants to the United States but also heightened a self conscious "Americanism" among many recently arrived ethnic groups. Lutheran bodies chose to band together and coordinate their labors in ministering to American troops in 1917 and 1918. With the exception of the Missouri Synod, most Lutherans recognized the value of an agency that would be able to represent their common interests. As a result, the National Lutheran Council was formed in 1918. It represented eight Lutheran groups in the United States, roughly two-thirds of all American Lutherans. Besides undertaking traditional foreign and home missionary work, the council provided material relief to Europeans during World War I and World War II.

Several mergers of independent Lutheran synods into larger denominational bodies occurred between World War I and the 1960s. First, three Norwegian groups joined in 1917 to create the Evangelical Lutheran Church. This denomination was centered at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota. Next, the eastern-based Lutherans of the General Synod, General Council, and United Synod South reunited in 1918 and formed the United Lutheran Church in America. The Slovak Zion

Synod and the Icelandic Synod joined this church in 1920 and 1940, respectively. Third, the synods of Ohio, Iowa, Texas, and Buffalo united in 1930 as the American Lutheran Church. The midwestern-oriented ALC was joined by the Norwegians of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and of the Lutheran Free Church, and by the Danes of another small denomination, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, in 1960 and 1963, respectively. Finally, the United Lutheran Church in America joined with the Swedish Augustana Synod, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Danish American Evangelical Lutheran Church to form the Lutheran Church in America in 1962.

By the mid-1960s, many Lutherans believed that the former divisions within American Lutheranism were about to end, as the LCA, the ALC, and theologically moderate elements of the Missouri Synod began to discuss one last, universal merger. Although a radically conservative theological movement soon took control of the Missouri Synod and stopped that dialogue, the new Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, founded in 1976 by 110,000 former Missouri Synod members, continued unification talks. These discussions focused on two principal concerns: preserving the distinctive doctrinal emphases that had often kept Lutheran churches separate, while providing the organizational stability needed to further Lutheran evangelistic efforts in the late 20th century. An accord was reached at a meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in April–May 1987, and the 2.9-million-member LCA, the 2.3-million-member ALC, and the AELC were officially united on January 1, 1998.

An important development in the history of the new denomination took place in the late 1990s, when it began discussions with the Episcopal Church regarding the possibility of shared communion. These discussions came to a successful conclusion in the summer of 2000, when the two denominations adopted a "Call to Common Mission" committing them to full communion with each other at the beginning of 2001. While this was not a complete merger, each denomination recognized the validity of the other's baptism and ordination and allowed a sharing of the sacraments.

As with most of the denominations that constitute mainline Protestantism today, the ELCA is experiencing internal strain. There is theological skirmishing between progressive and conservative groups whose interests were necessarily slighted during the process of merging. The church continues to engage in ecumenical discussions with other denominations. It has considered, but did not approve, union with the Episcopal Church, whose worship and beliefs closely resemble those of Lutheranism. The ELCA is now the third-largest (after the Southern Baptist Convention and the United Methodist Church) Protestant denomination in the United States. In 2007 it reported 4,709,956 members organized into 65 geographical synods and containing more than 10,448 congregations.

GHS, Jr.

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Evangelical Synod of North America

See GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

Evangelical United Brethren Church

See UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.

Evangelical United Front The term *Evangelical United Front* refers to the coalition of single-issue organizations working for social reform during the first half of the 19th century.

Based on a shared ideology of Christian benevolence, a multitude of groups coordinated their efforts in the areas of religious education and home and foreign missions (see MISSIONS, FOREIGN; MISSIONS, HOME). Another more-perfectionist wave arising in the late 1820s turned to PEACE REFORM, TEMPERANCE, and ABOLITIONISM. The coalition, which enabled Protestants to see themselves as upholding the demands of both the Gospel and patriotism, underscored the dominant influence of Protestantism as an unofficial religious establishment. The socially conservative nature of many of the earlier groups proved to be a limitation, as the front collapsed with the rise of the antislavery movement in the late 1830s.

At the beginning of the 19th century, evangelical reform swept the country, emanating out of a New England affected by the optimistic religious fervor stemming from the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. Evangelical faith assumed that individuals transformed by conversion would necessarily make a dramatic impact on society. Evangelicals, influenced by the NEW DIVINITY of SAMUEL HOPKINS, TIMOTHY DWIGHT, and LYMAN BEECHER, organized numerous missionary enterprises, such as the American Tract Society, the American Bible Society, the American Sunday School Union, and the American Home Mission Society to convert the poor, the unbelieving rationalists, and the heretics and to bolster declining moral standards. These organizations, often lay-led and inspired by the work of British organizations, focused on single issues, attracted a multidenominational membership, particularly Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM) and Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), as well as METHODISTS and other evangelicals. Independently chartered along various lines, the organizations embodied the principle of VOLUNTARYISM that was to become so crucial in American life.

A second wave of reform emerged in the 1820s, associated with the revivals of CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY (see REVIVALISM). In contrast to the darker views of an earlier CALVINISM, already somewhat abandoned by Lyman Beecher, Finney and his followers preached the possibility of a moral perfection that could be attained in this life and then prompt individuals with this dramatic "change of heart" to contribute to the creation of a morally pure society. In this second wave of reform, evangelicals sought not simply to shore up society's moral standards, but to remove social evils as well.

In the 1830s, the front foundered, splintered by a number of tensions. Conservative reformers remained most interested in promoting personal piety, but perfectionists took their desire to stamp out sin in radical directions. Abolitionism, the movement to eradicate slavery immediately, spread beyond the confines of the Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF) with the conversion of THEODORE DWIGHT WELD to the cause in 1835 in Cincinnati. Abolitionists helped spread the desire to take dramatic action to remove social evils to the temperance and peace reform movements as well. Both William Lloyd Garrison (1805–79), anarchist editor of the more radical organ *Liberator,* and the Grimké sisters (see GRIMKÉ, ANGELINA EMILY AND SARAH MOORE) pushed existing organizations to accept women's leadership, hence raising the social stakes of reform. Increasingly, convictions such as those voiced by Garrison in a warning to the American Colonization Society in 1829—"the terrible judgment of an incensed God will complete the catastrophe of republican America"—worked to split the society in two.

The front dissolved in the sectional crisis preceding the CIVIL WAR, but its impact in the antebellum period can be measured by considering the financial resources raised by member groups. By 1828, the federal government was spending only $700,000 more than was gathered by the largest benevolent organizations. By 1840, the front's combined budget exceeded that of the federal government. The front's continuing influence lies in the fact that the evangelical hopes of a Christian America have never been completely abandoned by subsequent generations of reform-minded Protestants.

(See also RELIGIOUS RIGHT; SOCIAL GOSPEL.)

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evangelicalism Evangelicalism is a general term for a religious and cultural movement that has played a predominant role in American history. Unlike Europe—where evangelical simply means "not Catholic"—in the United States, it conjures up both more sweeping and more particular meanings emphasizing individual conversion, the authority of Scripture, and moral and social reform.

While most American evangelicals look to the 17th and 18th centuries as the time of religious orthodoxy in America, the 19th was truly the evangelical century. During this time, with the notable exceptions of Episcopalians and Unitarians, most Protestants were evangelicals. The 19th century also provided the evangelical movement with the source of much of its strength—REVIVALISM. Although revivalism had earlier beginnings, primarily in the first GREAT AWAKENING (roughly 1734–64), in the 19th century, it became a major part of the American religious landscape. No one represented this better than CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, who transformed revivalism from an event to a technique. For Finney revivals could be brought about by human activity and planning without denying their divine source.

This emphasis on human ability, called ARMINIANISM from the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius (1560–1609), argues that the individual has the ability to accept or reject God's grace—to choose or refuse salvation. Arminianism's strength in the United States constituted a major shift in Protestant thinking—away from the earlier insistence on predestination and the inability of fallen individuals to choose the good—both of which remain tenets of the Reformed churches and Presbyterianism.

The insistence on human activity also created the impetus for the moral and social reform movements of the 19th century. Among the many movements supported by evangelicals in this period were ABOLITIONISM, women's rights, and TEMPERANCE. Evangelicals also spent much effort on education, and the fruits of those labors include the founding of hundreds of colleges.

In the last half of the 19th century, new intellectual and scientific movements from Europe arrived in the United States. Two of these, EVOLUTION and biblical criticism, had a tremendous impact upon religious thought in the United States, and the responses to them served to define and create 20th-century evangelicalism.

The publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) troubled many evangelical thinkers. The increasing acceptance of Darwin by the scientific community and the publication of his *The Descent of Man* (1871) (along with the more radical views of Darwin's popularizers) threatened religious beliefs. Not only did the theory of evolution deny the biblical account of creation, it contradicted the belief in the special, divine creation of human beings as well. This, along with the higher biblical criticism that challenged the literal truth of the Bible, menaced traditional Christian views of the world.

The development of evolution and biblical criticism broke American Protestants into two opposing camps. There were ministers and theologians who accommodated Christian beliefs to the new scholarship and science. This movement was known as theological liberalism (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL; MODERNISM) and generally ceased to use the term *evangelical.*

FUNDAMENTALISM arose among those Protestants who rejected the higher criticism of the Bible and Darwinian evolution in defense of what they saw as traditional Protestant orthodoxy. The doctrines they defended included the literal acceptance of the virgin birth, the resurrection of Jesus, miracles, and the unquestionable authority of Scripture. Conflict between modernists and fundamentalists marked most of the first quarter of the 20th century. While a few denominations remained aloof from both modernism and fundamentalism during this time, many, like the Presbyterians and northern Baptists, were torn by conflict.

Fundamentalism inherited the mantle of American evangelicalism, and during the late 19th and early 20th century, fundamentalism and evangelicalism were basically synonymous. The years after the 1920s saw definite growing differences. While fundamentalists and evangelicals agree on many doctrinal issues, there is much separating them. In the late 1920s, some theological conservatives emerged from the modernist-fundamentalist conflicts with a distaste for the rigid sectarianism of the fundamentalists. This group, which included HAROLD JOHN OCKENGA, Edward John Carnell, and CARL F. H. HENRY, differed mainly in attitude and tone from the fundamentalists. These neoevangelicals, as they called themselves, were more open and flexible in their relations to others. They felt that the partisanship and fighting of the 1920s hurt the image of Christian orthodoxy. The efforts of these men during the 1940s and 1950s basically defined and organized 20th-century evangelicalism.

Twentieth-century evangelicalism came about primarily through the founding of three institutions: the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS (1942), the magazine *Christianity Today* (1956), and the Evangelical Theological Society (1949). A fourth element in the growth and strength of evangelicalism in the 20th century was BILLY GRAHAM and the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. Through a combination of doctrinal orthodoxy and intellectual effort, these institutions gave a new respectability to theological conservatism in the 1950s and 1960s. *Christianity Today* demonstrated to a wide audience that religious conservatives were not anti-intellectual boobs. The massive crusades led by Billy Graham, along with his moral stature, provided tremendous numbers of people with a view of evangelicalism at its most personable level. Carl F. H. Henry's *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (1947) did much to develop social concern among evangelicals.

Neoevangelicals maintained a moderate conservatism in political views, another position separating them from most fundamentalists. The late 1960s and 1970s saw the growth of a more radical and activist wing of evangelical thought. The most prominent example of this was the appearance of the magazine *Post-American* in 1971 (later *Sojourners;* see SOJOURNERS FELLOWSHIP) under the editorship of Jim Wallis. In the 1980s, the organization HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, dedicated to providing affordable housing both in the United States and internationally, became a visible manifestation of the social concern of some evangelicals due primarily to the involvement of former president JIMMY CARTER.

The resurgence during the late 1970s and early 1980s of an activist and politically conservative fundamentalism served to overshadow the evangelical movement. Despite this event and despite the fact that many people, including the media, lump evangelicals and fundamentalists together, evangelicalism remains an important force in American Christianity. From centers like Wheaton College in Illinois, Calvin College in Michigan, and Fuller Theological Seminary in California, evangelicalism continues to define itself as a distinctive form of American Protestantism, separate from both fundamentalism and liberalism.

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evolution The theory of evolution contends that humans and the world they inhabit evolved over a long period of time as a result of the gradual process of natural selection. This theory appears to contradict traditional readings of the book of Genesis, namely that God created humans and the world in six days at the beginning of time.

The publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* popularized this theory and represents a pivotal event in the relationship between SCIENCE AND RELIGION in the United States. Although Protestants since the 17th century had assumed that faith, reason, and science were all compatible, the dissemination of Darwin's theories on organic evolution in the decades after the CIVIL WAR challenged that earlier synthesis.

The radical impact of Darwin's thought, however, was not immediately apparent to American Christians. While he was the first to present a plausible mechanism (natural selection) by which one species might gradually be transformed into another, Darwin was not unique in suggesting the possibility of evolution. Most theologians, in fact, initially accepted his evolutionary hypothesis. They had already harmonized the six "days" of creation to which the biblical book of Genesis refers with the eons actually required for the Earth's geological development. They believed, therefore, that evolution could also be made consistent both with God's creative activities described in Genesis and with God's ongoing, providential care of worldly events.

Harvard scientist ASA GRAY, for example, became a prominent proponent of Darwinism while remaining an orthodox Congregationalist. He suggested that nothing in Darwin's biological theories necessarily contradicted the idea of a divine direction over the evolutionary processes. Even as conservative a figure as Princeton Seminary professor BENJAMIN WARFIELD, the theologian who coined the term *inerrancy* to describe the literal truth of the biblical text, thought that evolution might well have provided the means by which God guided creation. And George Frederick Wright, who contributed an essay on evolution to the landmark series *The Fundamentals*, did not think his defense of Protestant orthodoxy precluded evolutionary notions of divine creativity.

Nevertheless, over the years, many conservatives came to question Darwinism, perceiving the threat that natural selection posed to traditional Christian belief about divine sovereignty. This opposition was best articulated by CHARLES HODGE, the scholar who had trained Warfield at Princeton. Hodge's critique was stated succinctly in his 1874 book *What Is Darwinism?*, in which he attacked Darwin's rejection of divine design. Hodge concluded that Darwin's refusal to acknowledge that God, not mere chance, guided the evolution of species was tantamount to atheism. At the same time, many of Darwin's agnostic supporters also began to appreciate the critical significance of this point. They eagerly pressed Darwin's theories in hopes of driving an immovable wedge between Christianity and science.

By the 1920s, antievolution had become one of the principal touchstones of theological conservatism in America. Under the leadership of statesman and politician WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, the growing fundamentalist movement articulated the manifold threats Darwinism posed to traditional Christian civilization. Fundamentalist leaders feared that evolution undermined faith in the Bible as the source of truth and would inevitably lead Americans into immorality and atheism. Despite Bryan's successful prosecution of John T. Scopes (see SCOPES TRIAL) for violating the Tennessee antievolution law in the famed "Monkey Trial" of 1925, Bryan won, as it turned out, only a Pyrrhic victory. His inept attacks on Darwinism raised such an outcry of indignation and ridicule from the national press that FUNDAMENTALISM itself soon appeared thoroughly discredited.

Despite the embarrassing aftermath of the Scopes trial, most conservative Christians remained quietly loyal to Bryan's views on evolution over the next half-century. The rise of CREATIONISM in the 1970s reveals, moreover, that fundamentalist opposition to Darwin's controversial theory is as strong as ever. Creationists wish to preserve the idea that God controls the processes of creation and natural development, and they argue that Darwin's evolutionary theory is not the only viable hypothesis that explains the origins of life on Earth. They also hope "creation science" will one day be taught as a legitimate scientific theory. Creationism even won a short-lived victory when the Arkansas and Louisiana state legislatures in 1981 both passed laws (later declared unconstitutional) giving equal treatment to "evolution science" and to "creation science" in the curricula of public schools.

Following these defeats in court, opponents of evolution developed a strategy to influence education at the local level by running for local and state school boards. Perhaps the most successful example of this was their attainment of a majority of members on the state school board in Kansas. From this position, they managed to remove evolution as a required curriculum topic in that state's schools. The ridicule heaped on the state nationally and internationally as a result of these actions led to a backlash, and in the 2000 elections, several of the antievolution members of the school board were defeated. A 7-3 majority voted in favor of returning evolution to the curriculum in January 2001.

Despite these losses in the courts of law and public opinion, antievolutionists continue their struggle to diminish the explanatory power of evolution and hinder its teaching in public schools. Many attempt to manipulate the conflicts within contemporary biology, arguing that disagreements between scientists over certain evolutionary specifics demonstrate its inadequacy. Still others emphasize what Darwinian evolution seemingly has not yet explained and use this as a basis for criticizing the entire edifice. This latter has been the tactic of the supporters of "intelligent design."

Intelligent design has two basic premises. First, within the natural world, and particularly within human beings, there are complex operations that cannot be explained through random adaptation or mutation. Second is the claim that if human beings found such complexity in other areas of human life, they would attribute it to a designer. Humans do not presume that buildings have the same source as caves, for example.

Intelligent design, however, has failed in the courts, just as "scientific creationism" did.

In its one court case, a federal district judge in Pennsylvania ruled in 2005 that mandating the teaching of intelligent design constituted a government endorsement of religion.

Darwin's theory and the conflicts it has engendered continue to have tremendous significance for the interaction of religion and American culture. Although no amount of scientific evidence will ever prove or disprove whether an all-powerful God directs the universe, agnostics and fundamentalists together agree that evolution is critical to their understanding of how the world came into being.

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faith-based initiatives The passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act in 1996 included a provision that initially generated little interest but has since received immense attention, as it led to the establishment of a special White House office and introduced a new phrase into America's vocabulary. Section 104 of the act, the so-called CHARITABLE CHOICE provision, has moved from insignificance to importance and, in doing so, has made the phrase *faith-based initiatives* a regular part of America's lexicon. Faith-based initiatives may be understood to mean many things. At its simplest, it means making government more attentive to the role that faith-based organizations (FBOs, organizations affiliated with religious groups or having an expressed religious motivation for their work) have played and play in meeting the needs of the poor and deprived in the United States. Others see a more nefarious plot behind them, suspecting they are a basis for unmaking the welfare state and turning over all social service provision (and even funding) to nongovernmental charitable agencies. Faith-based initiatives received a great deal of attention during the 2000 presidential campaign and were declared central to President George W. Bush's domestic policy when he created the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives shortly after taking office.

While the departure of the office's first director, John DiIullio, after only seven months in office and the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, diminished much of the policy's focus and momentum, it remained a much touted part of the Bush administration's domestic agenda. In late January 2001, President Bush ordered the creation of a Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in five executive departments—Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, Education, and Labor. In doing this, the president stated that the purpose of the centers would be "to coordinate department efforts to eliminate regulatory, contracting, and other programmatic obstacles to the participation of faith-based and other community organizations in the provision of social services."

The goals of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives were to

- identify and act to remedy statutory, regulatory, and bureaucratic barriers that stand in the way of effective faith-based and community social programs; and
- ensure that, consistent with the law, faith-based programs have equal opportunity to compete for federal funding and other support.

Despite the flurry of activity and pronouncements, little was done to clarify either the policy's purpose or goals. Too often, people spoke of the government giving money to religion when no money was given for services. Some early proponents quickly became critics, while others spoke of the necessity for conversion before individuals could escape the conditions of impoverishment. Others opposed these initiatives, fearing that they would support the "wrong kind" of religious organizations and others that they would support the "right" kind of religion.

Major reasons for the controversy surrounding the issue of faith-based initiatives included people's ignorance of the FBOs' delivery of service as well as ignorance of the legal and practical issues involved. To a great extent, the federal government did little contracting, either directly or indirectly, with providing human and social services until the 1950s and 1960s. Given the absence of federal involvement, there emerged few challenges based on the U.S. Constitution. Although state and local governments regularly used religious or faith-based agencies to deliver human and social services, until the Supreme Court announced in its decision in *Everson v. Board of Education of Ewing Township* that the Establishment Clause was incorporated into the rights protected by the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT and thereby applicable to the states, these state practices could not give rise to federal constitutional questions, although they could raise state constitutional questions.

The states always have given governmental monies to private hospitals, orphanages, and poorhouses, many of which were religious in nature. For example, as early as 1810 an orphanage established by the New York Orphan Asylum, an expressly Protestant organization, received state money to house more than 200 orphans.

With urban growth in the late 19th century, public expenditures for services increased, until by the last quarter of the century subsidies became the prevailing method for financing most social and human service organizations. In the medical field, an 1889 survey of 17 major hospitals revealed that 12 to 13 percent of their income came from government sources, and a 1904 Census Bureau survey estimated that governments provided 8 percent of all hospital income nationwide, a figure exceeded in many states.

By the early 20th century, government support for private hospitals was so widespread that a 1909 report by the American Hospital Association referred to it as "the distinctively American practice." Given that the overwhelming number of private hospitals at that time had been established by religious organizations, a large portion of this money went to hospitals founded on religious principles. The first Supreme Court case addressing the issue of government contracting with a religiously affiliated provider involved a hospital founded and operated by a religious order, a fact that gave the Supreme Court no pause in allowing the federal subsidies.

Medical treatment was not the only or even the primary place where state and local governments contracted with private nonprofit organizations to provide services. Major government monies were given to private organizations to deliver services to the poor.

A study conducted in the late 1880s of 200 private orphanages in New York City found that these organizations received twice as much of their funding from government support as they received from legacies, donations, and private contributions. For all social services in that city, the amount the local government reimbursed private benevolent institutions for their care of prisoners and paupers grew faster than did total city expenditures for those purposes, from less than $10,000 in 1850 to more than $3 million by 1898, 57 percent of all city expenditures for the care of the poor, indigent, and prisoners. While impossible to separate out what percentage of these monies actually went to religious organizations, it is known that most orphanages of the time were established along religious lines and served orphans of a particular faith. In fact, in

1863, the New York legislature chartered the Roman Catholic Protectory to receive truant, vagrant, and delinquent children whose parents had requested the courts send them to Catholic rather than predominantly Protestant institutions.

In New York City, numerous religious organizations received funds to provide services to the poor, sick, needy, and indigent. These included the Salvation Army, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (a Protestant organization), the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and the United Hebrew Charities.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the use of private nonprofit organizations who serviced the orphaned, the sick, and the destitute was widespread throughout the United States. Many ostensibly nonsectarian institutions, however, were completely Protestant in ethos and practice. Catholics and Jews, in order to protect the religious rights of their members, felt compelled to compete equally for government monies in order to prevent their coreligionists from being either underserved or converted to alien religions.

In those states whose constitutions forbade the payment of state monies to "sectarian" institutions, the limitation often was evaded. A 1917 decision by the Illinois State Supreme Court rejected the claim that county payments to a sectarian institution for poor care violated the state's constitutional ban on such aid. The court reasoned that if the county paid the institution less than the actual cost of care, this could hardly be called *aid* to a sectarian organization and, therefore, did not violate the state constitution.

The CIVIL WAR brought about the first major growth in the power and reach of the national government in the United States. Not only was a massive national army created and the navy expanded, but contracts for war materiel and the introduction of the income tax greatly increased the national government's power.

One of the major challenges facing successful prosecution of the war was maintaining the health and morale of the troops. Disease, stress, and loneliness all took their toll. Disease actually far outstripped the battlefield as a source of casualties. To address these problems, numerous denominations and volunteer organizations engaged in an ongoing process to serve the soldiers of the Union (and also the Confederate) Army. While these undertakings did not primarily, or even necessarily, involve government funds, they did create a working relationship with government, including government efforts to accommodate or facilitate the work of the religious organizations, work that served military needs and, at times, governmental policy.

These organizations undertook three main activities: medical and nursing care; the maintenance of morals, morale, and sanitation; and services to the freedmen. Expressly religious organizations or organizations with a marked religious component were active in all these.

The numbers of refugees, contrabands (slaves liberated during the Union advance), and later the freed slaves provided the Union Army and the federal government with an immense challenge. The responsibility to care for these individuals devolved upon them. The most common method of dealing with these groups was indirect through reliance on private associations, mostly religious.

In no area was this more expansive than in the provision of aid to the freed slaves. In September 1861, the American Missionary Society sent a group to work with freed slaves who were housed near Fort Monroe in South Carolina. In 1862, General William Tecumseh Sherman officially requested additional aid to the abandoned and refugee slaves he was protecting at Port Royal, South Carolina. This work expanded throughout the war and with its conclusion became formalized in the Freedmen's Bureau under the direction of Major General Oliver Otis Howard. A man of staunch piety, he was known as the "Christian Soldier." Howard was committed to educating and aiding the recently freed slaves. He issued a statement in 1865, declaring that, "The utmost facility will be afforded to benevolent and religious organizations in the maintenance of good schools for refugees and freedmen until a system of free schools can be supported by recognized local governments." The most used organizations were the American Missionary Association (AMA) and the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC).

Both organizations had express religious commitments. The AMA demanded a fervent piety of its teachers. The AFUC required that its teachers demonstrate a genuine spirit of love for God and man and, like the AMA, refused to hire Roman Catholics. Both saw their work with the recently freed slaves to be part of their religious, indeed Protestant Christian, mission and included religious instruction among the work they did. The United States Sanitary Commission (despite its name, a private entity), while nominally nonsectarian, had a Unitarian minister as its chairman, and the board included numerous religious representatives.

Of nursing volunteers, perhaps the most important (and undoubtedly for many the most memorable) were women Roman Catholic religious. An estimated 3,200 women served as volunteer nurses during the war; at least 600 were Roman Catholic nuns. These women were particularly welcomed by the soldiers and the medical corps.

Religious organizations were particularly active in maintaining the morals and morale of the soldiers. The Christian Commission, often at odds with the Sanitary Commission, distributed religious tracts and Bibles to the soldiers as well as offering religious services. It also took an active role in collecting and distributing medical supplies, clothing, food, and other items of personal need among the soldiers. Additionally, like so many other individuals in the war zone, its members, almost completely volunteers and often clergy on leave from their pulpits, served as nurses and orderlies in the hospitals. Supported by individual congregations, particularly those of an evangelical bent, the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, and numerous industrialists, the Christian Commission was granted access to the battlefields and to the military camps and hospitals.

In the field hospitals, the Christian Commission members serving as nurses, aides, and orderlies provided bandages and other medical supplies along with food and comfort. While the government did not reimburse the Christian Commission or any other soldiers' aid society, whether religious or secular, the military and the government did provide a sort of formal recognition. These partnerships expanded to help the refugees created by the war and to support the freed slaves during and after the war.

This development reflected what would become a dominant model in the United States's delivery of human and social services, contracting with private voluntary agencies. This model also was used during WORLD WAR I. While the New Deal saw greater use of government agencies to deliver services, reliance on private organizations continued, particularly after the start of WORLD WAR II. The expansion of perceived governmental responsibility in delivering numerous services led, after the war, to a massive growth of federal funds to supply social needs and services, from health care to education.

The 1950s and 1960s firmly established and entrenched these patterns of governmental funding. All levels of government in the United States pay nonprofits to deliver services either by contracting for services, paying fees for services delivered, or delivering subsidies either directly or indirectly (*e.g.*, vouchers).

President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty and the social policies of the Nixon administration made great use of private nonprofits for the delivery of government-funded social services. Using nonprofits served the goals of both political liberals and political conservatives. Services were received by those in need without creating an even larger federal (or state) bureaucracy. By the time of Ronald Reagan's presidency, 40 percent of social service monies spent by all governments in the United States went to nonprofit organizations.

Unsurprisingly, a large percentage of these dollars went to religious social service providers. In fact, today the seven largest religious social service agencies serve more than 60 million people annually. For many, governmental monies dwarf all other sources of funding. Catholic Charities USA typically received 60 percent or more of its income, the Salvation Army 16 percent, and even the YMCA nearly 10 percent of its monies from government sources. At one point, the *Nonprofit Times* removed Lutheran Social Ministries from its list of 100 largest nonprofits because more than 90 percent of its revenue was from government sources.

By the middle of the 1990s, many began to question what social service expenditures had produced. To many individuals across the political spectrum, it appeared that the American welfare system was in disarray. Many viewed rampant drug abuse, the marked growth of out-of-wedlock children, and the development of an "underclass" to be vivid examples of how the system failed to solve the problem of poverty. Some claimed that the system actually created new problems by creating a sense of entitlement and discouraging initiative and responsibility. The U.S. welfare system had led to what the 19th century would have called pauperization, a process whereby individuals are encouraged to remain on the dole through indiscriminate relief that forced no obligations or responsibility on the individual but actually encouraged laziness and indolence.

This view was rooted, at least partially, in the valid belief that poverty often was caused by certain personal failings. The view held that, in the absence of a massive economic decline, illness, abandonment, or disability, poverty resulted more from what one failed to do rather than from what was done to one. Additionally, a welfare system that indiscriminately supported the able-bodied and the potentially self-sufficient wasted funds that could be targeted more appropriately toward those who were poor through no fault of their own.

In this view, ending poverty required changing lives. The process was not merely a matter of handing over money but also demanding that individuals internalize certain values and norms about how to live and then act on them.

On one level, the argument is self-evident. Individuals cannot be productive citizens, cannot hold long-term jobs with the possibility for advancement if they are not conscientious, responsible, and sober. People must get up in the morning, get to work, and do what the job requires. Addiction, indolence, surliness, and slovenliness are not systemic problems; they are individual problems that can be solved only through a change in the individual and that person's values and attitudes. Money cannot solve these barriers to a successful life.

While those holding this view had an explicit perspective on the role of religion in helping individuals, others, of many political stripes, had a more amorphous belief that this perspective had some validity. These individuals felt that changing the values and attitudes with which individuals approached life would be sufficient. Convergence occurred in the belief that religious organizations, religious human and social service agencies, were particularly good locations for this to happen. These organizations were believed to be filled with individuals who could model the values of sobriety, industry, responsibility, and commitment that those on welfare needed to develop in order to lead successful and productive lives.

Religious or faith-based human and social service organizations also were believed to bring other values and goods to the table. In many distressed communities, both urban and rural, the only institutions functioning for social good were the local churches. As stores and jobs fled the inner city, the church remained.

Many believed that those who worked in religious organizations brought to their jobs a deeper sense of commitment. For them, the work with the poor was not merely a job, but a calling. FBOs brought an added value to service delivery, the argument went. Faith commitment meant those in need were served not merely from a bureaucratic perspective, as clients, as numbers to be processed, but as individuals with whom personal connection was demanded and required.

Finally, many felt that the religious communities of this country held within themselves an untapped potential for service. The numbers of individuals available as volunteers and the funds they controlled were viewed as potentially powerful forces in the struggle to redeem human lives from the spectres of poverty, addiction, and debasement.

The success of religious-based services appeared to result from their commitment to mentoring, one-on-one support, and local congregational members who were willing to share their religious values and social commitment with others. Henry Cisneros, secretary of housing and urban development during the Clinton administration, identified four main reasons for the success of faith-based or religious institutions in addressing community and individual needs. These included faith communities' financial resources and committed and caring individuals. Perhaps most important, religious organizations and individuals are committed to serving and helping the entire person, not to material gain. Religion, or at least the commitment of religious people, it was concluded, would not merely buy groceries, but could change lives. During the late 1990s, the role of religion or religious-based services in improving the lives of the poor and debased was a major topic in the media. An analysis of newspaper articles in 1996 and 1997 found an overwhelming number contrasted the highly personal and caring services provided by religiously motivated organizations and volunteers with the impersonal services provided by a bureaucratic system. The distinctive essence of faith-based services was perhaps summed up most directly by Amy Sherman, one of its leading proponents. "At its heart, a religion-based service provider aims to transform lives."

With so much weight in their favor, the idea of faith-based initiatives seemed reasonable, and the Bush administration initially made a concerted effort to deliver. It directed large sums to training FBOs how to apply for governmental monies and encouraged the use of FBOs in the delivery of services. Additionally, in the areas of sex education, with the administration's "abstinence only" mandate, and in services to prisoners, FBOs seemed to have been privileged. Many of the services provided by such organizations appear to have crossed the acceptable boundaries between service provision and religious education and indoctrination.

Others have criticized the administration for playing politics with the monies, holding out the promise of large sums to gain or reward political support from religious leaders in impoverished areas, particularly in the inner cities. Still others have criticized the administration for not even attempting to deliver on its promises. They argue that by manipulating the power of the idea of faith-based service delivery for political ends, the administration failed both those in need and the FBOs themselves.

By 2007, the growing weakness of the Bush administration led to a decrease in the emphasis on faith-based initiatives. Legal challenges to several of the policies, including the use of special "training" sessions on contracting policies for FBOs, also had slowed down the focus on the initiatives. As a formal policy, the entire future of faith-based initiatives was in doubt. Despite that fact, as is clear from history, the role of religious organizations in serving the poor, the weak, and the sick will remain central to human and social service delivery in the United States.

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Falwell, Jerry (1933–2007) As founder of the MORAL MAJORITY (1979–87), Jerry Falwell was one of the leaders responsible for the politically active conservative Christianity that emerged in the 1970s. Born on August 11, 1933, in Lynchburg, Virginia, Falwell was one of twins. His father, Carey, a successful businessman, and his mother, Helen, provided a financially secure and prosperous home life where Falwell was doted on by his parents and much older siblings.

His father suffered from a drinking problem, however, and this undoubtedly contributed to his early death when Falwell was only 15. The last days of his father's life seem to have affected Falwell tremendously. He often speaks of how moved he was by his father's acceptance of Christ just days before his death and the way in which this changed his father.

During high school, Falwell was successful and popular. He captained the school's football team, edited the school newspaper, and graduated as class valedictorian. Despite this, his mischievous nature often got him into trouble, and he was not allowed to deliver the valedictory address at graduation.

Falwell attended Lynchburg College, where he became a Christian and first felt the call to the ministry. The call became so strong that he transferred to Baptist Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, in 1952. After finishing bible college, Falwell served various pastorates until being called to Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg in 1956. He remained the church's pastor until his death, and from there he built his massive religious and political empire.

Falwell first came to public prominence with his "Listen America" rallies during the nation's bicentennial in 1976. At these rallies, Falwell urged Americans to turn from what he viewed as their moral laxity and to embrace truth and virtue. Falwell also spoke of returning the United States to what he saw as its Christian, or at least godly, roots. He railed against the Supreme Court's ruling forbidding state-sponsored prayers in public schools, against liberal politicians, and, as the issues became prominent, against homosexuality and abortion. In 1979, Falwell and other conservative Christians established the Moral Majority, an organization designed to give a political voice to the views of political and social conservatives. To a great extent, this coalition helped mobilize sufficient voters to help elect President Ronald Reagan and to produce the eventual Republican majority in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate.

Nonetheless, the Moral Majority had little success in driving through most of its political positions. Falwell, claiming it had served its purposes, disbanded the organization in 1989 to devote his efforts to his ministries.

While Falwell significantly reduced his formal involvement in electoral politics, he continued as a prominent religiously conservative spokesman. Following the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon, Falwell appeared to blame the attacks on what he viewed as a decline in religion and morality in the United States. He declared that, "I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People For The American Way, all of them who have tried to secularize America. I point the finger in their face and say 'you helped this happen.'" Although he later apologized for giving the impression that anyone was responsible other than the terrorists, he insisted that his reading of the Bible led him to the conclusion that societal immorality would lead God to remove protection from a country.

Although suffering serious health problems during early 2005, Falwell continued as an important spokesman for one segment of the RELIGIOUS RIGHT. In that year, he publicly suggested that the huge number of hurricanes that year might have been part of God's punishment of the United States for its immorality, and he took a highly visible role in the "Friend or Foe of Christmas" campaign, designed to deal "with the grinches who are trying to steal Christmas." Falwell continued to work as a minister and a senior administrator at Liberty University until his death on May 17, 2007. Along with serving as senior minister at Thomas Road, Falwell also oversaw Liberty University and *The Old-Time Gospel Hour* television program.

(See also ELECTRONIC CHURCH; RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT; SOUTHERN BAPTISTS CONVENTION.)

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Fard, W. D. (unknown–ca. 1934) The founder of the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), Black Muslims, W. D. Fard remains as mysterious today as when he first appeared in the black section of Detroit on July 4, 1930. There—known by the various names Wallace Fard, Wali Farrad, Professor Ford, Farrad Mohammed, and F. Mohammed Ali—he made his living as an itinerant peddler.

Many stories circulated about Fard's early life. He claimed he had been born in Mecca to a wealthy family of the tribe of Koreish (Quraysh)—the tribe of Muhammad (the founder of ISLAM)—and had attended college in England, or at the University of Southern California, where he had been groomed to enter the diplomatic service of the Kingdom of the Hejaz (modern-day Saudi Arabia). He abandoned this career, however, in order to bring religious truth and freedom to his "Uncle," the black man living in the "wilderness of North America."

As a peddler in Detroit, he told people that his silks "were the same kind that our people used in their country . . .," according to an early convert. When asked to tell about this country, he explained that the so-called Negroes were the original humans who had been stolen from their home by the "white devils." Blacks needed to separate themselves from these "subhumans" and return to their true religion, Islam. When they did so, Allah would unleash his fury on the whites and restore blacks to their rightful place as his chosen people.

Fard's teachings impressed many recent black immigrants from the rural South and soon gained several thousand followers. He produced two basic texts for his followers, *The Secret Ritual of the Nation of Islam*, which was passed on orally, and *Teaching for the Lost Found Nation of Islam in a Mathematical Way*. Fard also organized several auxiliaries to the Nation of Islam, including a school, a girls' training class, and a security organization—the Fruit of Islam.

The NOI soon came to the attention of the police, who were troubled by Fard's apparent emphasis on human sacrifice as a means of expiating sin, as well as his teaching that every follower was to sacrifice four Caucasian "devils." Newspaper stories of human sacrifice among Nation of Islam followers, known to the police as the "Voodoo Cult," brought the movement to the attention of white Detroit—attention that was increased by the attempted sacrifice of two white welfare workers that was widely reported in the Detroit press and caused much fear among white Detroiters.

Objections to sacrifice led to one of the many divisions within the movement. Others involved conflicts over loyalty to the U.S. flag and Constitution, communist and Japanese infiltration, and an attempt by the Ethiopian government to use the NOI as a channel for funds. Despite these divisions, Fard achieved a remarkable degree of organizational stability in a relatively short time. Starting in 1933, he began to recede into the background, decreasing his public appearances and leaving affairs to his assistant ministers. Fard disappeared completely on June 30, 1934.

His disappearance led to a series of violent leadership conflicts that forced one group to flee to Chicago. This group, led by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, established its own temple in Chicago, and Elijah Muhammad declared himself the legitimate successor to Fard. Although considered schismatic and minor as late as 1937, Muhammad's group eventually became the dominant branch of the NOI.

Under Elijah Muhammad's leadership, the NOI transformed Fard's status. Fard was revealed to have been Allah himself in human form, who came to save his people. Fard had passed on his teaching to Elijah Muhammad, who remained as Allah's messenger on Earth, to teach American blacks their true religion and their true nature as the superior race. These teachings remained the cornerstone of the Nation of Islam throughout the life of Elijah Muhammad and were central to the movement's expansion during the 1950s and 1960s.

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Farrakhan, Louis Abdul (1933–) Born Louis Eugene Wolcott in the Bronx, New York, in 1933, Louis Farrakhan, as head of the reconstituted NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), had become by the 1990s the most visible spokesman for African-American separatism in the United States. As a result, he received much media attention, especially during JESSE JACKSON's 1984 run for the presidency, when the NOI provided security guards for Jackson's campaign, and when Farrakhan issued a veiled death threat against a black newspaperman who reported that Jackson called New York "Hymietown." Despite his visibility, Farrakhan remains a mystery to most Americans.

Although born in New York, Wolcott grew up in Boston, where he was raised by his mother, a West Indian immigrant. Deeply religious, he attended an Episcopal church and served as an altar boy. He graduated with honors from Boston English High School, where he ran track. Wolcott also played the violin and piano.

In 1951, he began college at Winston-Salem (North Carolina) Teachers College but dropped out after two years to pursue a musical career playing calypso and country music in nightclubs. In 1955, Farrakhan met MALCOLM X, who recruited him for the NOI (Black

Muslims). The influence of Malcom X and, later, a personal meeting with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad led Wolcott to adopt the "X" as his last name, signifying the lost names of his African ancestors and proclaiming his existence as an ex-Negro, "ex-slave, ex-Christian, ex-smoker, ex-drinker, ex-mainstream American."

Louis X soon became a significant part of the NOI, and Elijah Muhammad himself bestowed the name "Abdul Farrakhan" on the young man. Farrakhan wrote the only play, *Orgena* ("a Negro" spelled backward), and song, "A White Man's Heaven is a Black Man's Hell," sanctioned by the NOI. He served as Malcolm X's assistant at Temple No. 7 in Harlem before being appointed head minister of the Boston Temple.

When Malcolm broke with the NOI, Farrakhan replaced him as national representative and also led the attack upon Malcolm within the movement. Although denying any direct involvement by the NOI in Malcolm's assassination, he has admitted that verbal attacks on Malcolm may have created a climate that led to his murder.

Following the death of Elijah Muhammad in 1975 and the actions of his son and successor Warith Deen Muhammad in transforming the NOI into an orthodox Sunni Muslim group that renounced racial separatism (the World Community of Al-Islam in the West), Farrakhan led a breakaway movement in 1978. In this schismatic movement, which retained the name Nation of Islam, Farrakhan returned to the religious and racial views of Elijah Muhammad. These included the belief that W. D. Fard was Allah come to Earth, that Elijah Muhammad was his apostle, that blacks were the first humans, and that whites are devils and inferior beings created by a mad scientist. Farrakhan also expanded upon Elijah Muhammad's view that UFOs are emissaries from a giant "mothership" come to rescue blacks from the apocalypse that will destroy the Earth and all the wicked people.

Farrakhan has been given to extremist views. His flaming oratory has included calling Hitler a "great man" (albeit wickedly so), describing Judaism as a "gutter religion," and complaining about the "Jewish-controlled media." His references to "white devils" and his avowed racial separatism also brought him much attention. As a result, many black political leaders felt pressure to disavow him. Some, among them Tom Bradley and David Dinkins, were quick to do so, while others resisted.

Farrakhan's work to reestablish the Nation of Islam was fairly successful. By the mid 1990s, its membership was close to 60,000, and he had repurchased both the NOI's former headquarters, Temple No. 2 (which he renamed Temple Maryam), and Elijah Muhammad's home in Chicago, from which he bases his work. Farrakhan also has attempted to realize the NOI's vision of black self-sufficiency and economic development, primarily through the Power Pac cosmetic line.

The Nation of Islam's strong moral code and its teaching of black self-respect and independence offered a powerful message to an African-American community hit hard by poverty, drug abuse, and declining public concern for civil rights. Like both Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, Farrakhan's message reached far beyond the members of the NOI. At public rallies, he regularly spoke to audiences numbering in the thousands, and many African Americans opposed to both his theology and his racial separatism reacted warmly to his message of black pride and independence. As the leader of the longest-lived of all black separatist groups, Farrakhan seemed poised to bring the message into a new day and a new audience.

Beginning in 1990, however, Farrakhan appeared to be moving the NOI into a new direction. He encouraged Black Muslims to participate in local and national politics, an activity that was anathema to Elijah Muhammad and a source of much frustration to Malcolm X. Farrakhan also made some overtures toward orthodox Islam. In autumn 1990 at the General Meeting of the Continental Council of the Masjid of North America, he publicly recited the Shahadah, the orthodox Muslim profession of faith. The result was his acceptance into the Muslim fold by Warith Deen Muhammad. Some suspected that this action was solely undertaken with an eye toward the Saudi and Gulf sheikdom monies that Warith Muhammad controlled. While the suspicions seemed to be proven by Farrakhan's actions in the early 1990s, there was a hint of change.

Following a bout with life-threatening cancer, Farrakhan emerged a transformed man in the eyes of many. The result was that the hinted changes became solidified. In spring 2000, at the annual Savior's Day event, Farrakhan publicly expressed his commitment to Orthodox Sunni Islam and his desire to bring the NOI into an active engagement with mainstream Islamic institutions. Sharing the dais with him that day were Imam Warith Deen Muhammad and the leaders of several American Muslim organizations, including the secretary general of the ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA. Initially this appeared to be more than rhetoric, as members of the NOI soon became a common presence at orthodox Islamic meetings and conferences throughout the United States. It eventually became clear that Farrakhan could not abandon completely the heterodox elements of the Nation of Islam despite his formal, public embrace of Sunni Islam. The NOI's newspaper, the *Final Call*, regularly ran old articles and speeches of Elijah Muhammad, and Farrakhan's public speeches continued to resonate with the language of the NOI of the 1960s. In February 2006, he delivered a speech in which he condemned the "false Jews [who] promote the filth of Hollywood."

Despite this, he tried to hold himself out as a changed man. In 2001, a 15-year-old ban on his entering the United Kingdom was lifted. (He had been forbidden entry because his racist and anti-Semitic views were seen as incitements to violence.) That year he also delivered a two-and-a-half-hour-long speech to a "rap summit," where he called upon leading rap music performers and producers to accept their responsibilities as leaders and elevate the level of their discourse.

In spring 2006, Farrakhan began to suffer from a relapse of the prostate cancer that initially had been diagnosed in 1998. As he faced this life-threatening illness, he was forced to turn over the daily management of the NOI to its board and to prepare his followers for a future without him. Everyone, including Farrakhan, spoke optimistically of a smooth transition and the continuation of the NOI's work. History suggested a less rosy path. Leadership transitions in the NOI have been messy, often leading to schism, if not violence. Additionally, no clear successor to Farrakhan looms on the horizon. When Elijah Muhammad died, it was acknowledged that his son, W. D. Muhammad, would succeed him. Such is not the case with the current NOI. Additionally, even if an acceptable successor were identified, he would lack Farrakhan's charisma. Just as Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association collapsed without him, the NOI could be on the same course without Farrakhan.

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feminist theology Feminist theology is theology that denies male domination and seeks to empower women. It is difficult to offer a more precise definition of feminist *theology* because there are in fact many different feminist *theologies.* Feminist theologians disagree, for example, about whether Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are essentially sexist. They agree, however, on the need to criticize the biases against women inherent in what they view as patriarchal theologies and the urgency of pressing beyond those theologies to articulate views that affirm and empower women.

Although rooted in the 19th-century women's rights movement, feminist theology first emerged forcefully around the midpoint of the 20th century. In the 19th century, social and religious reformers such as ANGELINA AND SARAH GRIMKÉ, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Susan B. Anthony moved in the direction of feminist theology when they reinterpreted Genesis 1–3, arguing that this foundational creation myth argued for the original equality of men and women (Gen. 1:27) and honored the place of Eve as the "mother of all living" (Gen. 3:20) (see WOMAN'S BIBLE).

Today many feminist theologians continue to focus their interpretive energies on Genesis. Phyllis Trible, for example, has argued that Genesis 2–3 cannot be interpreted to justify the domination of men over women, and Elaine Pagels has criticized the misogynist tendencies of church fathers (in particular, Augustine), who read the creation narratives as an indictment of women for bringing sin into the world.

An important year in the development of feminist theology was 1968. Two books published in that year outlined the patriarchal institutions of religion and the history of their sexist teachings: Kari Borresen's *Subordination and Equivalence: The Nature and Role of Woman in Augustine and Thomas Aquinas* and MARY DALY's *The Church and the Second Sex.* In an attempt to expose the hierarchical assumptions of the patriarchy, these two Roman Catholic women argued that traditional Christian theology wrongly dictates that women are the "lesser sex" and are to be submissive to men. Women are, they contended, prohibited from leadership, teaching, or ritual roles in many religious groups. Daly's work developed into a widely influential, radical feminist theology that moved from being Christian to being post-Christian and has since settled in a location outside male-defined religion altogether.

Since 1968, feminist theologians have followed two broadly defined paths. The first led to liberal feminist theologies that work within a particular religious tradition in an effort to reform and reconstruct the roles and images of women in it. The second path led to radical feminist theologies that, viewing traditional organized religions as irredeemably misogynist, align themselves with a variety of goddess- and Earth-based religions.

Among the reconstructionist theologians working to reform Christianity is Rosemary Radford Reuther, who aims not only to expose patriarchy as a system oppressive to both sexes but also to describe the parameters of a liberating church. From her work was born the "women-church" movement, which presents a gender-inclusive model of the worshipping Christian community.

Feminist biblical scholarship has also largely followed this reconstructionist path. Phyllis Trible's work on the Hebrew Scriptures and Elisabeth Schuessler Fiorenza's on the New Testament are major examples of scholarship that criticizes the history of patriarchal exegesis even as it celebrates the roles of women in the biblical text and as scriptural interpreters.

Although reconstructionists argue that their religious traditions have become patriarchal, they do not typically believe that their religions are essentially so. Thus, the scriptural work of Judith Plaskow aims to move beyond the historical exclusion of women from Judaism by putting women back into the covenant God made with Israel (Exodus 19:15) in order to be "standing again at Sinai." And Rachel Adler pushes this vision further by seeking a more inclusive Judaism still rooted in traditions. Riffat Hassan, who argues for a "post-patriarchal Islam," reinterprets the Qur'an to find what she sees as the originally intended equality between the sexes in Islam. Buddhist feminists such as Rita Gross are also working within their tradition to refashion a religion connected to its sacred scripture and traditions but separate from patriarchy and its alleged sexism and misogyny.

Womanist theologians (see WOMANIST THEOLOGY) have also retold their stories, pointing not only to the bankruptcy of traditional theologies but also to the limitations of white, European-American feminism. Jacqueline Grant and Katie G. Cannon have traced the history of African-American women through slavery to the present. Biblical scholars Renita Weems and Clarice Martin reclaim the presence of Africa and Africans in the biblical text and decry racist and sexist biblical interpretation.

Finally, some lesbian theologians aim to reconstruct their respective religious traditions to include the erotic power of the divine. Jewish lesbian feminists, such as Rebecca Alpert, are reforming their faith by finding their own interpretive strategies and critical voices. In the Christian tradition, Carter Heyward criticizes not only the sexism but also the heterosexism of the Christian church and points to the need for repentance and reform.

Other theologians, most notably Mary Daly, have chosen the second, more radical path of feminist theology, rejecting their inherited religious traditions and seeking older roots for women's spirituality. Many of these theologians (or "thealogians") define themselves as post-biblical, post-Christian, post-Jewish, or in newer terms utterly disconnected from the Jewish or Christian traditions. Sallie McFague represents a type of radical feminist theology that is concerned with the environment and with creating new metaphors or models of God (e.g., mother, lover, and friend). McFague wants to build from the base of Christianity but considers herself "post-Christian."

Other feminists, such as Starhawk and Carol Christ, turn away from the Christian and Jewish traditions in search of older, goddess-centered religions. Spirituality, ritual, and social justice are central to feminist theologies that are reclaiming their goddess heritage. NEOPAGANISM and witchcraft (or the "Craft") are names for the movement back to spiritualities that affirm either one goddess or multiple goddesses.

Feminist theologians disagree about many things, but they do share some common features: an interest in language and symbols, a concern for social justice and political reform, a desire to provide a spiritual base for environmental activism, and a hope for the creation of a global feminism that allows for and affirms differences in race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

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Finney, Charles Grandison (1792–1875) Charles G. Finney was the premier figure in American EVANGELICALISM before the CIVIL WAR and the greatest revivalist of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, the period of intense spiritual excitement that spanned the first three decades of the 19th century. After undergoing a sudden religious conversion in 1821, Finney abandoned his career as a lawyer and set to work as an itinerant missionary in upstate New York. Over the next decade, he introduced controversial revival techniques known as the "new measures," which not only helped shape religious belief and practice in the new United States but also had a profound impact on American social views. Finney hoped that winning souls for Christ would help Americans establish the millennial kingdom of God on Earth.

Finney was born in Warren, Connecticut, on August 29, 1792. His parents were farmers, and the shortage of land in Connecticut forced the Finney family to move westward two years after his birth. The Finneys eventually settled in Hanover (now Kirkland), New York. Charles returned to Connecticut to attend Warren Academy in 1812 and then planned to enroll at Yale College. However, he was dissuaded from going to Yale and instead taught school for two years in New Jersey. In 1818, he entered a legal apprenticeship in Adams, New York.

By his own account, Finney was a sinful, worldly man until his conversion on October 10, 1821. Walking to his office that morning, he received the startling insight that salvation was available to anyone who would consent to receiving it. According to his own account, Finney stopped in the middle of the street and felt God's Holy Spirit descend upon him. The next day, when a deacon of his church reminded him of a court case he was scheduled to plead for him in court, Finney responded: "I have a retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead his cause, and I cannot plead yours." After studying theology with George Gale, the Presbyterian pastor at Adams, Finney was licensed to preach in December 1823. He was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in July of the following year.

Finney had remarkable physical characteristics that he put to good use in his ministerial work. He was over six feet in height and possessed piercing, hypnotic eyes. A commanding figure in the pulpit, he spoke in plain language to everyone who gathered to hear him. Finney also was not afraid to address people directly by name. In the revivals he led, he pleaded with men and women to change their hearts and surrender to God. He called them forward to the "anxious bench," a front pew where they publicly struggled to acknowledge their sins and seek forgiveness. There, friends and neighbors stood close by to "pray them through" the experience.

Finney was immediately successful as villages, towns, and eventually cities "caught fire" during revivals he organized. He held protracted meetings, that is, community-wide revivals, prepared in advance, lasting for several weeks—urban events akin to the exuberant CAMP MEETINGS on the frontier. In 1825, he moved through the Mohawk Valley of New York. Attracting national attention, he went to Wilmington, Delaware, and Philadelphia in 1827, and the next year he ministered in New York City. Finney's revival campaign achieved its greatest success in Rochester, New York, in the winter of 1830–31. Although resisted at first by many clergy who resented the disruption he caused in their churches, he eventually won over even his most bitter foes. New England Congregationalist leader LYMAN BEECHER, for example, who once swore that he would "call out all the artillerymen, and fight [Finney] every inch of the way to Boston," actually welcomed him to the city in late 1831. Only illness stopped Finney. He curtailed his itinerant activities in 1832 and accepted a permanent pastorate at the Second Free Presbyterian Church in New York City.

In spite of all his well-meaning evangelistic efforts, Finney fostered divisions within his own Presbyterian denomination. Those who opposed him tended to focus their attacks on three key features of his revivalistic work: his willingness to allow women to preach and pray in public, his admitted abandonment of traditional Calvinist (see CALVINISM) teachings about the workings of divine grace, and his openness to social reform. The latter two issues especially were to become critical factors in the NEW SCHOOL/OLD SCHOOL dispute that split the Presbyterian Church in 1837.

For many women in Finney's day, simply coming forward to the "anxious bench" to offer a public testimony about their faith represented a form of social and psychological emancipation. And the heavenly promises they received when they were spiritually reborn might also become the beginning of a new earthly life. On a purely mundane level, Finney employed women as assistants in the organizational work of his revivals, and he created women's auxiliaries that assured female participation in church work both locally and nationally. Some women gave such moving accounts of their conversion that they were invited to serve as traveling evangelists, speaking wherever revivals were held.

Finney's most notable theological innovation was the emphasis he placed on the human, rather than the divine, role in effecting religious transformation. As he declared in 1835 in his practical manual *Lectures on Revivals*, a "revival is not a miracle," but simply "the right use of the constituted means." In opposition to earlier teaching dating from the GREAT AWAKENING of the 18th century, when clergy argued that a revival should only be viewed (in JONATHAN EDWARDS's phrase) as "a surprising work of God," Finney believed that human beings could and should strive to seek divine blessing. Despite the Calvinist insistence that men and women were morally unable to choose between heaven and hell, Finney taught that God had given them power to make up their own minds. The title of his most famous sermon epitomizes the message Finney continually preached: "Sinners Bound to Change Their Own Hearts." In the exuberantly democratic era that celebrated the rise of Andrew Jackson and the "common man," when American politicians were not embarrassed to garner votes for their party, Finney conceived that the revivalist's work was likewise convincing sinners to cast their spiritual ballots for God.

Increasingly optimistic about the progress of revivals across the country and about the growth in church membership, Finney predicted in 1835 that the start of the millennium, the thousand-year reign of Christ on Earth, was only three years away. Finney's teaching on free will had always suggested the possibility of a person's attaining moral perfection in the present life. He was at first hesitant, however, about applying those theological beliefs to the political sphere, for he believed that society could be reformed only when human beings had been fully transformed from within. Thus, in 1830, he identified drinking alcohol as a sin to be eradicated by conversion, not by prohibition laws. Still, his emphasis on the need to dedicate oneself to the advancement of God's kingdom certainly was open to concrete social interpretations. In New York City in 1832, Finney concluded that slaveholding was sinful, and he refused membership in his church to anyone involved with the slave system. The next year, he allowed William Lloyd Garrison's new American Anti-Slavery Society to use his church building as a meeting place. And in the same period, he inspired THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, a young revivalist he had converted, to organize an abolition crusade in western New York and Ohio.

Although Finney's career changed course in 1832, he remained an influential figure in American Protestantism. After working for a brief period as a pastor in New York City, he accepted an appointment to the professorship of theology at newly founded Oberlin College in Ohio in 1835. Later, he served as president of the college from 1851 to 1866, and as pastor of the First Congregational Church in the town from 1837 to 1872. Finney's presence at Oberlin assured that the college would become a national center not only for revivalism, but also for antislavery and other reform movements.

Besides *Lectures on Revivals,* Finney's most important writings were *Lectures on Systematic Theology* (1846), which reflects the modifications he made of traditional Calvinist orthodoxy, and his informative *Memoirs,* published the year after he died. Although he resigned his pastorate at the church in Oberlin in 1872, Finney remained active as a lecturer at the college until shortly before his death. He died at his home in Oberlin on August 16, 1875.

GHS, Jr.

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First Amendment Adopted in 1791 to meet the objections that certain freedoms were not protected by the new Constitution, the First Amendment and the nine others ratified with it form what is commonly known as the Bill of Rights. They are understood to guarantee to the inhabitants of the United States rights the national government cannot infringe.

The First Amendment to the U.S. CONSTITUTION is arguably the most familiar, at least in broad outline, and the most important of the constitutional amendments. In this amendment are written all the legal guarantees that make freedom a meaningful term and democracy possible. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

In terms of religion, the amendment has two distinct clauses. One prohibits Congress from making any law respecting the establishment of religion. The other clause prevents Congress from passing any law prohibiting a person from the exercise of her or his religious beliefs. Originally applicable only to the federal government, these clauses were first applied to the state governments by the Supreme Court in the 1940s as among those rights protected by the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The meaning and application of these two clauses is for the Supreme Court to decide. The Court's duty is to apply these important yet vague formulations to specific situations. This task has increased in complexity since the Court's 1940 decision in *Cantwell v. Connecticut,* in which it argued that the "free exercise" clause of the amendment was binding on the states due to the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court has attempted to apply the religious clauses to legal statutes through the use of various metaphors. These have included "excessive entanglement," "wall of separation," and "legitimate secular purpose."

The need for such complex schemes of interpretation illustrates the difficulty in applying the "establishment" and "free exercise" clauses to particular cases. Nearly everyone would agree that human sacrifice should be punished as murder regardless of whether one's religion required it. But what of animal sacrifice? Is it unconstitutional for a city or state to outlaw animal sacrifices? In the case of *The Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah* (1993), the Supreme Court apparently decided that it is, if the ordinance is solely directed at a religious practice. Can a state pay for bus transportation for children attending religious schools? Yes, according to the Supreme Court in *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947). Such activity falls within the legitimate police powers of the state to protect citizens. Other CHURCH AND STATE issues decided by the Court have involved polygamy (no) (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS), compulsory public school prayer (no), compulsory school Bible reading (no), and Sunday closing laws (yes) (see SABBATARIANISM).

As one can see from this short list, the questions allow no easy answers and are bound to become more difficult. As the varieties of religious beliefs in the United States increase, scholars believe that the cultural hegemony of the Christian or Judeo-Christian tradition will be increasingly challenged. The federal courts will be called upon to decide the issues. In this role, they will struggle to determine the appropriate application of the "free exercise" and "establishment" clauses of the First Amendment to the new realities of America's religious landscape.

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Fosdick, Harry Emerson (1878–1969) A renowned Baptist preacher, theological liberal (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL), and social activist, Harry Emerson Fosdick was one of the most visible religious leaders of his day. Born in Buffalo, New York, on May 24, 1878, Fosdick converted at the age of seven and soon thereafter expressed a desire to serve as a missionary.

For the 1900–01 school year, Fosdick attended Colgate University, where he was influenced deeply by the liberal Baptist theologian WILLIAM NEWTON CLARK, who emphasized the need to separate the eternal substance of the Christian message from its transient historical forms. After a year at Colgate Seminary, Fosdick entered Union Theological Seminary in New York. His education there strengthened his liberal leanings. He also became a strong advocate of the SOCIAL GOSPEL, maintaining that the churches had a definite role to play in the creation of a more just social order. After graduating from Union in 1904, Fosdick took the pulpit at Montclair Baptist Church in New Jersey, where he developed a reputation as an outstanding preacher. He also taught at New York's Union Seminary, originally as a part-time instructor and later as professor of practical theology.

Upon returning from chaplaincy work in Europe in 1918 for the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, the young Baptist minister accepted a call to a Presbyterian pulpit at First Presbyterian Church in New York City. While there, Fosdick preached his most famous sermon. "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" was both a plea for less hostility between liberals and fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM) and a public refutation of major fundamentalist doctrines, including the virgin birth, which he claimed was inessential; the inerrancy of the Bible, which was, in his view, incredible; and the belief in the second coming of Christ, which he believed needed reevaluation. Published as "The New Knowledge and the Christian Faith," the sermon made Fosdick a lightning rod for fundamentalist attacks, especially in the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.). Many wanted the denomination to force Fosdick out of his Presbyterian pulpit. Although these attempts failed, he left the church in 1924.

At the urging of John D. Rockefeller, Fosdick was hired by Park Avenue Baptist Church, which five years later moved to its new building, Riverside Church. Nonsectarian and mission driven, Riverside Church became a center of liberal Protestantism and the Social Gospel. Among the numerous activities sponsored by the church was a job placement agency organized during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Fosdick's message extended far beyond his church. A highly popular radio show, *National Vespers,* and his many books brought his message to millions. Perhaps even more significant was the effect he had on the students in his classes on practical theology at Union Seminary.

After retiring from his pastorate in 1946, Fosdick led an active life promoting social and economic justice, racial harmony, and world peace. Although he had been a strong supporter of American entry in WORLD WAR I, even writing an enormously successful defense of American intervention—*The Challenge of the Present Crisis* (1917)—he became a convinced pacifist during the 1920s, a position he would hold the remainder of his life, even during WORLD WAR II. Despite his concern with the apparent intractability of evil, which made him less optimistic in his later years, Fosdick remained committed to the idea that human participation with God's activity in history was all that was necessary to overcome sin and evil. Although slowed by arthritis and a heart condition, Fosdick continued to be active until his death on October 5, 1969.

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Foursquare Gospel See MCPHERSON, AIMEE SEMPLE; PENTECOSTALISM.

Fourteenth Amendment The Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, is one of the three amendments to the United States CONSTITUTION adopted during the Reconstruction era. Along with the Thirteenth Amendment outlawing SLAVERY and the Fifteenth guaranteeing the right to vote regardless of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude, the Fourteenth Amendment was designed primarily to protect newly freed slaves from political and legal abuse.

The amendment has five sections. The second through fifth deal with issues emerging from the CIVIL WAR. They outline the punishments for states that disfranchise blacks, forbid the paying of Confederate war debts, and disbar Confederate leaders from elective office.

The first section, however, is by far the most important. It declares all persons born in the United States citizens of that nation and of the state in which they reside. It also forbids the states from passing any laws that "abridge the privileges and immunities" of United States citizens and from denying any of its citizens due process and equal protection under the laws.

This is significant because it seems to guarantee to the citizens of the various states the same rights they have as United States citizens. It was some time, however, before the implications of this amendment became part of American law. This happened through what is known as the incorporation doctrine, which states that within the "due process" clause of the amendment are included particular rights and liberties. The first time a Supreme Court majority took this position and incorporated (or included) sections of the FIRST AMENDMENT into the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause was in *Gitlow v. New York* (1925). In the majority opinion, Justice Edward Sanford wrote, "For the present purposes, we may and do assume that freedom of the speech and of the press . . . are among the fundamental rights and 'liberties' protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." Few recognized the significance of this point until the Court's decision in *Stromberg v. California* (1931) struck down a California statute prohibiting the display of a red flag as an emblem of anarchism. In the majority decision, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes wrote, "It has been determined that the conception of liberty under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment embraces the right of free speech."

In its decision in *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940), the Supreme Court broadened the incorporation doctrine to embrace the "free exercise" clause of the First Amendment. The incorporation of the "establishment" clause occurred in the Court's decision in *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947).

These latter decisions brought state and local laws touching on religion under the examination of the federal courts. The result was a proliferation of court cases as the implications of these rulings were worked out. Clearly, the Fourteenth Amendment and the incorporation doctrine have been very significant. They have protected the liberties and freedom of the citizens of the various states and prevented the suppression of unpopular opinions and religious views.

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Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790) One of the most influential and important members of colonial America as well as a dominant force in the move for independence and in drafting the CONSTITUTION, Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, on January 17, 1706. Raised in the ethos of Puritan (see PURITANISM) Boston, Franklin soon demonstrated his inventiveness, opposition to authoritarianism, and biting humor. Franklin also helped formulate what became, for many, the dominant cultural understanding of religion in the United States. He saw it as important and useful, something to be developed but also something that should not divide people but should drive them toward social improvement and doing good.

The 15th of 17 children of Josiah Franklin, a candle and soap maker, and his second wife, Abiah Folger, Franklin knew a modestly comfortable working-class life. His precociousness was readily apparent, and his parents desired him to study for the ministry. They initially sent him to a private school, but financial difficulties forced them to withdraw him. Franklin then attended one of the city's common schools, Boston Latin, but did not graduate. Franklin basically was self-taught, an undertaking aided greatly by his career as a printer that gave him ready access to books.

At the age of 12, he was apprenticed to his brother James, a printer in Boston. James, a fairly dour and uncreative type, was protective of his authority and proved a difficult taskmaster for Benjamin, whose creativity was accompanied by a significant ego. When his brother refused to let Franklin write for the *New England Courant*, the newspaper James started in 1721, Franklin submitted a series of letters to the paper under the name of Mrs. Silas Dogood, a middle-aged widow. Through 14 letters over seven months in 1722, Widow Dogood managed to become the talk of the town and the source of much speculation. When James finally discovered who the author was, he reprimanded his brother so severely that the latter ran away. Franklin arrived in Philadelphia in 1723 with $1 in his pocket and knowing no one in the city. He eventually found employment as a printer, and, although disappointed by several individuals who had promised to assist him in setting up a printing shop, Franklin slowly made his way into the business.

Philadelphia enabled Franklin to realize his full potential as an inventor, writer, and public servant. He helped to establish the city's volunteer fire department, the University of Pennsylvania, and the country's first hospital. In Philadelphia, Franklin's genial deism and commitment to social improvement developed into what could be seen as his religion.

The religious tolerance of the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania fused with Franklin's personality and his opposition to authority and helped mold Franklin's attitude to religion. In the colony, Quakers, Lutherans, Moravians, Baptists, and even Jews and Catholics lived in peace and economic prosperity. This experience led Franklin to develop the view that all people would be better off, personally and economically, if they developed an attitude of tolerance.

Franklin believed in God and in the social usefulness of religion. He felt religion was a source of morality and that it could develop fellow-feeling and community responsibility, but only if it did not become exclusivist and uncritical. His humorous writings often were directed at those tendencies in religions, particularly the Puritanism of his native Massachusetts Bay Colony.

In one of his stories, "A Witch Trial at Mount Holly," two accused witches were subjected to the following tests. They were to be weighed on a scale against a Bible and then tossed in the river with hands and feet bound to see if they floated. The accused agreed to submit to the tests, on the condition that the accusers agree to take them as well.

While Franklin apparently did not subscribe to any particular religious doctrine, he became a member of a Presbyterian church in Philadelphia and remained a pew-holder throughout his life, although after the first five Sundays he never attended again. When once asked about this, he replied, "I am a Presbyterian, but Sunday being my day to read, I do not frequent the meetings of that organization." This free-thinking attitude toward religion unnerved his parents. They once wrote him a letter expressing their concern over his "erroneous opinions." Franklin crafted a response that expressed his understanding of religious views and opinions, one many would come to see as the American attitude to religious beliefs. Franklin felt that it was vain for any one person to insist that "all the doctrines he holds are true and all he rejects are false." Just as no individual could be completely right all the time, neither could any religion. The doctrinal distinctions about which his mother worried had little importance for Franklin. He wrote, "I think vital religion has always suffered when orthodoxy is more regarded than virtue. And the Scripture assures me that at the last day we shall not be examined by what we thought, but what we did . . . that we did good to our fellow creatures." When, in the year of his death, he was queried by Ezra Stiles, a Congregational minister (see CONGREGATIONALISM) and president of Yale, about his religious beliefs, Franklin responded, "Here is my creed. I believe in one God, the creator of the universe. That he governs by his providence. That he ought to be worshipped. That the most acceptable service we render to him is doing good to his other children. That the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points in all sound religion, and I regard them as you do in whatever sect I meet with them."

Such an attitude led Franklin to support religious undertakings throughout the city of Philadelphia. He helped to raise money to construct an auditorium to be used, in Franklin's words, "for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something." That he truly meant any was demonstrated by his additional statement that "Even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service."

Franklin regularly contributed to the building funds of every denomination and religion in Philadelphia, including a donation of £5 to Congregation Mikveh Israel's in April 1788 for its new synagogue. When the British evangelist George Whitefield came to preach, Franklin, who initially had committed himself to giving him nothing, became so impressed with Whitefield's preaching that he refused to hear him again lest it bankrupt him.

During the July 4 celebrations in 1788, Franklin was too sick to leave his bed. The parade passed by his house, and from his window Franklin watched the marchers pass by according to his parade arrangements. For the first time, "the clergy of different Christian denominations, with the rabbi of the Jews, walked arm in arm." This was to be repeated two years later, when, upon his death, his casket was accompanied to the graveyard by the city's clergy of every faith.

While throughout U.S. history other views and approaches to religion emerge regularly, Franklin's attitude, his example, and his public life helped to create a distinctive approach to religion and religious pluralism, one that, at least on a functional level, has predominated over the course of American history. This view was based on a sense of tolerance, an aversion to tyranny, a commitment to free expression and compromise, the duty to respect others, and a sense of humility. The fact that the United States has in many ways and at most times embraced this approach (although not always and not without opposition) has made it possible to incorporate so many individuals of such differing religious views into a relatively peaceful country.

EQ

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Free Church Tradition See AMISH; CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN (DUNKERS); HUTTERITES; MENNONITES; MORAVIANS; PIETISM.

Freemasonry A moral and religious fraternal practice within the Judeo-Christian family, Freemasonry (or Masonry) arose in Britain early in the 18th century and quickly spread to the European continent and American colonies. The movement derives its name from the work of the masons of King Solomon's temple, whose physical labor in constructing this biblical house of worship is taken as a model for the task of building one's character in the modern world.

The precise origins of Freemasonry remain obscure. Many followers trace the roots of their tradition to King Solomon himself, or to still earlier biblical figures. From these beginnings, Masonry is said to have been kept alive by builders' guilds in ancient Rome and the Middle Ages as well as by the Knights Templar, a 12th-century military order that participated in the Crusades to regain Jerusalem, with its temple site, for Christianity. Some Masons, together with most scholars, distinguish between these sacred mythological origins and the rise of the movement in early 18th-century England and Scotland, when middle-class men, imbued with the new optimistic faith of the Enlightenment, began joining moribund lodges of operative Masons and turned them into spiritual chambers of ritual and symbolism. Organized Masonic history, in any case, dates from the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717.

Freemasonry immediately became popular in colonial towns and cities in North America. By the time of the Revolution, perhaps several thousand Americans, including such leading political figures as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, belonged to the brotherhood. Indeed, for a few years following the Revolution, Freemasonry supplied many of the beliefs and symbols of the new nation's CIVIL RELIGION. (One legacy from this period is the national seal of the United States, containing the Masonic symbol of the All-Seeing Eye placed at the apex of an Egyptian pyramid, that appears today on the one-dollar bill). But the faith of the Enlightenment was not to rule America. The rise of evangelical Protestantism in the early 19th century brought sharp attacks on the fraternity for its secrecy, exclusivity, and alleged idolatry, causing three-fourths of the lodges to close and membership to plummet. By 1850, however, Masonry had begun to recover and entered its period of greatest growth, reaching close to 1 million members by the year 1900, and its high point of about 4 million by the mid-1950s.

As products of the moderate British Enlightenment, Freemasons believe in many of the same tenets of rational religion shared by most Episcopalians and Unitarians: God (often referred to as "The Great Architect of the Universe") created everything in the universe but does not intervene directly in its operation; the human soul is immortal; reason provides adequate means to apprehend the laws of God in nature and morality; and the highest duty of humankind is to obey the laws of morality. Freemasons part company with Episcopalians, Unitarians, and all other Christians, however, in omitting the story of Jesus. They do this in the belief that Freemasonry teaches only those principles held in common by all the world's religions and thus can unite all men regardless of background. Not surprisingly, Jews have found such a universalistic faith hospitable, and they have been received into many, though not all, Masonic lodges. Nevertheless, a strong, though disguised, Christian element can be found in the most sacred of Masonic stories, that of Hiram Abif, King Solomon's master builder, who is murdered for his virtue and miraculously resurrected. Masons also celebrate the holidays of the Christian saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, and there exists a Masonic subgroup (the Order of Knights Templar) that explicitly reveres the Christian Trinity.

Beliefs alone, however, tell less than half the story of Freemasonry. The devotional life of Masonry centers around a series of rituals called "degrees," which progressively initiate members into the spiritual wisdom imparted by the tradition. This gnostic form of the brotherhood's practice raises the question of Freemasonry's connection with the occult. Scattered references to the ancient mystery religions of the Middle East, Egypt, and Greece as well as to various European strains of mysticism and magic (hermeticism, Rosicrucianism [see ROSICRUCIANS], and alchemy) can be found in the earliest records of the fraternity, and some of these themes achieved greater elaboration as Masonry developed. But whereas the leading traditions of the occult aim to lead a follower to a mystical experience of oneness with the sacred forces of the universe, Freemasonry seeks no such communion. Rather, it uses its ties to pre-Christian faiths simply to support its claim to universalism and to enhance the ceremonial appeal of its beliefs.

Considering the significant differences that separate the fraternity from the mainstream of Protestant evangelical and liberal faith in the United States, Masonry has had a remarkably large influence on American life. In addition to attracting an enormous membership of its own, the brotherhood has spawned women's auxiliaries and youth groups for boys and girls. It has also stimulated the emergence of a vast number of fraternal organizations, from the Independent Order of Odd Fellows to the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, the religious meanings of whose practices remain unexplored but may well hold much in common with the outlook of Freemasonry.

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Free Methodist Church See METHODISTS.

Free Religious Association See FROTHINGHAM, OCTAVIUS BROOKS.

free thought See ATHEISM.

Free Will Baptists See BAPTISTS.

Frelinghuysen, Theodorus Jacobus (1691–1748) Theodorus J. Frelinghuysen was one of the founders of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. A minister in the Raritan Valley of New Jersey, he achieved notoriety for his insistence on the necessity of conversion and living a godly life. As a result of this evangelical emphasis, Frelinghuysen is now generally regarded as the herald of the remarkable series of mid-18th-century revivals known as the GREAT AWAKENING.

Frelinghuysen was born near the Dutch border at Hagen, Germany, in November 1691. The son of a Reformed pastor and educated at the University of Lingen, he was profoundly influenced by continental PIETISM, a religious movement that stressed personal holiness. Frelinghuysen served briefly in two separate pastorates in the Netherlands following his ordination. In 1720, he migrated to America, where, as a Reformed clergyman, he was under the jurisdiction of the Dutch Reformed Church. He served churches in New Jersey for almost three decades.

Because many of his clerical colleagues considered him more troublesome than saintly, Frelinghuysen's persistent emphasis on heartfelt piety made him an influential, but unpopular, figure in church affairs in the New World. Overturning the cold formalism that characterized Reformed churches at that time, he laid down strict requirements for admission to Communion. Frelinghuysen demanded that the "unconverted" be excluded from the Lord's table until they could testify to their genuine repentance and reliance on the Holy Spirit. He criticized the ecclesiastical hierarchy back in Amsterdam, moreover, for failing to send pietist clergy to America. Since he also encouraged lay participation in church life, which soon fostered growth in the areas where he ministered, leaders of the Great Awakening such as GILBERT TENNENT, JONATHAN EDWARDS, and GEORGE WHITEFIELD later testified to Frelinghuysen's influence on their evangelistic work.

Frelinghuysen trained several young men for the ministry and caused a considerable stir in his denomination when he ordained them himself, without obtaining permission from church headquarters in Holland. Seeking local autonomy for Dutch churches, he helped organize the first coetus (organization of churches) in America in 1747. Although he did not live to see this movement come to fruition, Frelinghuysen's leadership was critical to the eventual formation of an independent Dutch Reformed Church in 1755.

The exact date and place of Frelinghuysen's death are unknown. He is assumed to have died in New Jersey in about 1748.

GHS, Jr.

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French Reformed

See HUGUENOTS.

Friends, Religious Society of (Quakers)

The Religious Society of Friends, popularly known as the Quakers, dates its founding to 1652, when George Fox, standing on Pendle Hill in northwest England, received a vision from God. This vision lifted Fox out of his frustration with the failures of the numerous contending religious groups that had emerged in England during the Puritan revolution. Long a searcher for religious truth, Fox was near despair when he heard the voice of God telling him that "there is one even Jesus Christ who can speak to your condition." Fox interpreted this message to mean that the immediacy of the spiritual presence was the source of all religious truth. This became the basis for the Quaker doctrine of the inner light—the spirit of the transcendent God perceptibly entering into human consciousness.

Fox took this message throughout England, preaching the need for complete and true obedience to Christ. This obedience included pacifism, a rejection of oaths, and the refusal to make prescribed signs of respect—such as removing one's hat—to social superiors. Such attitudes often brought the Quakers into conflict with political and religious authorities both in England and in the American colonies.

The first Quakers came to British America in July 1656, when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived in Boston aboard a ship from Barbados. The colonial authorities quickly arrested them on charges of witchcraft and shipped them back. No sooner had this happened than another group arrived to meet the same welcome. In response to this growing influx of religious enthusiasts, the colony barred ships from landing Quakers in the colony. In response, Quakers started settling in the religiously tolerant colony of Rhode Island. From there, they continued their attempts to take their religious message to the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, where the authorities adopted increasingly extreme measures in response, including the execution of four Quakers on Boston Common.

The founding of Pennsylvania (see PENNSYLVANIA [COLONY]) in 1681 by the Quaker WILLIAM PENN provided a place of refuge for English Quakers, as well as persecuted religious groups throughout Europe. Under Quaker leadership, the colony became prosperous and successful, but the demands of running the colony, especially during the French and Indian War, threatened their religious tenets and led Quakers to remove themselves from the colony's assembly.

Quakers in the United States held their first General Meeting in 1681 in Burlington, New Jersey. In 1685, it merged with the Philadelphia annual meeting to become "The General Yearly Meeting for Friends of Pennsylvania, East Jersey, and of the Adjacent Provinces." Now known as the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, it is the oldest Quaker group in the United States.

Although Quakers early settled in the southern states, their growing opposition to slavery made them increasingly unwelcome there. As tension between proslavery and antislavery forces intensified, Quakers increasingly left the South for the newly opened regions of Ohio and Indiana, giving the Midwest a fairly large Quaker population, but a minuscule presence south of the Ohio River.

One significant element of Quaker history that should not be overlooked is that from the beginning, women had an equal role in the community's activity. Knowing that God was no respecter of persons, Quakers recognized that the divine spirit could settle anywhere, and so women have played a major role in the denomination's history. Equally significant was the fact that this equality within the denomination led Quaker women such as Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott to leadership roles in the struggle for women's rights.

Although there are fewer than 120,000 Friends in the United States, they are divided into three main theological groupings. The largest, the Friends United Meeting, most resembles mainstream Protestantism with its programmed meetings and hired ministers. Numbering around 45,000, they consider themselves to be the continuation of the "orthodox" Friends who did not separate during the numerous schisms of the 1800s.

The Friends General Conference is a result of the Hicksite controversy in Quakerism. In the 1820s, a Quaker minister named Elias Hick began to condemn the growing worldliness and formalism of the Quakers. After several years of controversy, Hick's followers withdrew from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to organize what became the General Conference. The churches affiliated with the Friends General Conference do not prepare worship services but wait for the divine spirit to lead one to speak. The conference numbers about 35,000 members and is the most active in social issues.

The Evangelical Friends Alliance, with roughly 39,000 members, was formed in 1965 by Friends meetinghouses influenced by EVANGELICALISM. It brought together congregations that had recently adopted evangelical practice with older congregations formed by the schism created when the British Quaker John Gurney visited the United States in 1837–40 and urged the adoption of revivalistic methods and a salaried ministry.

The remaining Quakers are joined in several different meetings that are not affiliated with any of the above conferences. Despite these differences in affiliation, most of the conferences are on good terms with each other and join in numerous activities, primarily social action, through such bodies as the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Committee for National Legislation.

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frontier A term broadly applied to areas of social, cultural, political, and economic contact, the *frontier* has traditionally indicated a line of advance that marked the gradual process by which European-American migrants settled and "civilized" western regions of the North American continent, rendering order from apparent chaos. Following the thesis posited by Frederick Jackson Turner in the 1890s, many scholars have seen the social transformation that occurred on the American frontier as directly responsible for the creation of a distinctive American identity. In recent years, this paradigm of westward movement has been the focus of considerable debate and revision, as historians have acknowledged the drawbacks of viewing American history solely from the perspective of European-American migration.

Drawing upon Turner's thesis, scholars until recently have depicted religion on the frontier almost solely in terms of the spread of Protestant Christianity westward, focusing on the characteristic forms that religious adherence assumed in an environment of continuous social formation. William Warren Sweet, the best-known scholar of "frontier religion," has argued that the institutions and practices that came to be most closely associated with American evangelical religion in the 19th century were largely a product of a frontier culture. The individualism, emotionalism, pragmatism, anti-intellectualism, and egalitarianism that came to characterize evangelical religion were attributed to the needs and desires of a mobile, sparsely settled, and largely agrarian population.

The most widespread and best-known of these religious practices was REVIVALISM, the periodic gathering of participants and observers for the purpose of encouraging emotionally charged religious fellowship and individual conversions to Christianity. Although revivals had characterized evangelical Protestantism during the GREAT AWAKENING of the 18th century, they became an intrinsic aspect of religious life during the early 19th century, as European-American migrants settled territories west of the original 13 states.

In 1801, Cane Ridge, Kentucky, was the site of a large revival (see CANE RIDGE REVIVAL) in which some 3,000 participants experienced tremendous outpourings of enthusiastic spiritual expression, including dancing, singing, barking, jerking, and rolling. Such CAMP MEETINGS also gave rise to a particular brand of itinerant preacher, men and women who could "stir up" the passions of individuals, create a strong sense of religious community with little regard to denominational affiliation, and evoke from their listeners the desire to repent and convert. CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, the most famous frontier itinerant, preached throughout New York State and instituted a series of "new measures," practices that set the pattern for revivalism into the 20th century. Finney's innovations included praying for individuals by name, encouraging women to speak in public, and using an "anxious bench" at the front of the assembly so that participants considering conversion could come before the entire congregation. In construing a revival as a function of human practices and passions, Finney also downplayed the role of God as the initiator of conversion and heightened the importance of individual enterprise and assent.

This pattern of frontier revivalism, instigated in New York, Kentucky, and other areas encompassing the line of European-American settlement, set the stage for evangelical practices on frontiers farther west throughout the 19th century. Camp meetings, sometimes lasting three to five days, provided social interaction and the foundations of community organization for settlers who had left their homes and families back east. Denominational structures were transformed to meet the needs of the westward migration, and revivalism favored those organizations, especially BAPTISTS and METHODISTS, that were flexible enough to adjust to a variety of social and cultural settings.

But if the frontier has provided a setting for the extension of Protestant religious groups westward, it has also promoted experimentation and syncretism. European Americans who had severed their ties with eastern communities and churches were often more likely to entertain new religious ideas and practices. Just as Finney's new measures thrived in the environment of western New York, so too did new religions such as Mormonism, Shaker communities, and a variety of utopian experiments find rich soil and ready believers. New religious groups, seeking further distance from a society that often barely tolerated their practices, proved instrumental in the subsequent development of American frontiers.

Scholars in recent years have chosen to look at frontiers not simply as lines of European-American settlement, but as places of intercultural contact among a variety of migrants, including Native Americans and settlers with roots in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In this view, a frontier does not necessarily imply a movement from social chaos to order, but instead indicates meetings, negotiations, and often confrontations among a multiplicity of cultures about what constitutes community life. Additionally, it has been argued persuasively that even European-American settlement never followed a continuous, slowly advancing cultural front, but instead functioned in a variety of ways, giving rise to urban, agricultural, mining, timber, and ranching frontiers, all with different forms of social and religious organization. Rather than seeing in these newer definitions of the frontier a loss of religious coherence, some scholars view them as an opportunity to explore religious beliefs and practices in myriad circumstances, and indeed to expand more traditional concepts of what constitutes religion itself.

LMK

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Frothingham, Octavius Brooks (1822–1895)

Octavius B. Frothingham was a Unitarian minister and first president of the Free Religious Association, an ultraliberal theological movement that (in Frothingham's words) went "beyond Christianity." His ministry and growing disenchantment with theistic beliefs symbolized a general transition within American Unitarianism as a whole after the CIVIL WAR. In the second half of the 19th century, Frothingham's denomination changed from being a recognizably Christian church to a religious organization with an essentially humanistic focus.

Frothingham was born in Boston on November 26, 1822. Following his graduation from Harvard College (1843) and Harvard Divinity School (1846), he became the pastor of the North Church in Salem, Massachusetts, where he served for eight years. He next led churches in Jersey City, New Jersey (1855–59), and in New York City (1859–79), eventually transforming New York's Third Unitarian Society into the so-called Independent Liberal Church. In 1872, he published *The Religion of Humanity,* one of the classic expressions of naturalistic religious thought in postbellum America. Frothingham also wrote *Transcendentalism in New England* (1876), an insider's view of that movement and the earliest history of TRANSCENDENTALISM.

When the National Conference of Unitarian Churches was organized in 1865 with a constitution that officially committed the denomination to the "Lordship of Christ," Frothingham and other religious radicals began to make plans to cut their institutional ties with Unitarianism. Instrumental in founding the Free Religious Association in 1867, he was elected its president, a post he held until 1878. Frothingham also contributed numerous articles to *The Index,* the association's journal. The Free Religion movement was short-lived and by the end of the century had been reabsorbed into Unitarianism. However, Unitarianism itself had changed and was far more compatible with religious humanism (see SECULAR HUMANISM) than it had been a half-century before.

Because of ill health, Frothingham retired from the Independent Liberal Church in 1879, and the congregation soon disbanded after his departure. Still active as a writer in retirement, he died in Boston on November 27, 1895.

(See also MODERNISM [PROTESTANT].)

GHS, Jr.

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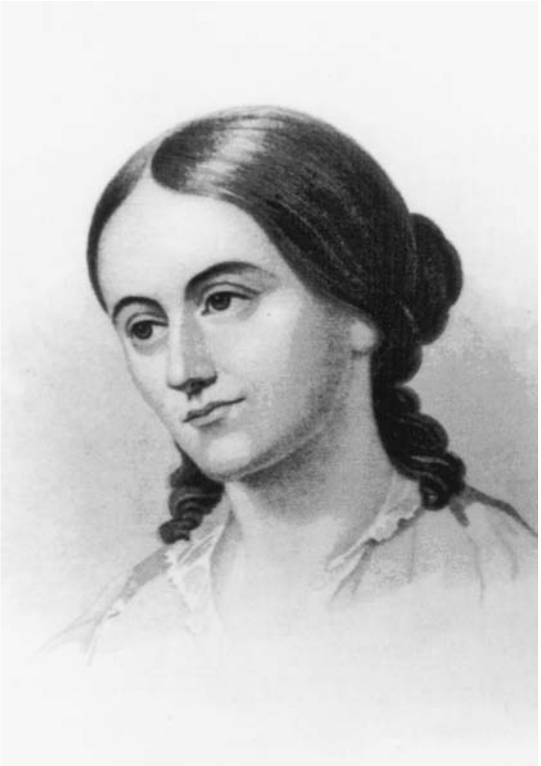
Fuller, Charles E. See ELECTRONIC CHURCH.

Fuller, Sarah Margaret (1810–1850) Writer, reformer, literary critic, and acclaimed conversationalist, Margaret Fuller synthesized the convictions of TRANSCENDENTALISM and the concerns of early women's rights activists. Though dismissed during her lifetime as a second-rate author, Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) survives as a classic in the tradition of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) and Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1953). Fuller's thought also lives on in contemporary FEMINIST THEOLOGY.

Fuller was born in 1810 in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, where her facility with languages such as Latin, Greek, Italian, and French earned her a reputation as a child prodigy. Her family moved to Groton, Massachusetts, in 1833. They relocated in 1839 to Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, where in that same year Fuller organized a conversation circle for prominent Boston women, many of them transcendentalists. In 1840, Fuller became editor in chief of *The Dial,* an organ for transcendentalist thought and literature. She served in that post for four years. Fuller moved in 1844 to New York City, where she worked as a literary critic at Horace Greeley's reform-minded paper, the *New York Tribune.* She relocated in 1846 to Europe, where she mingled with such luminaries as Thomas Carlyle, William Wordsworth, and George Sand. In Italy, she met and married Giovanni Angelo, marquis Ossoli. During the European revolutions of 1848, she served as a nurse and chief administrator at the Hospital of the Trinity to the Pilgrims, which served Roman soldiers. After the French took Rome in 1849, she and her husband fled with their newborn child to a mountain village and, eventually, to Florence. From there, Fuller decided, in the spring of 1850, to return with her family to the United States. Tragically, the boat that was carrying Fuller, her husband, and her child ran aground off Fire Island, just short of their New York destination, and all three perished on July 19, 1850.

Fuller once confided to transcendentalist WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING her "secret hope" that women would some day contribute significantly to the American literary tradition, and her own work helped to transform that hope into a reality. During her lifetime, however, Fuller was noted more as a conversationalist than as an author. Though the universal reformer Thomas Wentworth Higginson praised Fuller as "the best literary critic whom America has yet seen," detractors from James Russell Lowell to Perry Miller dismissed her as a woman whose ego far outweighed her capacities as a thinker and as a writer.



Margaret Fuller, transcendentalist writer whose *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) was the first philosophical statement of feminism by an American woman.

A new generation of scholars has begun to challenge this consensus. The book they esteem most highly is *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, a feminist manifesto that in their view provided much of the inspiration and intellectual foundation for the women's movement. Fuller's *Woman* shared much with Mary Wollstonecraft's earlier work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. But whereas Wollstonecraft grounded her feminist views in Enlightenment notions of rights, Fuller proceeded from Romantic notions such as the glories of the cultivation of the individual soul. Among "the prophets of the coming age" whom *Woman* conjured up were the socialist Charles Fourier, the seer Emmanuel Swedenborg (see SWEDENBORGIANISM), and the German romantic Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Transcendentalism was, however, the most notable philosophical and religious influence on Fuller's work. Along with intimates such as RALPH WALDO EMERSON and JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, Fuller affirmed such Transcendentalist verities as human perfectibility, historical progress, and self-reliance. She, too, trusted spirit more than matter, intuition more than reason. Because she believed that women were "intuitive in function, spiritual in tendency," she found room in her work to heap praise on her sex.

Fuller belied the title of her most famous book by examining the roles and images of women from ancient to modern times. She discussed in *Woman* both the Madonna and Isis and drew on Hindu myths and European folklore as well as the Bible. Among the theological affirmations of the book was Fuller's insistence that God was immanent in both women and men. Women should devote their lives first and foremost, Fuller argued, to God, not men. Fuller shocked many of her readers by discussing frankly taboo subjects such as prostitution and by her insistence that Christianity had done little to improve the lot of women.

Though Fuller's *Woman* was largely forgotten in the first half of the 20th century, it inspired a generation of early American feminists. In July 1848, three years after the book appeared, friends of Fuller organized the first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York. Their Declaration of Sentiments owed much, of course, to the Declaration of Independence; but it may have owed more to Fuller's *Woman*.

SRP

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fundamentalism (general)

Fundamentalism is a word used to identify certain movements within a variety of religions. It is an expansion of the original use of the word to identify a form of Protestantism (see FUNDAMENTALISM [PROTESTANT]) that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The word was extended to movements in other religions because of the perception that they share approaches to scripture, morality, social organization, and the modern world. While some scholars (and representatives of the movements) have expressed discomfort and opposition to this expansion, it has become common usage and does seem to be a useful term.

While many view fundamentalisms as a return to older and purer forms of the religious tradition (and this invariably is the claim of those who hold to the views), it is important to see that fundamentalisms are themselves modern phenomena. They are modern responses to new realities, usually perceived as challenges to religion. These often are developments in science and other forms of knowledge, including those that seem to challenge the divine nature of revelation (usually the religious scripture) as well as new social and cultural developments seen as threats to the divinely sanctioned social order.

The challenges can vary from society to society and from religion to religion, although several perceived threats are usually shared. For fundamentalists within the three monotheisms, EVOLUTION invariably is viewed as a major challenge, both to their doctrine of the human being and to their view of the divinely revealed nature of religious scriptures. Another shared perception of threat is the loss of cultural dominance, often linked with the view that this loss means that society has begun moving in a direction contrary to God's will. From Protestant fundamentalists in the United States to Muslim fundamentalists in Egypt to Buddhist fundamentalists in Sri Lanka, the demand that society conform to the divine will is powerful. The view that society has to be brought back into conformity with the divine will also explains fundamentalists' movement into the political arena and some of their willingness to use violence. Compromise is unacceptable because it means rejecting the divine will.

Groups to which it is reasonable to apply the generic term *fundamentalist* share certain views. These are

1. a view that religious scriptures are divinely revealed and completely without error (see INERRANCY);
2. a view of religious knowledge as propositional, as a set of rules knowable from revelation;
3. since the divine will can be known, it must be realized;
4. failure to realize the divine will on Earth will lead to social punishment;
5. an obligation to separate from those who are not true believers; and
6. strict moral codes.

Within the different forms of fundamentalism, there is a real conflict between those who believe that the combination of points 3 and 4 require true believers to be actively engaged with the wider world through politics and even violence (see RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE; TERRORISM, RELIGION AND). While politically engaged fundamentalists and even groups willing to use violence have received the greatest attention by scholars and the mass media, there are numerous fundamentalist groups whose response has been to withdraw from the world. In many ways, the Old Order AMISH represent this model, but for decades it was the model of Protestant fundamentalists in the United States and Muslim fundamentalists in India.

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fundamentalism (Protestant) Fundamentalism—a form of Protestant Christianity distinguished by its commitment to biblical INERRANCY, DISPENSATIONALISM, strict morality, and religious separatism—slowly emerged out of the mainstream of American evangelical Protestantism (see EVANGELICALISM) during the last third of the 19th century. By the 1920s, when the term was first used, fundamentalism was a separate and recognizable religious movement whose adherents viewed themselves as heirs of orthodox Christianity. In the late 19th and early 20th century, this was at least partially true. During that time, fundamentalists had not separated from other conservative evangelical Christians with whom they shared an opposition to EVOLUTION, biblical criticism, MODERNISM, and liberalism.

But fundamentalists were not true heirs. They adopted new ideas and new concepts as transformative of the Christian tradition as the modernists they opposed. The new ideas were dispensationalism, PREMILLENNIALISM, and biblical inerrancy. While all three had antecedents in the history of Christianity, they had never been dominant. Within fundamentalism, however, they became determinative for judging a believer's orthodoxy.

Premillennialism cut across the grain of American Protestantism. Historically, American Protestantism was postmillennial (see POSTMILLENNIALISM), meaning that most Protestants believed Christ's return would occur after the millennium, the thousand years of peace and prosperity. This belief fit well with the optimism that marked the United States. Premillennialism presented a different face entirely. Premillennialists rejected the possibility of progress, asserting that this world was destined for decline and decay.

This version of premillennialism was based on a theory of biblical interpretation known as dispensationalism. Originating in England, dispensationalism was formalized in the United States by Cyrus Scofield's *Scofield Reference Bible.* Dispensationalism claims that world history is divided into various periods of time, dispensations. These periods, of which there are seven, are marked by changing relationships between humanity and God and are foreshadowed in the Bible.

If the biblical description of historical events determined the understanding of humanity's relationship to God, the Bible had to be true, inerrant. For fundamentalists, this term contained the idea that the Bible was not only reliable but also precise. Seven days meant seven days. This level of precision meant the Bible was completely adequate on all issues. Anything contradicting the Bible was wrong. The Bible contained facts, not theories.

This conviction brought fundamentalists into sharp conflict with their opponents, who tried to harmonize the Bible and science. Evolution and biblical criticism were not demonstrably true, claimed the fundamentalists, but mere hypotheses. In fact, evolution directly contradicted their view of science as the collection and cataloging of facts. Evolution was a theory that adapted facts to fit it.

Fundamentalists were fighting a cultural battle as well—a battle against America's Gilded Age. They feared that American society had lost all sense of the spiritual nature of human beings, who were nothing more than objects to be bought and sold, and social Darwinism demonstrated that the losers deserved to fail. Combined with these more reflective views were the confusion and fear of those who suffered during that period of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration.

No event served to solidify fundamentalism as much as WORLD WAR I. For fundamentalists, the war was the result of the ideas of Charles Darwin, Friedrich Nietzsche, and biblical criticism. Germany was the source of both biblical criticism and the Nietzschean superman. In the popular fundamentalist mind, the violence and rapacity of the Germans resulted directly from their rejection of biblical truth. To the fundamentalists, the war demonstrated what would happen to the world when morality and Christianity were undermined.

The fusion of these ideas into a powerful movement occurred during the 1920s, when the sniping between religious conservatives and moderates became an all-out war. The modernists were better organized and better established. In 1919, fundamentalists found a unified voice in the World Christian Fundamentals Association. This organization, explicitly premillennial and dispensational, was formed to combat the spread of modernism within the denominations.

The following year, a broader group of conservatives within the Northern Baptist Convention organized a fundamentals group to remove modernists from the denomination. One of this group's leaders, Curtis Lee Laws, editor of the denomination's *Watchman-Examiner,* and neither a dispensationalist nor an inerrantist, coined the term *fundamentalist.*

As the fundamentalists attempted to remove the corrupt from the fold, they found themselves increasingly isolated, antagonizing their allies as much as their opponents. Rather than maintain alliances with theological conservatives, they insisted upon acceptance of dispensationalism, premillennialism, and inerrancy as marks of orthodoxy. By this categorization, Laws himself was excluded.

During the 1920s, the Presbyterians (both North and South), the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions, the Disciples of Christ, and to a lesser extent other denominations were dominated by conflicts with the fundamentalists. With their insistence upon dispensationalism, premillennialism, and inerrancy as proof of right belief, fundamentalists often alienated their allies and allowed their opponents to frame the debate over the issues of tolerance and inclusiveness. By 1926, fundamentalism was a spent force within the major denominations. The more militant fundamentalists left to found new denominations or centered their activities in interdenominational fundamentalist organizations, thus beginning the history of fundamentalism as one of sectarianism and separatism.

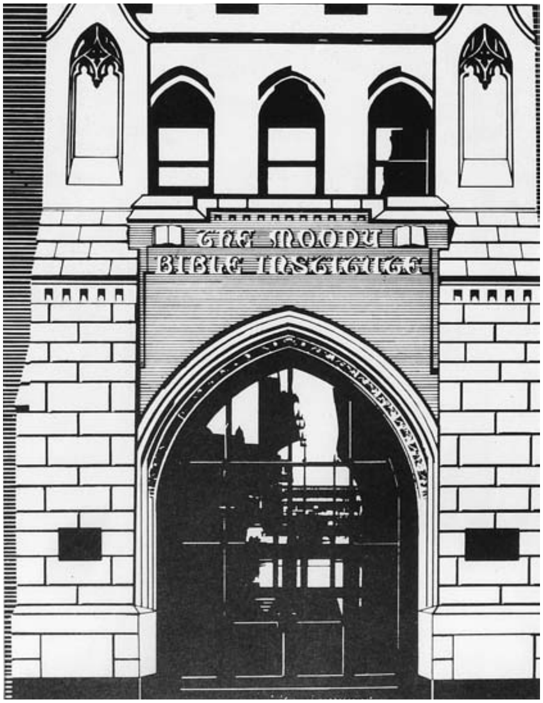
The failure to purge the denominations of modernists signalled the death knell for fundamentalism within mainstream Protestant evangelicalism. The trial of John Scopes (see SCOPES TRIAL) for teaching evolution discredited fundamentalism as a cultural movement. The eventual conviction of Scopes was lost amid the carnival atmosphere of the trial. Led by H. L. MENCKEN, the nation's media reported the defeat of a crusade, a defeat that drove the fundamentalists underground. For the next several decades, fundamentalists' despair over the world led to a rejection of both American culture and politics.

Fundamentalism did not die following the defeats of the 1920s, but merely retrenched. Some fundamentalists, disgusted with sectarianism and conflict, left the movement. Calling themselves neoevangelicals, they became the respectable face of conservative Protestantism. Others followed a path of increasing sectarianism. J. Frank Norris, BOB JONES, and Carl McIntire are only three who opted for strict separatism.

By the mid-1950s, separatism, the refusal to have anything to do with nonfundamentalists, had become the final element in defining fundamentalism. In 1957, BILLY GRAHAM, until that time a darling of the fundamentalists, accepted the sponsorship of the ecumenical Protestant Council for his New York crusade. This split the fundamentalist movement and narrowed the term's use to strict separatists. Separatism increasingly isolated the movement in the 1950s and 1960s.

What many in the 1920s saw as a dead movement returned in the late 1970s and 1980s. The social dislocation of the 1960s sent many people into the fundamentalist fold. Patriotism, morality, and security were the traditional values to which fundamentalists appealed.

These themes were combined with a message of a supposedly simpler time—a time when drug use and abortion were shameful secrets, and people could walk the streets safely. Fundamentalists made sophisticated use of the media and developed effective organizations. No one managed this better than JERRY FALWELL, who from his church in Lynchburg, Virginia, created a political movement, the MORAL MAJORITY, that touched resonant chords even among those opposed to his religious views. These chords played the music



The Moody Bible Institute is a major center that has trained generations to interpret the Bible as the literal word of God. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

that helped to elect Ronald Reagan president in 1980.

While Falwell eventually would increasingly remove himself from the political fray, his place was taken by others, including Pat Robertson. The strength fundamentalists had shown in developing their organizations was put at the service of political goals, and by the 1990s, fundamentalists had become a major, if not the major, force within the Republican Party.

The fundamentalist resurgence had a significant impact in the religious realm as well. Serious questions about doctrine affected two denominations historically aloof from such debates—the Southern Baptist Convention and the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. During the 1970s, these denominations experienced the controversies other denominations had suffered during the 1920s. This time, however, the fundamentalists emerged victorious. While the effect within the Missouri Synod was not that visible, given its historical tradition of separatism and its confessional basis, the opposite was the case for the Southern Baptists. Its size, the diversity within it, and the resulting rejection of many historical doctrinal views transformed the denomination into something new and different.

(See also evangelicalism; *Fundamentals, The*.)

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Fundamentals, The *The Fundamentals* was a 12-volume paperback series of books published between 1910 and 1915 in defense of what its authors believed was traditional Christian orthodoxy. Intended simply as a "testimony to the truth" (as the subtitle of the books puts it), the series gave shape and intellectual substance to the conservative theological movement now called fundamentalism that had emerged in England and America at the end of the 19th century.

The project was the brainchild of Lyman Stewart, a wealthy California businessman who financed the publishing venture with the aid of his brother and partner, Milton. Stewart hired well-known Baptist evangelist AMZI CLARENCE DIXON, then pastor of DWIGHT L. MOODY's church in Chicago, as the editor of the first five volumes. Dixon later edited a four-volume edition in 1917 as well. The work was eventually completed by REUBEN ARCHER TORREY and Louis Meyer, and it contained 90 articles written by many of the most distinguished conservative theologians and Bible scholars of the day. The Stewarts mailed some 3 million free copies of *The Fundamentals* to Protestant leaders throughout the English-speaking world in an attempt to spread their views.

The essays tended to be quite moderate in tone and discussed a variety of popular and scholarly topics. The articles carefully avoided the most pressing political issues of the day, including Prohibition, and assumed that the church should remain entirely aloof from social concerns. The books, moreover, made virtually no mention of controversial theological beliefs about the second coming of Christ, then popular among some conservative Protestants. And despite opposition to Darwinist theories about biology and the origins of humankind, a few essayists even made room for a theistic form of evolution, that is, the possibility that God had directed the evolutionary development of life on Earth.

In terms of the subject matter of the series, about a third of the articles dealt with the Bible and defended it against attacks by liberal critics who rejected the validity of portions of its text. The authors of *The Fundamentals* believed that the Scriptures were not only scientifically and rationally verifiable, but also wholly without error. Another third of the essays discussed traditional theological questions such as the doctrine of the Trinity and teachings about sin and salvation. The rest of the writings are somewhat more difficult to classify; some contained condemnations of various modern "heresies" (Mormonism, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, and SPIRITUALISM), and others made appeals to readers to engage in missionary and evangelistic work.

The immediate response to *The Fundamentals* was surprisingly muted, and neither serious theological journals nor popular religious magazines gave the books more than passing notice. It is now clear, however, that the series, which coined the term later identified with a broad, antimodern movement in the 20th century, represented an important transitional phase in the development of a new religious phenomenon. Although for a time "fundamentalism" remained only a loose alliance of Protestant traditionalists, by the 1920s, the movement had become more militant and had begun to jettison the moderate positions espoused by its earliest proponents. Thus, while the initial reception of *The Fundamentals* was meager, the long-term significance of those volumes for American Protestantism has been and continues to be immense.

GHS, Jr.

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Furman, Richard (1755–1825) Richard Furman was a Baptist minister and prominent religious leader in South Carolina in the early 19th century. A strong advocate of centralized authority in ecclesiastical affairs, he was the first president of the Triennial Convention, the original national body of BAPTISTS. Known among his colleagues as the "apostle of education," he developed an educational plan for his denomination in 1817, and Furman University, the first Baptist college in the South, was named in his honor.

Furman was born in Esopus, New York, on October 9, 1755. His family moved to the South shortly after his birth. Although he had little formal education, he was a bright student who was able to learn a good deal by studying at home. He was converted by revival-oriented Separate Baptists in 1771 and immediately began work as an evangelist. Furman won renown for his preaching while he was still a teenager, serving as a Baptist pastor near Charleston, South Carolina, after 1774. Although his support of the American cause during the War for Independence forced him to flee from the British in South Carolina, he was able to return home after the war. In 1787, he became minister of the First Baptist Church in Charleston, then the most prominent Baptist church in the South.

Furman's organizational ideas emphasized the importance of centralized missionary and educational efforts. When Baptists formed the General Missionary Convention (soon known as the Triennial Convention) to give needed support to Baptist overseas missionaries, Furman was chosen as its initial president in 1814. He was elected to a second three-year term in 1817. Furman also was active in the organization of the South Carolina Baptist Convention, the denomination's first state convention. He headed the South Carolina organization between 1821 and 1825. In addition, he served as moderator of the Charleston Baptist Association for more than 25 years.

Furman's most lasting contribution to his church was in the field of education. While the early Baptist movement tended to disparage the importance of education, Furman insisted that meeting educational needs, especially training young men for the ministry, would be essential for the denomination's long-term success. He founded a committee to raise funds for education, and he directed it for 34 years. He also urged Baptists in Georgia and the Carolinas to build a college and theological school, which were established shortly after his death.

Furman held the pastor's position at the First Baptist Church from 1787 until his death nearly four decades later. He died at High Hills, South Carolina, on August 25, 1825.

GHS, Jr.

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Garvey, Marcus (1887–1940) Marcus Garvey organized the first mass movement of blacks in the United States by emphasizing racial pride, self-sufficiency, and unity. Although the movement collapsed following his deportation from the United States in 1927, he laid the groundwork for the demands of black empowerment that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s.

Born in St. Anne's Bay, Jamaica, on August 17, 1887, Marcus Garvey was the youngest of 11 children. Of African descent, Garvey suffered under Jamaica's strict three-color caste system of whites, creoles (those of mixed race), and blacks. Despite this social discrimination, his father's descent from Maroons—escaped slaves who successfully defended their freedom against both the Spanish and English—gave the young Garvey pride in being black.

Forced by poverty to leave school at the age of 14, Garvey became a printer's apprentice and in 1904 went to Kingston, where he participated in an unsuccessful printer's strike in 1907. Following his debacle, he bounced around the Caribbean and Central America, working as a journalist and fruit picker. Angered by the exploitation and mistreatment of his fellow workers, he complained to British consular officials, whose indifference convinced Garvey that blacks could not rely on whites for justice and aid.

He traveled to England in 1912, where he met Africans for the first time. This led to an interest in African affairs, and he began to write for the *Africa Times and Orient Review.* During this period, Garvey read BOOKER T. WASHINGTON's autobiography, *Up from Slavery.* Although he opposed Washington's political quiescence, Garvey was drawn to Washington's plea for black economic independence and self-sufficiency.

In 1914, he returned to Jamaica, where, on August 1, he organized the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League (UNIA), designed to draw the race together through education, commercial development, and racial pride. Invited to the United States by Booker T. Washington to discuss a trade school the UNIA had opened in Jamaica, he arrived on March 23, 1916. By this time, Washington was dead, and Garvey was alone and unknown in America.

During that summer, Garvey organized a chapter of the UNIA in Harlem. Although its membership was originally drawn from the West Indian community, it soon included large numbers of American blacks, and Garvey's speaking tours to black churches and groups throughout the United States generated national support. In January 1918, he began publishing the *Negro World,* which became one of the leading African-American weeklies, with a circulation of more than 200,000 and sections in Spanish and French for the benefit of subscribers in Africa, Latin America, and the West Indies.

Blacks flocked to Garvey's movement, and the 1920 international meeting of the UNIA brought several thousand delegates from every state in the union and dozens of countries to New York City. The convention was marked by parades, mass meetings, and displays by the various arms of the UNIA, including the paramilitary African Legion and the Black Cross Nurses.

Much excitement had been generated by the formation of the Black Star Line in the previous year. This steamship company, owned, operated, and manned by blacks, was to be Garvey's downfall. Although successful at raising funds, the company was hampered by antiquated equipment and soon faced financial collapse. Garvey and three associates were arrested in 1922 on charges of mail fraud in connection with the company's failure. Acting as his own attorney, Garvey used the trial as a forum for his racial and political views. Although his codefendants were acquitted, Garvey was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison and fined $1,000.

During his appeal, Garvey attempted to restructure the steamship company as part of a larger back-to-Africa movement that included settlements in Liberia. This effort collapsed in 1924, when the Liberian government—under pressure from France and England—closed the settlements. The following year, the Supreme Court refused to hear Garvey's appeal, and on February 8, 1925, he entered the federal penitentiary in Atlanta.

The movement dwindled during his imprisonment, although the campaign for his release revived it somewhat. In 1927, President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence and ordered him deported. Returning to Jamaica, he presided over the 1929 convention of the UNIA, the movement's last great moment. Weakened in the United States by Garvey's absence, and throughout the world by the Great Depression, the UNIA declined rapidly.

Moving in 1935 to London, where he published the magazine *Black Man*, Garvey labored to keep the movement alive, but asthma, aggravated by pneumonia, weakened him severely. In 1940, he suffered two strokes that paralyzed his right side and resulted in his death on June 10, 1940.

Although moribund at the time of his death, "Garveyism" has had a long-lived significance. The first person to develop a mass following among American blacks, Garvey did so by appealing to racial pride and black nationalism. These would reappear in the Black Power movement, and MALCOLM X could claim that the Black Muslims were reaping the seeds Garvey had sown.

Garvey used the black churches as vehicles for transmitting his ideas. He also urged blacks to think of God as one of them. The motto of the UNIA, "One God! One Aim! One Destiny!" contained within it the implication that God was with the blacks in their struggle for independence and justice, and even black himself. Although he avoided antagonizing the established churches, Garvey and several of his followers urged the creation of an all-black church with a black Christ and black images. In response, the African Orthodox Church was founded under Garvey's auspices with a former UNIA chaplain and Episcopal priest consecrated as its first bishop. Its journal, the *Negro Churchman*, attempted to develop a religiosity freed from European symbols and white dominance. Although rejected by most African Americans, Garvey's views were a precursor of the black theology of the later 20th century.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT; NATION OF ISLAM [BLACK MUSLIMS]).

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German Reformed Church The roots of the German Reformed Church in the United States can be traced to late-17th-century immigration, principally from the Palatinate, an area along the Rhine in southern Germany. German settlement in America began with the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683 and continued throughout the 18th century until, by the eve of the Revolution, Germans numbered more than 225,000 in the thirteen colonies. Although most German Protestants were Lutherans, the German Reformed community was distinguished by its adherence to the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563. The catechism, commissioned by Elector Frederick William III of the Palatinate, sought to mediate between the theological teachings of Swiss reformer John Calvin (see CALVINISM) and the ideas of Martin Luther, whose thought dominated Germany.

John Philip Boehm was the principal organizer of the German Reformed Church in America in the first half of the 18th century. A schoolmaster in Germany, Boehm settled in Pennsylvania in 1720 and in 1729 was ordained to the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church. Because of the similarity between the beliefs of the Dutch Reformed and German Reformed Churches, the church in the Netherlands originally provided assistance to both Dutch and German emigrants in America. Geographical distance as well as differences in language and culture, however, eventually made this relationship a difficult one to maintain. As a consequence, German Reformed congregations often lacked clergy and had to learn to improvise with lay leadership.

The initial coetus (that is, the representative body containing ministers and lay elders from several local congregations that is essential to the governance of the Reformed Church) was organized by Michael Schlatter in 1746. By then numbering approximately 80 congregations, the church adopted a constitution in 1748 and thus brought itself within the emerging denominational system of the colonies. During the War for Independence, pastors and congregations actively supported the patriot cause, and in 1791, inspired by the ideals of civil independence, the German Reformed Church officially separated from the Dutch and claimed the right to ordain clergy without approval from the Netherlands. The Synod of the Reformed German Church in the United States of America, consisting of 178 congregations and more than 50,000 adherents, assembled for the first time in 1793.

The westward movement of German settlers carried the church into western Pennsylvania and Ohio in the early 19th century, but latent divisions within the denomination accompanied them. Disputes about worship, including the use of English and revivalistic techniques, for example, raised serious questions about the church's ability to adapt to both the secular and the religious culture of America. A short-lived schism, moreover, occurred during the same period. Although pastors had always been allowed to train candidates for the ministry, this system was halted in 1820 with the adoption of a plan for a denomination-wide seminary. Lebrecht Frederick Herman organized the Synod of the Free German Reformed Congregations of Pennsylvania in an attempt to maintain theological education as the local congregation's prerogative.

The most significant developments in the German Reformed Church, however, were centered at the denomination's seminary, opened in 1825 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and finally established at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1837. There, faculty members JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN and PHILIP SCHAFF became architects of a movement known as the Mercersburg Theology. Nevin and Schaff criticized the superficiality of popular American revivalism and highlighted instead the spiritual depth of their church's historic liturgy and creeds. These teachings not only stirred controversy about "Romanism" within the German Reformed ranks, but also undermined proposals of merger with the Dutch Reformed, the Presbyterians, and the Lutherans, who feared that Catholic tendencies had emerged in their sister denomination.

On average, approximately 40,000 Germans entered the United States each year between 1830 and 1845, and the majority settled in the Midwest. The eastern and Ohio synods of the German Reformed Church established the first General Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States in Pittsburgh in 1863 (with 230,000 members, 1,200 congregations, and 500 ministers). However, most new German settlers remained aloof from that church, opposing it on a variety of grounds, and they organized instead the German Evangelical Synod of North America in 1872. The Evangelical Synod's strong identification with German culture in the Midwest greatly benefited the church for a time, as immigration from Germany to the United States surged in the 1880s. Slow to accommodate itself to American society, the synod provided strong ethnic cohesiveness well into the 20th century. Although it adopted an English-language catechism in 1892 and an English hymnal in 1898, it continued to use German in its minutes until 1925.

In ironic contrast to this inward-looking focus, the German Evangelical Synod profoundly influenced American religious life by nurturing two of the United States' most distinguished theologians, REINHOLD NIEBUHR and H. RICHARD NIEBUHR. Educated at the synod's college in Elmhurst, Illinois, and at Eden Theological Seminary in St. Louis, the Niebuhr brothers helped shape 20th-century Protestant thought by their ability to relate traditional theological concepts to the political realities of the modern era.

H. Richard Niebuhr's 1951 book, *Christ and Culture*, for instance, is now considered the classic exposition of how Christians interact with the world. Reinhold Niebuhr, active throughout his life in politics, was founder and editor of the magazine *Christianity and Crisis*, which brought religion to bear on social justice concerns.

In the early 20th century, the Reformed Church in the United States and the Evangelical Synod (having dropped "German" from their names in 1869 and 1927, respectively) consciously sought to reach beyond their narrow ethnic base and attract English-speaking members. In this, they were largely unsuccessful. After merger attempts with the United Brethren in Christ and the Presbyterian Church in the United States fell through, the two German Reformed bodies united in 1934 to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church. This new church contained 600,000 members and 3,000 congregations predominantly in Pennsylvania, the Midwest, and the Plains states. Despite expanding to 800,000 members during the 1950s, a period of unprecedented growth in mainline American Protestantism, the Evangelical and Reformed Church not only was unable to keep pace with the population growth of the nation as a whole, but also had fewer congregations in the 1950s than it had 20 years earlier.

As part of the ecumenical impulse of the time, discussions of merger with the Congregational Christian churches had begun in 1944. A number of obstacles immediately presented themselves. Reinhold Niebuhr characterized the theology of the Congregational Christian churches as "modern liberalism shading off to Unitarianism," while his own denomination tended to be conservative in its theological orientation. And while the Congregational Christian churches staunchly upheld the independence of individual congregations, the Evangelical and Reformed had a strong sense of connectedness between congregations, a pattern typical of churches with a presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM) form of church governance. In spite of these difficulties, a merger into a new, 2-million-member denomination called the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST was eventually effected in June 1957.

Unlike the continuing denominational tradition of the Dutch Reformed churches, whose institutional life they had once roughly paralleled, the German Reformed churches so radically altered themselves in the 20th century that their former identity was virtually extinguished. No longer the church of an immigrant people, indeed, no longer even a church, the German Reformed surrendered the distinctive ethnic heritage that had earlier marked them and adapted to the tolerant theological and social milieu of contemporary mainline Protestantism.

GHS, Jr.

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Ghost Dance The Ghost Dance, which spread rapidly across the western states in 1889, is the best-known example of an extensive series of Native American religious movements, in which members of indigenous cultures used ritual and prophetic means to revive their traditional worlds in the wake of conflict with encroaching colonial or American society. Although many saw the massacre of Lakota at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in December 1890 as marking the end of the dance as a social movement, it continued among other Plains tribes (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: PLAINS) for a number of years and has occasionally resurfaced among groups of Native American social activists.

In its best-known form, the Ghost Dance emerged from a vision given to WOVOKA, a member of the Tovusi-dokado band of Nevada's Northern Paiutes (Paviotso), during an eclipse of the Sun on January 1, 1889. Wovoka's own religious influences included several forms of the millennialism common in 19th-century America, including a native Paiute tradition of the world's end; the evangelical PRESBYTERIANISM of his employer, David Wilson; Mormonism; and perhaps some beliefs of native prophets active to the north (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: INTERMONTANE/CALIFORNIA), such as the Wanapum leader Smoholla or John Slocum, a Squaxin prophet from the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon. Wovoka's vision also resembles that of an earlier movement, involving his father, that spread after 1869 from the Walker River Paiute in western Nevada to members of several northern California tribes, including the Pomo, Modoc, Klamath, Shasta, and Karok.

The Ghost Dance is notable because of its rapid diffusion during a period of great social stress. Between 1889 and the early 1890s, the new movement spread west and east to other Great Basin tribes: Washoe, Western Shoshone, Bannock, and Ute; to California and southward to the Mojave; east across the Plains to the Kiowa, Comanche, Caddo, and Pawnee in Indian territory (Oklahoma); and northeast among the Arapaho, Wind River Shoshone, Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Lakota, and others.

In its basic form, the Ghost Dance taught by Wovoka grew out of the traditional Paiute Round Dances that provided the people with an opening to spiritual influence. Men, women, and children would join hands, moving in a clockwise direction to symbolize the Sun's trajectory across the sky. Wovoka came to see the Round Dance as the right vehicle for enabling the living to communicate with the dead, as he had in his vision. The dance took on an ecstatic character as dancers fell in trances, taken to the land of the dead. Returning to this world, they could also testify that both the dead and depleted game would soon return as part of the world's renewal.

In spreading throughout much of the West, the dance provided a symbolic and ritual means for tribal members to create an alternative future to the one they were being offered by missionaries, the Office of Indian Affairs, and the United States Army—a future in which the only way to survive was to cease living as members of distinct cultures (see ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE, NATIVE AMERICAN). In a period marked by drought and malnutrition, rapid land loss, forced relocation, and religious persecution (see AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT), many Indian people sought ways to construct a future in which they were not the passive beings envisioned within the myth of the dominant culture (see MANIFEST DESTINY).

News of the prophet's activities spread from tribe to tribe across telegraph lines and postal networks. Many tribes sent representatives to Nevada to meet the new prophet, whose power was evident to all in the fact that he could communicate with groups from various tribes in their own separate languages. Many of these leaders understood themselves to have been initiated into a new movement or way of life. The dance spread as these leaders returned to their reservations, bearing symbols of Wovoka's blessing. Given the wide gap between the Paiute worldview and that of other tribes, Ghost Dance preachers had to select elements from Wovoka's teachings that might mix creatively with the worldviews of their own tribes. By amalgamating these elements with their own traditions about the future, combined with elements common to the evangelical Christianity present among the agencies, the various tribal practitioners created a ceremonial and mythical means for transforming a disturbing present into a hopeful future.

The version of the Ghost Dance practiced by the Lakota (western Sioux) receives continued attention from historians, journalists, and the public, largely due to the United States Army massacre of Big Foot and his band (among whom were many dancers) at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on December 29, 1890. Wounded Knee has consequently become a powerful symbol of the end of the FRONTIER, the near-extinction of the Indian, and the birth of modern America. In typical fashion, many interpreters emphasize the irrationality of Lakota Ghost Dancers. Both popular and scholarly treatments portray the Ghost Dancers as warding off an inevitable future by a last-ditch futile effort to dream away their powerlessness. Lakota leaders of the dance, such as Kicking Bird or Short Bull, appear to be religious fanatics or opportunists, eager to increase their own political prestige, clinging blindly to the hopes that bullet-proof ghost shirts would make them invincible as they rose to battle the army.

However, this interpretation ignores both the complexity of cultural diffusion and the legitimacy of the dance as a religious movement. Lakota dancers were not irrational, but rather began to practice the new dance because it promised to renew the religious ritual forms under which Plains culture had historically flourished. Lakota traditionally understood the annual return of the bison herds to be dependent upon the petitions to the powers, *wakan tanka*, that sustained life. The annual Sun Dance, prohibited under 1883 Office of Indian Affairs regulations, provided Lakota with the primary ritual means by which to purify themselves in order to insure that the bison would be willing to return. Consequently, it was not the near extinction of the great herd by 1883, under pressure from encroaching Americans, that provoked a fundamental crisis among Lakota, since they understood the periodic absence of bison as a ritually reversible process. Instead, the prohibition of the Sun Dance created a religious crisis, resolved only by introduction of the new dance, which Lakota recast to resemble the Sun Dance as closely as possible.

While many groups abandoned the dance itself in the wake of Wounded Knee, other tribes, such as the Pawnee and a group of Canadian Dakota (eastern Sioux), retained it into the 20th century. Some claim it continued to lead an underground existence for several decades, reemerging among American Indian Movement activists in the early 1970s.

While the attention devoted to the Ghost Dance suggests that it is a unique movement, it remains simply one example of a series of efforts by native peoples to transform their lives under the impact of European-American colonialism by the renewal of traditional religions.

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Gibbons, James (1834–1921) During his long tenure as the leading member of the Roman Catholic Church's hierarchy in the United States (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM), James Gibbons, cardinal archbishop of Baltimore, guided the church through a period of turmoil, change, and challenge. Although often accused of vacillation and indecision, Gibbons's prudence held the church together. As an interpreter of America to Rome and Catholicism to Americans, Gibbons gained the respect both of presidents and popes.

Unlike most of his peers, James Gibbons was born in the United States, in Baltimore, on July 23, 1834, of Irish immigrant parents. His father was a moderately successful clerk. The elder Gibbons's poor health led him to leave for Ireland with the family in 1837. In 1853, six years after his father's death, Gibbons's mother returned to the United States, settling with her son in New Orleans.

In January 1854, a mission sermon piqued Gibbons's interest in the priesthood, and the following year he entered St. Charles College outside of Baltimore, graduating in 1858. He continued his studies at St. Mary's Seminary, receiving his ordination on June 30, 1861.

Gibbons served for four years as a priest in Baltimore, his tenure spanning the CIVIL WAR. He demonstrated great pastoral, administrative, and diplomatic skill. Personally pro-Union, he served as chaplain to the troops garrisoned at Forts McHenry and Marshall while avoiding conflicts with his predominantly pro-Confederate parishioners and neighbors.

These abilities brought the young Gibbons to the attention of the archbishop of Baltimore, MARTIN SPALDING, who asked the young priest to become his secretary. Gibbons accepted and was soon involved in the preparations for the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) (see BALTIMORE, COUNCILS OF). As assistant chancellor for the council, he so impressed the members of the hierarchy that when the vicariate apostolic of North Carolina was created (in 1868), the 32-year-old Gibbons was named bishop.

Consecrated on August 16, 1868, Gibbons, the youngest of 1,200 bishops in the Roman Church, was responsible for a 50,000-square-mile diocese of 1 million inhabitants with only 700 Catholics, three priests, and no Catholic institutions. While head of this diocese, Gibbons developed the manner and tone that later served him well. He was a forceful yet tolerant proponent of Catholic doctrine, a fighter for converts and for strong Catholic institutions. Simultaneously, he cultivated warm relations with non-Catholics and argued that American political institutions were not hostile to Catholicism but conducive to its strength and expansion.

His duties expanded in 1872, when he was named administrator and then bishop (1873) of the diocese of Richmond. During this time, he wrote his most famous book, *The Faith of Our Fathers* (1867). This soon became the most popular explanation of the Catholic faith in America, with nearly 2 million copies in circulation by the time of Gibbons's death. Popular outside the United States as well, it was translated into six different European languages.

The ailing archbishop of Baltimore, James Roosevelt Bayley, often called upon Gibbons for assistance. Recognizing the need for a smooth transition of authority in the nation's premier see, Bayley asked Gibbons to become his co-adjutor. After much hesitation, Gibbons accepted in May 1877. Five months later, Bayley was dead, and Gibbons, age 43, became the head of the most important archdiocese in America.

His first nine years as archbishop of Baltimore were relatively uneventful. He successfully directed the third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), which set in place the framework for the parochial school system and the operations of the American church for the next three decades. This earned him the support of all the nation's bishops as well as the commendation of Leo XIII, and it was widely rumored that he soon would receive a cardinal's cap. This he did on June 30, 1886.

The next 15 years of Gibbons's episcopacy would be among the most troubled for the American church, as it attempted to respond to the needs of its predominantly immigrant members and to the difference between European and American realities. Although early in the papacy of Leo XIII Gibbons was able to use his influence to forestall papal condemnation of the Knights of Labor and the writings of the economist Henry George by arguing that such condemnation was alien to American realities, by the 1890s, this influence was on the wane as the commitment of Gibbons, JOHN IRELAND, John Keane, and other bishops to the American cultural and social ethos increasingly appeared suspect in Roman eyes.

Since the 1790s, the church had allied itself with the conservative regimes of Europe and had suffered under revolutionary and democratic governments, most notably in France and Italy. To Rome, the United States looked like the mother of all these threats. Certainly the church did not experience state persecution in the United States, but it received no financial or legal aid, and ANTI-CATHOLICISM was not unknown. The state upheld religious liberty, democratic ideals, and a free press and was predominantly Protestant in ethos. In addition, it was an upstart nation that presumed to have a moral superiority over the nations of Europe. This growing papal concern about the influence of American society on the American church became visible with Leo XIII's encyclical *LONGINQUA OCEANI* (1895), rejecting the view that the American model of church-state separation should be universally adopted.

This conflict culminated on January 22, 1899, when Leo addressed the apostolic letter *Testem Benevolentiae* to Gibbons. This letter informed Gibbons that rumors had reached the pope that some American clerics held questionable views regarding the nature of the church and belief. These supposed beliefs were that there should be increased freedom in the church, and that to respond to the modern age, the church needed to change not only externals but doctrine as well (see AMERICANISM).

Gibbons informed Leo that such views were condemned by the church's hierarchy.

Although no one was singled out for punishment, this letter, along with Leo's condemnation of Catholic modernism in 1907, ended creative thought within the United States Roman Catholic Church until the 1950s.

After guiding the American church through two difficult decades, Gibbons's last decades were filled with peace and public honors. His assistance in easing conflicts in the Philippines over the property owned by religious orders, along with his support for the creation of the National Catholic War Council (1917) and its transformation into the National Catholic Welfare Conference (1919), earned him the praise of many. Gibbons served as an unofficial adviser on Catholic affairs, including the concerns of the papacy, to several presidents and went far in demonstrating the compatibility of Roman Catholicism to the American governmental system. In 1917, Theodore Roosevelt lauded him as "the most respected and venerated and useful citizen of our country."

At the time of his death on March 24, 1921, Gibbons could look back with satisfaction on his life. He had shepherded the Roman Catholic Church in the United States through dangerous times. A church that could have been shattered by ethnic tensions was unified. A church that could have been marginalized by its association with reactionary European political currents was accepted, albeit grudgingly, as a legitimate part of American culture, due primarily to Gibbons's efforts.

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Gideons International Founded in 1899, Gideons International is a voluntary association dedicated to aiding Christian churches through service, personal witnessing, and distributing Bibles. Known by most people through their placement of Bibles in motels and hotels (and perhaps from the Beatles' song "Rocky Raccoon"), the Gideons developed from a chance encounter between two business travelers in Boscobel, Wisconsin, in 1898. John H. Nicholson attempted to check into the Central Hotel, only to be told that it was overbooked. The clerk suggested that he might share a room with Samuel Hill. During their small talk, both men discussed their strong Christian faith, with Nicholson telling how he had developed the habit of reading the Bible each night before going to bed because of a promise he had made to his dying mother at the age of 12. As the two prayed that night, the idea for an association of Christian businessmen began to take form.

The two met again the following year in Beaver Dam, Wisconsin. At this meeting, they committed themselves to an association directed primarily at bringing Christian commercial travelers together for worship, evangelism, and service. They scheduled an organizational meeting at the Janesville, Wisconsin, YMCA for July 1, 1899.

The meeting attracted only one participant other than Nicholson and Hill. This was Will J. Knights. Despite the low turnout, they proceeded to organize the association, selecting Hill as president, Knights as vice president, and Nicholson as secretary and treasurer. After discussing what to call the association, they eventually settled on the name *Gideons,* from the biblical prophet Gideon (Judges 6–7), who placed himself in God's service. According to the Gideons' official history, "Humility, faith, and obedience were his great elements of character. This is the standard that the Gideon association is trying to establish in all its members, each man to be ready to do

God's will at any time, at any place, and in any way that the Holy Spirit leads."

The task of placing Bibles in hotels emerged naturally from the fact that most of the association's early members were traveling businessmen. As such, they wondered how they might witness in the hotels in which they spent much of their time. The initial suggestion was that they place a Bible with the hotels' reception desks to be available for borrowing. This idea was expanded upon at a board meeting in Chicago on October 19, 1907. There, a board member suggested that the Gideons place a Bible in every hotel room in the United States. This suggestion was adopted at the Gideons' annual convention in 1908.

In the hundred years since that decision, the Gideons have grown from a small organization to more than 250,000 members who currently distribute Bibles and New Testaments in more than 180 countries. While they continue their distribution in hotels and motels, they have expanded their efforts to include jails and prisons, members of the military, college and university students, as well primary and secondary school students in the fifth through the 12th grades. The women's auxiliary of the Gideons has taken upon itself the responsibility of distributing Bibles and New Testaments to those in the nursing field, including nursing students. The Gideons Bibles and pocket-sized New Testaments with Psalms and Proverbs are marked with the Gideons' logo (a jar of oil with a flame) and are color coded, dark green for military, law enforcement, and emergency personnel (firefighters and EMTs); white for medical personnel; red for schoolchildren fifth to 12th grades; and light green for college students.

While the work of the Gideons usually has been looked upon as innocuous, although a target for much humor, their distribution of Bibles in public schools has created some controversy (see CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN). The earliest challenges to the practice of distributing Bibles and New Testaments in public schools date back to the 1950s, when the first suit was filed in New Jersey, but since the decision never has been adjudicated before the U.S. Supreme Court, the practice has continued, except when challenged. In most of these instances, the threat of a lawsuit has led individual schools or school districts voluntarily to end the practice, while others have resulted in court orders forcing a stop to the practice. The most significant court decision occurred in 2002, when the Federal Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit ruled that the practice and policy of an Indiana school district that permitted the Gideons to distribute Bibles in public schools during school hours violated the Establishment Clause of the Constitution. The Supreme Court declined to hear the case on appeal.

Despite previous decisions, the practice continues and continues to generate controversy. In 2004, a threatened suit against the Kansas City, Missouri, metropolitan school district for allowing the distribution of Bibles by the Gideons resulted in a voluntary discontinuation of the practice. Additionally, the balance between the free exercise rights of the Gideons to distribute the Bibles and New Testaments and the Establishment Clause (see FIRST AMENDMENT) is unclear. In January 2007, police in Key Largo, Florida, arrested two Gideons distributing Bibles in front of an elementary school for trespass. While the details of this case depend on exactly where they were standing, the case itself illustrates the complex tension between the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause that currently bedevils the courts.

While the Gideons have suffered some limits on their work, both in terms of legal issues in the United States and hostility to Christianity in other countries, they continue their work at a dizzying pace. The Gideons claim to distribute 63,000,000 Bibles and New Testaments worldwide each year. This averages to more than 1 million copies a week, or 120 per minute. Their success may be seen in the fact that other religions have begun copying their activities. Several Buddhist organizations have undertaken the process of distributing an anthologized collection of Buddhist holy writings (see BUDDHISM) to hotels, and some Muslim organizations (see ISLAM) have done the same with the Qur'an. Most important, the work of the Gideons well demonstrates the American tendency to address a perceived need through the voluntary work of committed individuals (see VOLUNTARYISM; PHILANTHROPY).

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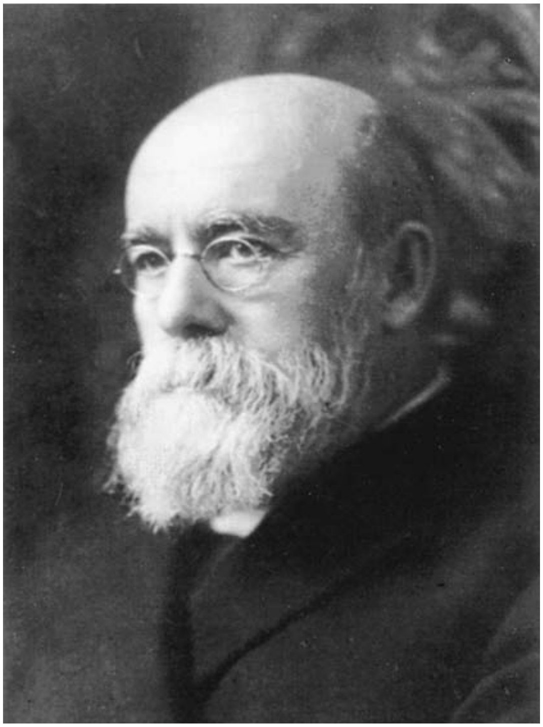
Gladden, Solomon Washington (1836–1918) In the years of reconstruction, industrialization, and expansion following the CIVIL WAR, Solomon Washington Gladden was one of the first Protestant clergy to emphasize social justice as the basis for Christian responses to the changing society. His views gained widespread influence for the SOCIAL GOSPEL among fellow clergy, policy makers, and citizens during a career spread over half a century.

Born February 11, 1836, and raised on a farm outside Oswego, New York, Gladden received a B.A. from Williams College in 1859. Apart from a stint on the New York–based editorial staff of *The Independent,* an abolitionist organ that became the nation's leading church paper after the Civil War, Gladden's career focused on pastoral ministry. He served churches in New York and Massachusetts until appointed pastor of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, in 1882, where he remained until retirement in 1914. He died in Columbus on July 2, 1918.

Gladden was not a trained theologian, nor did he try to approach favorite topics such as race, economics, or religious divisions in a systematic way. But in the course of writing more than 38 books and many articles, sermons, and speeches, he offered exacting critiques of the social injustices he saw embedded in the fabric of American society. Gladden's inspiration owed much to the work of theological liberals such as his friend HORACE BUSHNELL, who sought to reconcile Darwinian science and Christian faith and emphasized an immanent God active in the development of nature and society. But whereas many representatives of the new theology were social conservatives, Gladden came to interpret the Christian faith, embodied in Jesus' teachings about love, as requiring substantial reconstruction in American society. A pastorate in Springfield, Massachusetts (1875–82), involved him in the affairs of the labor movement. Unlike WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, he did not become socialist. He did, however, advocate many policies running counter to the laissez faire attitudes of the day, such as public ownership of railroads and utilities and the rights of labor (including cooperative corporate ownership), policies that he saw contributing to the coming of the kingdom of God. He also played a role in improving race relations. Influenced first by BOOKER T. WASHINGTON and later by W. E. B. DUBOIS, he came to see that political as well as economic enfranchisement was necessary to overcome the legacy of slavery.

Gladden, like many of his contemporaries, linked the advance of the Christian faith to the growth of American civilization, concluding that "a considerable part of the life of civilized society is controlled by Christian principles." For Gladden, this meant that the churches could best aid the cause of the kingdom by securing social reform in those areas of society not yet ruled by principles of Christian love.

Thinking that progress required Christians to abandon their denominational animosities, Gladden was also an advocate of ecumenical cooperation, becoming an early



Solomon Washington Gladden, a pioneer of the Social Gospel movement in the Gilded Age. *(First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio)*

leader in the Federal Council of Churches (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES). He saw Jews and Catholics as potential allies in the effort of social justice. He argued that those who had truly heard the Gospel would see the vital relationship between individual and social salvation. Thus, he refused to support the work of evangelists such as BILLY SUNDAY. There were also other limits to cooperation. Although he denounced the application of social Darwinian ideas about the survival of the fittest to economic life, he used that language to describe the relationships between the world's religions. He had no doubt that morally superior American Christianity could best meet the needs of modern human nature.

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glossolalia See PENTECOSTALISM.

Gospel of Wealth In its most recognized form, the Gospel of Wealth was a philosophy of stewardship promoted by the great steel magnate Andrew Carnegie. In an article entitled "Wealth," published in the June 1889 edition of the *North American Review,* Carnegie set forth his view that those who have accumulated great fortunes possess an obligation to dispense with some of their money to benefit their "poorer brethren." The immigrant bobbin boy, whose rise to riches constituted one of the most spectacular success stories of late-19th-century America, believed that the concentration of wealth in the hands of a relatively few leading industrialists was "not only beneficial but essential to the future of the race." These highly qualified individuals possessed the skills and capacities necessary to bring order and efficiency to the nascent industrial system, upon whose output depended the welfare of the mass of the populace.

Nevertheless, the rich had an obligation to expend part of their fortunes on worthy public projects. Most prominent among Carnegie's own philanthropies were the hundreds of libraries he subsidized all over the United States and in some foreign countries. His benefactions also supported scientific research, the advancement of teaching, and international peace. Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth emerged directly out of his adherence to the notion of social Darwinism, which had widespread public support during the decades after the CIVIL WAR. Applying Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories to society, social Darwinists preached the virtues of competition, confident that in the "struggle for survival" the fittest would survive (see EVOLUTION). Progress would naturally emanate from the relentless competition that occurred in the economic arena.

Other prominent Americans simultaneously promoted ideas that bolstered Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth. The Philadelphia Baptist minister and founder of Temple University, RUSSELL CONWELL, preached his sermon "Acres of Diamonds" 6,000 times to an estimated audience of 13 million people. His message: Everyone not only has a right to be, but has an obligation to be, rich. The signs of visible wealth, he told his audiences, were evidence of the godliness of their bearers. Episcopal bishop William Lawrence asserted that it was God's will that some should attain great wealth. In his words, "Godliness is in league with riches."

If some were entitled to riches, others were condemned to poverty. Poverty, preached supporters of the Gospel of Wealth, results from laziness, improvidence, vice, and, in some cases, misfortune. It was basically not a result of social conditions or broad economic forces but rather an indicator of individual failure.

As a justification for social inequality, the Gospel of Wealth lost most of its power with the rise of the new Progressive intellectual currents around the turn of the 20th century, but as a motive for philanthropy it retained considerable force. In the last decades of the 20th century, the Gospel of Wealth took on new forms with the flourishing of the computer software industry and the Internet. Software and Internet entrepreneurs such as Steve Jobs of Apple and Bill Gates of Microsoft adopted a prophetic stance, delivering a message of the new millennium as a technological promised land. They also engaged in philanthropic activities, donating computers to poor school districts and communities, funding medical research and public health projects, and establishing scholarships for minority children. Some information technology entrepreneurs continued to harken back to Carnegie's reasoning and biblical principles to spur their philanthropy and justify their wealth. But others, informed by BUDDHISM, HINDUISM, or NEW AGE RELIGION (all in the air in Silicon Valley), fashioned a new Gospel of Wealth on very different grounds. Like Carnegie's 19th-century theology, however, those new Gospels of Wealth all stressed the importance of technology and learning as the basis for social progress and viewed capitalism as a moral and spiritual force.

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Grace, Sweet Daddy (Charles Emmanuel) (1881–1960) Founder of the United House of Prayer for All People and a prominent black religious leader, Charles Emmanuel "Sweet Daddy" Grace left little information about his early life. He was born in Brava, Cape Verde Islands, on January 25, 1881, of mixed African and Portuguese parentage. Although he denied being a Negro and often talked disparagingly of blacks, the membership of his United House of Prayer for All People was overwhelmingly composed of poor urban blacks.

Grace, probably an assumed name, although some authorities argue that his birth name was Marcelino Manoel de Graca, came to the United States about 1900. He apparently spent 25 years working as a railroad cook before organizing his first house of prayer in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1926, although some claim that Grace started his first house of prayer in Wareham, Massachusetts, in 1921.

Grace did not claim to be divine, but his role with the church overshadowed that of the deity. He was known to tell his followers, "Never mind about God. Salvation is by Grace only. . . . Grace has given God a vacation and since God is on his vacation, don't worry him. . . . If you sin against God, Grace can save you, but if you sin against Grace, God cannot save you."

Other than its veneration of Bishop Grace as the mediator between God and humanity (and a strong emphasis on raising money for him), the church shared many characteristics with other Pentecostal-Holiness churches (see PENTECOSTALISM; HOLINESS MOVEMENT). It emphasized ecstatic worship, including speaking in tongues and dancing, and forbade drinking, smoking, and the "beautification of the person."

Church membership also provided concrete benefits. Grace was often compared to FATHER DIVINE, and Grace's House of Prayer, like Divine's Peace Mission movement, provided meals at church-run cafeterias. It also owned several residences and retirement homes. Most important, however, was its emphasis on healing. Testimonies gathered from members of the church by Arthur Fauset for his book *Black God of the Metropolis* invariably cited healing as the reason for joining the church. The church's *Grace Magazine*, when placed upon the chest, was said to cure colds and even tuberculosis. The various items sold by the church to raise funds, including cold creams, hair pomades, toothpaste, and soaps, were equally invested with curative powers.

The sale of these items as well as frequent personal donations from members provided the money to run the church and to keep Grace in a rather princely style. Daddy Grace lived a royal and flamboyant life—royal enough to receive the attention of the Internal Revenue Service, which led him to leave the country for several years during the 1930s. Big cars, fancy jewelry, and expensive clothes were part of his mystique—along with an 84-room mansion in Los Angeles and an estate in Cuba.

At the time of his death in Los Angeles on January 12, 1960, the United House of Prayer for All People claimed a membership of 3 million. Although this number is highly inflated, the church had a significant membership, and unlike many other religious movements dominated by a single charismatic individual, retained much of its membership after Grace's death and even experienced some growth until 1970.

In that year, the IRS moved to collect nearly $6 million it claimed was owed by Grace's estate. This severely affected the movement, and by 2005, it probably had fewer than 50,000 members, with congregations in New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Boston, and other cities.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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Graham, Billy (William Franklin) (1918–) Billy Graham was born on November 7, 1918, the eldest child of William Franklin and Morrow Graham in Charlotte, North Carolina. By the mid-1960s, he had become America's preeminent evangelist (see EVANGELISM), a friend of presidents, and one of the most admired men in the country. He would hold this position throughout the century, and in the 1990s he would deliver both the invocation at the inauguration of President Bill Clinton (1992) and the eulogy at the funeral of former president Richard Nixon (1994).

Graham was raised in a conservative southern Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM; SOUTH) household and internalized the values of that society, including a rejection of alcohol, pre- and extramarital sex, and profanity. In 1934, during a revival (see REVIVALISM) in

Charlotte led by the itinerant evangelist Mordecai Ham, Graham underwent a CONVERSION experience and shortly afterward decided to become a preacher.

In the fall of 1936, he entered Bob Jones University in Columbia, South Carolina, found the atmosphere too stifling, and transferred in January 1937 to Florida Bible Institute. Doing so earned him the animosity of Bob Jones, Sr., and as Graham showed openness to nonfundamentalist Christians (see FUNDAMENTALISM) during the 1950s, this hostility would become more pronounced. While attending Florida Bible Institute in Tampa, Graham first joined a Baptist church. This began a longstanding and mutually beneficial connection between Graham and the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. While at Florida Bible Institute, Graham experienced a period of emotional turmoil, including a broken engagement and an internal struggle about whether to enter the ministry. This struggle came to an end in 1938, when Graham surrendered to the call and committed himself to the ministry.

After finishing at the institute, Graham entered Wheaton College (Wheaton, Illinois) in the autumn of 1940. There he met Ruth Bell, whom he married in 1943. After graduation, Graham began his ministry as pastor of the United Gospel Tabernacle in Wheaton. He resigned that position in 1945 to take up full-time evangelistic work with Youth for Christ. Between 1945 and 1949, Graham led Youth for Christ rallies in England and throughout the United States. He also served as president of Northwestern Bible College in Minneapolis (1947–51) after being personally chosen for that position by the school's retiring founding president, William B. Riley.

In 1949, one of the two events occurred that served to make Graham's career. The 1949 revival campaign in Los Angeles was accompanied by William Randolph Hearst's famous directive to his newspaper staff to "Puff Graham!" This favorable treatment in the media, including *Life*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*, and the conversions of several celebrities during the crusade, generated tremendous amounts of publicity for the young evangelist. Eight years later, Graham's 1957 New York City crusade brought the evangelical movement to a central position on the American scene. It was during the New York crusade that Graham committed himself and his organization to working with all the Christian denominations in the community. By including representatives of mainline Protestantism, Graham earned the ire of many of his fundamentalist supporters, who felt that he had seriously compromised Gospel truth by associating with liberals (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL). This action, which became the norm for all of Graham's later crusades, demonstrated his willingness to change his mind as he confronted new realities and new situations. Similarly, Graham was one of the first evangelists to insist that his crusades in the American South, and later in South Africa, not be segregated by race.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Graham did more than anyone to bring evangelicals into the mainstream of American public culture. A symbol of this was Graham's access to numerous American presidents. Although he managed to antagonize President Truman by reporting some of his conversation with the president, Graham was close to both Dwight Eisenhower and then Vice President Richard Nixon, whose candidacy he obliquely supported in 1960. Lyndon Johnson also attracted Graham as both a southerner and a man of working-class roots, and Johnson convinced Graham to support his War on Poverty. In 1968 and 1972, Graham again supported Richard Nixon. The revelations of Nixon's activities during the Watergate crisis and Nixon's extreme vulgarity on the tapes caused Graham a great deal of personal pain. While he rejected the claim made by some that he was used intentionally by Nixon to further Nixon's political goals, Graham became increasingly leery of politicians. Graham also was close to Ronald Reagan, however, and—surprisingly to some—to President Bill Clinton as well. Interestingly, Jimmy Carter, the president closest to Graham in religious orientation and social background, held the evangelist at a distance.

During the 1980s, Graham, and the evangelical movement in general, were overshadowed by the resurgence of a militantly political fundamentalism. Although Graham ceased to hold center stage in the media, this did not end his evangelistic work. He continued to preach throughout the United States and the world, including visits to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He also spoke out in favor of nuclear disarmament, another position that distanced him from many fundamentalists.

During the 1990s, however, Graham regained much of his earlier visibility. His appearance at President Clinton's inauguration and Richard Nixon's funeral were highly visible illustrations of his public stature. Evangelistic trips to China and North Korea during times when the United States's relations with those countries were quite tense demonstrated Graham's tendency to place evangelistic concerns over political ones.

Billy Graham's work is funded through the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA), an organization he founded in 1950. Graham receives an annual salary from the BGEA and has little involvement with its operation. Although there have been some criticisms of the way the BGEA has allocated its money, the organization has been a model of fiscal responsibility and public accountability, another fact that has separated Graham from many other evangelists. This was especially true during the 1980s, when several highly visible television evangelists were brought down by evidence of financial and personal irregularities.

By the late 1990s, Graham increasingly began to withdraw from the overall management of the BGEA. In 1995, his son Franklin Graham became the first vice chairman of BGEA. Despite his age and occasional health problems, however, Graham continued to lead crusades, retaining his massive following and high level of respect.

Despite advanced age and Parkinson's disease, he led what was billed as his final crusade in New York in June 2005.

Graham's ministry is firmly within the evangelical tradition. He is strongly committed to the authority of the Bible, and his belief in the centrality of a conversion experience provides the basis for the "crusades" he has led throughout the world. Associated with the group of people known as neoevangelicals, Graham helped to start the magazine *Christianity Today* and has helped to make his alma mater, Wheaton College, a center for evangelical scholarship. No one living has preached before as many people as Graham, and it is estimated that more than 2 million people have been converted by Graham. Graham has also reached wide audiences through numerous books and newspaper columns and through television and radio. All this activity as well as his integrity and deep personal humility have made him one of the most visible and respected figures in American religion. In 2000, *Time* magazine named him among the most important people of the century.

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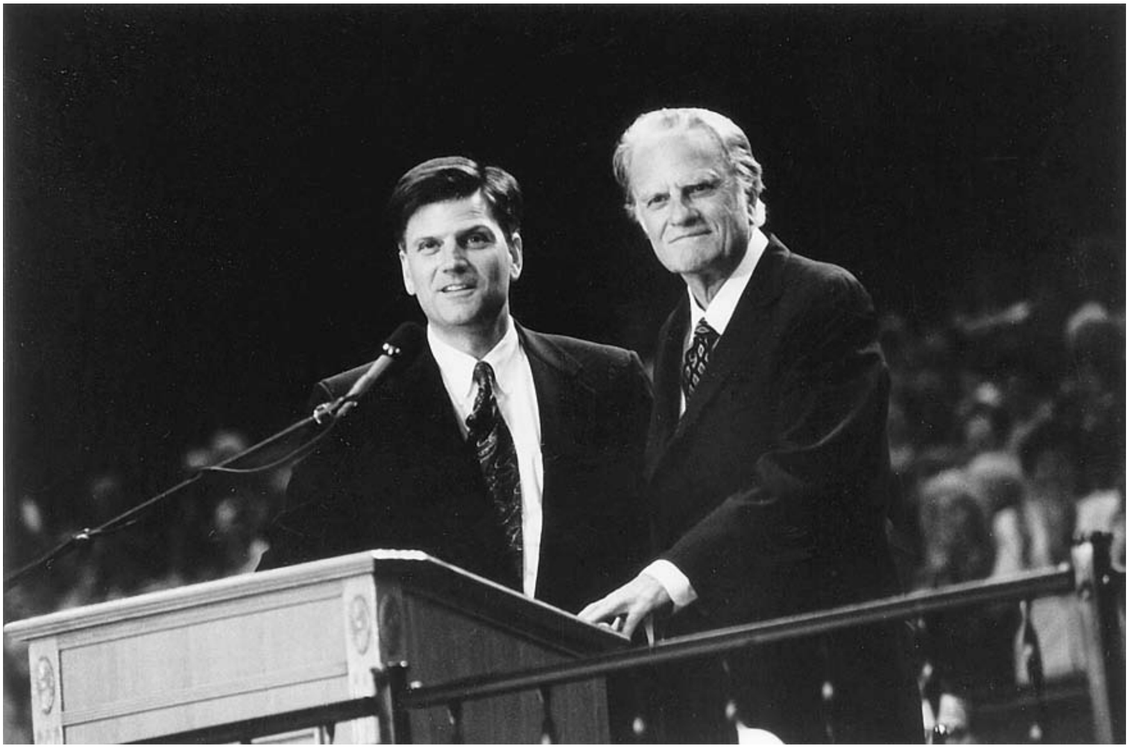
Graham, Franklin (1952–) Born July 14, 1952, outside Asheville, North Carolina, William Franklin Graham III is the fourth of the five children of Ruth Bell Graham and the evangelist William Franklin Graham (see GRAHAM, BILLY). Franklin became the successor to his father as the head of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA).

This choice, however, was not foreordained. To a great extent, Franklin Graham was a true prodigal son, given to motorcycle riding, gun toting, and, rumor had it, even drinking. Most of this came to an end one night in 1974. Sitting alone in a hotel room in Jerusalem, Franklin Graham underwent a conversion experience and dedicated his life to Jesus Christ. The possibilities for service provided by the combination of Franklin Graham's personality and his conversion were quickly recognized by Bob Pierce, the founder of World Vision, an evangelical relief agency, who invited Graham to join him on an Asian tour on behalf of Samaritan's Purse, an evangelical Christian relief agency. That experience convinced Graham that his calling was to serve those whose lives had been disrupted by war, famine, epidemics, and natural disasters.

His dedication to such service led Graham to join the board of Samaritan's Purse in 1978. With Pierce's death the following year, he was elected president of the organization. Currently, Graham serves as president and chief executive officer, overseeing Samaritan's Purse's relief work in more than 100 countries.



Billy Graham (right), the leading evangelist of the second half of the 20th century, with his son and presumptive successor to head the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, Franklin Graham. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

This work led to an even bigger set of obligations as his rapprochement with his father and his father's legacy led Graham eventually to undertake his own evangelistic career, conducting his first crusade in 1989. Now comfortable with his own calling, he committed himself to spending 10 percent of his time as an evangelist, conducting crusades on behalf of his father's BGEA.

His abilities as an administrator and his gifts as an evangelist soon made it apparent that he would be a worthy successor to his father as head of the BGEA. This was formalized in 1995 with his election as first vice chairman and the designated successor to the chairman of the BGEA.

While this designation may not seem surprising—the rebellious youth fits in well with the traditional conversion process (and even has a significant psychological basis given the pressures Franklin must have felt as Billy Graham's son)—Franklin Graham's trajectory illustrates something more. The way he entered the evangelical movement, through international relief work, cannot be overestimated as a significant phenomenon. The importance of evangelical relief agencies, of which World Vision is perhaps the best known, must be understood as a major development in American evangelicalism. They provide a major source of activism and commitment, not to mention financial support. The fact that Graham has refused to decrease that work shows how important active service to others is in the life of a committed evangelical.

Additionally, this major difference may serve Graham well when he succeeds his father as head of BGEA. As he recognized early in his youth, few could fill his father's shoes, but Franklin Graham brings a distinctive style and experience with him that will help deflect unproductive comparisons. People already know what he is and what he is not. This should give him the freedom to build on BGEA's success without feeling a need to make radical changes in order to place his own stamp on the organization, or to keep things exactly as they are for fear of criticism. That said, his succession to the leadership of the BGEA will signify a major generational shift in American EVANGELICALISM.

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Graves, James Robinson (1820–1893) A Southern Baptist preacher and editor of the *Tennessee Baptist*, then the largest Baptist weekly in the world, James Robinson Graves was also the dominant figure in the controversy over the "old landmarks," a set of ecclesiastical principles that disrupted the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION at the turn of the century.

Graves was born on a farm near Chester, Vermont, on April 10, 1820. Although he had little opportunity to receive a formal education, he studied privately and later found employment as a schoolteacher in Kingsville, Ohio (1840–42), and in Jessamine County, Kentucky (1842–43). Graves joined a Baptist church when he was 15 years old and was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1842. He served as the pastor of churches in Ohio between 1843 and 1845. Graves left Ohio to take a teaching position in Nashville, Tennessee, and by 1846, he had become editor of the *Tennessee Baptist*. Graves's paper was enormously successful and had some 13,000 subscribers by the eve of the CIVIL WAR.

In 1848, Graves began to publish articles defending what he regarded as the distinctive tenets of the Baptist faith. Although the term *landmark* (from Proverbs 22:28, "Do not remove the ancient landmark that your ancestors set up") was coined in 1854 by James M. Pendleton, a Baptist pastor in Bowling Green, Kentucky, Graves popularized the idea. He convened a mass meeting at Cotton Grove, Tennessee, in 1851 that drafted the precepts of Landmarkism and emerged as a leader of the movement. Basic to Landmarkism was the belief that adult BAPTISM by immersion and the independence of the local congregation were the distinguishing marks of the true church of Jesus Christ. There had been an unbroken line of Baptist churches observing these practices, Graves said, that extended from apostolic times to the present day. The corollary of Graves's position was that any deviation from the landmarks nullified a church's claim to being a "church." Thus, Graves dismissed the Methodists and Disciples of Christ as mere "religious societies" and condemned all fellowship with them.

Landmarkism became a potent force in the Southern Baptist Convention, especially in the region known as the Old Southwest, during the last half of the 19th century. The movement stimulated a new denominational self-consciousness, hindered pulpit exchanges with ministers of other denominations, and generally negated attempts at rapprochement with other southern Protestants. Landmarkism eventually gave rise to a splinter group represented today by the American Baptist Association, a small denomination organized in Arkansas in 1905, which in 2005 had about 290,000 members.

Graves moved his paper from Nashville to Memphis after the Civil War, and from that base in west Tennessee he toured the South with his message. He published several books, the most important being *Old Landmarkism: What Is It?* (1880), which contains the classic pronouncements about the doctrine. After suffering a stroke that confined him to a wheelchair, Graves entered retirement in 1889. He died at Memphis on June 26, 1893.

GHS, Jr.

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Gray, Asa (1810–1888) Asa Gray was the most distinguished American botanist of his generation. An orthodox Congregationalist, he was also an amateur theologian and advocate for Darwinism. In contrast to the agnosticism held by many of Darwin's interpreters, Gray taught that EVOLUTION was God's method of effecting biological and moral progress in the world. Untroubled by new scientific findings advanced during the second half of the 19th century, Gray combined an essentially tolerant Protestant faith with his work as a scholar and teacher.

Gray was born at Sauquoit, New York, on November 18, 1810. After graduating from Fairfield Medical School with an M.D. in 1831, teaching high school at Utica, New York, and traveling abroad on research for several years, he began a long career as a professor at Harvard in 1842. Following the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, Gray favorably reviewed the book in the March 1860 issue of the *American Journal of Science.* As Gray argued in his 1876 collection of essays, *Darwiniana,* the theory of evolution did not necessarily contradict Christian doctrine, for God's purposes could well be understood in evolutionary terms. Gray's acceptance of Darwinism proved a boon to liberal theologians. Despite a negative initial response to Darwin among American Christians, and contrary to Darwin's own explicit dissent, Protestant modernists (see MODERNISM, PROTESTANT) considered the doctrine of evolution as simply one of many manifestations of the divine presence in the natural world.

Gray retired from his teaching duties at Harvard in 1873, but he continued to hold his professorship and remained active as a scholar until his death. After suffering a stroke, he died at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on January 30, 1888.

(See also SCIENCE AND RELIGION.)

GHS, Jr.

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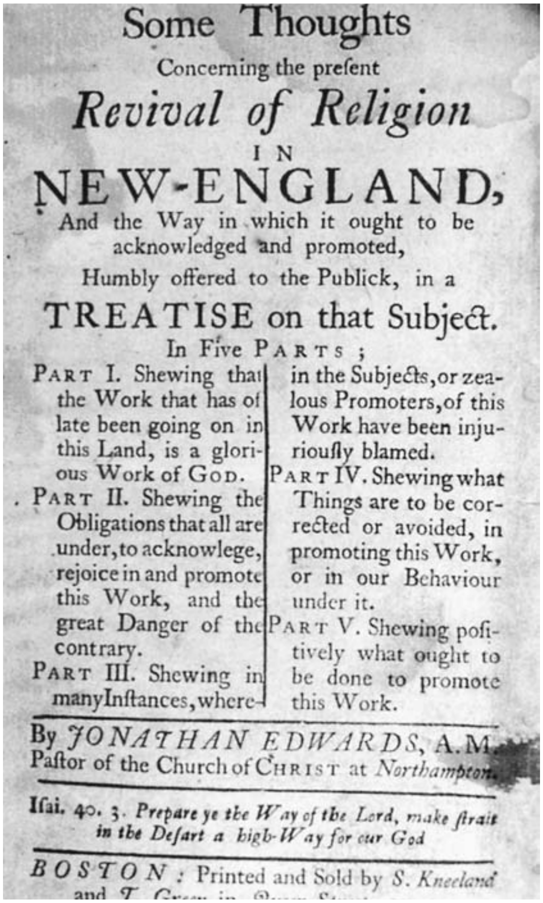
Great Awakening Used to describe the wave of religious revivals that shook American churches in the mid-18th century, the term *Great Awakening* first appeared in 1842, when Joseph Tracy employed it as the title of his book on the quickening of religious interest in the colonial period. Scholars since Tracy's time have generally considered the series of revivals that started in the late 1720s, peaked in 1740, and continued into the 1770s to have been part of a single historical phenomenon. The Great Awakening marks the beginning of the dominance of EVANGELICALISM (a movement emphasizing the need for conversion and acceptance of Christ as personal savior) within American Protestant churches.

The awakening was heralded by local revivals that developed under the leadership of Dutch Reformed minister THEODORUS J. FRELINGHUYSEN in northern New Jersey around the year 1726. In an attempt to eliminate the formalistic worship he perceived in churches in his area, Frelinghuysen demanded that his parishioners be excluded from Communion until they could testify that they had repented of their sins and relied entirely upon the Holy Spirit. This position soon fostered growth where Frelinghuysen ministered, and many leaders of the awakening later testified to his influence on their own evangelistic work.

William Tennent, Sr., and his sons Gilbert, John, and William, Jr., were key figures in the outbreak of revivals in the Presbyterian denomination. When GILBERT TENNENT was called to the Presbyterian church at New Brunswick, he and Frelinghuysen quickly recognized that they had similar spiritual interests. Frelinghuysen encouraged Tennent to regard an experience of regeneration, followed by inward assurance of divine grace, as the sole mark of a true Christian. In the late 1720s and early 1730s, Tennent was also involved with the "Log College" his father had founded to train clergy. Despite being derided for its lack of academic credentials by those who opposed the revivals, the Log College turned out a group of ministers who continued the tradition of the awakening within Presbyterianism.



Some Thoughts
Concerning the preſent
Revival of Religion
IN
NEW-ENGLAND,
And the Way in which it ought to be
acknowledged and promoted,
Humbly offered to the Publick, in a
TREATISE on that Subject.
In Five PARTS;

PART I. Shewing that the Work that has of late been going on in this Land, is a glorious Work of GOD.

PART II. Shewing the Obligations that all are under, to acknowlege, rejoice in and promote this Work, and the great Danger of the contrary.

PART III. Shewing in many Inſtances, wherein the Subjects, or zealous Promoters, of this Work have been injuriouſly blamed.

PART IV. Shewing what Things are to be corrected or avoided, in promoting this Work, or in our Behaviour under it.

PART V. Shewing poſitively what ought to be done to promote this Work.

By *JONATHAN EDWARDS*, A.M.
Paſtor of the Church of CHRIST at *Northampton*.

Iſai. 40. 3. *Prepare ye the Way of the Lord, make ſtrait in the Deſart a high-Way for our God*

BOSTON: Printed and Sold by *S. Kneeland*
and

Title page of . . . ***Revival of Religion in New England*** **by Jonathan Edwards.** *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

A more significant stage of this religious excitement developed under the leadership of JONATHAN EDWARDS, minister of the Congregational church in Northampton, Massachusetts. Edwards was alarmed by the spiritual complacency he perceived among his parishioners and by their acceptance of ARMINIANISM, that is, belief in the human ability to obtain God's grace. To counter these threats, Edwards preached a series of sermons on JUSTIFICATION by faith alone in 1734. He soon noticed important changes in his people: Religious interest and conversions began to increase, and by 1736, the revival had spread to neighboring towns in the Connecticut River Valley. Edwards recorded the events in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, which was published in London in 1737. Edwards's book had a tremendous influence on Anglican clergymen John Wesley and GEORGE WHITEFIELD, inspiring their efforts to evangelize the masses in England and America.

Whitefield had studied at Oxford University, where he befriended the Wesley brothers, John and Charles. Although he remained a Calvinist (see CALVINISM) in theological orientation and rejected the Wesleys' emphasis on the freedom of the human will, Whitefield absorbed their ideas about the need for heartfelt piety and spiritual regeneration. Whitefield's restlessness and religious enthusiasm eventually led him to North America. Although his initial American trip to Georgia in 1738 was a modest success, his next tour, which lasted from 1739 to 1741, represented a crucial moment for the growth and spread of the Great Awakening.

Whitefield, known as "the Grand Itinerant," arrived in Philadelphia in November 1739. He hurried up and down the eastern seaboard, from town to town, from crowded church to busy market, wherever people would listen to his message. He estimated that 20,000 people heard him preach on Boston Common in October 1740. At Northampton, his preaching made Jonathan Edwards weep. And back at Philadelphia a year later, he preached to thousands in an auditorium specially built for his visit. Even the skeptical Benjamin Franklin was impressed with Whitefield and the good effect he had upon the people of his city.

Despite such praise, some clergy in America soon began to resent his mission and the awakening in general. Timothy Cutler, an Anglican minister in Boston, complained that the enthusiasm Whitefield generated amounted almost to madness. His evening sermons were said to be "attended with hideous yellings, and shameful revels, continuing . . . till break of day." Worst of all, Cutler reported, Whitefield encouraged laity to turn against their proper ecclesiastical leaders and question established religious beliefs and customs.

While Whitefield's American tour was upsetting his fellow Anglicans, a storm of opposition to the awakening also broke out among the Presbyterians. Gilbert Tennent, who had been asked by Whitefield to accompany him and lead revivals, brought about the Presbyterian rupture by his sermon on "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry," which he preached in March 1740. In contrast to what he called the "carnal security" of routine churchgoing and unexamined adherence to creeds, Tennent summoned men and women to genuine repentance and an experience of God's power over their lives. He had gone too far. Using the issue of ministerial education and the inadequacy of the preparation of the revival-oriented Log College men, the conservative "Old Side" party (see NEW SIDE/OLD SIDE) ejected Tennent's New Brunswick presbytery in 1741 from the Synod of Philadelphia. The "New Side" Presbyterians, as the revival party was known, responded by organizing a church of their own. This division, a direct result of the Great Awakening, continued until 1758, when the Presbyterian factions came together again under the dominance of the New Side.

Further opposition to the awakening was aroused by Congregational minister James Davenport, pastor of the church at Southold, Long Island. Following Whitefield and Tennent to Connecticut in the summer of 1741, Davenport stirred the revival excitement while lambasting the ministers of the colony with unrelenting personal invectives. He claimed to be able to distinguish infallibly between God's elect and the damned, and he sang publicly as he walked the streets on the way to places of worship. Davenport was arrested both in Connecticut in 1741 and in Massachusetts the next year. His bizarre antics helped turn opinion in New England against the revivals.

Congregationalist Charles Chauncy, leader of the emergent antirevival, or "Old Light" (see New Lights/Old Lights), faction in his denomination, blasted the awakening from his pulpit at the First Church in Boston. In *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England*, a lengthy work published in 1743, Chauncy cataloged what he believed were the worst features of the revivals. Although George Whitefield had been feted at Harvard College during his earlier visit to Boston, Chauncy convinced the Harvard faculty to close their doors to Whitefield in 1744.

Radical "New Light" Congregationalists in New England, on the other hand, insisted that many of their fellow church members and clergy, Chauncy being a prime example, lacked true piety. Called "Separates," this group was led by Isaac Backus of Norwich, Connecticut. Backus had been brought to "a saving knowledge of the truth" at a local revival in 1741. In 1748, he accepted a call to minister to a Separate church in Middleborough, Massachusetts. Disturbed over the question of baptism, Backus and six others were later rebaptized after a profession of faith in Jesus Christ. This was the beginning of a tremendous surge in growth among Baptists in New England. Eventually, the awakening encouraged more than a hundred congregations to split from the Congregational establishment, and close to 80 of these eventually reorganized themselves as Baptist churches.

In the southern colonies, the Great Awakening developed far more slowly than in the North. Although Whitefield had preached to large numbers of people during his evangelistic tours of the South, the hostility of the Anglican religious establishment, as well as the general lack of settled population centers, prevented revivals from developing. Whitefield blazed a trail for the spread of the awakening, but he himself was unable to consolidate it into a widespread movement, as he had done in the North.

The earliest discernible outbreak of religious enthusiasm in the South appeared in Hanover County, Virginia, where William Robinson, a graduate of William Tennent's Log College, was sent by New Jersey Presbyterians on a missionary tour in 1742. Other itinerant revivalists followed Robinson and kept the spiritual interest alive. In 1747, Samuel Davies succeeded Robinson at Hanover County. Davies fought a lengthy legal battle against the Anglican establishment on behalf of toleration for the seven Virginia Presbyterian churches he served, and he attracted fame as a successful evangelist. He traveled throughout Virginia to help build up Presbyterianism. Called to the presidency of what is now Princeton University in 1759, his departure for New Jersey left no educated minister of his denomination in Virginia. As a consequence, the cause of revivalism among southern Presbyterians quickly declined.

The Baptists emerged as the most prominent evangelical force in Virginia. In 1754, Shubal Stearns and Daniel Marshall came to Virginia from Connecticut, where they had been converted by Whitefield. The two clergymen introduced several key evangelical elements: a free church without any hierarchy, a ministry that depended upon the call of God as its single credential, and the baptism of adult believers only. Although Stearns soon left for North Carolina and Marshall went on to Georgia, they had helped form a strong coterie of Baptists in Virginia. As an Anglican leader remarked in 1759 about the headway the Baptists were making, their "shocking delusion . . . threatens the entire subversion of *true religion* in these parts."

Anglicans gained their own revival party when DEVEREUX JARRATT was installed as rector at Bath, Virginia, in 1763. He had been influenced by both Whitefield and the Wesleys. Under his preaching, churches became so crowded that he was compelled to hold services outside. Jarratt also began to move outside the geographic boundaries of his parish, and large assemblies gathered to hear him in the open air. In 1773, he joined forces with the "METHODISTS," evangelical societies forming within Anglicanism, and cooperated with them in revivals that occurred just prior to the American Revolution. After the war, when those societies left Anglicanism and formed the Methodist Episcopal Church, Jarratt felt he had been betrayed. Remaining within the Anglican fold, he contributed greatly to the growth of the evangelical party within the newly organized Episcopal Church.

With the beginning of the War for Independence, the Great Awakening effectively came to an end, as Americans were forced to consider matters even more pressing than the eternal states of their souls. The awakening, a spontaneous religious movement that swept across all colonial boundaries and spanned more than three decades, introduced a new sense of cohesiveness to the American people. Although no one is able to give an exact estimate of the number of people who joined churches in that period, the impact upon all the Protestant denominations was unquestionably immense. The awakening, in fact, while building up churches, also tended to minimize denominational distinctions. John Wesley exemplified this element in the revivals when he declared he would make no distinction between men and women of different denominations who still acknowledged "the common principles of Christianity." "Dost thou love and fear God?" he asked. If the answer were positive, he concluded: "It is enough! I give thee the right hand of fellowship."

As a result of this understanding about the relative unimportance of denominations, the Protestant churches of the new United States were able to develop a certain functional unity. This sense of fellowship, an essential harmony existing beneath the diversity of outward ecclesiastical forms, bore even greater fruit in the 19th century in the creation of a system of voluntary societies for the promotion of various religious causes. During the burst of renewed evangelical fervor, now called the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, which appeared in the late 1790s, American Protestants successfully channeled their efforts into many common tasks, including building new churches and Christian schools and establishing numerous agencies of moral and social reform.

GHS, Jr.

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Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America is the largest organization of Greek Orthodox Christians in the United States. Although established in 1922, its roots go back to the late 19th century.

Only a few Greeks lived in the United States before the 1880s, but immigration surged after 1890. Greeks began to organize Orthodox parishes to preserve their religious and ethnic identity. The nation's first

Greek Orthodox parish, Holy Trinity in New Orleans, began in 1864 as a pan-Orthodox venture. Purely Greek communities began to form later, led by New York's Holy Trinity in 1892 and Chicago's Assumption in 1893. Early parishes were typically organized by lay societies, which at the time petitioned the Church of Greece or the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople for priests. This informal approach persisted until 1918, even though the Church of Greece exercised formal authority over Greek churches in America after 1908. This long period of fluidity made it difficult to impose hierarchical authority later.

When efforts to organize a Greek diocese finally began, they were compromised immediately by political struggles. Meletios Metaxakis, the liberal archbishop of Athens, visited the United States in 1918 and assigned a bishop to gather the approximately 150 Greek parishes then existing into a diocese. But soon after returning to Greece, Meletios was deposed by royalists, who sent a conservative bishop to America to counter Meletios's efforts.

Meletios returned briefly to the United States, but in 1921 he was unexpectedly elected patriarch of Constantinople. One year later, he established the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. The royalists reacted vigorously, and the 1920s were marked by extended tumult in America, including rival hierarchies, parish schisms, and numerous lawsuits. Peter Kourides, a lay official, later recalled that "police were stationed at strategic positions within some of the churches to prevent bloodshed."

The worst period of strife ended in 1930, when the patriarchate and the Church of

After 1890, Greek immigrants organized churches, such as this Greek Orthodox church in Amoskeag, New Hampshire, to preserve their religion and ethnic culture. *(Library of Congress)*

Greece agreed to remove all the contending bishops and to send a new archbishop to America. ATHENAGORAS SPYROU arrived in 1931 to take up the task of healing divisions. The persuasive Athenagoras spent more than a decade working to mend the divisions of the 1920s, traveling around the United States and knitting together a highly centralized archdiocese.

Despite the exigencies of the Great Depression, the archdiocese made progress, and a number of crucial national institutions, including a theological seminary, were established. Athenagoras also championed Greek identity and fostered the development of an extensive network of language and catechetical schools for children.

Elected ecumenical patriarch in 1948, he left behind an archdiocese basking in what one historian has called the Greek-American community's "era of respectability." Expansion continued during the 1950s under the leadership of Archbishop Michael Constantindes, who had served earlier as metropolitan of Corinth in Greece. In 1959, Michael was succeeded by Archbishop IAKOVOS COUCOUZES, who had spent most of his career as a priest in the United States.

Under Iakovos, the archdiocese played a significant role in ecumenical activities and began to address the increasing acculturation of its members. In 1970, the 20th archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Conference approved the use of English in the liturgy, but the proposal was rejected decisively by Patriarch Athenagoras.

A stormy and unresolved debate over language followed. The struggle was fueled after 1965 by the resumption of Greek immigration, which created a renewed pastoral need for ministry in Greek. Despite this controversy, the expansion of the archdiocese continued, and it achieved recognition as the largest, best-organized, and most affluent Orthodox jurisdiction in North America.

Archbishop Iakovos was forced into retirement in 1996 by the Ecumenical patriarch over concerns about the archdiocese's level of independence. His successor, Archbishop Spyridon, proved too imperious for independent-minded Americans, and he resigned in 1999. He was succeeded by Archbishop Demetrios, who has tried to negotiate the demands of clergy and laity in the Americas for greater control and the more traditional views emanating from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul.

It now claims about 1.5 million members in the United States. In 2004, its 563 parishes were organized into eight dioceses in the United States. The archdiocese also serves Canada and significant communities in Latin America. The archbishop also supervises smaller American jurisdictions of Carpatho-Russian, Ukrainian, and Albanian Orthodox on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

AHW

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Grimké, Angelina Emily (1805–1879) and Sarah Moore (1792–1873) Sarah and Angelina Grimké were the first women born into a slaveholding family in the South to speak out forcefully for the abolition of slavery. They were also among the first women to agitate for the right of women to speak in public. Breaking through the separate domestic sphere allotted to them as Victorian females, the Grimké sisters argued on biblical grounds that God saw both the enslavement of African Americans and the bondage of women as sin.

The Grimkés were born in Charleston, South Carolina, to an affluent family that included 14 children and numerous slaves. Because of their personal experience with the "peculiar institution" of southern slavery, the Grimké sisters were particularly useful to ABOLITIONISM. Neither Sarah nor Angelina received much formal education, but both were eager readers who became convinced after reading the Bible that slavery was contrary to the will of God. Though raised in the EPISCOPAL CHURCH, both sisters were spiritually restless, affiliating themselves at one time or another with PRESBYTERIANISM, Quakerism (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]), and SPIRITUALISM.

The Grimkés' odyssey out of the slaveholding South began in 1819, when Sarah traveled with her ailing father to Philadelphia, where he subsequently died. On her solitary way home, Sarah met some Quakers and was introduced to the Society of Friends. One year later, she became a Quaker herself, and in 1821, she moved to Philadelphia. Angelina joined her sister in 1829, and the two soon began attending antislavery lectures and Quaker meetings.

The Grimkés first captured widespread attention on September 19, 1835, when radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison published Angelina's antislavery letter in *The Liberator.* Calling abolitionism "a cause worth dying for," Angelina emphasized that she wrote on the basis of "what I have seen, and heard, and known in a land of slavery, where rests the darkness of Egypt, and where is found the sin of Sodom."

In 1836, the Grimkés traveled to New York City, where they began speaking to groups of women about slavery, first in private parlors and later in larger and more public venues. In that same year, both Angelina and Sarah produced their first of many abolitionist pamphlets based on their firsthand knowledge of slavery. Angelina's *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* (1836) and Sarah's *Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States* (1836) both refuted biblical arguments for slavery popular among southerners and contended that slavery was contrary to the will of God and the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

In 1837, Angelina and Sarah made their way to Boston, where their historic decision to address "mixed" audiences precipitated a great controversy about the right of women to speak in public. Among those who objected to the Grimkés' forthrightness were the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts, whose "Pastoral Letter" denounced on New Testament grounds females "who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers." Also objecting was Catharine Beecher, the first daughter of preacher LYMAN BEECHER, who like her father was not as radical a reformer as the Grimkés. While Catharine Beecher argued in an open letter to Angelina that slaves should be freed gradually and settled in an African colony, Angelina insisted that slaves should be granted immediate emancipation followed by full suffrage. Angelina also rejected Beecher's suggestion that women should exercise their influence in the private sphere of the home.

The Grimkés' public career took an important turn on May 14, 1838, when Angelina married THEODORE DWIGHT WELD. On the following day in New York City, both Grimkés attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. At that gathering, the Grimkés and fellow female abolitionists were taunted by antiabolitionist mobs who burned the meeting place to the ground.

Whether they were frightened by this mob violence or cajoled by the more moderate Weld is not certain, but the Grimkés subsequently withdrew from public view. After producing *American Slavery As It Is* (1839) with Weld, the Grimkés concluded their public careers. In 1840, both Angelina and Sarah moved with Weld to a farm in Belleville, New Jersey, where they devoted themselves to teaching and educational reform. In 1864, the sisters settled in Hyde Park, Massachusetts. Sarah died in 1873 and Angelina in 1879.

Though their public agitation on behalf of slaves and women lasted only from 1835 to 1839, the Grimkés did much to link women's rights with abolitionism and to convince Americans that the enslavement of African Americans and the bondage of women were contrary to both the design of nature and the commandments of God.

SRP

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H

Habitat for Humanity Perhaps few undertakings better deserve the term *phenomenon* than does the organization Habitat for Humanity International. Its fusion of religion, self-help, PHILANTHROPY, a former United States president, and an all-embracing ethos together make it a fascinating enterprise.

Strangely, Habitat for Humanity is even more intriguing for its history. Founded by Millard and Linda Fuller in conjunction with CLARENCE JORDAN and other members of KOINONIA FARM, Habitat for Humanity is a combination of evangelical Christianity, civil rights, and personal transformation.

The transformation that helped to give Habitat for Humanity its birth was that of Millard and Linda Fuller. Born and reared in Alabama, the Fullers had built up their marketing company to the point where they were millionaires while still in their 20s. But success took a major toll on their health and personal lives.

Following a period of reflection, they concluded that they had lost track of the essence of their Christianity and rededicated themselves to God. This rededication began with selling their possessions and giving away all their money to the poor. Eventually, they found their way to Koinonia Farm, an interracial Christian agricultural community established in Georgia by Clarence Jordan in 1942.

While there, they developed the idea of establishing "partnership housing," a scheme in which those in need of homes would work with volunteers to build simple, affordable, decent housing. Funding for these houses would be provided by a revolving loan fund capitalized by donations, fund-raising activities, house payments, and no-interest loans from supporters. The first letter from Koinonia Farm described it:

> What the poor need is not charity but capital, not caseworkers but co-workers. And what the rich need is a wise, honorable and just way of divesting themselves of their overabundance. The Fund for Humanity will meet both of these needs. Money for the fund will come from shared gifts by those who feel they have more than they need and from non-interest bearing loans from those who cannot afford to make a gift but who do want to provide working capital for the disinherited. . . . The fund will give away no money. It is not a handout.

The first homes were built near Americus, Georgia, where Koinonia was located in 1968. This was followed by a move to Africa in 1972, where the Fullers attempted to put their ideas into practice in Zaire. Success there convinced the Fullers that their vision could and should be expanded. They returned to the United States in 1976, where at a meeting of supporters Habitat for Humanity International was formed with the goal of providing quality housing internationally.

The idea met with a remarkable reception, aided to some extent by the commitment that Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, longtime supporters and neighbors in Americus, brought to the project. Such publicity helped. But the vision and commitment of the Fullers and others, the belief that people can help others help themselves, and the romance of the "flash builds," where people join together to build a home for real people whom they can meet and see, spoke to something deep not only within the American psyche, but also to people around the world. A home—an idea that resonates with shelter, warmth, and security—is not an idea anyone can oppose. The "sweat equity" of the soon-to-be owners also makes the work appealing.

Habitat for Humanity, which is unabashedly Christian, even evangelical, in its vision also shows how values and commitments readily cross religious lines when a common good is perceived. By focusing on service, "the theology of the hammer," as Millard Fuller put it, religion becomes a force for bringing people of all and no religious beliefs together.

During 2004 and 2005, Habitat for Humanity underwent a period of massive internal turmoil. Amid accusations of sexual harassment and imperiousness, Fuller was removed as the organization's head and replaced by Jonathan T. M. Reckford, a Presbyterian minister and former senior executive of Best Buy. Following his firing, Fuller and his wife created a new organization, Building Habitat, to continue their work.

While Habitat for Humanity did not seem to have been hurt by the publicity surrounding the change in leadership, many expressed concern about whether a more formal business model would weaken its grassroots support. Additionally, talk that Habitat was contemplating relocating from its headquarters in Americus, Georgia, to Atlanta raised suspicions about whether the organization was changing its ethos. The opposition to the move led to a compromise whereby the majority of the daily operations remained in Americus, and senior staff relocated to Atlanta.

While Habitat alone may not solve the world's housing problems, it has been remarkably successful, building more than 225,000 houses that shelter more than a million people in some 3,000 communities worldwide. It now ranks as one of the 20 largest home builders in the United States and the largest nonprofit builder. As Millard Fuller said, "My responsibility is to use what God has given me to help His people in need."

EQ

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Half-way Covenant Adopted in 1662, the Half-way Covenant was basically an adjustment of the criteria for BAPTISM and full membership in the New England Congregational churches (see CONGREGATIONALISM). Its adoption and effects have led it to receive many interpretations from scholars. Some have argued that it was necessitated by declining religious fervor, others attribute it to increased religious scrupulousness. Still others viewed it as a response to decreasing numbers of eligible voters.

While the adoption of the Half-way Covenant resulted in the eventual transformation of New England PURITANISM, it was not caused by any major change in religious belief, nor by concerns over the franchise. In fact, of the four colonies involved—MASSACHUSETTS BAY

COLONY, New Haven, Plymouth, and Connecticut—only the first two made full church membership a requirement for full citizenship and the franchise, and by 1665 they had eliminated it as a voting requirement.

The Half-way Covenant was necessitated by requiring testimony of regeneration (a CONVERSION experience) for full membership in the Congregational churches of New England. This requirement, adopted by nearly all the churches between 1635 and 1640, had unexpected results. While it did not affect the "first generation" of Puritans in America—since they had been accepted into church membership solely on the bases of not living scandalous lives and assenting to the doctrines of the church—their children, the "second generation," felt the implications strongly. Many never felt the working of grace in their souls that marked the experience of regeneration and, as a result, never became full church members. Since baptism was limited to those infants who had at least one parent as a full member, many of their children—the "third generation" of Puritans—could not be baptized.

This troubled many ministers who, understanding God's covenant as eternal, saw no reason why it should be cut off in the third generation. As early as 1645, Richard Mather argued that the children of baptized persons should be eligible for baptism themselves, but no official action was taken on his suggestion until June 1657, when a ministerial assembly in Boston recommended that children of baptized members be eligible for baptism. When several ministers attempted to implement this recommendation, they faced opposition from church members, and the question languished for another five years.

In 1662, the ministers again took up the issue at a meeting now known as the Half-way Synod. After meeting in four sessions throughout that year, it issued recommendations at the end of September. Over the objections of the president of Harvard, Charles Chauncy, and Richard Mather's sons Increase and Eleazar (see MATHER, INCREASE), the synod recommended that churches accept children of all baptized members. As they phrased it, "Church-members who were admitted in minority, understanding the Doctrine of Faith, and publickly professing their assent thereto; not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the convenant before the Church, wherein they give themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their children are to be baptized."

The General Court of Massachusetts urged the churches to adopt these recommendations. They met much opposition from the laity, however, who were strengthened in their opposition by the Mather brothers and John Davenport of New Haven. As late as 1672, only two-fifths of the churches in Massachusetts had implemented the change. By that time, Increase Mather had accepted it (1671), but his brother, Eleazar, went to an early grave (1669) still opposed. In Connecticut, the conflicts were so great that the General Court announced in 1669 all positions were acceptable until new light fell on the subject.

Eventually, even the most recalcitrant were reconciled, and the Half-way Covenant became an accepted part of the New England way. For many, however, it remained a symbol of the decline of the colonies from their earlier purity and religiosity. More appropriately, this change should be understood as part of the ongoing attempt of Puritan congregationalism to create a workable doctrine of the church.

(See also CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM; COVENANT THEOLOGY.)

EQ

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sity Press, 1998); Williston Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1960).

Handsome Lake (Ganio'dai'io) (1735–1815) Handsome Lake, a religious visionary and political leader, rallied his people, the Seneca nation of the Iroquois, during a time of economic dislocation and political disruption in the early 19th century. His evangelistic efforts to revive his culture produced a new religion that played a continuing role in Iroquois life.

Born in 1735, Handsome Lake lived in the western part of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Haudenosaunee, in the Genesee River village of Gano'wages, in what is now New York State. In the years prior to the French and Indian Wars, Iroquois land extended from Lake Erie to the Hudson River. Their actual realm of influence stretched from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic seaboard, as they controlled both trade and the delicate balance between European powers competing for access to furs in the Ohio country. Handsome Lake came of age as this era of Iroquois dominance in the Northeast ended. He took an active role in Iroquois efforts to retain their regional control, fighting against the British prior to the 1763 Treaty of Paris, which removed the Iroquois's French ally, and with the British during the American Revolution under the leadership of the Mohawk Joseph Brant. After the war, Handsome Lake, now a Seneca chief, took part in several delegations to Washington, ultimately failing in their efforts to stop American settlements advancing onto Haudenosaunee land, much of which was eventually sold to the Americans.

With the effective destruction of the Iroquois Confederacy's power, a loss of population due to war and disease, and the rising influence of Christian missionaries, many Iroquois, including Handsome Lake, despaired over the dissolution of traditional ways of life. Living in the Seneca village led by his brother Cornplanter, who turned to Quaker missionaries to find help coping with the new society, Handsome Lake began receiving visions in the spring of 1799.

After succumbing to illness, and assumed dead by his relatives, Handsome Lake awoke and described a visit by three angels dressed in Iroquois ceremonial clothing. Handsome Lake's visions, which combined both traditional Iroquois and Christian symbolism, became the basis of an oral tradition, handed down into the present. He claimed the angels told him that the Iroquois should retain traditional festivals, such as the early summer strawberry festival, and refrain from the evils of whiskey, witchcraft, love-magic, and abortion/sterility medicine. In visions received over the next year, Handsome Lake was taken by another angel on a tour of heaven and hell. On a journey to the sky, Handsome Lake said he met George Washington and Jesus, who spoke to him about the frustrations of ministry among the white people who had crucified him. During these visions, Handsome Lake received numerous instructions about proper Iroquois responses to white culture. The early visions placed a great deal of emphasis upon the need for personal confession and salvation, and in the latter there was corresponding concern for social renewal.

By creatively adapting aspects of American culture and resisting others, Handsome Lake took a leading hand in negotiating the path for his people's continued identity in American society. To some extent, this leader's visions legitimized certain cultural and economic transformations: He opposed the predominant matrilineal power in Iroquois family life, and he supported the agricultural labor and domestic power of men, thus replacing traditional Iroquois division of labor and family structure with a model similar to that advocated by the Quaker missionaries. In addition, his ritual of confession incorporated the missionaries' ideas of sin and salvation. But he also denounced many white practices and upheld tribal ownership of land, gift-giving as the preferred mode of exchange, and much of traditional mythology and ceremony (apart from those practices associated with shamanism and witchcraft). The new religion spread widely as Handsome Lake preached in councils of Iroquois leaders, to visiting delegations from other tribes, and in many Iroquois towns.

Made leader of the Iroquois nation in 1801, Handsome Lake was less successful at politics than evangelism, becoming embroiled in controversies over witchcraft and competition with other Seneca leaders, such as his brother Cornplanter and Red Jacket. He died on August 10, 1815, without having achieved his goal of political unity among the Iroquois, which he hoped to accomplish by strengthening his own visionary role at the expense of other chiefs. By 1850, the accounts of Handsome Lake's visions had been incorporated into an oral tradition called the Gaiwiio, the "good word," or the Code of Handsome Lake. The "Longhouse Religion," or "the Old Way of Handsome Lake," endures today, remaining the primary form of traditional Iroquois religious life.

MG

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Harkness, Georgia Elma (1891–1974) A social activist, poet, and ecumenist, Georgia Elma Harkness was America's first professional female theologian and the first woman to teach theology at a major Protestant seminary in the United States. Harkness was an early advocate of women's rights in the church, even as she demonstrated the ability of women to do theology and to teach in areas outside the traditional female sphere of religious education.

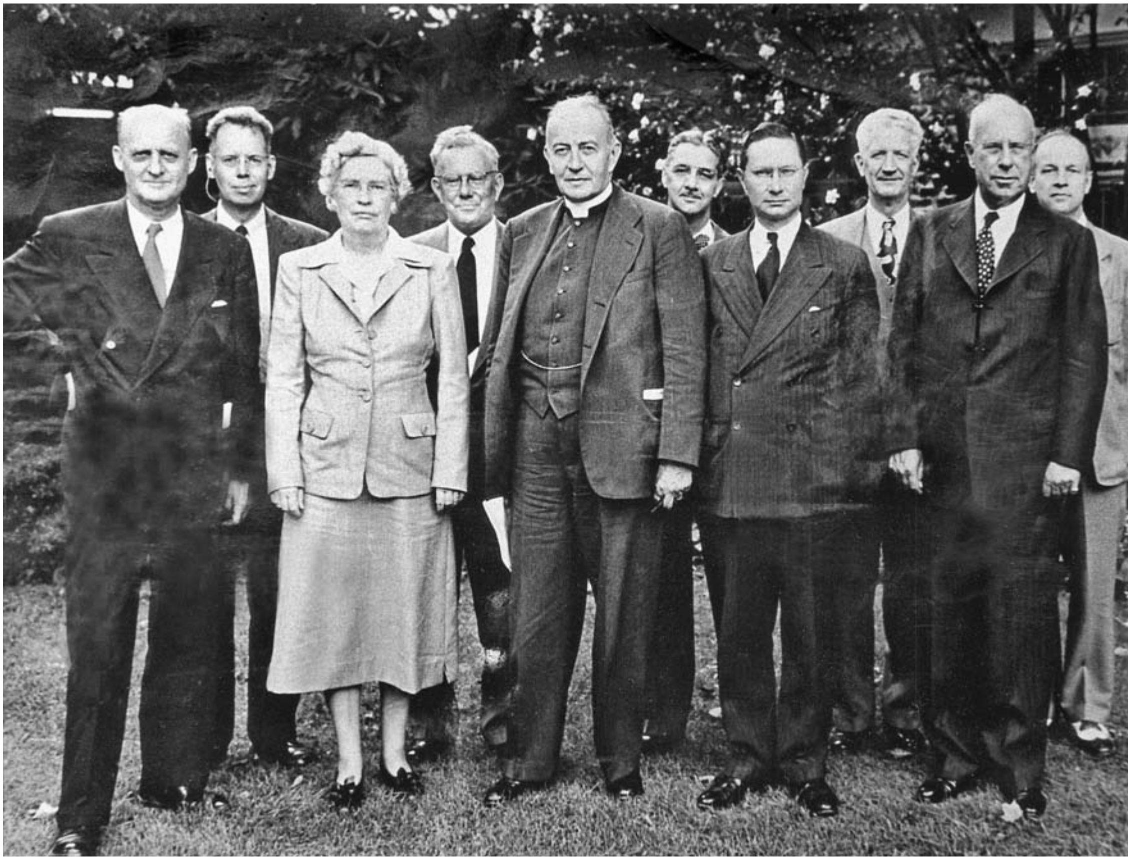
Born on a family farm in Harkness in the Lake Champlain region of New York, Harkness was raised by METHODISTS. She had a conversion experience at the age of 14 and became a church member. She graduated from Cornell University in 1912 and for the next six years worked as a schoolteacher in New York State. She then resumed her education at Boston University, where she earned an M.A. degree in religious education in 1920 and a Ph.D. in philosophy in 1923.

Harkness was hired in 1922 as an assistant professor of religious education at Elmira College, a woman's school in Elmira, New York. She taught in the philosophy department there from 1923 until 1937. After spending time at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in the mid-1930s, Harkness decided that her calling was theology rather than philosophy. In 1937, she was hired as an associate professor in the Department of the History and Literature of Religion at Mount Holyoke College (also a woman's school), but after only two years there she accepted a position as professor of applied theology at Garrett Biblical Institute (now Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary) in Evanston, Illinois. Harkness's last academic position was as professor of applied theology at Pacific School of Religion, where she served from 1949 until her retirement in 1961.

During her long and distinguished teaching career, Harkness traveled widely, frequently as a delegate to ecumenical conferences (see ECUMENISM). She wrote 40 books on topics ranging from social ethics to devotional poetry. Critics described her theological work as insubstantial, but admirers applauded Harkness for making theology accessible to laypeople.

Harkness described herself as an "evangelical liberal" who based her progressive political stances and her Christocentric theology on biblical teachings. She believed that both sin and salvation were social, and she saw it as every Christian's duty to usher in the kingdom of God here and now.

A self-described pacifist and socialist, she opposed wars from WORLD WAR II to the



Dr. Georgia Harkness, the first woman theologian to teach in a seminary in the United States. *(John C. Bennett Archives)*

Vietnam War and criticized capitalism as anti-Christian. In 1950, she served alongside Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, and seven other male theologians on the Commission of Christian Scholars appointed by the Federal Council of Churches (see National Council of Churches) to consider the morality of nuclear weapons. Although the majority decided that Christian ethics did not proscribe the first use of nuclear weapons, Harkness dissented, contending according to the commission's report "that God calls some men to take the way of non-violence."

Despite her controversial commitment to pacifism, Harkness is best remembered as an early champion for the rights of women in the church, including the right to full ordination. Though radical in her aims on women's issues, she was moderate in her means. When urged in the 1970s to refer to God as "She," Harkness refused. Yet she publicly lamented the fact that the church remained "the most impregnable stronghold of male dominance." As early as 1924, she was deriding the reluctance of Christian denominations to ordain women as "a deep-seated relic of medievalism," and she continued to agitate for the full ordination of women in her own Methodist denomination until that right was granted in 1956. In 1948, Harkness achieved wide acclaim when she debated neo-orthodox theologian Karl Barth (see NEO-ORTHODOXY) at a meeting of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in Amsterdam. Harkness argued that Genesis asserted that male and female were created equal and in the image of God; Galatians, moreover, established the fact that Christ did not discriminate between men and women. Her views on women and Christianity are detailed in *Women in Church and Society* (1972), a book she wrote at the age of 81.

Harkness retired in 1961 and moved to Claremont, California. In 1975, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary established a Georgia Harkness Chair in Applied Theology in recognition of Harkness's pioneering contributions.

SRP

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harmonial religion See CHRISTADELPHIANS; CHRISTIAN SCIENCE; MESMERISM; NEW AGE RELIGION; NEW THOUGHT; POSITIVE THINKING; ROSICRUCIANS; SCIENTOLOGY; SPIRITUALISM; THEOSOPHY; TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION.

Hasidism A mystical strain of JUDAISM that emerged in Poland and the Ukraine during the 18th century, Hasidism has played an important role in American Judaism only since World War II. Composed of various sects, or dynasties, contemporary Hasidism emphasizes piety, strict ritual observance, and withdrawal from the wider world. Easily recognizable by their distinctive dress, Hasids have settled primarily in the Williamsburg and Crown Heights sections of New York City, where they live a relatively insulated existence.

The roots of Hasidism are traceable to the teachings of Israel Ben Eliezer (1700–60), the Baal Shem Tov or Besht (Master of the Good Name). Around 1735, he began to wander around Poland teaching that study of the Talmud and asceticism were not the only ways to gain divine knowledge, but that God could be known through the feelings. He emphasized joy and happiness, claiming that God hallowed all passions and all activities if done with piety, devotion, and purity. He and his disciples also emphasized the mystical tradition known as the Kabbala, especially the divine light or spark that is present in creation.

As the movement grew, it engendered a reaction among the rabbinic leaders. Despite this opposition, Hasidism gained wide popular support, and it reached its height following legal recognition by the Russian government in 1804. By the mid-1800s, nearly half of eastern Europe's Jews were affiliated with one of the Hasidic dynasties.

The most distinctive feature of Hasidism is the role played by the rebbes. Unlike the traditional rabbis, whose honor resulted from their learning, the rebbes drew followers due to their mystical power and charismatic personalities. Because of his righteousness the rebbe, mediates between his followers and the divine, effecting forgiveness of their sins and transforming the evil within them into good. As Hasidism became institutionalized, the rebbes tended to pass on their leadership roles to close disciples, usually relatives, breaking up the movement into various sects and creating the Hasidic "dynasties" that exist today.

Although individual Hasids came to the United States during the late 19th century, there was no organized Hasidic community until the 20th century, when the earliest rebbes, scions of the Stoliner and the Chernobyler (named for the towns where the original founder lived), came to the United States after the Russian Revolution. The greatest influx of Hasids into the United States came after the rise of Nazism. Some, like the Lubavitcher rebbe MENACHEM MENDEL SCHNEERSON, came during the war; others who survived the

Holocaust and the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe arrived later. There are now nearly 20 Hasidic dynasties in the United States, mostly centered in Brooklyn, although some have established communities in upstate New York, where they can live in greater isolation from the modern world.

Of all the Hasidic groups in the United States, the two most significant are the Satmars and the Lubavitchers. These groups differ radically in their approaches to the wider world. The Satmars, the largest group in the United States, were founded only in the 1920s, although the founder, Rebbe Yoel Teitelbaum (1886–1982), descends from a long line of Hasidic rebbes. The most distinctive element of the Satmars is their virulent opposition to the state of Israel. Believing that the Jewish state can be restored only by the Messiah, they view the secular state of Israel as blasphemous. The present rebbe, a nephew of the movement's founder, exercises strict control over his followers, along with several smaller Hasidic groups of Hungarian origin that lost their rebbes during the Holocaust.

The Lubavitchers, the most visible of all Hasids, differ greatly from other Hasidic groups. With their origins in Lithuania, they fell heir to the studiousness of the Lithuanian Jewish tradition. The founder, Rabbi Schneur Zalman (1748–1812), formulated the movement known as Habad, an acronym drawn from *Hochma* (wisdom), *Binah* (reason), and *Da'at* (knowledge), giving Lubavitch Hasidism the other name by which it is known. Although a Lubavitch community was organized in the United States during the 1920s, it remained small until 1940. In that year, the rebbe Joseph

Hasidic Jews celebrating the festival of Purim in Brooklyn, New York. *(Getty)*

Isaac Schneerson (1880–1950) arrived in the United States. He settled in the Crown Heights neighborhood in Brooklyn with hundreds of his followers, most of whom were also refugees. After his death, he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Menachem Mendel Schneerson.

The younger Schneerson turned the movement into the most organizationally sophisticated of all the Hasidic groups. Unlike most other Hasids, the Lubavitchers actively proselytize among other Jews. One of the rebbe's greatest desires was to bring nonobservant Jews into observance. Since the Lubavitchers' mystical theology emphasizes the divine spark within everyone, if nonobservant Jews begin to observe one of the religious laws (*mitzvoth*), the spark will grow, driving them to greater religious observance until they are consumed by religious fire. Lubavitchers see this as a necessary part of entering the messianic age. There are nearly 40 Lubavitcher yeshivas (religious schools) in the United States, 100 Habad houses in college communities, and numerous summer camps. The movement also sends members to serve the needs of Jews around the world.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Schneerson's followers began increasingly to view him as the Messiah. This seemed to be borne out by his predictions, among them that the 1991 Gulf War would be short and Israel spared, that the Soviet Union would collapse, and that Russian and Ethiopian Jews would undertake an exodus to Israel. This expectation received a setback in the winter of 1992, when Schneerson suffered a stroke, but as he slowly recovered, his followers' expectations continued to rise. Even his death in 1994 did little to cool the messianic fervor of some Lubavitchers, and tensions emerged between those who continued to expect his return as the Messiah and those who were willing to postpone their expectations, suggesting a possible rift in the organization.

Although the fastest-growing of all movements in American Judaism due to a high birth rate and active proselytizing, all Hasidic groups in the United States combined contain fewer than 200,000 members. Their impact is much wider than those numbers suggest. The traditions and tales of Hasidism have entered into the religious and cultural fabric of American Judaism. Hasidism also has infused greater life into ORTHODOX JUDAISM in particular. Self-consciously strict in its interpretations of Jewish law, Hasidism has served to pull American Orthodoxy to the right. Its unabashed difference from society provided a countervailing element to the engagement with the world that marked modern Orthodoxy in the United States.

Even many secularized Jews, anxious about their failure to maintain the religious laws, view the Hasids as faithful maintainers of Jewish tradition and provide them with a great deal of financial support. In doing so, they perhaps take the concept of the *zaddik* to its logical, albeit extreme, conclusion: For them, Hasidism exists to atone for the failings of the secularized community.

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Hawthorne, Nathaniel See LITERATURE AND RELIGION.

Haygood, Atticus Greene (1839–1896) Atticus G. Haygood, Methodist bishop and educator, was one of the first white church leaders in the postbellum South to protest the mistreatment of African Americans. Known for his paternalistic racial attitudes, Haygood wanted his region to look toward the future and leave its past, especially the crippling effects of slavery, behind.

Haygood was born on November 19, 1839, in Watkinsville, Georgia. He graduated from Emory College, then in Oxford, Georgia, in 1859 and subsequently was ordained to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. After serving as a Confederate chaplain, he rose to prominence in his denomination after the CIVIL WAR. He became president of Emory in 1875 and editor of the influential *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* in 1878.

Although newspaperman and Atlanta *Constitution* editor Henry Grady popularized the phrase *New South,* Haygood originated the term, employing it as the title of a sermon on Thanksgiving Day in 1880. Published by a New York financier and widely circulated in the North, Haygood's sermon spoke of how southern whites were much better off in 1880 than they had been before the war. Haygood continued his attack on what he considered the false virtues of the LOST CAUSE MYTH in his path-breaking book, *Our Brother in Black* (1881).

Although he believed divine providence had allowed Africans to be brought to America to Christianize and civilize them, he rejoiced that God had destroyed slavery. Confederate defeat, he said, had provided many benefits to both white and black southerners, including the educational work of the northern churches in the South after the Civil War ended. *Our Brother in Black* won considerable praise from philanthropists in the North, and within a year, Haygood was named the executive agent of the newly created Slater Fund, an organization dedicated to the industrial education of blacks. He was a moving spirit, too, in the creation of Paine College in Augusta, Georgia, another African-American educational institution.

Haygood resigned from the Slater Fund to accept election as bishop of California and missionary bishop of Mexico in 1890, taking up residence in Los Angeles. After contracting a fever on a visit to Mexico, he returned to Georgia in 1893. Embittered by the lack of acceptance of his views on race, Haygood lived in a weakened condition in Oxford, Georgia, for two more years. He died there on January 16, 1896.

GHS, Jr.

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Haystack Prayer Meeting Often described as the founding event of the Protestant foreign missions movement in the United States, the Haystack Prayer Meeting (1806) was a fabled gathering of students who later gained renown for their commitment to evangelical missions abroad. While seeking shelter from a summer thunderstorm in a hayloft, a group of Williams College students, including Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis Robbins, Harvey Loomis, Gordon Hall, Luther Rice, and Byron Green, dedicated themselves to foreign missionary labors and subsequently formed the Society of the Brethren (1808), adopting the motto "We can do it if we will." Joined at Andover Theological Seminary by ADONIRAM JUDSON, Samuel Newell, and Samuel Nott, Jr., the group advocated organized, interdenominational mission efforts that would spread the Gospel to all parts of the globe. In 1810, they sought counsel from the Congregational General Association of Massachusetts. In response, and due largely to the groundswell of support among seminary students, Congregational ministers in New England founded the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810). Judson and Rice were among the first group of missionaries to leave for India in 1812 under the auspices of the newly established organization. For later generations of evangelicals, the Haystack Prayer Meeting served as an enduring symbol of the power of youthful initiative and popular support for the early organization of foreign missions.

LMK

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healing See CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT; HOLINESS MOVEMENT; PENTECOSTALISM.

Heaven's Gate On March 26, 1997, news began to break of a mass suicide among a group of young people who shared a house in Rancho Santa Fe, California. A total of 39 people had died, most of them computer professionals and all of them members of a religious group known as "Heaven's Gate." The suicides were occasioned by the appearance of the comet Hale-Bopp and the group's belief that the comet was accompanied by a spaceship that would take them from this world to a higher and better place. This spiritual place required them to leave behind their "outer shells"—their bodies.

Horrified, Americans were immediately reminded of the Jonestown Massacre (see JONES, JAMES WARREN) and wondered what would compel people to such an act. In this case, it was religious belief formed by a fusion of Christianity, THEOSOPHY, gnosticism, belief in UFOs, and desire for spiritual self-actualization.

In this fusion, Heaven's Gate was not exceptionally bizarre. For more than a century, similar movements have traveled the United States religious landscape. The suicides, however, were, if not unique, at least a major aberration. Despite the dispassionate view of scholars about NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, many spoke out again against the dangers of "cults," renewing the debate about whether certain religions are illegitimate and deserving of special suspicion.

Heaven's Gate was the product of the religious visions of Marshall H. Applewhite (1931–97) and Bonnie Lu Trusdale Nettles (1928–85), known at various times as Bo and Peep, Do and Ti, and The Two. The couple met while Applewhite was in a Houston hospital, and Nettles, one of his nurses, urged him to join her at several Theosophical meetings. The twosome soon began holding their own meetings throughout the western United States, promising their followers celestial bliss and escape in a UFO.

Initially, they called their group Human Individual Metamorphosis, or HIM, and convinced a small group of fairly successful and talented individuals to give up their possessions, friends, and families to prepare for their departure into the heavens. In 1975, they and their followers left Oregon, where they had been living, and moved to eastern Colorado, where they believed a spaceship would meet them and take them away.

When the ship did not come, the group ceased its public activities and did not resurface until 1993. In that year, they purchased an advertisement in *USA Today* claiming that the Earth's present civilization was about to be "recycled" and "spaded under." By this time, Nettles had died, and Applewhite had assumed sole leadership.

His preaching about celestial or extraterrestrial beings who had imparted to him knowledge of a high level of human consciousness attracted a small following composed primarily of information technology professionals who eventually gathered with Applewhite in a house in Rancho Santa Fe, California. The house was rented in October of 1996 by Applewhite, who told the owner that his group was composed of Christian-based angels who had been sent to Earth.

The appearance of the Hale-Bopp Comet and the rumor that it was being followed by a spaceship was a momentous occasion for the group. This spaceship, which purportedly had been detected by an amateur astronomer, was widely discussed on talk radio. The group viewed its appearance as their chance to be taken up to a higher spiritual plane.

As the message on their Web site said:

> Whether Hale-Bopp has a "companion" or not is irrelevant from our perspective. However, its arrival is joyously very significant to us at "Heaven's Gate." The joy is that our Older Member in the Evolutionary Level Above Human (the "Kingdom of Heaven") has made it clear to us that Hale-Bopp's approach is the "marker" we've been waiting for—the time for the arrival of the spacecraft from the Level Above Human to take us home to "Their World"—in the literal Heavens. Our 22 years [from 1975, the year of the failed appearance] of classroom here on planet Earth is finally coming to conclusion—"graduation" from the Human Evolutionary Level. We are happily prepared to leave "this world" and go with Ti's crew.

All that was needed was to remove their earthly shells, the only things that still held them back. This they did by committing mass suicide on March 26, 1997. The comet continued on its course, and the spaceship turned out to be only a fairly dim star lurking behind the comet.

EQ

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Hecker, Isaac (1819–1888) Roman Catholic convert, founder of the Paulists, and defender of the American political system, Isaac Hecker was, with his friend and confidante ORESTES BROWNSON, the most ardent early-19th-century articulator of ROMAN CATHOLICISM to Protestant America and of America to the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The son of German immigrants, Hecker was born in New York City on December 18, 1819. Originally baptized a Methodist (see METHODISTS), by his mid-teens he had embarked upon the intellectual and spiritual quest that would take him from Methodism to Unitarianism (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION), Mormonism (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS), socialism, TRANSCENDENTALISM, and finally Catholicism. The last he found under the guidance of Brownson, whom Hecker would later call his "spiritual parent."

At the age of 24, Hecker joined the transcendentalist commune at Brook Farm but was disenchanted with the extreme individualism and solitariness of transcendentalism. A stay at Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands community did little to ease this feeling. In 1844, he lived with HENRY DAVID THOREAU and his family, continuing the study in philosophy and theology that he had begun in the 1830s while working in his family's bakery.

Naturally contemplative and increasingly influenced by Continental Romanticism, Hecker was drawn to the Catholic Church, with its emphasis on tradition, coherence, and order. In this, Brownson led the way intellectually, but it was Hecker who made a commitment first. More than two months before Brownson, Hecker was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church on August 2, 1844.

The next year, Hecker and two other converts sailed for Europe to begin their novitiate in the Redemptorist order. After four years of training in Belgium and Holland, in 1849, Hecker was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in London, where he served for two years before returning to America as a missionary. A successful and widely traveled evangelist, Hecker quickly made an impact on the Roman Catholic Church in America, so much so that in the early 1850s he was nominated to become bishop of Natchez, Mississippi.

A change in the Redemptorists' leadership in the United States ended this evangelical work, however, and the increasing insularity of the predominantly German order began to disturb Hecker and his fellow American convert priests. These men desired to found a distinctly American house for the order, where English rather than German would be the language and whose mission would be to serve the rapidly Americanizing immigrants.

Chosen to plead their case in Rome, Hecker sailed to Europe in 1857. Incensed by this failure of obedience, the rector major of the Redemptorists expelled him from the order. Hecker had made a sufficiently strong case that Pius IX nullified the expulsion and released Hecker and his compatriots from their vows, granting them permission to create a new order aimed at the conversion of Protestants.

Upon returning to New York in July 1858, Hecker and his colleagues organized the Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle (Paulists), with Hecker as superior. Although seriously debilitated by leukemia after 1872, he remained as superior until his death on December 22, 1888.

Until that time, Hecker was a tireless exponent of Catholicism. Through the pages of the *Catholic World* (founded 1865) and in the tracts published by the Catholic Publication Society (1866, now Paulist Press), Hecker and his order argued for the compatibility of Roman Catholicism with American life and sought to convince the church of the need to accept the modern world of political democracy, religious liberty, and scientific advance. These views would later be central to the Americanist controversy (see AMERICANISM) within the Roman Catholic Church. Although Hecker had been dead for a decade, his life would be at the center of the controversy, when the French translation of Hecker's biography suggested (approvingly) that Hecker sought the creation of a separate American Catholic Church, or at the very least the democratization of the existing church.

Influenced by Orestes Brownson, transcendentalist Isaac Hecker converted to Roman Catholicism and began the Paulist Order to promulgate Catholicism among American Protestants. *(Painting by G. P. A. Healy)*

While these views, condemned by Leo XII in 1899, were not truly Hecker's, they did contain the kernel of Hecker's thought. During the papacy of John XXIII (1958–63), Hecker's call for an openness to the modern world would be heard, and his belief that the church's truths have nothing to fear from science, democracy, or freedom would be affirmed.

EQ

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Henry, Carl Ferdinand Howard (1913–2003) Carl Henry was a Baptist minister, educator, and the first editor of the influential magazine *Christianity Today.* He is considered to be the senior statesman of American EVANGELICALISM.

Born in New York City on January 22, 1913, Henry grew up on Long Island. Although he took a position as a newspaper reporter after high school, a conversion experience led him to enroll at Wheaton College, the evangelical college near Chicago, from which he graduated in 1938. He received graduate degrees at Wheaton and at Northern Baptist Seminary in Chicago in 1941 and 1942, and he was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1941. Henry taught theology at Northern Baptist from 1940 through 1947. During his summers, he also taught at Gordon College in Massachusetts and studied for a Ph.D., which he received from Boston University in 1949.

Henry moved to Pasadena, California, in 1948 to serve on the faculty at Fuller Theological Seminary, an institution founded the year before through the efforts of radio evangelist Charles E. Fuller. Although Henry and his colleagues affirmed the infallibility of the biblical text and were respectful of the doctrinal militancy of FUNDAMENTALISM, they also desired to overcome the narrow sectarianism that often typified evangelicals in that era. The faculty became representative of the "neo-evangelicalism," a term Fuller president Harold Ockenga coined to describe "fundamentalism with a social message." Henry's 1947 book, *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism,* deplored conservative Protestants' emphasis on personal morality at the expense of a positive social program. He argued that the collapse of Western civilization, as evidenced by post–World War II Europe, provided the church with a tremendous opportunity to which evangelicals were generally failing to respond.

By 1955, Henry had been invited by evangelist BILLY GRAHAM to become the editor of a new magazine, *Christianity Today.* Graham wished the publication to become the evangelical community's alternative to the *Christian Century,* the organ of mainline Protestantism. Henry moved to Washington, D.C., to take the new position. He served as editor for a 12-year period, in which the circulation of *Christianity Today* surpassed that of its liberal rival. Henry's magazine became recognized as the intellectual voice of the new evangelicalism he championed. Still, Henry eventually lost his job to Harold Lindsell in 1968 because he failed to meet the standards of political conservatism imposed by J. Howard Pew, the magazine's most important financial backer.

After leaving *Christianity Today,* Henry began work on his six-volume *God, Revelation and Authority,* completed in 1983. At the same time, he accepted a position at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, teaching there from 1969 to 1974. In 1974, he became a lecturer-at-large for World Vision, the nondenominational evangelical relief organization. Henry retired in 1978 but continued to write and lecture. In 1984, he published his six-volume work, *God, Revelation, and Authority.* Henry died in December 2003 in Watertown, Wisconsin.

GHS, Jr.

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heresy The term *heresy,* derived from the Greek *hairesis,* meaning "choice" or "religious school," refers to the denial of accepted doctrines and the teaching of erroneous beliefs. Since the earliest days of the church, Christian leaders have claimed the prerogative of distinguishing between truth and falsehood in matters of theology. In the 19th century especially, numerous heresy trials were conducted in the United States, as Christian denominations, most notably the Presbyterians, grappled with the religious implications of new and changing intellectual trends.

One of the earliest theological controversies occurred when Old and New School (see New School/Old School) Presbyterian factions fought over the significance of revivalism in their denomination. Philadelphia pastor Albert Barnes, a New School minister, was renowned for adapting his beliefs to fit the loose theological standards typical of the revival movement. After preaching and publishing a sermon that criticized the Westminster Confession, the classic expression of Presbyterian orthodoxy, Barnes was charged with heresy. The doctrinally rigid Old School party accused Barnes of questioning several key Presbyterian beliefs. Although the New School party had enough votes to acquit Barnes when he was tried in 1831, he was charged with heresy again in 1835 and at that time convicted.

In 1835, Lyman Beecher, then one of the most famous clergymen in the United States, was also arraigned for heresy by the Presbyterians. Influenced by revivalism and highly optimistic about American social advances, Beecher began to question traditional Calvinist teachings about sin and increasingly emphasized the possibility of human progress. As a result, three indictments for heresy were brought against him, charging that he failed to uphold orthodox Presbyterian beliefs about human depravity. But efforts to censure Beecher failed, and he was acquitted.

Although controversies over race, slavery, and the Civil War distracted Americans in the middle decades of the 19th century, concern about theological and intellectual issues returned to the churches by century's end. More than any other Protestant denomination, Presbyterians were shaken by disputes between doctrinal conservatives and so-called modernists, leaders who wished to reconcile religious beliefs with developments in modern culture.

The first highly publicized heresy trial of the postwar period involved Presbyterian pastor David Swing of Chicago. Swing argued that religious creeds, like all human expressions, were imperfect and might contain errors. "A creed is only the highest wisdom of a particular time and place," he declared. Francis Patton, professor of theology at the Presbyterian seminary in Chicago, compiled a list of Swing's alleged heresies. The basic issue, as Patton and his followers saw it, concerned doctrinal integrity: If you profess a creed, you should either stand by it in every detail or renounce it entirely. Swing's allies perceived the problem differently. In their minds, even Jesus Christ himself would not have been doctrinally pure enough for rigid Presbyterians like Patton. Tried for heresy in 1874, Swing was acquitted but still withdrew from his denomination and established an independent congregation.

An even more bitter controversy engulfed Presbyterian clergyman Charles Augustus Briggs, who had taught at his denomination's Union Theological Seminary in New York since 1876. In 1891, Briggs was inducted into the Chair of Biblical Studies at Union. In his inaugural address on "The Authority of Holy Scripture," Briggs denied both the verbal inspiration of the Bible and the doctrine of inerrancy, beliefs that were the linchpins of conservative teaching on the Bible. Briggs's address led the Presbyterian General Assembly, the highest decision-making body of the denomination, to veto his professional appointment and charge him with heresy. His trial extended over three years, and in 1893, he was suspended from the Presbyterian ministry. Briggs, however, retained his position at Union, for the seminary severed its relationship with Presbyterianism, and he soon joined the Episcopal Church.

Despite the widespread internal strife that Presbyterians in the North experienced over charges of heresy, other Protestant denominations in the 19th century, though not untouched by controversy, suffered fewer serious divisions. Congregationalists and Baptists, for example, with their loose ecclesiastical structures, did not have the means to enforce doctrinal conformity and thus offered a relatively free field for the growth of liberal ideas. While both the Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church possessed the organizational cohesion to prevent theological innovation, neither had an ethos attuned to hunting down suspected heretics. Episcopalians had traditionally adopted a policy of theological comprehensiveness, and Methodists were more concerned with proper behavior and heartfelt devotion than with correct beliefs. Finally, in the conservative South, the few outbreaks of apparent heresy (e.g., Crawford Toy among the Southern Baptists and James Woodrow among the southern Presbyterians) were squelched so swiftly that orthodoxy remained virtually unsullied in the region as a whole.

In American Protestant circles, accusations of heresy that agitated churches in the 19th century—questions of biblical authority and subscription to traditional creeds—surfaced again in the fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) controversy of the 20th century. Protestants continued to divide into liberal and conservative camps and debate the meaning of their beliefs. Roman Catholics also faced controversies about heresy in that same period. Unlike Protestants, whose debates centered on interpretations of the Bible, Roman Catholics considered the appropriate relationship of their church to American society and to the modern age.

In an apostolic letter entitled *Testem Benevolentiae*, addressed to Cardinal JAMES GIBBONS of Baltimore in 1899, Pope Leo XIII condemned a heresy he called AMERICANISM. According to the letter, Americanism was an unfortunate outgrowth of the political liberties that citizens of the United States enjoyed. Leo repudiated the idea that the church should either adapt itself to its secular environment or introduce greater individual freedom of belief. Four years earlier, in the encyclical *LONGINQUA OCEANI*, the pope had cautioned Catholics against thinking that the separation of church and state Americans celebrated was a desirable arrangement for Roman Catholicism generally. This was to counter the statements of bishops of the time who had expressed enthusiastic opinions about their church's relationship with American culture. However, since Cardinal Gibbons later responded that no church leader ever held the exact position Leo condemned, Americanism has often been dismissed by American Catholics as a "phantom heresy."

GHS, Jr.

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Heschel, Abraham Joshua (1907–1972)

A leading Jewish theologian and social activist, Abraham Joshua Heschel bridged the gulf between traditional religious practice and modern society. Heschel understood that the problem of secular society was not unbelief, but the inability to believe. This inability caused individuals to focus on themselves. To overcome that self-absorption, Heschel formulated a theology that articulated traditional Jewish understandings in light of modern philosophical and psychological concepts.

Born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1907, and descended from a long line of religious scholars and Hasidic (see HASIDISM) rabbis, Heschel's vocation as a theologian now seems predestined. Following a traditional religious education in which he immersed himself in the study of the Talmud and the Kabbala, Heschel undertook a secular education, first at a Yiddish *gymnasium* in Lithuania, and later at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Jüdentums and the University of Berlin. Expelled from Germany in 1938, he returned to his native Poland. An offer of a professorship at Hebrew Union College found Heschel out of the country when the Nazis invaded Poland, thereby saving him from the horrors of the Holocaust.

Arriving in the United States in 1940, Heschel taught at Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati, Ohio) for five years, leaving in 1945 for the more traditional and congenial atmosphere of Jewish Theological Seminary. There he served as professor of Jewish ethics and mysticism until his death on December 23, 1972.

During the early 1950s, Heschel's work began to attract widespread popular attention, beginning with the 1951 publication of *Man Is Not Alone.* Already a respected interpreter of the Jewish tradition, Heschel addressed in his theological work the existential questions of modern humanity, primarily the problem of meaninglessness. Meaninglessness, for Heschel, resulted from modern humanity's inability to encounter the God of the Bible. Cut off from community and skeptical of supernaturalism and miracles, modern humanity lacks the location, experience, and language necessary to experience God as a concerned creator.

The fact that God was a living God, not some impersonal being or unmoved mover, was central to Heschel's theology. The living God of the Bible was an empathic God who needed humanity and expressed that need in demands made upon humanity. Faith is humanity's way to respond to these demands. In responding to divine demands, humanity simultaneously experiences itself as the object of divine concern. From this interchange, faith and religious feeling, and thereby meaning, emerge.

Heschel's significance for contemporary American Judaism was not limited to his theological work. He was a public figure, perhaps the preeminent public figure in traditional Judaism. Heschel was among the earliest to voice his support for Soviet Jews, demanding that they be allowed to practice their religion and to emigrate. Heschel's advice was significant in the negotiations behind the declaration on the Jews that emerged from VATICAN COUNCIL II. This "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" (*Nostra aetate*) was a turning point in the Roman Catholic Church's understanding of Jews and Judaism. It rejected the view that Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus and condemned ANTI-SEMITISM.

Heschel's social views were not limited to Jewish issues, however. He was a vocal supporter of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, labeling racism a cancer of the soul and an unmitigated evil. Heschel marched with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., at Selma and was jailed for his activities. He opposed the VIETNAM WAR and added his voice to those demanding American withdrawal.

This combination of traditional religious views and social action was a hallmark of Heschel's theology. As a traditionalist, he took the reality of evil seriously. He wrote, "There is one line that expresses the mood of the Jewish man throughout the ages: *'The earth is given into the hand of the wicked'*" (Job 9:24). Humanity cannot ignore responsibility, however, for we are commanded to love good and hate evil. "At the end of days evil will be conquered by the One; in historic times evils must be conquered one by one."

(See also CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM; JUDAISM.)

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high-church tradition See ANGLO-CATHOLICISM.

Higher Christian Life movement The Higher Christian Life movement originated in the late 19th century among American Protestants who believed in the possibility of Christian PERFECTIONISM. Although the Perfectionist ideal was first espoused by the HOLINESS MOVEMENT that emerged out of American Methodism, many members of non-Methodist denominations both in Great Britain and in the United States were influenced by it. The spirituality embodied in the Higher Christian Life was further articulated in the Keswick teachings, a related religious movement that began in England in 1876.

The idea of Christian perfection was originally popularized in the 1830s by Presbyterian revivalist CHARLES G. FINNEY and his colleague ASA MAHAN, a Congregational minister and first president of Oberlin College in Ohio. Both Finney and Mahan had read Methodist founder John Wesley's *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* and believed absolute obedience to God's laws was possible in the present life. Mahan applied Christian Perfectionism to social reform activities, notably the campaign against slavery. In the same period, Methodist evangelist PHOEBE PALMER stressed the importance of entire SANCTIFICATION, a religious experience by which the Christian became consecrated wholly to God.

The urban revivals of 1857 and 1858, with their noontime prayer meetings and interdenominational lay leadership, helped spread Perfectionism throughout much of the United States. In the optimistic moral climate of mid-19th-century America, the expectation that a Christian *could* overcome sin seemed completely reasonable. In 1858, Presbyterian minister William E. Boardman, a frequent participant in Palmer's "Tuesday Meetings for the Promotion of Holiness," published *The Higher Christian Life*. This book furnished a classic statement of how a Christian might win victory over sin. Boardman was instrumental in attracting his fellow Presbyterians, as well as Quakers, Congregationalists, and Baptists, to the growing Holiness revival.

Immediately following the 1857–58 revival, both Finney and Palmer conducted revivals in the British Isles. A few years later, the husband-and-wife team of Robert Pearsall and Hannah Whitall Smith further spread Holiness teaching in Great Britain. Raised as Quakers, the Smiths had each experienced an emotional "baptism of the Holy Spirit" after attending Methodist camp meetings in the late 1860s. On a trip to England in 1872, they spoke publicly about those experiences of sanctification and soon became popular speakers at Holiness meetings. Hannah Smith's *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*, published in 1875, also became an important devotional guide. She summarized her beliefs in an analogy that compared Christians to clay in God's hands: "In order for a lump of clay to be made into a beautiful vessel, it must be entirely abandoned to the potter, and must lie passive in his hands."

In the early 1870s, Hannah and Robert Smith joined William Boardman in promoting Holiness teaching in England. Later, at Oxford in the summer of 1874, the Smiths, Boardman, and Asa Mahan participated in an influential convention. Anglican clergyman T. D. Harford Battersby, who had attended the Oxford convention, organized an open-air conference at his parish in Keswick, a small town in northwest England. The first Keswick conference took place in July 1875. An annual event thereafter, it became one of the principal institutions of the Holiness movement. Keswick teachings were imported back to the United States in the 1880s by American revivalist DWIGHT L. MOODY, who had conducted successful revivals in Great Britain from 1881 to 1884.

Americans always were influential at Keswick, and in 1913, a separate American organization was born under the leadership of Charles G. Trumbull and Robert C. McQuilkin of Pennsylvania. Trumbull had experienced an intense conversion to what he called the "Victorious Life" in 1910. As editor of the weekly *Sunday School Times*, Trumbull transformed that journal into an organ of Keswick teaching. Trumbull and McQuilkin, then associate editor of the periodical, created Victorious Life conferences, a series of summer gatherings held at various locations along the East Coast beginning in 1913. In 1924, the Victorious Life conference was moved to its present home at Keswick Grove, New Jersey.

Unlike other groups within the Holiness movement, the Higher Christian Life and Keswick circle never formed a separate denomination but remained simply a conglomerate of individuals committed to common ideals. This group was distinctive because it owed far more to CALVINISM than to the ARMINIANISM espoused by most Holiness advocates. Although the Arminian tradition, which typified the Methodist churches, tended to stress that Christians might overcome all conscious sin by their cooperation with God, Calvinists customarily underscored believers' continuing sinfulness and the passivity of the process of sanctification. Thus, Keswick leaders spoke of "yielding" to God's grace and accepting the "suppression," not the eradication, of one's sinful proclivities. The result of sanctification was not merely a pure heart but visible Christian service as well.

The Higher Christian Life movement, like the Holiness movement generally, offered Christians a sense of the certainty of their salvation. This idea became popular in many segments of American Protestantism. It spread throughout the Protestant churches in the early 20th century and is now a distinguishing feature of EVANGELICALISM in the United States.

GHS, Jr.

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higher criticism See BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

Hinduism Hinduism, one of the world's major religious traditions, exists in the United States both as the faith of Asian Indian immigrants and their descendants and as a religious tradition that has influenced European-American sympathizers and adherents.

Hindu immigrants came to the United States later than their Buddhist counterparts from China and Japan, yet Hinduism preceded Buddhism as an intellectual influence. American interest in Hinduism dates back at least to *India Christiania*, written by the Puritan divine COTTON MATHER in 1721. The first sympathetic treatment of Hinduism appeared in *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects* (1784) by the Unitarian Hannah Adams. Widespread American interest in Hinduism was not sparked, however, until after English translations of Hindu religious texts such as Charles Wilkins's *Bhagavad Gita* (1785) and Sir William Jones's *The Laws of Manu* (1794) began to appear in the last two decades of the 18th century. One influential book that used these translations was *A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with Those of the Hindoos and Other Ancient Nations* (1799) by the British Unitarian JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

Indians who came to America brought their religious practices and customs with them. Hindu Festival of India, Edison, New Jersey, July 1991. *(Steven Gelberg)*

Although scholars in the nascent field of academic Orientalism used their newfound knowledge of Sanskrit to produce translations of Hindu scriptures throughout the 19th century, nothing did more to popularize Hinduism in America during those hundred years than New England TRANSCENDENTALISM. RALPH WALDO EMERSON was introduced to Asian religious traditions at a young age by his aunt Mary Moody Emerson, a Unitarian who saw in the Hindu monotheism of the Indian reformer Rammohun Roy a faith that mirrored her own. Emerson's writings did not begin to reflect his Asian interests until the appearance, beginning in the 1840s, of poems such as "Hamatreya" and "Brahma" and essays like "Oversoul," "Illusions," and "Compensation."

While Emerson was moved most deeply by the *Bhagavad Gita*, an epic narrative, HENRY DAVID THOREAU, another transcendentalist, was more influenced by *The Laws of Manu*, a work of Hindu ethics. Thoreau scoffed at the thought of joining any organized religion, but he came close to referring to himself as a Hindu when, after his experiment at Walden Pond, he affirmed, "To some extent, and at rare intervals, even I am a yogin."

Perhaps more than Emerson and Thoreau, so-called lesser Transcendentalists such as JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE helped to transform Hinduism into a legitimate religious alternative in America. Both Clarke's *Ten Great Religions: An Essay in Comparative Theology* (1871) and Samuel Johnson's *Oriental Religions and*

Their Relation to Universal Religion (1872) attempted to portray Hinduism in a favorable light, though both ultimately opted for a form of Christian liberalism.

Theosophists (see THEOSOPHY) like HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY and HENRY STEEL OLCOTT built upon the transcendentalists' interest in Asia. Unlike Emerson and Thoreau, Blavatsky and Olcott actually moved to India and immersed themselves in Hindu culture. The Theosophists were initially attracted more to Buddhism than to Hinduism, but Annie Wood Besant changed that when she succeeded Olcott as president of the Theosophical Society in 1907. A British socialist turned Theosophist, Besant championed Hinduism as the religion par excellence for the modern West. Indian nationalists recognized her in 1917 for her efforts on behalf of their country and its traditions by electing her the only Western president of the Indian National Congress. Her books and lectures educated a generation of American Theosophists and Theosophical sympathizers about Hinduism.

Another Theosophically-inclined Hindu, the Indian-born Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948), had a more profound effect on American religious life than Besant. Attracted to Theosophy in his youth, Gandhi is most famous for his nonviolent civil disobedience. Gandhi adapted this theory in part from JAINISM, an ascetic South Indian tradition whose ethics center on the practice of ahimsa, or nonviolence toward all living beings. Gandhi's influence on MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and through him on the American CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT is well known. But Gandhi's work was also closely followed by black newspapers and black intellectuals as early as the 1920s.

Hinduism's place in America changed dramatically when it began to arrive in person rather than on the page. A few Asian Indians came to the United States as early as 1820, but this immigrant flow was nothing more than a trickle until the last decade of the 19th century, when railroad work began to draw Indian laborers to western Canada and the United States. Still, by the time this first wave was cut off with the passage of restrictive immigration legislation in 1917, only about 6,000 Asian Indians had entered the United States, and the majority of those were Sikhs. Not until the repeal of the Asian Exclusion Act in 1965 did large numbers of Hindus emigrate to America.

The first Hindu missionaries to the United States came in 1893 in the wake of the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, a gathering of liberal religionists from around the world held in conjunction with the Chicago World's Fair. Like the Asian Indian immigrants who preceded them, these Hindu missionaries worked to transplant many of the diverse beliefs and practices that constitute Hinduism. They tended, however, to stress modernist elements of Hinduism—monotheism, caste reform, and the tradition's compatibility with science and with other religions—emphasized during the 19th century reform movement that historians have called the Hindu Renaissance.

One delegate to the parliament and the first great Hindu missionary to the United States was SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. A disciple of Ramakrishna, a Hindu mystic and devotee of the Hindu goddess Kali, Vivekananda had come to the United States in an effort to spread in the West the truths and practices of Advaita Vedanta, a nondualistic form of Hinduism that postulates the unity of the impersonal God, or Brahman, with the individual soul, or Atman. A smashing success at the parliament, Vivekananda stayed in America long enough to found the VEDANTA SOCIETY in 1894 as a branch of his India-based Ramakrishna Mission. The Vedanta Society, which now has centers in numerous American cities, aims to spread the doctrines and disciplines of Vedanta and to promote religious tolerance by preaching the fundamental unity of all religions.

The second important Hindu missionary to the United States also came as an invitee to an interreligious conference. SWAMI PARAMAHANSA YOGANANDA arrived in Boston in 1920 as a delegate to the International Congress of Religious Liberals. Unlike Vivekananda, who eventually returned to India, Yogananda took up residence in the United States. His SELF-REALIZATION FELLOWSHIP (SRF), which is now based in Los Angeles, aims to teach the principles of Hinduism and the techniques of *kriya* yoga, a tantric discipline in which practitioners seek to achieve God-realization by manipulating their kundalini, or spiritual energy. Like the Vedanta Society, the SRF emphasizes commonalities rather than differences between Hinduism and Christianity. Its approach, however, is more practical and less philosophical, emphasizing the therapeutic and material benefits of Hindu yoga.

Although Vivekananda and Yogananda did more to arouse interest in Hinduism than to earn converts to it, a few Americans did formally convert to Hinduism early in the 20th century. Some went on to become teachers themselves. The Chicago attorney and NEW THOUGHT advocate William Walker Atkinson, for example, published numerous books on Hinduism, including *Fourteen Lessons in Yoga Philosophy and Oriental Occultism* (1903), under the name of Swami Ramacharacka. A more controversial convert was Pierre Bernard, the founder of the Tantrik Order in America, who referred to himself as "Oom the Omnipotent."

Thanks to the efforts of Vivekananda, Yogananda, Atkinson, and Bernard, some Americans became Hindus in the early 20th century, but Hinduism did not become a popular religious alternative in America until the 1960s. Three factors conspired to create a favorable climate for American Hinduism. The first was the achievement of Indian independence in 1947. Independence fostered a proliferation of new religious movements in India, and many of those movements made their way to the United States. A second factor that spurred this Hindu turn was the COUNTERCULTURE, which gave a boost to alternative religions of all stripes. The final and decisive factor was the lifting in 1965 of the Asian Exclusion Act, which had restricted the flow of Chinese, Japanese, and Asian Indian immigrants to the United States since 1924.

Following this legislative watershed, a panoply of Asian Indian gurus moved to America and established followings here. Yogi Bhajan arrived in the United States in 1969 and gathered devotees into a collection of Sikh-influenced communes (see SIKHISM) called the Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization. The "boy guru" Maharaj-ji came to America in 1970 and brought his "lovers of God" into the Divine Light Mission (later, Elan Vital). Swami Muktananda Paramahansa toured the United States on three occasions between 1970 and 1981, and his followers founded the Siddha Yoga Dham Associates (SYDA) in 1974. The most controversial of these new gurus was Bhagwan Rajneesh, who arrived in 1981 and established a short-lived commune in eastern Oregon called Rajneeshpuram. This group was criticized by anticult groups and investigated by the U.S. government for a host of irregularities, including authoritarianism, drug use, and weapons stockpiling. Rajneesh himself was arrested in 1985 for violating immigration laws and deported.

Other Asian Indian gurus who did not actually visit also earned substantial American followings. The International Sathya Sai Baba Organisation promotes the teachings of the faith healer Sathya Sai Baba, while centers associated with the Indian-based Sri Aurobindo Society spread the yogic techniques of the poet-philosopher Sri Aurobindo Ghose. Even a 19th-century Hindu guru has merited an American audience. Brought to Flushing, New York, from the Indian state of Gujarat in 1972, the Swaminarayan Mission and Fellowship promotes the worship of the Indian saint Sri Swaminarayan not only as an exemplary devotee of the Hindu deity Vishnu but also as an incarnation of God on Earth.

Finally, a third class of gurus, American-born converts to Hinduism, achieved acclaim in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. Franklin Jones (later known as Da Free John and Avatar Adi Da Samraj) split off from Swami Muktananda Paramahansa's SYDA to organize the Dawn Horse Fellowship (subsequently renamed The Free Daist Avataric Communion). Richard Alpert, a Harvard professor of psychology and friend of the former LSD investigator Timothy Leary, took the name of Baba Ram Dass after embracing Hinduism and earned American followers. Not surprisingly, these non-Indian gurus tend as a rule to Americanize Hinduism more freely than their Asian Indian counterparts. Many of them borrow generously not only from Hinduism but also from other Asian traditions. Among the most highly Americanized Hindu societies in America is the Hanuman Foundation of Baba Ram Dass. *Be Here Now* (1971), a cartooned text that functions as an unofficial scripture for the organization, draws on ideas derived from psychoanalysis, Tibetan Buddhism, Sikhism, Hinduism, Taoism, Christianity, and Judaism.

Of all the Hindu movements that emerged in America after 1965, two stand out most prominently: the TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION (TM) movement of MAHARISHI MAHESH YOGI and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS (ISKCON) of A. C. BHAKTIVEDANTA SWAMI PRABHUPADA.

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi came to America in 1959 to lecture on an ostensibly scientific technique for spiritual liberation called Transcendental Meditation. Soon he had gathered hundreds of younger Americans into his Spiritual Regeneration Movement (SRM). TM provides classes in a simplified version of the teachings of nondualistic Hinduism, or Advaita Vedanta, and the practices of yoga. TM practice consists primarily of chanting and meditating on a mantra personally selected for the student by his or her guru. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and his movement benefitted greatly from the Beatles' well-publicized but short-lived flirtation with TM in the 1960s.

A second important form of Hinduism transplanted to the United States in the 1960s was the devotional Hinduism of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness. Like the TM movement, the "Hare Krishnas" organized themselves around a charismatic guru, in this case founder A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada. Prabhupada was a devotee of Lord Krishna, who is seen by most Hindus as one divine descent of Vishnu among many, but by Hare Krishna followers as the one Supreme Lord. Prabhupada arrived in the United States in 1965 and settled in Los Angeles.

Unlike most other Hindu missionaries to America who stressed Hindu philosophy, he emphasized a simple ritual: chanting a mantra to Krishna. ISKCON initially attracted an almost exclusively European-American membership, but more recently it has appealed to Indian immigrants as well. Members of ISKCON distinguish themselves from other Americans by adopting Indian names, wearing saffron robes, and shaving their heads after the manner of Hindu holy people.

Although both TM and the Hare Krishna movement can be seen as modern Western inventions, they can also be viewed as continuations of more long-standing reform movements within Hinduism. ISKCON members trace their tradition back to the 16th-century Indian reformer Caitanya, while Maharishi Mahesh Yogi acknowledges his primary debt to the eighth-century Hindu philosopher Shankara.

An important sidelight to all of these recent Hindu imports is the ANTICULT MOVEMENT. Asian Indians have been persecuted in America at least as early as the anti-Indian riot in Bellingham, Washington, in 1907. And Hinduism came under fierce attack in books such as Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* (1927) and Mersene Sloan's *The Indian Menace* (1929). But opposition to American Hinduism did not become organized until the 1970s, when relatives of some converts began the controversial practice of deprogramming in an attempt to deconvert their loved ones from "heathen" faiths. The widely publicized attempts by parents to save their children from the Indian gurus in the 1960s and 1970s points to the fact that these Hindu-based movements, like the earlier Zen movement within American Buddhism, tended to attract non-Asian individuals rather than families. Hindu families who came to America after the repeal of the Asian Exclusion Act built less controversial and more stable groups centered on a venerable Indian institution: the Hindu temple.

In the wake of the new immigration legislation of 1965, immigration from Asia in general and from India in particular skyrocketed. The 2000 census found 1.6 million Asian Indians living in the United States, most of them Hindus. These new immigrants differed significantly from the cohort of the first quarter of the century. While earlier Indian immigrants had come from rural areas to work on American farms, the post-1965 immigrants came to a much greater extent from cities and worked in professional occupations. And while almost all of the earlier immigrants were men, the new immigrants came far more frequently as families. As a result, the more recent immigrants had both the means and the motive to build new temples.

Hindu temples arose in San Francisco and Los Angeles before World War II, but not until the 1970s did Hindu temples begin to spring up in many major American cities. In 1977, Asian Indians consecrated America's first Indian-style Hindu temples: the Sri Ganesha Temple (now the Maha Vallabha Gnapati Devasthanam) in Flushing, New York; and the Sri Venkateswara Temple in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Since that time, Asian Indian immigrants and their children have built roughly 150 Hindu temples. According to Harvard University's Pluralism Project, in 2001, there were more than 800 Hindu centers in the United States. Estimates regarding the number of American Hindus vary widely, with 1.5 million probably the best number in 2005.

The construction of Hindu sacred spaces in America testifies to the fact that Hinduism has gone beyond influencing sympathetic American intellectuals to establishing itself on American soil. In the process of being transplanted here, Hinduism is also taking on new and decidedly American forms. Although this process is more rapid among European- and African-American students of Indian gurus, it is also evident among Indian-American devotees at Hindu temples.

One of the most obvious and important Americanizations of temple-based Hinduism is the tendency toward ecumenism. Two facts of Hindu life in America support this tendency: the relatively small size of the Indian-American population in any given U.S. city and its astonishing diversity. In India, there are typically numerous temples in a city. Many are dedicated to either Vishnu or Shiva, two deities who along with the impersonal (and therefore almost entirely unworshipped) Brahma constitute what some have described as the Hindu "trinity." In American cities, however, there is often no more than one Hindu temple. Hindu temples in the United States attempt to appeal to all Hindus in their area by making room for a variety of gods and a wide array of devotional practices. Many American temples, including those in Flushing, New York, and Calabasas, California, have shrines dedicated to both Shiva and Vishnu.

Hindu temples in the United States often look on the outside like temples in India. On the inside, however, they appear like American megachurch complexes. There are often sanctuaries for congregational worship (rare in India) and kitchens, meeting rooms, and schoolrooms in the basement for social, cultural, and educational activities. One scholar has referred to this development as "split-level Hinduism."

Thus, even as Hinduism makes American religion more pluralistic, America is furthering the already considerable pluralism within Hinduism. ISKCON members, for example, have taken their movement back to India, and some American-born Hindu gurus are beginning to attract followers in India. In this way, the most multifarious of the world's religions is becoming even more diverse.

SRP

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Hobart, John Henry (1775–1830) John Henry Hobart was the first Episcopal bishop of New York and leader of the traditionalist, or "high church," party in the early 19th century. Hobart stressed the importance of the EPISCOPACY and a general dislike for non-Anglican Protestantism. He looked with suspicion upon ANGLICANISM's Reformation heritage and carefully traced the historic roots of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH back to the first-century Christian community.

Hobart was born in Philadelphia on September 14, 1775. After graduating from what is now Princeton University in 1793, he studied with William White, bishop of Pennsylvania. Ordained in 1798, Hobart served for brief periods in churches in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and in Hempstead, New York. After being called as an assistant minister at Trinity Church in New York City in 1801, he quickly rose to prominence and was consecrated bishop of New York in 1811. Extremely active in missionary work, he preached as far west as Michigan and did much to increase the size of the Episcopal Church.

Throughout his career and in numerous tracts and books, Hobart championed high church Episcopalianism. The high church tradition he inherited from the Church of England claimed two essential bases of authority: a theological one, grounded in Anglicanism's historical continuity with early Christianity, and a political one, secured by the ecclesiastical establishment in England. Although the outcome of the War for Independence forced American Anglicans to abandon their establishmentarian position, they continued to emphasize that membership in the church, the visible society of the redeemed, was essential to the Christian faith. Hobart's most famous work, *An Apology for Apostolic Order and Its Advocates* (1807), offered a vision of the primitive church, surrounded by a hostile population, as the most desirable model for the Episcopal Church to follow. When called upon to define the true nature of Christianity, Hobart stressed the formal and external over the experiential and internal. Although he did not live to see its arrival in America, many of his theological emphases matched the concerns of the later Anglo-Catholic movement (see ANGLO-CATHOLICISM).

Hobart died on September 12, 1830, in Auburn, New York, while undertaking a visitation of his diocese.

GHS, Jr.

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Hodge, Charles (1797–1878) Charles Hodge was a Presbyterian minister and his denomination's most prominent theologian in 19th-century America. He was noted as a staunch supporter of CALVINISM and of a highly conservative, rationalistic method of BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION known as SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM.

Hodge was born in Philadelphia on December 28, 1797. He graduated from what is now Princeton University in 1815 and from Princeton Seminary in 1819. He then taught biblical literature at the seminary between 1820 and 1826. In 1826, he left the United States for three years of European study at Paris and at Halle and Berlin in Germany. In that period, he encountered the doctrinal indifference of both German PIETISM and the liberal theology of Friedrich Schleiermacher. As a result of his experience in Europe, Hodge returned to Princeton in 1828 with a determination to repel all threats to Protestant orthodoxy.

Patterning himself after Archibald Alexander, his mentor at Princeton, Hodge was guided by two principles. First, he was thoroughly opposed to intellectual innovation of any kind. He was content simply to defend beliefs contained in the Westminster Confession, the 17th-century theological document that is the Presbyterian standard of faith. Hodge's statement that "a new idea never originated in this Seminary" reflects his straightforward adherence to Protestant traditionalism at Princeton. Second, Hodge considered the formulation of theology to be merely a process of inductive reasoning. A Christian, he believed, could construct an objective system of truth by studying the "facts" contained in the Bible, which he saw as an infallible source of religious truth. This belief, the essence of the Scottish Common Sense philosophy, reflects the concern for scientific method that was a hallmark of 19th-century intellectual life.

For many years, Hodge was the leader of the ultraconservative forces within Presbyterianism. As an Old School (see NEW SCHOOL/OLD SCHOOL) Presbyterian, he resisted efforts to cooperate with other denominations or to alter the theological standards of his denomination in any way. Thus, he opposed the modifications of Calvinist teaching on human sin and free will that NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR advanced, and he fought REVIVALISM and the revivalistic "new measures" that CHARLES G. FINNEY popularized. Hodge was not troubled when the Old and New School factions split into two separate denominations in 1837, and he tried to prevent the eventual reunification of Presbyterianism in the North in 1869.

Hodge's publications were numerous. He served as editor of the *Biblical Repertory* (later renamed the *Princeton Review*) from 1825 to 1872. His wrote several commentaries on books in the New Testament, and his *What Is Darwinism?*, published in 1873, contains one of the earliest attacks on Charles Darwin's theory of EVOLUTION. Probably Hodge's most enduring work is his three-volume *Systematic Theology*, which appeared in the early 1870s. He trained more than 2,000 students during the years he taught at Princeton. His son A. A. Hodge and his student BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD both maintained the conservative tradition within Presbyterianism and made important contributions to debates on biblical authority during the fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) controversy in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Hodge served for nearly six decades as a professor at Princeton. He died there on June 19, 1878.

GHS, Jr.

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Holiness movement An American Protestant movement that began in the mid-19th century, Holiness focused on the possibility of a Christian believer's gaining complete freedom from sin in the present life. This conviction first found expression among two major groups of Americans: METHODISTS seeking a return to the simplicity of the early history of their denomination, and participants in the revivals and reform activities inspired by the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. By the end of the 19th century, large numbers of Holiness advocates had become alienated from the mainline denominations and began forming new congregations and churches, notably, the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE and the SALVATION ARMY. Today most Holiness denominations emphasize the gifts of the Holy Spirit, including divine healing, and lively, enthusiastic forms of worship.

According to traditional Protestant teaching, Christians pass through two main stages on the way to salvation. At the first stage (JUSTIFICATION), one's sins are forgiven by God; at the second stage (SANCTIFICATION), believers are enabled to live godly lives. The Holiness movement has always had its greatest institutional impact upon American Methodist denominations, for, while Calvinists such as the Presbyterians have generally accentuated the importance of justification, Methodists have stressed sanctification. As Methodist founder John Wesley taught, serious Christians might even attain release from all conscious sin and achieve moral PERFECTIONISM. Holiness leaders speak of "entire sanctification" or the "second blessing" of the Holy Spirit as the experience that perfects the believer's will.

CHARLES G. FINNEY, the famed revivalist of the Second Great Awakening, helped popularize Wesley's Perfectionist ideals in mid-19th-century America. Finney believed that human beings could and should strive to seek God's blessing. Despite the persistent Calvinist belief that men and women were predestined for either heaven or hell, Finney taught that God had given Christians power to help decide their eternal fate. After the founding of Oberlin College in Ohio in 1833, Finney, the school's first professor of theology, and ASA MAHAN, Oberlin's president, explored together the doctrines of sanctification and perfection in Wesley's writings. In 1839 in *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection,* Mahan described how believers might attain victory over sin through the presence of Jesus Christ within their hearts.

PHOEBE PALMER, a lay Methodist evangelist, was another prominent figure in the early Holiness movement. She led a series of weekly prayer meetings for "the Promotion of Holiness," gatherings that featured prayer and personal religious testimonies. In Palmer's view, holiness was immediately available to the believer through faith in Jesus Christ. Conversion was the first blessing of God's grace. Entire sanctification occurred next, when a believer surrendered everything to God. The simplicity of this message won many disciples to Palmer's cause.

The urban revivals of 1857 and 1858, with their noontime prayer meetings and interdenominational lay leadership, further spread Christian Perfectionist beliefs. In the sanguine religious climate of mid-19th-century America, the expectation that a person could overcome sin seemed incontrovertible to many Christians, even members of Calvinist denominations. In 1858, Presbyterian minister William E. Boardman, a frequent participant in Palmer's prayer meetings, published *The Higher Christian Life* (see HIGHER CHRISTIAN LIFE MOVEMENT). This book furnished a classic statement of how a Christian might win victory over sin. Boardman was instrumental in attracting his fellow Presbyterians, as well as Quakers, Congregationalists, and Baptists, to the growing Holiness revival.

The same spiritual impulses that helped build up Christian denominations sometimes divided them as well. For example, the political implications of Holiness doctrines—the belief that personal and social sanctity were related—occasioned a major exodus from the ranks of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the 1840s. Although Methodists had once considered slaveholding to be sinful and forbade those who owned slaves to be church members, they moderated their views in the early 19th century. But rising abolitionist sentiment in the North brought the issue to the center of the church's life. When his denomination failed to condemn slavery unequivocally, New England clergyman Orange Scott convinced several thousand Methodists to withdraw and join him in organizing the Wesleyan Methodist Church. This denomination later became one of the principal Holiness churches in the United States.

The CIVIL WAR (1861–65) brought the initial phase of the Holiness movement to an end, and religious attention centered instead on men in the armies. Not long after the war's conclusion, however, Methodist pastors John Inskip and William B. Osborn issued a call for a camp meeting to promote Christian sanctification. This event, held in Vineland, New Jersey, in July 1867, marked the beginning of a new stage in the Holiness movement. After the Vineland camp meeting, many involved in it formed what became known as the National Holiness Association and chose Inskip as their president. Although the National Holiness Association (now the Christian Holiness Association) was founded as an interdenominational organization, its focus quickly changed and became almost exclusively Methodist. Led by a close-knit group of Methodist revivalists, the association sponsored 52 CAMP MEETINGS between 1867 and 1883.

In the early 1870s, the husband-and-wife team of Robert Pearsall and Hannah Whitall Smith, who had each experienced an emotional "baptism of the Holy Spirit" a few years before, joined William Boardman in promoting Holiness teaching in Great Britain. At Oxford, England, in the summer of 1874, a convention was held in which the Smiths, Boardman, and Asa Mahan all participated. Anglican clergyman T. D. Harford Battersby, who had been inspired by the Oxford convention, organized an open-air conference at his parish in Keswick in July 1875. This Keswick conference soon became an annual event and one of the principal institutions of the Holiness movement.

By the mid-1870s, a growing spirit of "comeoutism" emerged in American Methodism. Despite its official commitment to keeping Methodists loyal to their denomination, the National Holiness Association tended to encourage, first, division and, eventually, the formation of new churches. Methodist denominational leaders also grew concerned about the emotionalism displayed at Holiness gatherings. When John P. Brooks, editor of *The Banner of Holiness*, left the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1885, he advocated the renunciation of denominations that suppressed Holiness and the creation of independent fellowships. "*In* the world but not *of* the world" became a popular Holiness aphorism, and participants in the movement began to condemn the worldliness they perceived among church members who had not experienced sanctification.

Daniel Sidney Warner's Church of God in Anderson, Indiana, was the first new church body spawned by the Holiness movement. Warner had been a member of a small German pietist sect from which he had been expelled in 1878 after his experience of entire sanctification. Believing that all existing denominations were antithetical to genuine Christianity, Warner and five others announced in 1881 that they had entirely freed themselves from ecclesiastical organizations. Only God, they claimed, could know who were true Christians. Despite these initial anti-institutional beliefs, Church of God leaders later decided that while the church itself could not be organized, the church's work should be. The Church of God is now headquartered at Anderson, Indiana. Emphasizing the restoration of primitive Christianity and faith healing, it has about 250,000 members.

Two of the largest Holiness bodies, the Church of the Nazarene and the Pilgrim Holiness Church, developed in a fashion similar to Warner's Church of God. Individuals first withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, then formed independent Holiness fellowships, and finally organized separate denominations.

Phineas Bresee was pastor of the First Methodist Church in Los Angeles when members of his congregation requested him to call evangelists from the National Holiness Association to lead a revival. Bresee himself soon underwent an experience of sanctification that led him to renounce the Methodist ministry in 1895. Increasingly disturbed by the worldliness he alleged was corrupting American Methodism, Bresee founded a congregation known as the Church of the Nazarene that would welcome, rather than reject, the poor. The Church of the Nazarene quickly grew, and other Holiness bodies merged with it. The denomination reported an American membership of approximately 630,000 members in 2003.

Martin Wells Knapp, a Methodist pastor and founder of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, experienced sanctification in 1889 while reading the Bible. Although he organized an aggressive Holiness revival in Cincinnati, Ohio, he remained loyal to the Methodist Episcopal Church for a time. In 1897, however, Knapp and a handful of followers formed the International Holiness Union and Prayer League, and in 1901, he withdrew from Methodism altogether. Mergers with several other Holiness organizations eventually led to the formation of the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1922. In 1968, the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Pilgrim Holiness Church united and became the Wesleyan Church, a denomination that now contains about 120,000 members.

A number of other Protestant groups, not strictly Holiness denominations, were also influenced by the movement in the late 19th century. The Salvation Army, for example, was founded by British Methodist William Booth in London in 1865 and brought to the United States in 1880. Booth and his wife, Catherine, intended the charitable system they developed to speed the work of saving the souls of the downtrodden. Acts of social relief were thought both to symbolize God's love for sinful, fallen humanity and demonstrate that the Salvationists took the social as well as the spiritual aspects of Christianity seriously. Booth's famous *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890) boldly proclaimed his goal: to save souls among a class of people often ignored by the more traditional Christian churches.

A. B. Simpson left the Presbyterian Church in 1881 in order to serve those neglected by traditional church structures. He had experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit after reading William Boardman's *The Higher Christian Life* in 1874. Seven years later, after feeling that his weakened heart had been miraculously healed, Simpson was rebaptized by immersion. He organized a number of independent evangelistic and missionary ministries over the next few years, culminating in the formation of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in 1897. Simpson coined a phrase that expressed his version of the essential truths of the Christian gospel: "Christ our Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King." Although the Christian and Missionary Alliance was not intended to be a new denomination, but simply a movement bringing people from many churches together, by the 1960s, its leadership acknowledged that it, too, had become a separate denomination.

In the early 20th century, a crisis occurred that further disrupted the already disparate Holiness movement and marked the birth of another new religious phenomenon. Holiness advocates for many years had used the term *baptism of the Holy Spirit* to describe the "second blessing" or "deeper work of grace" that accompanied entire sanctification. Some preachers began to identify speaking in tongues, the miraculous gift that Jesus' disciples received on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2), as the definitive sign that one had received Spirit baptism. The AZUSA STREET REVIVAL, which began in Los Angeles in April 1906, is generally regarded as the genesis of American PENTECOSTALISM. At that time, Holiness leader WILLIAM J. SEYMOUR gathered thousands of people into the three-year revival he led. Inspired by speaking in tongues and extraordinary healings, Seymour's followers organized new churches based upon Pentecostal teachings.

Because Holiness groups stress the Holy Spirit's power, worship in this tradition is enthusiastic and often accompanied by shouts of praise. In some churches, worshipers lift their arms into the air to show that they have been moved by the Spirit. Unlike Pentecostals, however, Holiness Christians disapprove of speaking in tongues. Prayers for healing also are routinely offered, and participants report experiences of being healed. Life on Earth, Holiness doctrine teaches, is a continual struggle to renounce the world, root out sin, and attain eternal salvation.

GHS, Jr.

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homosexuality, religion and The issue of homosexuality and religion as a public phenomenon began to play a major role in American religious history in the last third of the 20th century. While American Judaism and Christianity struggled with the issue most directly and publicly, other religions also had to address it. Questions of how congregations should respond to openly homosexual members, whether to ordain (see ORDINATION) gays and lesbians, and whether to perform marriages or commitment ceremonies for gay and lesbian couples increasingly dominated much of the organizational life of many denominations.

This development reflected a major shift in the histories of most religions found in the contemporary United States. With the possible exception of some variants within HINDUISM and some Native American traditions (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS), the dominant historical view of most religious traditions in the United States has been that homosexuality is wrong. For Christians and Jews, this position primarily has rested on an interpretation of Leviticus 18:22 that seems expressly to condemn homosexual activity. Additional sources of opposition, particularly within the Catholic tradition, have come from an understanding of natural law, which viewed sexual activity as being primarily for the purpose of procreation. Sexual activity that thwarted this end violated natural law. Homosexuality was a sin. Additionally, until the late 20th century, homosexual activity was illegal in most jurisdictions and identified as a mental illness.

Drawing from the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and the women's movement (see WOMEN, RELIGION AND) as well as from the growing social ethos of individual autonomy and freedom, a movement began that demanded greater acceptance for homosexuals and for an end to discrimination against them. The start of this movement usually is dated from the so-called Stonewall Riots in June 1969.

The move for greater acceptance of homosexuality and homosexuals also affected religion. The first major issue that religious organizations had to face was that of membership in the religion and in a particular congregation. If homosexuality were a sin, how could an open and practicing homosexual be allowed into a congregation? Certainly, congregations were filled with myriad individuals who committed God alone knew what sins. They, at least, acknowledged the reality of the sin by keeping it private. Open and admitted homosexuals did not seem to acknowledge the sinfulness of their lives, so how could they be recognized and admitted into membership?

For many, particularly conservative Protestant denominations, there was no way to reconcile this tension. Many of these denominations made little effort to undertake such reconciliation. While some made explicit statements about welcoming all, the understanding was that homosexuality was one of the many things one would have to put away following conversion. This hostility to homosexuality on the part of conservative Christians and the hostility to conservative Christianity among liberal denominations led to the creation of the METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY CHURCHES.

Historically progressive denominations such as the UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION, the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, and REFORM JUDAISM had the least difficulty in affirming a position of welcoming gays and lesbians into membership. While this move met with some resistance, most members found it in keeping with their historic views, and it was easily accommodated.

More mainstream traditions had difficulty addressing the issues surrounding homosexuality and religion. More deeply committed to traditional teachings than the liberal movements, yet more open to changing social realities and with more theologically diverse memberships, these movements struggled for decades with their responses to homosexual membership, ordination, and gay marriage or commitment ceremonies.

The EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, the UNITED METHODOST CHURCH, the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.) (PCUSA), and CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM had the greatest struggle in deciding on these issues. While most of these denominations could make a welcoming statement regarding homosexual membership, the issue of ordination became increasingly divisive. The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)'s 1978 statement on homosexuality reflects these views. "Persons who manifest homosexual behavior must be treated with the profound respect and pastoral tenderness due all people of God. There can be no place within the Christian faith for the response to homosexual persons of mingled contempt, hatred, and fear that is called homophobia. Homosexual persons are encompassed by the searching love of Christ. The church must turn from its fear and hatred to move toward the homosexual community in love and to welcome homosexual inquirers to its congregations. It should free them to be candid about their identity and convictions, and it should also share honestly and humbly with them in seeking the vision of God's intention for the sexual dimensions of their lives."

Conservative Judaism shares a similar approach. A description of the consensus of its Committee on Jewish Law and Standards declared, "We all agree that homosexuals have the same rights and responsibilities, and bear the same sanctity, as all other Jews. We all agree that fellow Jews and congregations have a sacred duty eagerly to facilitate the spiritual growth and lovingly to welcome the participation of gay men and women—as we do all other Jews—in personal Jewish observance and learning, and in the religious and social lives of our communities."

The issue of ordination has presented different challenges. Again, while some of the more liberal religious traditions moved forward fairly quickly, most religious traditions in the United States moved much more slowly on this issue.

RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM has been quite welcoming. Since 1985, the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College has admitted gay and lesbian candidates into its rabbinical and cantorial programs. The Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association (RRA) welcomes homosexual marriages/commitment ceremonies and supports its members who officiate at them. In 2006, the RRA elected a lesbian as its president.

Reform Judaism's leading rabbinical seminary, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, began admitting openly gay students, and in 1990 the Reform movement's rabbinical association, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, declared that "all rabbis, regardless of sexual orientation, be accorded the opportunity to fulfill the sacred vocation that they have chosen."

The mainline denominations within Christianity, while moving forward on discussing the issue, have yet to shift their position on ordination. The United Methodist Church's (UMC) Book of Discipline declares, "the practice of homosexuality incompatible with Christian teaching." It continues by stating that "self-avowed practicing homosexuals cannot be ordained as ministers." This statement does, however, leave open the possibility of ordaining celibate homosexuals. The UMC's seriousness about this policy was demonstrated in 2005, when a minister was stripped of her clergy status after having been convicted of engaging in a lesbian relationship.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) has a policy similar to the UMC, although it has framed its position more positively, acknowledging that individuals with homosexual orientation may be ordained as long as they remain celibate. The ELCA regularly has revisited this issue, however. In its last vote on whether to ordain practicing homosexuals (2005), the measure failed by an exceedingly close margin of 503-490.

Like the UMC and the ELCA, the PCUSA has struggled with the issue of homosexuality and the church for several decades. In 2002, it reaffirmed its position that prohibits noncelibate same-sex relations for ministers and elders (as well as sexual relationships outside of marriage for heterosexuals). This position seemingly was softened in 2006, when its General Assembly voted to allow local presbyteries to give the church statute their own interpretation.

The level of tension and unease with the various options may have been epitomized by Conservative Judaism in 2006. In that year, its religious law committee issued three separate rulings on the ordination of gays and lesbians, each of which is authoritative. One of the rulings approved the ordination of celibate gays and lesbians and led Jewish Theological Seminary to open its rabbinical training program to admitted homosexuals.

In all these denominations, the struggle has proven quite divisive, often giving rise to separate movements of individuals who oppose actions that seem to undo traditional understandings of homosexuality and groups who see their role as welcoming and supporting gays and lesbians in the denomination. For no denomination in the United States has the issue proven more divisive than for the Episcopal Church.

Although among the first of the more mainstream denominations to ordain admitted, albeit celibate, homosexuals in the late 1970s, the denomination began to face a backlash over this issue. Although the opposition had its beginning when the church began ordaining women as priests in 1976, it increased dramatically in 2004 with the consecration of Eugene Robinson as the first openly gay, noncelibate bishop in the United States. This act led many conservative Episcopal churches to seek support from overseas. The archbishop of the Nigerian church declared it to be in "impaired communion" with the American church and in 2007 began to meet with conservative Episcopalians in the United States to discuss undertaking supervision of their churches.

For the Roman Catholic Church, the issue of homosexuality has presented the widest number of challenges. First, the church views homosexuality, or at least homosexual activity, as a sin, both from revelation through biblical texts and through reason. It "violates" natural law. While it may not be a greater sin than heterosexual activity outside marriage, it is an activity that the church cannot be seen to condone, although gays and lesbians can be parishioners. Second, the church cannot accept the ordination of open, practicing homosexuals. The church requires that all its priests be celibate, so under church law one cannot be a practicing homosexual and a priest. Finally, during the 1980s and 1990s, the church was buffeted by stories of priests sexually abusing children. Much of this abuse involved young boys, and the church increasingly felt pressure to ensure that such practices were ended. The Vatican's formal response was issued in November 2005. This "Instruction" on the admission of homosexually inclined men to a seminary articulated the church's policy on this matter. Men with "transitory" homosexual leanings may be ordained deacons following three years of prayer and chastity. However, men with "deeply rooted homosexual tendencies" and those who are sexually active cannot be ordained.

The greatest challenge has involved the issue of same-sex marriages. While most denominations and traditions have continued to affirm that marriage, at least in its religious sense, is between a man and a woman, even some of these have called on the government to provide some recognition of commitment for gays and lesbians to protect their rights and interests. Additionally, while some denominations approve of their clergy officiating at marriages or commitment ceremonies for gays and lesbians, others oppose such actions. Despite official opposition, large numbers of clergy continue to perform such ceremonies.

The shift in religious and wider social attitudes toward homosexuality has not been without resistance. Within the more conservative religious movements, there has been increasingly aggressive opposition to what some have labeled the "homosexual agenda." This opposition increased dramatically with the growing public debate over gay and lesbian marriage. James Dobson, a conservative Christian leader, writing in 2005, described this "homosexual agenda" as seeking to create "universal acceptance of the gay lifestyle, discrediting of scriptures that condemn homosexuality, muzzling of the clergy and Christian media, . . . overturning laws prohibiting pedophilia, indoctrinating children and future generations through public education, and securing all the legal benefits of marriage for any two or more people."

Many individuals accuse this "homosexual agenda" of forcing them to accept what their religion teaches them is wrong. They also tend to see it as a direct attack on traditional Christianity. (Similar statements could be made for ISLAM and ORTHODOX JUDAISM as well.) This movement played a major role in the 2004 presidential elections, when the issue of gay marriage appeared on ballots in many states. This apparently encouraged numerous conservative voters to come to the polls, possibly aiding the reelection of George W. Bush.

While many conservative Christians may aggressively oppose increasing acceptance of homosexuality, few have (or would) go as far as the members of Westboro Baptist Church in Topeka, Kansas. Led by Fred Phelps, the church, a small independent congregation, has sent its members to protest at the funerals of soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Phelps declares that the deaths of these military personnel (along with other disasters) are a result of America's sinfulness, as demonstrated by its increasing acceptance of homosexuality.

Despite the continuing conflict over homosexuality and its legal and social recognition in American society and religion, the cultural shifts in the past four decades have been seismic. The conversation has changed dramatically. The overall move has been toward greater, if at times grudging, acceptance of gays and lesbians in society and in religion. While some may vehemently oppose this development, it clearly has been the main trajectory. Along with this move has been the need for radical rethinking of religious texts and understandings, a move that has developed and deepened as religious leaders and thinkers ponder these changes.

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Hooker, Thomas (1586–1647) As a leading Puritan divine, a founder of Connecticut, and driving force behind the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM—the first official statement of the religious and political views of New England PURITANISM—Thomas Hooker played a major role in the development of CONGREGATIONALISM and colonial New England generally.

Like many of his Puritan contemporaries, Hooker, born July 7, 1586, was educated at Cambridge University. After receiving his B.A. degree in 1608, he remained at Cambridge as a fellow until 1618. As minister of the Anglican church in Esher, Surrey (1620–26), and at St. Mary's in Chelmsford (1626–30), Hooker developed a reputation as a brilliant and powerful preacher. His preaching drew large crowds and the attention of church authorities, who summoned him before a court of inquiry to question him about his Puritan tendencies.

Realizing that such a summons bode ill, Hooker jumped bond and escaped to Holland. In Holland, he served as the minister of several English churches, but his views on church government brought him into conflicts with religious authorities there as well, and in 1633, he sailed to New England. Arriving in the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY in September of that year, Hooker received a call from the church at Newtown (now Cambridge), outside Boston.

A scarcity of land and the awareness that Massachusetts was not big enough to contain the theological differences between him and JOHN COTTON led Hooker and his congregation to the Connecticut River Valley. There they founded the settlement of Hartford.

Hooker led in the drafting of the "Fundamental Orders," the basic law for the new colony of Connecticut. To a much greater extent than in Massachusetts Bay, political and religious government in Connecticut were grounded on popular consent. Church membership was not a requirement for voting, and limits on civil authorities were much greater.

There were religious changes as well. Under Hooker's leadership, restrictions on church membership were eased. Hooker's theology also allowed for a greater role for human action in conversion, and with it a more active position for the ministry in bringing about acceptance of God's saving grace.

This greater freedom, however, did not include a separation between church and state. Hooker's view of society was no different from that of his fellow Puritans. The civil law, while forbidden to compel church membership, sought to guarantee conformity of religious behavior. Those who threatened religious unity and social cohesion deserved civil punishment. Given these views, it is not surprising that Hooker was repeatedly asked to publicly defend Puritan orthodoxy. In 1635, while still at Newtown, Hooker was chosen by colonial authorities to refute ROGER WILLIAMS's views on the freedom of conscience. He served as a moderator of the 1637 synod called to condemn ANNE HUTCHINSON and her followers (see Antinomian controversy). At this synod, Hooker first broached to Governor John Winthrop the idea for a general meeting to forge a document detailing the Puritans' statement of faith and church governance.

Nothing came of this idea until September 1646, when the first of a series of ministerial assemblies met to debate those issues. Hooker was a leading voice in the deliberations but did not live to see the adoption of the final document incorporating most of his views on church government, the Cambridge Platform of August 1648. He had died on July 7, 1647, a victim of an epidemic that swept the region.

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Hopkins, Emma Curtis (1853–1925)

One of the founders of the New Thought movement, Emma Curtis Hopkins was not the first woman to inspire a new religious movement in the United States, but she was the first who unabashedly celebrated her womanhood and called upon the name of a decidedly female God.

Hopkins was born in Killingly, Connecticut, in 1853 and attended Woodstock Academy. She married in 1874, but the marriage was short-lived. Hopkins's career as one of the most famous apostates from the Church of Christ (Scientist) began when she moved to Boston in 1883 and enrolled in a class taught by Mary Baker Eddy, the charismatic founder of Christian Science. Three months later, Hopkins emerged as a Christian Science practitioner. She served as the editor of the *Christian Science Journal* from 1884 until 1885.

Hopkins broke with Eddy in the mid-1880s. One major source of tension between the two women was Hopkins's eclecticism. Whereas Eddy utilized her interpretive skills almost exclusively on Christian Scriptures, Hopkins looked to mystics and philosophers from diverse religious traditions, including the religions of Asia, for spiritual insight. Hopkins's comparative bent is especially evident in her 12-volume lifework, *High Mysticism: A Series of Twelve Studies in the Wisdom of the Sages of the Ages* (1920–22). In it, she argues that both Jesus and Gautama Buddha were practitioners of the "spiritual science" of mental health.

Hopkins moved in 1886 to Chicago, outside the immediate sphere of Eddy's influence, and began her own ministry as an independent Christian Science teacher and practitioner. She founded the Hopkins Metaphysical Association and the Emma Hopkins College of Christian Science (later renamed the Christian Science Theological Seminary) as alternatives to Eddy's church and her Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Hopkins also published her own periodical, the *Christian Metaphysician* (1887–97). Despite denunciations by Eddy, Hopkins's initiatives were surprisingly successful. One year after her move to Chicago, she had organized followers in 17 cities across the United States.

There was from the beginning an incipient feminism in mainstream Christian Science, but Eddy, like Theosophical Society founder Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, downplayed both her status as a woman and the protofeminist elements in her theology. Hopkins did just the opposite. Her version of the Christian Trinity postulated three aspects of God, each manifested in a given historical epoch. God the Father lorded over the time of the Old Testament patriarchs. God the Son served both Jews and Gentiles during New Testament times. And God the Mother-Spirit was incarnating even as women were emerging from domesticity and moving into the public square in the late 19th century. In 1889, Hopkins translated this theology into practice by becoming a New Thought bishop and beginning to ordain women to the ministry. She thus became the first woman in America to ascend to the episcopacy.

Many of Hopkins's students went on to start metaphysical movements of their own. Charles and Myrtle Fillmore cofounded the Unity School of Christianity; Malinda Cramer taught Divine Science; and one of Hopkins's last students, Ernest Holmes, established the Church of Religious Science. Together with her students, Hopkins developed the spiritual alternative to Christian Science now known as New Thought.

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Hopkins, Samuel (1721–1803) Samuel Hopkins was a Congregational minister, a theologian, and the most important disciple of JONATHAN EDWARDS. Hopkins helped formulate a theology known as the NEW DIVINITY, which reconciled traditional Calvinist doctrines about human depravity and divine sovereignty to the egalitarian moral framework of early 19th-century American EVANGELICALISM. Hopkins believed that God could turn the hearts of sinners to righteousness, infuse Christians with "disinterested benevolence," and lead them into activities of social and moral reform.

Hopkins was born in Waterbury, Connecticut, on September 17, 1721. He graduated from Yale College in 1741. Profoundly affected by the commencement sermon Edwards delivered to the Yale students that year, Hopkins elected to study for the ministry under Edwards's tutelage at Northampton, Massachusetts. Between 1743 and 1769, Hopkins was minister of a frontier church in what is now Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Although his strict views on church membership forced him to leave Great Barrington, he was called in 1769 to the First Church in Newport, Rhode Island. He served in Newport for the remainder of his life.

Hopkins's most significant contribution to American theology was his teaching on sin. Sin, he believed, was embodied primarily in human selfishness and in acts of self-love, while true Christian virtue consisted of selflessness, or "disinterested benevolence." Thus,

A student of Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins inspired the temperance, antislavery, and missionary movements that flourished in 19th-century Protestant churches.

the genuinely converted led moral lives not because they thought good deeds improved their standing before God, but because they knew human goodness manifested God's grace and mercy. This position led Hopkins to conclude that believers should even be willing to be damned for the glory of God. Although his critics charged that these teachings would lead Americans to abandon earthly concerns altogether, the opposite, in fact, occurred. Hopkins stressed that the soul's regeneration depended upon an active exercise of the human will, and as a result of his dual emphasis on conversion and benevolence, he inspired a passion for social reform that later found expression in the TEMPERANCE, ABOLITIONISM, and missionary campaigns.

Hopkins was himself located in an important port city where he could observe the slave trade firsthand. He was among the first Americans to condemn the institution of slavery. Believing it made a mockery of Christian efforts to evangelize the African peoples, he insisted that slaves were moral beings, equal in God's eyes to whites and in all ways deserving of humane treatment. In 1776, he sent a pamphlet to the members of the Continental Congress. How could Americans complain about the injustices they suffered at the hands of the British, Hopkins asked, when they also enslaved thousands of their fellow human beings in the colonies?

Hopkins's chief theological writings are contained in his two-volume *System of Doctrines*, published in 1793. He died at Newport on December 20, 1803.

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Howe, Julia Ward (1819–1910) Julia Ward Howe was a social reformer, champion of ABOLITIONISM, and author. Her poem "Battle Hymn of the Republic" formed the lyrics for a popular song that inspired Northerners dedicated to the destruction of slavery during the CIVIL WAR.

Daughter of a wealthy Episcopal banker, Julia Ward was born on May 27, 1819, in New York City. She married Samuel Gridley Howe, a doctor, reformer, and head of the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston, in 1843. After her marriage, Howe became increasingly attracted to Unitarianism and began attending JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE's Church of the Disciples, which was noted for both its theological and its social radicalism. Howe also grew into an ardent supporter of the antislavery movement. She entertained the abolitionist crusader John Brown in her home and believed that his execution for inciting insurrection among Virginia slaves in 1859 was "holy and glorious."

After the Civil War broke out in 1861, Howe visited a Union army camp in Washington, D.C. She was so inspired by the military scenes she witnessed that on her return to Boston she composed a poem to accompany the popular song "John Brown's Body" she had heard the troops singing. The "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was published in the February 1862 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. It rang with the rhetoric of POSTMILLENNIALISM and envisioned the Union cause as part of the eternal conflict of the forces of God against the powers of evil: "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:/ He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;/ He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword:/ His truth is marching on." Although Howe's lyrics were not as popular with the soldiers as the simpler "John Brown's Body" version, they increased in popularity over the years and eventually brought her lasting fame.

After her husband's death in 1876, Howe actively espoused the cause of women's rights and served in the American Woman Suffrage

Abolitionist Julia Ward Howe wrote the Union's crusading anthem, "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Association and the Women's International Peace Association. An advocate of the ordination of women, she herself often preached in Unitarian pulpits. Although she published two books of poetry, as well as essays and drama, Howe's prominence as a writer rested principally upon the "Battle Hymn." In 1907, she became the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Howe died on October 17, 1910. She was so beloved that 4,000 people attended her funeral at Boston's Symphony Hall, and the president of the American Unitarian Association delivered the eulogy.

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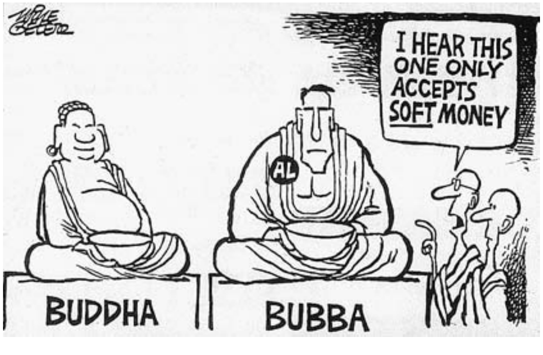
Hsi Lai Temple Hsi Lai Temple is the largest Buddhist monastic complex in the Western Hemisphere and the most impressive architectural expression of Chinese BUDDHISM in the United States. Located in Hacienda Heights, California, in the vicinity of Los Angeles, Hsi Lai was built at a cost of $30 million and consecrated in 1988. The 20-acre temple complex includes not only a main shrine but also a meditation hall, lecture hall, library, international conference center, living quarters for monks and nuns, and lodging for visitors. A Buddhist college called Hsi Lai University is located nearby.

Hsi Lai, which means "Coming to the West," is an outreach project of the Fo Kuang Shan ("Buddha's Light Mountain") monastery in Taiwan, founded in 1967 by the Buddhist reformer Master Hsing Yun. Hsi Lai is also affiliated with the Buddha's Light International Association (BLIA), a lay society established by Hsing Yun in 1992. At the end of the 1990s, the United States had 19 Fo Kuang Shan–affiliated temples and centers and 18 BLIA chapters. The vast majority of BLIA members and Hsi Lai monks and nuns are ethnically Chinese, but some African Americans and Caucasians also participate. Many of the temple's activities are conducted in English as well as Chinese languages.

Fo Kuang Buddhism teaches "humanistic Buddhism." Scholars have described this socially engaged form of Buddhism as an effort to translate hopes for a better existence in the afterlife (the "Pure Land" in Buddhist parlance) into action for a better life here and now on Earth. In an effort to create this worldly utopia, Hsi Lai offers a wide variety of activities, including prayer services, meditation sessions, classes in Chinese languages and martial arts, summer camps, arts exhibitions, charitable events, and radio and television programs. The temple also promotes Buddhist ecumenism by sponsoring events that bring together American Buddhists of different nationalities and sects.

In the many countries in which his organizations operate, Master Hsing Yun has worked hard to cultivate ties with political leaders. In 1996 in Hacienda Heights, that strategy backfired when Hsi Lai was drawn into a national political scandal. At an April 29, 1996, visit by Vice President Al Gore, nuns raised more than $100,000 for the Democratic Party. Soon the media were portraying Hsi Lai monastics as secret agents for Taiwan while the United States Congress and Justice Department were investigating Hsi Lai leaders for violations of campaign finance laws. Defenders of the temple denounced the controversy as a tempest in a teapot that represented a return to the anti-Asian "yellow peril" rhetoric directed against Chinese and Japanese Americans in the 19th century.

Both the Hsi Lai Temple and the BLIA have endured the controversy. The temple complex, which now houses roughly 100 monks and nuns, remains a major tourist attraction for Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. Hsi Lai University is beginning to attract a wide variety of American Buddhists. And Hsi Lai Temple's long list of activities keeps laypeople returning regularly to Hacienda Heights for a taste of the fruits of Buddhist monasticism.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Vice President Al Gore's alleged fund-raising at Hsi Lai Temple was used against him in his campaign for president of the United States in 2000. *(Mike Getetoz)*

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Hubbard, L. Ron (1911–1986) A science fiction writer and creator of SCIENTOLOGY, L. Ron Hubbard was born on March 13, 1911, in Tilden, Nebraska, and died on January 24, 1986. Many of the details of Hubbard's life are essentially contested. Not only did he seem to exaggerate many details, as the founder of Scientology, he was the subject of several official biographies that tended to present Hubbard's life in the most flattering and embellished manner.

This embellishing of his life began with the stories of his education. Hubbard and the church claimed that Hubbard graduated from George Washington University and was trained as a nuclear physicist, despite the fact that he dropped out after his second year and failed his second-year physics course. Additionally, Hubbard claimed to have received a Ph.D. from Sequoia University, an unaccredited institution accused by California state authorities of being a diploma mill.

From the 1930s until around 1950, Hubbard spent much of his time as a writer of pulp fiction. Although best known as a science fiction writer, Hubbard also wrote western, fantasy, and adventure novels. His career as a writer was interrupted by World War II. During the war, Hubbard served as a naval officer and appears consistently to have received unsatisfactory ratings. Official church biographies, however, portray Hubbard's military career in a much different light, and a copy of his discharge papers circulated by the church showing him winning medals and citations is absent from the official Department of Defense documents. Hubbard left active duty in 1945, but he received disability payments from the military for medical reasons for several years, long after he claimed that Dianetics cured the illnesses from which he suffered.

In 1950, Hubbard published the book for which he became best known and which became the basis for Scientology. This book, *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health,* introduced the idea of "auditing." Hubbard claimed that "auditing" could cure human beings of all their mental and physical ailments. Although the book sold remarkably well, critical and professional responses expressed caution and concern, with the American Psychological Association pointedly stating that none of the procedures in *Dianetics* had been proved empirically and cautioning against their use until they had been demonstrated to be valid.

During the 1950s, Hubbard's personal life was the source of scandal. His second wife filed for divorce, accusing Hubbard of bigamy, kidnapping, and physical and mental torture. Hubbard dismissed these accusations, as he did all negative publicity and any discrepancies between his claims and facts. In 1953, he declared Scientology to be a religion, and the first Church of Scientology was established in Camden, New Jersey. By this time, Hubbard had moved to England, from where he directed the church throughout the 1950s.

The practices of Scientology came under increasing scrutiny throughout that decade. The U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS) suspected that the church functioned mostly as a business. Followers were required to pay for obligatory "auditing" sessions and "E-meter" analyses that supposedly helped the individual identify mental blocks to individual improvement. These sessions brought huge sums into the church.

The amount of money involved and the ways in which Hubbard was paid by the church, 10 percent of the gross income of the church as well as additional direct cash payments, created the suspicion that he was distributing profits through indirect means. This led the IRS to revoke Scientology's tax-exempt status in 1958.

By this time, however, Hubbard and Scientology faced numerous other problems. During the 1960s, England, New Zealand, South Africa, Australia, and Canada all opened criminal investigations of the church. To avoid the publicity (and possible prosecution), Hubbard moved to Rhodesia in 1966. Here he hoped that the pariah white government would grant him some respite, particularly since he offered to invest millions of dollars in the economy, battered by international sanctions.

This hope proved unfounded, and Hubbard was expelled from Rhodesia the following year. In that year (1967), Hubbard also officially resigned as executive director of the Church of Scientology and began an eight-year cruise around the Mediterranean Sea as "commodore" of Scientology's Sea Organization. The members of the "Sea Org," as it came to be known, eventually would become the elite leadership of Scientology. Hubbard eventually returned to the United States in 1975, but controversy followed him and the church. In 1977, the FBI raided the offices of the Church of Scientology, seeking evidence about "Operation Snow White," the church's official program designed to intimidate and malign its opponents, including government officials.

Two years later, Hubbard's wife and several leading church officials were convicted of conspiracy against the U. S. government. Hubbard himself was convicted, in absentia, of fraud by a French court and sentenced to four years in imprisonment and a Fr 35,000 fine.

Hubbard went into hiding and remained a recluse for the remainder of his life. He returned to science fiction writing during the

1980s, publishing *Battlefield Earth* and *Mission Earth.* Even his death in 1986 was mired in controversy. Church officials attempted to have his body cremated immediately but were prevented from doing so by a county medical examiner. Although Hubbard's death was determined to be from a stroke, the autopsy found high levels of hydroxizine, which, although often used as an antihistamine, is a psychoactive drug that would have been forbidden by Scientology teachings opposed to psychology and psychiatric treatment. Additionally, there were suspicions raised about the whereabouts of Hubbard's personal physician and the fact that in the days shortly before his death, Hubbard's will was changed, leaving the bulk of his estate to the church.

Hubbard's death was announced to his followers as part of Hubbard's continuation of his spiritual advancement. Hubbard, in the words of a Scientology spokesman, had consciously ended his physical existence in order to continue his spiritual work "on a planet, a galaxy away."

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Huguenots The Huguenots, as they were popularly known (their name has no clear origin), were adherents of the REFORMED TRADITION in France. Although Huguenots arrived in the New World as early as the mid-16th century, a number of factors militated against the continuation of a separate French Reformed Church in America. Because the principal identity of the Huguenots had been religious rather than ethnic or national, most abandoned their French roots and joined other denominations, notably, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Church of England, by the mid-18th century.

French reformer John Calvin, who had been converted to Protestantism in 1534, settled permanently in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1541. Sending missionaries back to France to advance the Protestant cause in his native land, Calvin helped the Huguenot movement grow rapidly between 1540 and 1560. After a series of brutal religious wars that began in 1562 (including the infamous St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of August 1572), the Huguenot leader Henry of Navarre succeeded to the French throne as Henry IV. Although he renounced his Protestant allegiance in 1593, Henry eventually issued the Edict of Nantes (1598) and granted toleration to Protestants. Still, the edict offered only civil rights to the Huguenots, not approval of their religious faith, and harassment soon increased again. During the reign of Louis XIV, all forms of Protestant public worship were banned, and in October 1685, an order was issued to destroy church buildings and arrest ministers.

For many years prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Huguenots had been seeking refuge in other European countries. Of more than 2 million French Protestants, 400,000 emigrated from France in that period. Some made their way to America, most settling in the vicinity of what is now Charleston, South Carolina (as early as 1562), and near present-day New York City. Since Huguenot immigration to America came mainly through the Netherlands and England, close connections had been formed with the Reformed churches in those countries. Some of the first settlers at Plymouth (1620) and New Amsterdam (1626) were Huguenots with Anglicized or Dutch names. Indeed, several ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York made a habit of preaching in French. By 1683, the New York Huguenots had secured a pastor of their own and formed churches in New

Rochelle and New Paltz. By the end of the 17th century, French Reformed churches were established in New York City, Boston, Virginia, and South Carolina.

The Huguenots usually arrived in America in small groups, often without pastors to establish French-speaking congregations. Eager to forget France and its unhappy past, many chose to adopt the culture of the English and Dutch Protestants who had given them refuge. As a result, the French Reformed in New York generally became members of the Dutch Reformed churches (even the "French" church at New Paltz started to keep its records in Dutch about 50 years after its founding), while Huguenots in the South tended to become Anglicans. In all, approximately 20,000 Huguenots came to America before the Revolution, the last migration of any consequence occurring in 1712 with the settlement of a group of French Protestants in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Although individual Huguenots and their descendants were influential as members of the legal, medical, and commercial elite of the colonies, by 1750, a distinct Huguenot *religious* presence had virtually disappeared. The French Reformed community was almost effortlessly absorbed into the prevailing Anglo-American Protestant culture. Solely in the area around Charleston were the Huguenots numerous enough to have a major impact on a region, yet the memory of their presence even in the South Carolina low country today continues only in the surnames of prominent families such as the Legares, the Ravenels, and the Manigaults. And while in the North the names of prominent citizens like Paul Revere, Henry David Thoreau, and John Greenleaf Whittier suggest a common Huguenot past, little else "French" remains about these important figures.

GHS, Jr.

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humanism See SECULAR HUMANISM.

Humanist Manifesto This proclamation of humanist values, signed in 1933 by a group of Unitarian ministers and several notable philosophers, articulated a religious acceptance of modernity (see MODERNISM, PROTESTANT). Its optimistic assessment of the future failed to attract wide support.

In the early 20th century, the battle between religious liberals and conservatives in America intensified with the acceptance of SECULARISM among a broad number of intellectuals. For Unitarians (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION), humanism became an increasingly attractive alternative to what many saw as an outmoded Christian liberalism (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL) that was still trying to reconcile the forms and symbols of faith with modern science and values. Humanists, often representatives of what philosopher George Santyana called the "genteel tradition" in America, saw themselves as eagerly embracing modern institutions and values, providing an important naturalistic framework for the discussion of pressing moral and social questions.

By the early 1930s, humanists feared that American culture was returning to the religious infancy of its past. Under the press of social and economic crisis, NEO-ORTHODOXY was gaining the upper hand among serious intellectuals. Unitarians found in humanism the greatest rallying force since TRANSCENDENTALISM had swept through the denomination in the 19th century. In general, humanists favored naturalism over supernaturalism, science and reason over faith, democracy over tyranny, and human experience over revelation.

Eager to bring a clear perspective to bear in times characterized by both the hope of the New Deal and alarm over the rise of fascism in Germany, in 1933, a group of midwestern Unitarian humanists commissioned philosopher Roy Wood Sellars to draft a public statement of humanist goals and values. The document, a set of theses for debate, circulated among intellectuals. Some ignored or disparaged it, others amended it. In the end, the "Humanist Manifesto" appeared in a spring 1933 issue of *The New Humanist*, bearing the signatures of 34 individuals, including JOHN DEWEY. Half the signers were Unitarian clergy.

The manifesto issued 15 assertions, denying the divine creation of the universe and supernatural intervention in the order of things and urging that religion focus on satisfying the human search for self-fulfillment. While consistently using the word *religious* to indicate the new point of view advocated by humanists, the manifesto added that "there will be no uniquely religious emotions and attitudes of the kind hitherto associated with belief in the supernatural."

The manifesto is probably most significant for the fact that it failed to gather much support, though it aroused the suspicions of conservatives. A few months after publication, one humanist concluded it "fell like a dud in the battle-scarred career of American theological thought." Some of the original signers sought to revive and update it with a "Humanist Manifesto II" in 1973 and a "Secular Humanist Declaration in 1980." In its most recent form, "Humanist Manifesto 2000," signers call for global institutions such as a world parliament to secure human rights and overcome poverty, war, and environmental degradation.

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Hunt, Ernest Shinkaku (1878–1967)

One of the earliest and most energetic Westernizers of BUDDHISM, Ernest Shinkaku Hunt served as the director of the English department of the Honpa Hongwanji Buddhist Mission of Hawaii, an outgrowth of the Jodo Shinshu ("True Pure Land") sect of Mahayana Buddhism loosely affiliated with the BUDDHIST CHURCHES OF AMERICA. Hunt also founded the Western Buddhist Order and brought the International Buddhist Institute to Hawaii.

Born in England in 1878, Hunt graduated from Eastbourne College in Sussex. He encountered Buddhism while traveling through India during a stint with the British merchant marine. Intent on becoming a priest in the Church of England, he enrolled in an Anglican seminary but converted to Buddhism before being ordained.

In 1915, he moved to Hawaii with his wife, Dorothy Hunt, who was also a Buddhist. Together the Hunts established Buddhist Sunday schools, where they instilled in the English-speaking Buddhist youth of Hawaii a love of all forms of Buddhism. In 1924, the Hunts were ordained in a joint ceremony by Yemyo Imamura, bishop of the Honpa Hongwanji Buddhist Mission of Hawaii. During this first Buddhist ordination ceremony in Hawaii, Ernest Hunt was given the name Shinkaku ("True-Light Bearer"). In 1926, Hunt ascended to the head of the English department, an arm of the Honpa Hongwanji Buddhist Mission of Hawaii that specialized in ministering to English-speaking Buddhists.

The Hunts focused their efforts on two groups: European Americans and Nisei, or second-generation Japanese Americans (especially Japanese-American youths). To these constituencies, they preached an Americanized version of Buddhism. For use in Buddhist services, Ernest Hunt compiled a Buddhist catechism and a widely used English-language liturgical manual called the *Vade Mecum* (1932). Dorothy Hunt composed English-language Buddhist hymns that would soon be sung not only in Hawaii but also on the United States mainland.

In 1928, the Hunts gathered approximately 60 of their students into an English-speaking branch of the Honpa Hongwanji called the Western Buddhist Order. What drew students to this organization was its ecumenical stance. Although officially a part of the Jodo Shinshu sect, the Western Buddhist Order opened its arms to all Buddhists.

The Hunts collaborated with Bishop Imamura in 1929 to bring to Hawaii a chapter of the International Buddhist Institute (IBI), an ecumenical organization based in Japan that aimed to bring together all the world's Buddhists. Imamura became president of the institute, while Ernest Hunt was elected its vice president.

In all their endeavors, the Hunts promoted a Buddhism that was both nonsectarian and socially activistic. Champions of a Buddhist version of the SOCIAL GOSPEL, they inculcated in their Sunday school students not only Buddhist teachings but also Buddhist practices rooted in an ethic of active good will. Members of the Hunts' organizations visited prisons and hospitals and taught the blind and the deaf.

The ecumenical work of the Hunts ground to a halt when Bishop Imamura was replaced after his death in 1932 by bishops hostile to the ecumenical and internationalist agenda shared by Imamura and the Hunts. During WORLD WAR II and the period of persecution of Japanese Americans, Hunt ministered to Buddhists in Hawaii privately and at his Island Paradise School. Eventually, he made his way into the Soto Zen tradition. Ordained in that tradition in 1953, he became 10 years later the first non-Asian priest in the West to achieve the lofty rank of Osho. He died in Honolulu in 1967 at the age of 90.

SRP

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Hurley, George Willie (1884–1943) A relatively unknown contemporary of FATHER DIVINE, MARCUS GARVEY, and SWEET DADDY GRACE, George Willie Hurley founded the Universal Hagar's Spiritual Church (UHSC) in Detroit in 1923. Revered by some of his followers as divine, Hurley was one of the most important figures in African-American SPIRITUALISM.

Born in rural Georgia in 1884, Father Hurley was raised a Baptist. After studying for the Baptist ministry at Tuskegee Institute, he converted to Methodism. In 1919, he and his wife, Cassie Bell Martin Hurley, moved to Detroit, where they attended a black storefront church in the Holiness (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT) tradition. In the early 1920s, Hurley became a member of the International Spiritual Church and began a preaching ministry. Prompted by a vision, he established the UHSC in 1923. By the time of his death in 1943, Hurley's association boasted 37 churches in eight states. He was succeeded in his post as the spiritual head of the UHSC by his widow, "Mother" C. B. Hurley. Since Mother Hurley's death in 1960, the church has been run by a group called the Wiseman Board.

Hurleyites are educated in the ways of the UHSC through a number of means, including a School of Mediumship and Psychology, which, according to Hurley, is a modern resurfacing of the Great School of the Prophets, an ancient esoteric institute attended by, among others, Jesus. In this school, students learn how to communicate with spirits of the dead. As they are initiated into higher and higher mysteries, they become "uncrowned mediums," "crowned mediums" and finally "spiritual advisers." The church also runs a secret order for men and women called The Knights of the All Seeing Eye. This order has its own rituals and titles.

Hurley's eclectic gospel mixes elements from spiritualism, ROMAN CATHOLICISM, black Protestantism (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION), VODOU, FREEMASONRY, astrology, and black nationalism. Perhaps the most shocking element in that gospel is the affirmation that Hurley was himself divine. Hurley taught a dispensational theology in which Adam, the God of the Taurian Age, yielded to Abraham, the God of the Arian Age, who yielded to Jesus, the God of the Piscean Age. Jesus was then superseded by Hurley, the "black God of this Age." Hurley will rule Earth in this capacity for seven millennia.

Hurley distinguished himself from other leaders in the black Spiritualist tradition by eagerly mixing religion and politics. His message contained a biting critique of segregation and other forms of racial oppression. A pioneering Afrocentrist, Hurley argued that civilization originated in Africa and that Ethiopians were God's chosen people. He also developed a festival called "Hurley's Feast" to supplant Christmas, which he believed was a white celebration. During this sacred week, which ends each year on Father Hurley's birthday, February 17, Hurleyites exchange gifts and cards and decorate trees at home.

The UHSC maintains a small membership today in New York, Detroit, and other major cities in the East and Midwest.

SRP

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Hutchinson, Anne (1591–1643) A "woman of ready wit and bold spirit," as an opponent described her, Anne Hutchinson was at the heart of the ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY, one of the greatest religious and political controversies in colonial Massachusetts (see MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY). Her abilities were such that banishment was seen as the only way to remove her from influence in the colony.

Born in Alford, England, in 1591 (christened July 20), Anne was the daughter of Francis and Elizabeth Marbury. Her father, an Anglican minister, had been removed from office by the time of Anne's birth. By 1605, however, Francis was again in favor and received a series of prestigious appointments in London, where the young Anne was exposed to life in the capital and to new ideas, especially PURITANISM.

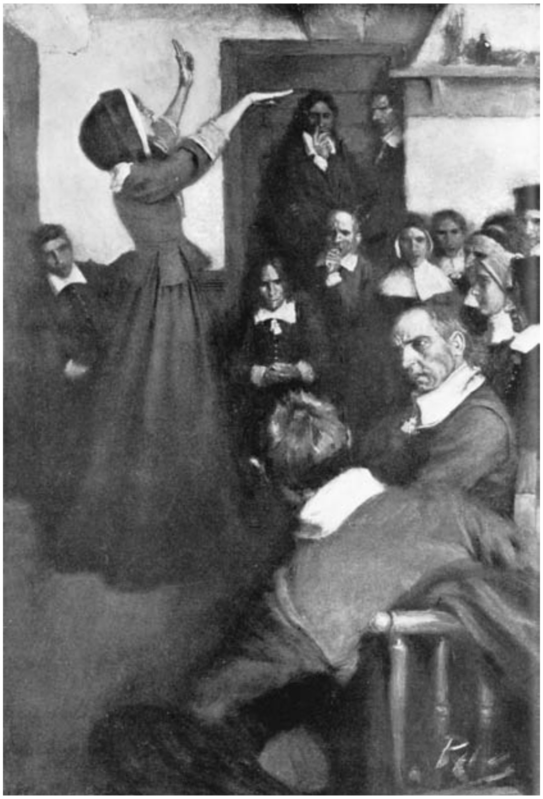
On August 9, 1612, Anne married William Hutchinson, a wealthy farmer and merchant from Alford. William shared Anne's religious concerns, and the couple attended, when possible, the sermons of JOHN COTTON in Boston, England, 24 miles (a day-and-a-half journey) from Alford. The couple were committed Puritans and, as the religious situation deteriorated during the 1620s, decided to join the Puritan migration to America, arriving in Boston in September 1634.

Although Anne's admission to the church was delayed due to comments she had made aboard ship, the Hutchinsons were welcome additions to the colony. Anne had a gifted theological mind and soon began to hold religious meetings in her home. Originally, these were small groups of five to six women. The quality of Anne's thought was soon recognized, and the numbers increased to "threescore or fourscore persons," according to JOHN WINTHROP.

Hutchinson was most concerned with the covenant of grace. Like all Puritans, she believed human activity was useless in bringing about salvation. Unlike many of her contemporaries, Hutchinson rejected the claim that personal behavior was a clue to the presence of this grace within a person. "Sanctification," the purity of one's behavior, was no proof of "justification," the status of one's soul.

Hutchinson combined this with an insistence that grace was implanted in the soul by the Holy Spirit. The Spirit then took control of the person's life. For orthodox Puritans, this came dangerously close to a claim for direct revelation that superseded Scripture.

These ideas struck at the heart of the Puritan experiment in New England. If true, what purpose did moral striving serve? If the church were unable to instruct the justified, what was the meaning and purpose of Scripture? The



Anne Hutchinson's unorthodox views prompted the Antinomian Controversy and led to her banishment from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. *(Library of Congress)*

possible answers endangered the ordered society the Puritans were trying to create.

While Hutchinson's views immersed her in a much wider crisis—the Antinomian Controversy—there was another problem: her position as a woman in a society that limited positions of authority to men. By 1637, many authorities viewed her meetings as violations of Scripture and the cause of dissension and conflict in the colony.

Hutchinson was called before the General Court in November 1637. The charges against her were vague at best: holding meetings not "fitting" for her sex, promoting divisive opinions, and dishonoring the ministers. During questioning, Hutchinson deftly parried every thrust. As a theologian, she was superior to Winthrop—her main interlocutor—and in debate, his equal. Her responses finally drove Winthrop to the point that he attempted to cut off argument by telling her that "We do not mean to discourse with those of your sex."

By the end of the second day, the hearing was a draw, and it looked as though Hutchinson would be released with a censure and an admonition. At this time, Hutchinson moved beyond the carefully worded and scripturally supported answers of her previous testimony. She told of direct revelations given her by God, revelations foretelling her persecution in New England, her deliverance from such a calamity, and possible judgment on the colony. This provided the court with an opportunity to condemn her. It declared her revelations devil-sent delusions. The session ended with the court placing her under house arrest until the spring, when she was to be banished from the colony.

Following her banishment, Hutchinson and her family took the path of many dissidents from Massachusetts and moved to Rhode Island (see WILLIAMS, ROGER). The following year, she had a stillbirth, a "monster" in the language of the time, which proved to many the error of her views. In 1642, her husband died, and she moved to Long Island, where, in late August or early September 1643, she and 10 of her children were slain during an Indian war. For the rulers of Massachusetts, this was final proof of her errors, for they could discern God's hand in picking "out this woeful woman, to make her . . . an unheard of heavy example."

(See also DYER, MARY.)

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Hutterites The Hutterites are religious sectarians who emerged out of the Anabaptist movement of the Radical Reformation in 16th-century Europe. They distinguish themselves from the MENNONITES and the AMISH by their rejection of private property and their insistence on following the primitive Christian practice of communal ownership of goods. Like the Mennonites and the Amish, Hutterites manifest their withdrawal from the corrupt world into their biblically based Christian communities by wearing plain clothing, living in rural areas, supporting themselves through the hard work of farming, and refusing to swear oaths or bear arms. They distinguish themselves from the Amish, however, by their willingness to make use of tractors and other modern conveniences.

The tradition of the Hutterian Brethren, as the Hutterites prefer to be called, began among Swiss Anabaptists in Moravia in 1528 under the influence of Jacob Hutter. A Tyrolean reformer who fled to Moravia to escape religious persecution, Hutter was burned at the stake in Austria in 1536 for his heretical insistence that Christians follow the apostolic model of holding "all things in common." Under the leadership of Hutter and successors (who used his martyrdom as a rallying cry for Hutterite vigilance in the face of the corruptions of the world), Hutterite colonies sprang up in Moravia in the 1530s and 1540s. They then spread to Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. During the Counter-Reformation, Hutterites fled to Hungary and subsequently made their way to Romania and the Ukraine.

Virtually all of Europe's Hutterites migrated en masse from Russia to the United States between 1874 and 1877. What prompted this migration was the same nativist "Russification" campaign that drove Mennonites and other German Russians to America during the 1870s. The first group of Hutterite immigrants, consisting of no more than 500 people, settled in South Dakota. There Hutterites organized themselves into three self-sustaining colonies, or *Bruderhofs*.

The Hutterites' refusal to proselytize clearly went against the grain in voluntaristic America. But thanks to the highest birthrate of any group in modern America and an extraordinary ability to contain defections, the Hutterites prospered. At the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, there were an estimated 1,700 American Hutterites in 17 colonies. Because of their pacifist stance and the reluctance of the U.S. government to recognize its legitimacy, almost all of America's Hutterites fled to Canada during the war. By WORLD WAR II, however, the Hutterites were officially recognized as conscientious objectors and returned in great numbers to the United States.

Because of their prosperity and longevity, many scholars see the Hutterites as the most successful example of Christian communism in the United States. While most experiments in COMMUNITARIANISM lasted only a few years, the Hutterites have survived for more than a century. They have about 36,000 members in more than 400 congregations.

SRP

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hymns, Gospel See SANKEY, IRA DAVID.

I

Identity movement The virulently racist and anti-Semitic religious movement known as Christian Identity (or Identity) began as a quirky theological movement within Victorian Protestantism. Originally known as Anglo (or British)-Israelitism, this group believed the 10 lost tribes of the Jews from the Northern Kingdom had migrated from Israel to the Caucasus (becoming Caucasians) and eventually settled in Britain and northern Europe, where they became the Anglo-Saxons. Jews, they believed, were descendants of the two tribes of the Southern Kingdom who, although captured by the Babylonians and exiled, were eventually allowed to return to Israel. In this view, the Anglo-Saxons and the Jews were related and together shared the right to be called the "chosen people."

Strangely, this vaguely philo-Semitic movement would be transformed in the early 20th century into a virulent anti-Semitic and racist ideology. This hatred reached such extremes that some groups would renounce all links to Christianity with its Jewish roots and its message of love and forgiveness. For these groups, the essence of life lay in struggle, especially racial struggle, and anything hindering this struggle violated the laws of nature.

This transformation began in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s with the writings of William Cameron, editor in the 1920s of the *Dearborn Independent,* the Michigan newspaper owned by Henry Ford. Cameron published the first major American version of the anti-Semitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.* Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the United States' leading right-wing demagogues, also was a believer in the Christian Identity ideology. Perhaps the most visible and organized Identity movement in the United States for years was the Worldwide Church of God, founded by the science fiction writer Garner Ted Armstrong. The church taught that Jews were evil and that Anglo-Saxons were the chosen people of God. Since Armstrong's death, however, the church has struggled to bring itself in line with the teachings of mainstream EVANGELICALISM and has renounced this doctrine. This turnabout paved the way for the group's entry into the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS in 1997.

In the 1940s to the 1960s, the anti-Semitic components of Identity were articulated by California lawyer Bertrand Comparet, Wesley Swift, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ, Christian, which for decades made Identity central to its beliefs, and William Potter Gale, a former aide to Douglas MacArthur and director of guerrilla operations in the Philippines during World War II, who founded the Christian Defense League.

In this new version, the Jews were stripped of their Biblical roots and their connection with God. At first, the two southern tribes (the "House of Judah") were accused of intermarrying with heathens, thus defiling themselves and God's law. Later versions separated them completely from the Jews of the Bible, claiming they were merely the descendants of the Khazars, a tribal people from southern Russia who converted en masse to Judaism in 740.

In the most prevalent versions of Identity, the white Anglo-Saxon-Celtic (brought in undoubtedly to incorporate the Scots) peoples are viewed as God's real "chosen people," who descend in an unbroken line from Adam and Eve. By nature and divine design, they are the superior race. The modern Jews descend from Cain, who was born of a sexual liaison between Eve and the Serpent (the real original sin) in Eden. They are biologically evil, the "synagogue of Satan."

Nonwhites are "pre-Adamic" beings. They have no souls and are the biblical "beasts of the field." Cain mated with these peoples to produce today's Jews. As the spawn of Satan, the Jews are involved in a plot to unite the world under a single government, which will then be handed over to the rule of the devil himself.

In order to prevent this catastrophe, whites in America, who constitute the true "House of Israel," must prepare for the bloody battle with the forces of evil, the people of color manipulated and led by the Jews, in a racial holy war. God's law on Earth can only be established through victory in this battle, Armageddon. There the forces of good—the white "Israelites"—will be pitted against the armies of Satan, represented by the Jewish-controlled federal government. Identity followers believe they must wage an all-out war against the ZOG (the Zionist Occupied Government), all those of color, white "race traitors," and anyone else who stands in their way.

Identity followers also believe that America is the New Jerusalem and that the U.S. Constitution was given to their ancestors, the white Christian Founding Fathers, by God. They claim that the authentic Constitution consisted of just the first 10 amendments of the Constitution (the Bill of Rights) and the Articles of Confederation. Only white Christian men are "true sovereign citizens" of the republic. Other Americans are merely "state citizens," illegally created through the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT by an illegitimate "de facto" government. Since the modern American government is illegitimate, Identity followers believe the Internal Revenue Service, civil rights legislation, and abortion rights are also unlawful.

For nearly 50 years, the virulent racist theology of Identity has made inroads into racist and antigovernment groups such as the KU KLUX KLAN, neo-Nazis, Posse Comitatus, and racist skinheads. Currently, it commands a large following beyond traditional white supremacists, including inside the patriot movement.

Explicit Identity groups such as the Covenant, Sword and Arm of The Lord (CSA), the White Patriot Party, Posse Comitatus, Aryan Nations, and the Order have been responsible for the racist right's most violent incidents since the 1970s. Murder, robbery, and savage attacks on individuals have characterized their methods. Timothy McVeigh, who bombed the federal building in Oklahoma City, placed two calls to Elohim City, a 22-year-old armed Identity enclave in Oklahoma headed by Robert Millar, just days before the attack.

Millar had close ties to some of the most violent Identity adherents. In April 1995, Millar personally supervised the transfer of the body of Richard Wayne Snell from Arkansas to Elohim City. Snell, an Identity adherent and CSA member, had been executed in Arkansas for the 1983 murder of a pawnshop owner he mistakenly thought to be Jewish. Previously, Snell had been convicted of murdering a black Arkansas state trooper in 1984.

Millar, who had brought both Snell and CSA founder James Ellison into the movement, believes that someone will soon be resurrected from the dead to lead the white Israelites in battle against the satanic federal government. After Snell's body arrived at Elohim City, the casket was left open for several days in anticipation of the possibility that Snell might be this "savior."

The Identity movement promotes anti-Semitic paranoia and hatred through numerous methods, including books, newsletters, audio cassettes, videos, shortwave and AM radio, satellite and cable television, camp meetings, far Right Patriot rallies, and church meetings. The Internet has been a successful medium for promulgating the movement's views. Identity has also been particularly active in prisons. Still, all the various Identity groups combined have a membership of less than 60,000.

The growth of the computer industry also has supplied Identity with two large funders, Carl Story and Vincent Bertollini, who after retiring from the industry moved from California to Idaho, where they finance Identity propaganda. In one of their largest endeavors, they paid for the "11th Hour Remnant Messenger" to mail to 9,000 Idaho addresses a packet of Identity materials, including an introductory letter, an anti-Semitic booklet, and a poster explaining the group's Identity beliefs. This single mailing cost more than $100,000.

For some on the farthest right, the Christian Identity movement is insufficient. It is tainted by Christianity's Jewish roots and its false message of love, when the true law of nature is struggle, the struggle for the victory of the species, the race.

The most visible of these groups is the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), based in East Peoria, Illinois, and headed since 1970 by Matt Hale. Hale became pontifex maximus of the church in 1996, following the suicide of its founder, Ben Klassen, in 1993. The goal of the group is to make "this [the United States] an all white nation and ultimately an all white world." Its slogan is "RaHoWa," an abbreviated form of "Racial Holy War."

The Church of the Creator (the original name of WCOTC) and "creativity," the church's theology, were created by Ben Klassen, a onetime Florida state legislator born in Ukraine and raised in Canada. Founded in 1973, the Church of the Creator completely rejected "the Judeo-democratic-Marxist values of today" and desired to supplant them "with new and basic values, of which race is the foundation." The WCOTC attacks Christianity as the "tremendous weapon in the worldwide Jewish drive of race-mixing." Creators assert that Jews "concocted" Christianity in order to mongrelize and destroy the white race. Much of WCOTC's hatred and energies are directed against Jews, whom it accuses of being "parasites" who "control and manipulate the finances, the propaganda, the media and the governments of the world."

WCOTC has become one of the most virulent, violent, and quickly growing hate groups in the United States. Members have been implicated in numerous racially motivated assaults and arsons and at least one murder. The murder led to the conviction of several members and a civil judgment against the church that awarded nearly all of its assets to the family of the victim, a black veteran of the Persian Gulf War. This event led to Klassen's suicide and to the church's decline until it was revived by Hale in 1996.

Not until 1999 did the existence of the WCOTC come to the awareness of most Americans. That Fourth of July weekend, WCOTC activist Benjamin "August" Smith went on a shooting rampage throughout Illinois and Indiana, leaving two dead and nine wounded before he fatally shot himself. All Smith's victims were either black, Jewish, or Asian American. In January 1999, Hale had named Smith "Creator of the Year" because of his success in distributing the church's anti-Semitic and racist tract, *Facts That the Government and the Media Don't Want You To Know.*

Although the incident's national impact was not as great as that of the Oklahoma City bombing, Smith's rampage was a clear reminder that religion in the United States manifests itself in numerous ways, not all of them positive. Sadly, many of those shot on the first day of the rampage were Jews on their way to services, and the final victim was a Korean man on his way home from church.

(See also ANTI-SEMITISM; NATIVISM; RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE; WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD.)

EQ

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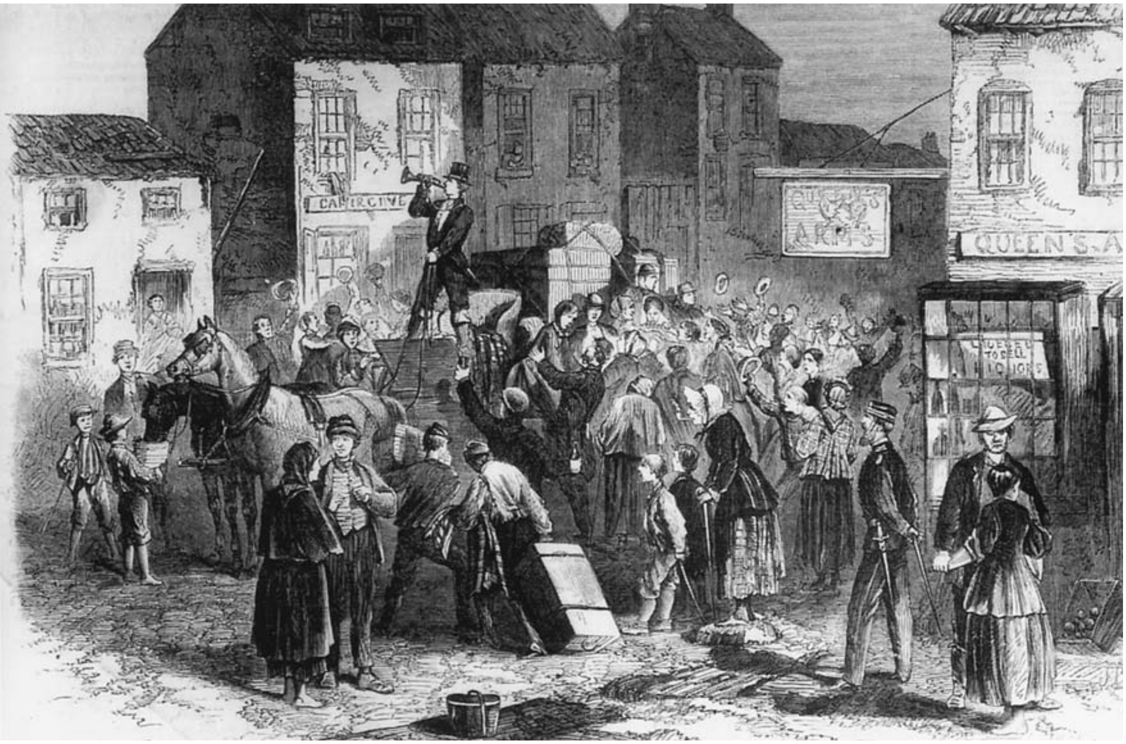
immigration The United States is a nation of immigrants, so it should not be surprising that immigration has played an important role in American religious history. Beginning with the Puritans, immigrants brought with them different religious traditions, and, once in the New World, those traditions underwent a wide variety of transformations.

Immigration is a complex process, and many different factors determine the ways religions develop and change. The race and ETHNICITY of an immigrant group, which help to determine its initial reception in America, have an enduring impact on the shape of a religious tradition. The occupational skills, languages, and literacy levels of immigrants and the stage of economic development in the United States at the time of their arrival are secondary factors that help to determine the subsequent development of their religion. Later migrations into a community as well as external developments often play important roles in the reshaping of a religious tradition and can alter the relations among different religions in unexpected ways. All these factors have helped to create the pluralistic (see PLURALISM) landscape of contemporary American religion.

The way these different factors can work to shape and reshape a religious tradition is well understood in the case of American JUDAISM. German Jews arriving in the antebellum period faced relatively few barriers due to their ethnicity. They were well placed in terms of occupational skills and literacy. This enabled them to engage in the burgeoning commercial life of the expanding republic. They also shared with many Americans a set of moderate and progressive religious ideals derived from the 18th-century ENLIGHTENMENT. These helped mute religious traditionalism and to adjust to the host culture dominated by Protestants. This first wave of Jewish immigrants soon achieved a level of social and economic integration that enabled them to aid a second wave that arrived from Russia and eastern Europe around the turn of the 20th century.

Immigrants in this second wave arrived at a time when jobs were plentiful in the rapidly expanding urban-industrial order, so many were able to move into the middle class in a generation. These immigrants, however, brought with them religious traditions and cultural ideals that were different from those in the first wave. Due to social conditions in eastern Europe and Russia, Jews in the second wave tended either to be more traditionally religious or more politically radical than the Germans, which created conflict within the community. Eventually, interaction between the two groups resulted in the differentiation of their religious life into REFORM, CONSERVATIVE, and ORTHODOX JUDAISM. The progressive ideals of the first wave and the more radical ideals of the second worked together to give the American Jewish community as a whole a liberal cast that endured in subsequent generations.

External developments in world history also played a major role in the shaping of American Judaism. Germans migrated after the failure of the Revolution of 1848; Russians migrated in



The Great Hunger drove 1.5 million Irish to immigrate to the United States after 1830. *(Library of Congress)*

response to pogroms after the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881; Jews also migrated in the wake of the Bolshevik revolution and more recently after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the breakup of the Soviet Union. The community has also been reshaped by ZIONISM, the Holocaust, and the founding of Israel, developments that contributed to the distinctiveness of American Judaism and to American political culture in the 21st century. The ongoing evolution of the community with Hasidic immigration and changing fortunes in the Middle East continues to raise new questions about both the shape of the Jewish community and its contribution to the complex forces at play in contemporary American society.

Catholic (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) immigrants also participated in the commercial and industrial expansion of the nation, thereby making their own move toward the American mainstream. However, the ways they assimilated gave a unique shape to the Catholic community, one resulting in different contributions to the current American scene. Catholic history is usually discussed in terms of a first, antebellum wave composed primarily of Germans and Irish and a second wave made up of distinct groups of southern and eastern Europeans. The dominant group became the Irish, in large part due to their proficiency in English. As a result, the historical antipathy between Irish and Anglo-Protestants shaped the Catholic community's move toward the mainstream. The Catholic Church played an important role in Irish Americanization strategies. A unified American church was created in order to mediate intra-Catholic ethnic differences and to Americanize the immigrants, while it also served as a fortress to protect against total assimilation and to perpetuate

Christian devotional traditions that were distinctly Catholic. This defensive strategy also resulted in the creation of Catholic parochial schools as an alternative to the public school system. External developments played an important role in the creation of the Catholic ethos and community. Developments overseas such as famine and revolution set in motion different waves of Catholic immigration. The defensive strategies of the leaders of the American church were influenced in many ways by the efforts of the papacy in Rome to defend traditional orthodoxy against the encroachments of modernity.

This strategy was successful until VATICAN COUNCIL II, when the Roman leadership of the church undertook to modernize Catholicism. Liberal developments resulting from the council effectively destroyed the fortress church mentality originally formulated to maintain American Catholic identity. Great numbers of Catholics still remain in a church that is alternatively described as chaotic and thriving, but are conspicuously diverse in their political, social, and religious convictions. At the same time, the idea of cultural Catholicism—a distinctly Catholic ethos and sensibility—is often discussed but remains a largely uncharted force on the American scene.

The Jewish and Catholic experiences, along with those of others like Scandinavian Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM) and the Greek Orthodox (see ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY), can be described as the classic east-to-west "immigrant saga" of peoples moving up from an ethnic periphery toward an allegedly postethnic mainstream, a story long central to America's melting pot myth and history. But in the past 40 years, these histories have been set in a new context as a result of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and new patterns of immigration. The Civil Rights movement introduced into the old melting pot story of America both the dynamics of race and highly politicized ideas about ethnicity. At the same time, new patterns of immigration refocused attention on the experiences of older communities once relegated to the margins and on newer immigrant communities.

One result of the Civil Rights movement was an explosion in scholarship about African-American (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION) history, which has opened enormous and varied vistas obscured for centuries. Despite the existence of a substantial black middle class, race has also been shown to be a structural impediment that belies the normativeness of the older model of free immigrants moving to the center from the periphery. Certain standard dynamics of the process of immigration have, however, been recast in order to understand African-American religious history. The concern with premigration backgrounds has led to an exploration of the West African religions and ethnicities that existed before the passage into slavery. Questions about the stages of development in the American economy also have been recast, but with attention to the way in which racism consistently blocked the path to full participation by African Americans in the nation's economy. Discussions about the development of black Christianity now tend to follow an Afro-oriented, race- and economy-based story. The antebellum period marked the formation of a distinct African-American Christianity; postbellum churches served as the locus for the development of black ethnicity and identity; mid-20th-century churches provided networks through which the questions about racism and rights were pressed into the mainstream.

Current discussions of black Christianity tend to emphasize its distinct contribution to the variegated texture of the contemporary scene. In its many forms, black Christianity is now seen as having a unique character, largely a product of African origins, slavery, and the inequities rooted in racism. The introduction of race into the story of immigration has begun to reshape the discussion about the nation's religious traditions in other important ways.

The fact that British Protestants and African slaves occupied demographically dominant niches during the colonial, revolutionary, and early national periods has highlighted a fact partially obscured in the older immigrant saga myth and history. The Protestant community that defined the 19th-century American mainstream was itself not postethnic, but a complex ethnicity of its own: white, largely British-American in culture, and Protestant in religion. Anglo-American Protestantism is now beginning to be seen as an ethnic history among other ethnic histories.

The centrality of race in American history and the renewed, politicized interest in ethnicity have also refocused attention on the religious histories of older communities that were once dismissed as marginal and on the religious traditions of newer immigrant communities. Questions about race and ethnicity and the relations between old and new groups within a single immigrant community are joined in complex ways in the case of Hispanics or Latinos, further decentering the old "immigrant saga," both history and myth. Older Mexican groups in the Southwest were not immigrants, but conquered people; subsequent migrations have not been east to west, but south to north. Race and ethnicity issues have also been recast as a result of the Spanish and Indian contributions to Mexican identity. Additional migrations by different Caribbean and South and Central American peoples, all of whom have distinct ideas about how Spanish and Indian, as well as African, elements factor into their identities, have given the Latino community an unparalleled ethnic complexity. Class variables, America's shift to a postindustrial economy, and the proximity of many Latin nations to the United States make generalizations about how the ongoing migrations are reshaping the nation's religious life highly problematic. Historians have only recently begun to turn their attention to the new forms of religion that are entering the United States with Latino immigration, to questions about the relations between Latin and North American Catholicism, and to the study of Latino conversion to Protestantism.

Engagement with questions of race and ethnicity and attention to new patterns of immigration have also drawn attention to America's Asian communities. Japanese and Chinese Americans have recently received greater attention than in the past, a development rooted in the importance of East Asia in the global economy and in the explosion of immigration from Asia to the United States after 1965. But both groups have had long American histories. They have over generations brought to America religious values rooted in their premigration backgrounds and have made distinct contributions to the American culture and economy. Both groups also have been subject to unique pressures due both to racism and to external factors in world history. Recent migrations by many other peoples have complicated immensely the idea of an "Asian-American" community. Indians, Tibetans, Laotians, Vietnamese, and Cambodians, together with Iraqis, Iranians, Lebanese, and other West Asians who have longer American histories are contributing demographically modest but highly distinctive religious, cultural, and racial elements to the contemporary scene. Immigrants bringing to America HINDUISM, BUDDHISM, and ISLAM are now beginning to play a prominent role in American religious history.

Immigration has always played a central and complex role in American religious history. British Puritan immigrants dominated America's colonial and early national religious history. Roman Catholics and Jews substantially altered the religious landscape of mainstream America as a result of their 19th- and early 20th-century migrations. African Americans have long been central to the story of American religious history, although only recently have their contributions been brought to light. Latinos and Asians are only the most recent contributors to a great American legacy. Their impact on the religious life of the nation as a whole will be hard to assess until well into the 21st century.

(See also SANCTUARY MOVEMENT)

RHS

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inerrancy The term *inerrancy,* when applied to the Christian Scriptures, signifies the belief that the original words of the Bible were divinely inspired and true in every detail, in scientific and historical facts as well as in religious doctrines. Inerrancy has always been one of the central tenets of American FUNDAMENTALISM. It is also a view held by many evangelicals and other theologically conservative Protestants today.

The concept of biblical inerrancy first appeared among Protestant writers in the late 17th century to combat Roman Catholic appeals to tradition and the authority of the church. Spokesmen for the Protestant Reformation stressed both the self-sufficiency of the Scripture in interpreting itself and the essential accuracy of its text. Protestants argued that the Bible was a book that even the simplest Christian could read and comprehend. As Reformed theologian Francois Turretin wrote, "the Scriptures are so perspicuous in things pertaining to salvation that they can be understood by believers without the external help of . . . ecclesiastical authority."

A philosophical system called SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM, which arose within Protestant ranks in the 18th century, gave further credence to the idea of inerrancy. The Common Sense philosophy came out of controversies during the ENLIGHTENMENT over the basis of human knowledge. Scottish clergyman Thomas Reid and others tried to give a solid metaphysical foundation to the everyday observations people made. Following the inductive methods of 17th-century scientist Francis Bacon, Reid and his followers asserted that the external world was just as it appeared to be. Common Sense thus provided a rational, scientific justification for every statement that appeared in the Bible: A person could simply believe whatever he or she read there.

The reliability of the Bible did not come up for debate among American Protestants until the mid-19th century. The publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, however, signaled an important shift in the relationship of religion and science. Prior to that date, believers had followed the reasoning of Common Sense Realism and simply assumed that Christian faith, human intellect, and science were all fundamentally compatible. But the dissemination of Darwin's theories on organic EVOLUTION forever destroyed such a facile intellectual synthesis. After the CIVIL WAR, informed readers of the Bible were forced to ask whether the new scientific discoveries, particularly in the areas of biology and geology, were undermining or authenticating scriptural statements. How, for instance, could the world have been created in six days, as the book of Genesis claimed?

Responding to the challenges they faced, conservative Protestants fell back upon the philosophical tenets that had nurtured them in the past. Thus, as Presbyterian professor CHARLES HODGE of Princeton Seminary asserted in the early 1870s, the Bible should be accepted as a "store-house of facts." Theologians like Hodge believed not only that people had found divine truth in the depository of Scripture throughout the ages, but that they could do so still. The 1881 article "Inspiration," coauthored by Hodge's son Archibald A. Hodge and by BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, moreover, represented a classic expression of the "certainty" offered by Common Sense Realism and inerrancy. Hodge and Warfield argued for the absolute trustworthiness of the plain reading of Scripture. Pressing their view with mathematical preciseness, they asked Christian believers to stand upon the unshakable ground of a Bible that was literally true in every detail.

In the late 19th century, the Bible became a battleground over which American Protestants fought, the Presbyterians especially. Despite the liberals' claim that they wanted to bolster rather than undermine Christianity by appealing to lofty religious ideas not necessarily found in the Bible, they were swamped by the general conservative reaction within their denomination against those new forms of thought. Presbyterian traditionalists insisted upon the objective truth of both the Scriptures and the traditional creeds, and they vehemently defended inerrancy against critics who indicated obvious errors and historical discrepancies in the Bible. In the last decade of the 19th century, modernist Presbyterian professors CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, Henry Preserved Smith, and Arthur Cushman McGiffert were convicted of heresy, and each eventually left the denomination. In 1910, the Presbyterian General Assembly affirmed inerrancy as the first of five essential points of Christian orthodoxy.

The Presbyterian action, of course, hardly silenced those who questioned the accuracy of the Bible. By the 1920s, the acceptance of evolution, and the consequent rejection of biblical inerrancy, had become widespread in American culture. Against this trend, the emerging fundamentalist movement mobilized. Under the leadership of statesman and politician WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, fundamentalists articulated the manifold threats they thought Darwinism posed to traditional Christian civilization. Bryan feared that evolution undermined faith in the Bible as the source of truth and would inevitably lead Americans into immorality and atheism.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN, a professor of New Testament at Princeton Seminary, was another religious leader who espoused the doctrine of inerrancy in that period. In his 1923 book *Christianity and Liberalism*, Machen charged that Presbyterians and other American Protestants were drifting away from their theological and spiritual moorings. Following the tradition of the Hodges and Warfield, Machen affirmed that the Bible contained "documentary evidence" and was an "infallible" guide for the Christian. He also stated that those who held beliefs contrary to his own definition of biblical orthodoxy should not be allowed to remain members of his church. As it turned out, Machen and his followers, not their modernist adversaries, left the mainline Presbyterian denomination in 1936, after liberals gained control of the General Assembly.

Although Machen's withdrawal from his denomination represented the end of the dominance of inerrancy within mainline Protestantism, the idea remained strong in other parts of American Christianity. Clearly, most evangelicals, and even members of nonevangelical denominations, wanted to believe in the essential truthfulness of the Bible in matters both of history and science and of doctrine and ethics. The doctrine of inerrancy, however, produced one of the most vexing controversies within conservative Protestantism since WORLD WAR II.

In the 1950s, some evangelical scholars began to question the value of a wooden, literal exegesis of the Bible, since the Bible clearly contains some material errors. In 1967, Fuller Theological Seminary, the most prominent of the evangelical divinity schools, removed the doctrine of inerrancy from its statement of faith. Critics of inerrancy maintained that the Bible's infallibility defined the ability of Scripture to lead people to salvation and moral living, not to information about history or science. In response to this trend, Harold Lindsell, then the editor of the evangelical magazine *Christianity Today,* published *The Battle for the Bible* in 1976. He questioned the wisdom of the defection from the doctrine of inerrancy.

Recent debates about biblical literalism have not been limited to evangelical institutions of higher education and seminaries. Conservatives within the LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD, for example, gained control of their denomination in the 1970s and forced an affirmation of inerrancy on the church. "The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy," drawn up in 1978, was published the next year in a volume called *Inerrancy.* Several scholars in that volume argued that the doctrine, when carefully defined, was both what the Bible teaches about itself and the central tradition of the Christian churches. In the 1980s, the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION also split over this issue. The fundamentalist faction in the denomination began what some considered a purge of Southern Baptist colleges and seminaries that did not teach inerrancy. Inerrancy continues to remain, as it has been since the late 1800s, an acrimonious topic among conservative Protestants in the United States.

GHS, Jr.

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Ingersoll, Robert Green (1833–1897) A leading proponent of SECULARISM, orator and author Robert Green Ingersoll made a career of attacking religion. In response to a speech by Ingersoll, Mark Twain once said, "It was the supreme combination of English words that was ever put together since the world began." Twain was not alone in his estimation of Ingersoll's abilities. Whether applauded or cursed for the agnosticism that fueled his saberlike wit, Ingersoll captured the ears of his contemporaries in late-Victorian America.

Ingersoll was born August 11, 1833, to John and Mary Ingersoll, in Dresden, New York. Living within the religiously fertile atmosphere of the "BURNED-OVER DISTRICT," Ingersoll grew up subject to a breadth of religious influences. His father was a staunch Calvinist and minister in the Congregationalist Church; his mother was a reader of THOMAS PAINE on the sly. With only an intermittent formal education to serve him, Ingersoll read voraciously, digesting the works of Paine, Shakespeare, the French *philosophes* (see ENLIGHTENMENT), and popular scientists. From his parents, he gained a passion for social reform. He began to practice law prior to the CIVIL WAR, and having been commissioned with the rank of colonel in the Union Army, was captured and imprisoned by the Confederacy in 1862. Upon release, he gained prominence through his legal practice. He was appointed attorney general of Illinois in 1867 and took an active role in the Republican Party over the next two decades.

During the 1870s, Ingersoll began lecturing extensively in addition to practicing law, publishing essays to support his family in what became a lavish manner. He quickly gained notoriety as the foremost agnostic of his day. He frequently likened organized religion to the institution of slavery, calling for abolition of mental servitude. Science, the achievement of human reason, provided modern people with a surer form of faith than had the churches, and Ingersoll's oratory urged his contemporaries to embrace science, progress, and the potential for human moral perfection with the same sort of emotional faith stirred up by more orthodox preachers.

In terms similar to contemporary European critics of religion, such as Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–72) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), Ingersoll attacked religious belief in divine beings as a projection of human aspirations. He began his essay "The Gods" (1872) by claiming: "Each nation has created a god, and the god has always resembled his creators." Ingersoll's rationalist critique of religion ignited extensive opposition from clergy and the press, even supplanting Charles Darwin as the focus of orthodox apologetics (see EVOLUTION). However, he gained the lasting admiration and friendship of liberal churchman HENRY WARD BEECHER. In subsequent essays, he extended and developed his attack. In "Ghosts" (1877) he portrayed the limitlessness of human achievement unshackled from religious superstition: "Humanity is the sky, and these religions and dogmas and theories are but mists and clouds changing continually, destined finally to melt away." In "Some Mistakes of Moses" (1880), he offered a detailed, scathing examination of the idea that the Bible was divinely inspired.

Ingersoll complemented his commitment to human intellectual freedom with a firm support for human political rights. In his time, he championed the extension of rights to women, children, and blacks, and due process for those convicted after the Haymarket Riot of 1886. He influenced people such as socialist Eugene Debs and the civil liberties lawyer Clarence Darrow. Although his thinking was far from original, he offered the most sustained and emphatic plea for religious toleration and freedom of thought of his day.

MG

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Insight Meditation Society The Insight Meditation Society (IMS) is one of the most successful American Buddhist organizations catering to European-American converts and sympathizers. Its roots are in Theravada BUDDHISM, one of the three major Buddhist schools and the most popular Buddhist form in Southeast Asia. IMS teachers stress *Vipassana,* or insight meditation, a spiritual practice rooted in Theravada monasticism but adapted in the United States for a lay audience.

IMS was established in 1975 on the site of a former Catholic seminary just outside Barre, Massachusetts. The founders were a group of European Americans informed by the COUNTERCULTURE who had studied insight meditation with Theravada Buddhist teachers in Asia. At IMS, however, they taught a meditative practice largely shorn of the beliefs and rituals of that tradition. In the 1980s, IMS teachers supplemented this initial emphasis on insight meditation with instruction in *Metta,* or loving kindness meditation.

In 1988, IMS moved west, opening the Spirit Rock Meditation Center in Marin County, California. IMS and Spirit Rock are also associated with the Cambridge Insight Meditation Center in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the Vipassana Metta Foundation on Maui in Hawaii, and the Barre Center for Buddhist Studies, located near IMS headquarters in Barre. The group also publishes a journal called *Inquiring Mind.*

Because many of IMS's founding members, including Joseph Goldstein, Jack Kornfield, Jacqueline Schwartz, and Sharon Salzberg, were raised Jewish, IMS has come to be associated with "Jewish Buddhism." Sylvia Boorstein, a well-known IMS teacher, is perhaps the most widely recognized Jewish Buddhist in America. In books such as *That's Funny, You Don't Look Buddhist: On Being a Faithful Jew and a Passionate Buddhist* (1997), Boorstein presents herself not as a former Jew who has become a Buddhist but as a Buddhist who remains a faithful Jew.

Like many American Zen centers, IMS appeals mostly to European-American lay converts who are seeking a meditative practice without monasticism. As cofounder Jack Kornfield put it, the goal of IMS is "to offer the powerful practices of insight meditation . . . without the complications of rituals, robes, chanting and the whole religious tradition." Because IMS does not keep a membership list (in fact, it refuses to distinguish between members and nonmembers), it is difficult to determine its size, but it is clearly one of the most vital Buddhist organizations in the United States today.

SRP

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Institutional Church See Social Gospel.

international affairs, religion and The relationship between international affairs and religion in the United States has been powerful and important, if subtle and sometimes episodic. This relationship has not always involved religion affecting international affairs but also of international affairs affecting religion. The most obvious example of the latter was how French support for the American Revolution and expatriates such as Tadeusz Kosciusko played a powerful role in minimizing anti-Catholicism among American Protestants.

With the few exceptions noted below, religion, or more precisely support for a particular version of religion, has played a minimal role in the making of American policy. Particular understandings of the role of religion in life, however, have played such a role. In fact, some scholars have argued that the United States's first foreign war, the war against the Barbary Pirates (or the Tripolotanian War) was waged by then President Thomas Jefferson as much against the unified forces of monarchy and religion in the various North African states as against their piratical activities. Despite the fact that it was a war against Muslim kingdoms, the religious character of this war was expressly denied and rejected, finding its statement even in the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, article 11 of which stated: "As the Government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion; as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity, of Mussulmen; and, as the said States never entered into any war, or act of hostility against any Mahometan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext arising from religious opinions, shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries."

This phrase, to a great extent, expressed the role that traditional religion, with some exceptions, has played in America's international affairs. This does not mean that international affairs have not had a religious component. The religious element in America's international affairs primarily has been driven by the values of America's civil religion. This has resulted in a demand for morality in foreign affairs, including opposition to monarchy and despotism and support for open markets.

This started early in America's history. The war with the Barbary Pirates was driven by these motives. The refusal to pay tribute in order to ensure safe passage on the high seas and public outrage over the enslavement of seamen and passengers drove the move to war. Reflected in the slogan "Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute" was a sense of moral indignation that would lie behind much of the U.S. approach to international affairs, both among the American populace and in government as well.

This attitude was reflected in events that galvanized American public opinion during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These included the Damascus blood libel of 1840, the Greek war for independence, and opposition to Russian pogroms against the Jews. Illustrative of such issues was the response by the American government and the American people to the attacks on the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire between 1876 and 1909 and particularly from 1915 to 1918, the Armenian genocide.

The American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, was so vehement in criticizing the attacks that he suspected he had crossed the limits of appropriateness as a diplomat to a sovereign state. Throughout Turkey and Syria, American missionaries and teachers sent back a steady stream of reports of the atrocities and murders and did what they could to assist the refugees and survivors, both among the Armenians and the Assyrian Christians.

Back in the United States, the outcry to aid the suffering Armenians was tremendous. It brought together some of the country's leading public figures, from Theodore Roosevelt to Clara Barton. From retirement, HARRIET BEECHER STOWE stepped to the platform and spoke about the obligation of Americans to aid the Armenian people in their time of need.

These responses were driven by a sense of moral outrage and basic American senses of justice and right, as well as views of how government should work. The idea that a government not only would fail to act to protect its own citizens but actively work to harm them was offensive. Additionally, the idea that such actions were beyond the reach of other states also offended American sensibilities. This sense of moral outrage would find its greatest statement in President Woodrow Wilson's stated goals for the peace to follow WORLD WAR I.

A descendant of Presbyterian ministers (see PREBYTERIANISM) and former president of Princeton University, Wilson brought to international affairs a sense of morality that often has been a hallmark of American approaches to foreign affairs. In many ways, it was this morality that initially led Wilson to oppose American entry into the war. The idea of aiding either side when both included some of the world's leading despotic regimes was inconceivable. The overthrow of the czarist regime in Russia in February 1917 and the creation of a democratic government (before the Bolshevik Revolution several months later) plus the German decision to resume submarine warfare against commercial shipping, including passenger ships (itself reflective, in Wilson's mind, of the immorality and cruelty of despotic regimes) convinced Wilson to enter the war on behalf of the Allies.

Wilson enunciated the view that the war was to be fought to make the "world safe for democracy." The meaning of this was made clear in Wilson's "Fourteen Points" speech, which he delivered in January 1918, 10 months before the end of the war. The 14 points included open covenants openly arrived at, free navigation of the seas, national self-determination, and a league of nations.

Wilson's plan ran aground as a result of another American international affairs tradition, isolationism. American isolationism had its roots in another strand of American civil religion. It grew out of the view that American engagement with despotic and corrupt regimes not only would spoil American purity and democracy, it also was suspected that such connections would draw America into European intrigues and pointless wars.

These positions reflect the spectrum of how international relations in the United States has been driven by a strong morality rooted in America's self-understanding as having a distinctive mission in the world, as being divinely ordained to bring democracy and freedom to the world. The only difference between the two was whether the United States should be an active missionary in this work or maintain itself as a model and an example for others to emulate?

Formal American international relations traditionally have moved back and forth between these poles. They have been driven by the essence of America's civil religion, with little influence from formal religious views or perspectives. There have, however, been instances in which religious views or the desire to support coreligionists played a noticeable (albeit rarely determinative) role in American international relations. Most of these instances emerged in the late 20th century and included opposition to the appointment of an American ambassador to the Vatican, a powerful element of anticommunism, support for the state of Israel, and the movement against contemporary slavery, including sexual trafficking in women and children.

If any movement in the international affairs of the United States had an express religious motivation, it was resistance to the naming an American ambassador to the Vatican. The uproar began in late October 1951, when President Harry Truman announced his intention to appoint General Mark Clark ambassador to the Vatican to replace Myron Taylor, who had resigned as the president's special representative. Although the president chose his words carefully, making the representative position solely to the officially recognized state and not the "Holy See," such distinctions rang hollow to many.

J. M. Dawson, executive secretary of the Baptist Public Affairs Committee, declared the appointment to be a "frantic bid for holding machine-ridden big cities in the approaching hot Presidential race." He criticized it as being "a deplorable resort to expediency, which utterly disregards our historical constitutional American system of separation of church and state." Even the president's minister, the Rev. Edward Hughes Pruden, said in a sermon that he had done everything in his power to dissuade Truman from naming an ambassador to the Vatican. Although a variety of groups opposed this move, the opposition to the appointment was led by Protestant organizations. These included Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, the Baptist Public Affairs Committee, and the Federal Council of Churches. The opposition was so great that the nomination was withdrawn in January 1952.

The opposition was driven to a great extent by both the conviction that such a nomination constituted recognition of a particular religion and that it gave it a favored status. Many also feared that it would lead to an entangling of the American government with the operations of a particular religion, ROMAN CATHOLICISM. For other individuals and groups, such an appointment raised the specter of Catholic power in American politics (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM). They feared the Catholic Church, viewing it as a despotic and hierarchical organization that opposed religious and intellectual liberty as well as freedom of speech and the press. The opposition was so great that while running for president in 1960, John F. Kennedy, who would become the first Roman Catholic president, expressly rejected the idea of appointing an ambassador to the Vatican. In fact, the United States would not have an ambassador to the Vatican until 1984. Even then, the nomination ran into significant opposition both in Congress and in the courts before it was approved. American presidents since that time, however, have appointed successive ambassadors with little opposition.

If the opposition to an ambassador to the Vatican reflected the ongoing remnants of U.S. anti-Catholicism, the significant role the Catholic Church played in opposing communism illustrated the increasing centrality of Catholics in American life. While not alone among religious groups in their opposition to communism, Catholics tended to be more consistent and committed than other groups. To a great extent, this occurred because numerous countries controlled by communist regimes or threatened by communist takeover were historically Catholic or had significant Catholic connections. Additionally, the Catholic Church felt most keenly communists' attempts to control religion. The persecution of the church in countries such as Poland did much to galvanize and maintain public opposition to the communist regimes and reminded people constantly of the real issues at stake during the COLD WAR.

Similar views were common among many American Protestants, particularly evangelicals. The persecution of Christians in communist countries, the limitation on religious work and literature, as well as stories of Christians martyred at the hands of communists played into evangelical circles, as they did in Catholic ones.

While it would be absurd to claim that religion drove the cold war, it is not untrue to say that the antireligious actions of the communist regimes regularly reminded Americans of what was at stake. Weather the imprisonment of the Polish archbishop, the murder of Christian missionaries, or the persecution of Soviet Jews, communist attacks on religion regularly made people aware of the differences between the United States and the communist countries when religion was involved.

While this article focuses on religion's role in international affairs, as opposed to ethnic concerns, to some extent, the role of public opinion in maintaining U. S. support for Israel combines both. The overall policy, however, is driven primarily by the American morality discussed above. Americans understand Israel as a pluralistic, democratic state besieged by violent and despotic enemies. Israel, therefore, deserves American support. Additionally, on the realist side, Israel has proven itself to be a staunch ally not given to bouts of anti-Americanism and anti-Western rhetoric, as has sometimes been the case with its Arab neighbors. Among American Jews, support for Israel has its basis in concern for their less-fortunate brothers and sisters who deserve a place that preserves them from the oppression and ANTI-SEMITISM that has bedeviled them in many countries (and continues to do so), whether it be Russia, Zimbabwe, France, or Syria. For many, however, it is also a religious concern, the goal of returning to their historic land and being able to worship freely again in the land of their ancestors. For still others, there is a sense that the establishment of the state of Israel presents the beginning of the messianic age and the fulfillment of ancient prophecies.

This view of the fulfillment of prophecies also strengthens the support for Israel among a wide spectrum of American evangelicals and fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM). They have taken to heart the biblical prophecy that God will bless those who bless the Jews and curse those who curse them. For a wide section of evangelicals and fundamentalists, the ingathering of the Jews also is a precursor of the messianic age, perhaps perceived very differently than among Jews. Christians, therefore, have an obligation to support Israel and to ensure that its security is guaranteed.

Although this group constitutes a minority in the United States (and even a minority among those who support Israel), they do constitute a core group of staunch supporters who can readily be called upon in times of need. They also aid Israel financially by providing support for organizations such as Wings of Eagles, which aids Jewish immigration to Israel, and by constituting a huge proportion of the tourist dollars that pour into the country.

Evangelicals also have played a major role in two often ignored foreign affairs initiatives of the late 20th and early 21st centuries—concerns with religious freedom internationally and the modern-day slave trade, particularly sex trafficking. In response to concerns over religious persecution and attacks on religious minorities, in 1998, Congress passed the INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT, which requires regular reporting by the State

Department on the status of religious freedom throughout the world and authorizes the president to sanction countries that violate people's religious freedom.

An additional policy initiative has been the opposition to the contemporary slave trade. This opposition has consisted of advocacy and rescue work. Religious organizations have been central in undertaking efforts to ransom individuals enslaved due to the war in Sudan as well taking direct action to free women who have been forced into sexual slavery. Religious organizations were central to the passage in 2000 of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act and its much strengthened renewal in 2006. The bill mandated the creation of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons at the Department of State, with a director who holds an ambassadorial level appointment.

While religion and religious belief rarely played a major role in forming America's international affairs, they have been significant undertone. They frame how Americans view and understand the world and influence many of their decisions. Additionally, American civil religion has played a major role in how the United States has approached the rest of the world and how it relates to that world. Specific international policy concerns pushed by religious groups also have become policy initiatives in America's foreign relations to the extent that they were viewed as central to other shared American values, for example, religious liberty. Given the United States's complex religious landscape, religious motives alone rarely have driven foreign policy.

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International Church of the Foursquare Gospel See PENTECOSTALISM.

International Religious Freedom Act The International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) is a U.S. law passed by Congress and signed by President Bill Clinton on October 27, 1998. The purpose of the law is to ensure that the promotion of religious freedom is part of U.S. foreign policy and to advocate on behalf of individuals throughout the world who are persecuted for their religious beliefs.

IRFA created three entities to monitor religious freedom abroad and to ensure that it remain a component of American foreign policy. First, it established the Office of International Religious Freedom within the U. S. Department of State. The office, headed by the ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom, is tasked with the responsibility of monitoring religious persecution and discrimination throughout the world and of developing and implementing programs and policies designed to promote religious freedom. Additionally, the State Department issues an *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom.*

Second, IRFA also established the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. The commission is a bipartisan body and not part of any branch of government. It is composed the 10 members, three of whom are appointed by the president, three by the president pro tempore of the Senate (two of whom must be recommended by the Senate minority leader), and three by the Speaker of the House of Representatives (two of whom must be recommended by the House minority leader). The 10th member is the ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom, who serves ex officio. The mandate of the commission is to monitor violations of the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion or belief internationally and to make independent policy recommendations to the president, secretary of state, and Congress. The commission on occasion plays a significant role in domestic affairs. One major example of this was the commission's action in response to a 2005 case before the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. In that case, *Li v. Gonzales*, the Fifth Circuit upheld the order to deport a Chinese man who had been arrested, beaten, fired, and then charged with the "crime" of organizing an unregistered house church in China. The Department of Justice, in a letter to the court, argued that China had the "sovereign right" to regulate unregistered religions and that its treatment of unregistered churches was not a legal issue.

The commission met with the Department of Justice and demonstrated that the Department of Justice's position was "at odds with the efforts to advance freedom of religion or belief in China by the President, the Secretary of State, and the U. S. Embassy in Beijing." Much chagrined, the Justice Department sent a follow-up letter to the court acknowledging that its previous position had been in error. In response, the Fifth Circuit vacated its decision and authorized the granting of asylum to Li.

The final entity created by IRFA was a special adviser on international religious freedom within the National Security Council. This adviser has lead responsibility for informing executive branch officials of the international religious freedom implications of certain policies, collecting and assessing information regarding violations of religious freedom internationally, and helping to formulate foreign policy responses to those violations.

In its initial versions, IRFA included mandatory sanctions against countries that were deemed to be gross violators of religious freedoms. As adopted, however, the law contains a provision allowing the president to waive those sanctions if doing so would be in the furtherance of the aims of the act or promote the interests of U. S. national security.

The International Religious Freedom Act, while not being able to end all abuses of freedom of religion and belief internationally, has served to highlight this freedom. Additionally, the act has pointed out how certain policies might undermine the goals of promoting international religious freedom. Finally, IFRA serves as a major reminder that in many ways, the preeminent freedom that the United States has given to the world is the freedom of religion and belief.

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International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) The International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) is an American outgrowth of the *bhakti yoga* ("discipline of devotion") tradition within HINDUISM. Hare Krishnas, as members of ISKCON are called, trace their origins to the Vaishnava tradition of devotion to the Hindu god Vishnu begun by the 16th-century Bengali reformer Caitanya. The more proximate founder of ISKCON is A. C. BHAKTIVEDANTA SWAMI PRABHUPADA (1896–1977).

A devotee of the Hindu god Krishna (who is typically represented as one of the avatars, or human incarnations, of Vishnu), the Indian-born Prabhupada worked as a businessman before renouncing the world and becoming a *sannyasin*, or world renunciant, in 1959. He moved to New York City in 1965 at the behest of his guru, who had urged him to introduce Westerners to Krishna. One year later, he founded ISKCON. Buoyed by the COUNTERCULTURE, the movement spread across America. A San Francisco temple opened in 1967, and by the late 1960s, ISKCON was centered in Los Angeles. The movement subsequently spread to India, where ISKCON maintains a temple outside Bombay.

ISKCON peaked in numbers and influence sometime around the death of Prabhupada in 1977. Since that time, the organization has endured the sorts of trials that typically follow the death of a NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT founder. In 1987, the Governing Body Commission, which had run the organization since Prabhupada's death, expelled one of Prabhupada's first disciples, Kirtanananda Swami Bhaktipada, the founder of a Hare Krishna commune in West Virginia called New Vrindaban, for deviating from ISKCON orthodoxy. Kirtanananda subsequently organized his followers into the International Society for Krishna Consciousness of West Virginia. In 1996, he was convicted of racketeering, fined, and sentenced to prison.

The Hare Krishna movement initially recruited primarily middle-class European Americans, but recently it has attracted some Indian immigrants and their children. The organization has also abandoned some of the rigor of the early COMMUNITARIANISM. While most recruits in the 1960s and 1970s did not work outside the movement, during the 1990s, more than half of ISKCON's members were either self-employed or worked for non-ISKCON concerns.

The ritual practice of ISKCON members consists first and foremost of chanting a mantra: "Hare Krishna Hare Krishna Krishna Krishna Hare Hare Hare Rama Hare Rama Rama Rama Hare Hare." This mantra, which is typically sung to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums, invokes not only Krishna but also Rama, the other major deity of Vaishnavites whose name ISKCON members equate with that of Krishna. Another important feature of Hare Krishna spiritual practice is regular worship at the temple. There are approximately 60 ISKCON temples in United States cities. Each temple typically includes images of Krishna, Radha (Krishna's consort), Caitanya, and Prabhupada.

Hare Krishna devotees distinguish themselves from other Americans not only by chanting but traditionally also by their appearance (male members sport saffron robes and shaved heads), their diet (they refuse to eat meat or to take intoxicants), and their eager recruiting tactics. The presence of Hare Krishna devotees at American airports has aroused hostility from some Americans who regard ISKCON as the paradigmatic "cult" in America. In an effort to address accusations of brainwashing, ISKCON members have minimized aggressive recruiting in public places.

ISKCON members differ in some important respects from other Hindus in India and the United States. American converts to Hinduism tend toward Advaita Vedanta, or nondualistic, Hinduism, a more philosophical and less devotional tradition that represents God as impersonal. And while most Hindus in India share the Hare Krishnas' preference for devotion to a personal deity, they do not share the insistence of ISKCON members that Krishna is the one supreme lord.

ISKCON has faced numerous scandals and controversies during its history. In the late 1970s and 1980s, stories began to emerge of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse of children at the society's boarding schools in both the United States and India. These were later corroborated by ISKCON itself in an article that appeared in the *ISKCON Communications Journal* in 1998. This led to numerous victims suing the organization. Rather than lose its property, ISKCON declared bankruptcy in 2002. In 2005, ISKCON reached a settlement whereby it agreed to pay $9.5 million both to those who were parties to the initial suit and to other victims as well.

In response to this abuse, the society established in 1998 the ISKCON Child Protection Office, also known as the Association for the Protection of Vaishnava Children. The organization undertakes background checks on youth workers, provides training on identifying and responding to abuse, and investigates reports of abuse within the movement.

ISKCON found itself involved in numerous other legal controversies. The first involved the case of whether members of the Hare Krishna movement (as it was then known) could be barred from soliciting monies or selling books in airports and other public spaces. In this case, the courts ruled that airports were not public fora and, therefore, use of the space could be regulated without violating an individual's free speech rights.

More troubling for the movement was the suit filed in 1977 by Robin George and her parents accusing it of false imprisonment, emotional distress, libel, and invasion of privacy. Although George had joined the movement voluntarily at the age of 14, the court found in her favor, and the jury in 1983 awarded her and her parents $32 million, more than twice what they sought. The case continued through several years of legal wrangling, at one point reaching the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1993, the Georges settled for an undisclosed amount.

Such high-profile cases led ISKCON to reduce its work in the United States and return to its Indian roots. One result was the construction of the Center for the Advancement of Culture of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness in Bangalore, India, that opened in 1997. This massive temple complex, the main hall of which alone covers more than 9,000 square feet and is 100 feet high, has become the center of ISKCON's work and of Krishna devotion, as well as a major tourist destination.

ISKCON publishes and distributes a magazine, *Back to Godhead,* as well as numerous books and tracts by Prabhupada. The most widely read text within the movement is Prabhupada's commentary, *Bhagavad-Gita As It Is* (1972). There are now perhaps 3,000 active Hare Krishnas in the United States, down from 15,000 to 20,000 in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

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Ireland, John (1838–1918) Longtime archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota (1875–1918), John Ireland was one of the most influential and controversial Roman Catholic prelates in the United States (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). TEMPERANCE, racial equality, rural colonies for Irish immigrants, and the Americanization of the Roman Church were among his most significant and most suspect policies.

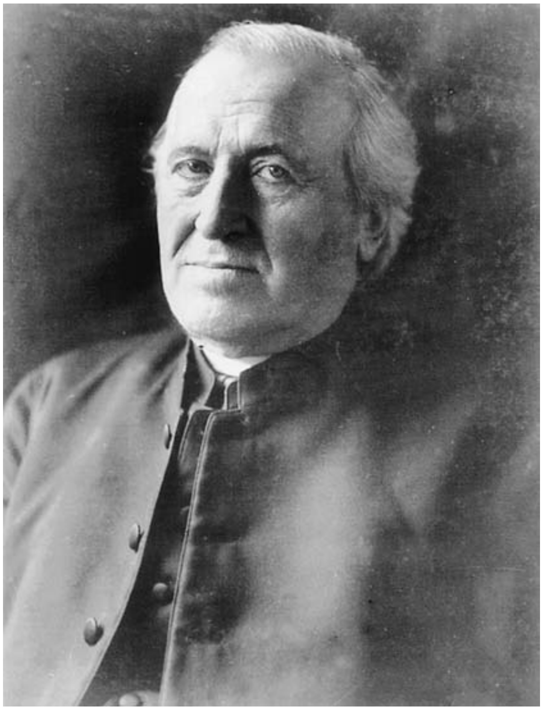
Born in Burnchurch, Kilkenny, Ireland, on September 11, 1838, Ireland came to the United States with his family at the age of 11. The family eventually settled in St. Paul, Minnesota Territory.

Sent to St. Mary's College in Chicago, he was encouraged by priests to further his studies in Europe. After several years of seminary study in France, he returned to St. Paul for his ordination on December 21, 1861. By this time, Ireland already had joined the Union Army as a chaplain, and in that position he served the 5th Minnesota until April 1863, when ill health forced him to resign. Ireland's war experiences remained a significant part of his life. After the war, he was active in the affairs of the Grand Army of the Republic and remained a lifelong Republican.

Returning to St. Paul, Ireland became increasingly prominent in the diocese. He was a favorite of the bishop, who, recognizing his talents, designated Ireland as his representative to Vatican Council I. There, he made many contacts among ecclesiastical authorities, and when the position of vicar apostolic for Nebraska became available, Ireland was chosen. Bishop Grace of St. Paul, who was suffering from poor health, petitioned the pope to cancel the appointment and name Ireland as coadjutor bishop of St. Paul with right to succession. The pope consented, and Ireland was consecrated on December 21, 1875, succeeding Grace after the latter's resignation in 1884. Four years later, St. Paul was made an archdiocese, and Ireland became archbishop. The long hoped for and widely rumored appointment of cardinal never came, however. Ireland's career had made him too controversial, and his views aroused suspicion in Rome.

Ireland's support for the temperance movement angered German Catholics, as did his conviction that immigrants to the United States should shed their foreign culture and become Americans. This meant adopting the English language and building a uniform American church. This proposal infuriated many Catholics, especially the Germans and Italians, who desired churches where their languages were spoken and their traditions observed. Rome fielded many complaints alleging that millions of Catholics had left the church due to the insensitivity of the predominantly Irish hierarchy (see Cahenslyism). Although the intervention of Cardinal James Gibbons prevented the establishment of national parishes, the complaints drew attention to Ireland's vocal support for American social and political forms.

This commitment to the United States and its culture was the greatest source of trouble for Ireland. In a widely reprinted speech delivered in 1884, Ireland declared that the principles of the American republic were harmonious with those of the Catholic Church. Catholics in America should devote themselves to those principles by becoming active in society, he argued, and immigrants should assimilate into American culture.



John Ireland, a leading 19th-century archbishop whose midwestern experience influenced his commitment to American democracy. *(Library of Congress)*

These views were not welcome in Rome at a time when the Vatican increasingly viewed the modern world as its enemy. Ireland's distaste for religious orders and his emphasis on the active virtues suggested that he was a man ready to turn the church upside down. No less disconcerting was a speech he delivered on the silver anniversary of Gibbons's consecration as bishop of Baltimore. Entitled "The Church and the Age," that speech proclaimed that "the watchwords of the age are reason, education, liberty and the amelioration of the masses." These were not comforting words to a papacy attached to monarchy, hierarchy, and tradition.

There were rumors that a heretical movement in America believed the church should accommodate itself to the demands of the world, and Ireland increasingly became identified as a proponent. This was enough to deny him a cardinal's hat, especially after Leo XIII's official condemnation of AMERICANISM in 1899.

Representative of Ireland's commitment to America was his involvement in politics. A staunch Republican, Ireland served as an unofficial adviser to Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. He participated in negotiations to avert a war with Spain in 1898, but when they collapsed, he publicly endorsed the war effort. Following the hostilities, he aided in negotiations over church lands in the Philippines and urged that Spanish priests be replaced by Americans.

Despite his multiple involvements, Ireland did not neglect his diocese. Although an able administrator, his speculation in western lands to support churches and seminaries often threatened the diocese and Ireland personally with insolvency. He loved to preach and spoke comfortably in English, French, and Latin. His long and florid sermons, reflecting his training in classics, often were reprinted in Catholic newspapers and magazines. Originally opposed to parochial schools because of the cost, he soon realized that they were the only means of ensuring religious instruction. They became an integral part of his diocese, as did several colleges and seminaries.

Unlike many controversial figures, Ireland had the good fortune to outlive his enemies. During his last years, he received near-universal approbation. At his death on September 25, 1918, even the Jesuit magazine *America* lauded him as a "godly man, keen of intellect, strong of will, . . . a great man among the greatest men."

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Islam Adherents of Islam, one of the world's three major monotheistic religions, distinguish themselves from others by their adherence to the "Five Pillars" of Islam. The first is the recitation of the Shahadah, the Muslim creed, affirming that "there is no God but God and Muhammad is the prophet of God." The remainder are praying five times daily, fasting during the festival of Ramadan, giving *zakat*, or mandatory alms, and making the hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, if possible.

Although Muslims view Islam as the natural religion of the world and the culmination of a series of prophetic revelations that included the ministries of Moses and Jesus, historical Islam dates from 610. In that year, a Meccan trader by the name of Muhammad (570–632) received the first of the revelations from God through the angel Jibreel (Gabriel) that would ultimately become the Qur'an, Islam's sacred scripture.

The beginnings of Islam in America are not as readily dated. While there are claims that Muslim traders may have reached the Western Hemisphere before Columbus, it is probable that the first Muslims came as part of the massive slave trade. Some scholars have estimated that 15 to 20 percent of the hundreds of thousands of slaves forcibly removed from West Africa to America were Muslims. Although some of the slaves retained altered forms of their cultural and religious practices, mixing them with their slaveholders' customs and beliefs, little of their Islam survived in America.

There were some exceptions. One example was Bilali Muhammad, a slave in Georgia's Sea Islands, who read and wrote Arabic (a copied treatise of Islamic law was in the family's possession for generations) and was buried with a copy of the Qur'an. Additionally, his wife was veiled, and his daughters bore names such as Medina and Fatima.

Islam has not piqued the interest and fascination of American intellectuals the way Buddhism and Hinduism have done. However, it did attract a few converts as early as the 19th century. Muhammad Alexander Russell Webb (1846–1916) generally is regarded as the first American convert to Islam. While serving in Manila as United States consul to the Philippines between 1887 and 1892, Webb was introduced to and eventually embraced Islam. In 1893, he traveled to Chicago to represent the Islamic tradition at the World's Parliament of Religions. That same year, Webb organized the American Islamic Propaganda Movement and published the first of his three books, *Islam in America*. Webb was unsuccessful in building a strong movement, and his organization died with him in 1916.

The first sustained Islamic presence in the United States took place in the early 20th century as Muslims from the Ottoman Empire began to immigrate in significant numbers. In 1915, Muslims from Albania settled in Maine and constructed what probably was the first mosque in the United States. Lebanese Muslims built mosques in Highland Park, Michigan, in 1919 and Ross, South Dakota, in the 1920s.

The Islamic population increased markedly in the years following World War II, and with the numeric growth came a need for organizational stability. The first group to fill this need was the Federation of Islamic Associations of the United States and Canada (FIA) founded in Chicago in 1954 by Abdullah Igram, a Muslim of Lebanese descent. An outgrowth of the International Muslim Society (founded in 1952), it attracted a primarily Lebanese membership.

By the 1960s, the FIA was overshadowed by the Muslim Student Association (MSA), a more diverse Islamic organization established in 1952 to address the needs of Muslim students who came to study at American universities in increasing numbers. As the MSA grew, it spawned numerous affiliated organizations, including the Islamic Teaching Center and such professional associations as the Islamic Medical Association, American Muslim Scientists and Engineers, and American Muslim Social Scientists.

In 1981, the MSA and its affiliates gathered to form the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). ISNA functions as the major unifying organization for mainstream Islam in the United States. Comprised primarily of Sunni Muslim immigrants and their children, the organization historically had its greatest strength among Muslims from the Indian subcontinent but has expanded to nearly all segments of American Muslims.

Shi'ite Muslims, members of the smaller of the two main divisions within Islam and a marked minority among American Muslims, have also formed their own institutions. Two of the largest are the Islamic Society of Georgia (established 1973) and the Islamic Society of Virginia (1982).

The organization among indigenous Muslims that most closely parallels immigrant organizations is the Muslim American Society (formerly the American Muslim Mission). The Muslim American Society, composed primarily of African Americans, is an outgrowth of three occidental Muslim movements: the Nation of Islam (NOI), the Moorish Science Temple, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (see Garvey, Marcus).

Noble Drew Ali (see Drew, Timothy) founded the Moorish Science Temple in Newark, New Jersey, in 1913. Dismissing Christianity as a religion for whites, he promoted Islam (albeit in an idiosyncratic form) as the appropriate religion for blacks, whom he called "Moors" or "Asiatics." Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey established his quasi-religious Universal Negro Improvement Association in Jamaica before coming to the United States in 1916. Preaching black nationalism, black messianism, and invoking the "God of Africa," he was one of the most radical and popular proponents of black nationalism.

Both of these men influenced Elijah Poole (1897–1975), better known as ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, who developed the Nation of Islam into a major voice of black separatism and Islam, although in a heterodox form. The Nation of Islam had been founded in Detroit by W. D. FARD in 1930. After his mysterious disappearance in 1934, Elijah Muhammad elevated Fard to quasi-divine status and represented himself as Fard's messenger and prophet on Earth.

Elijah Muhammad worked mightily to build up the Nation of Islam throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Hindered by NOI members' refusal to fight in WORLD WAR II and the group's radical critique of American culture, the movement grew slowly until the late 1950s. Increasing resistance to segregation and racism made the black separatist message more appealing to many, and when delivered by MALCOLM X (1925–63), it found a messenger with a broad appeal. The conversion of heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali to the Nation of Islam also increased its visibility.

After Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, he was succeeded by his son WARITH DEEN MUHAMMAD. Trained in Islamic schools both in the United States and abroad, Warith Muhammad labored to bring the NOI into line with orthodox Sunni Islam. He opened its doors to whites and immigrants and removed the emphasis on racial separatism that had been a distinctive mark of the NOI. He also eliminated heterodox doctrines including the cult that had grown up around his father and his status as "Prophet." In addition, the NOI changed its name several times, becoming in 1980 the American Muslim Mission and in 1994 the Muslim American Society.

The rejection of black separatism and white demonism as well as the alignment with Islamic orthodoxy alienated many members, including LOUIS FARRAKHAN, who led a group of followers out of Warith Muhammad's movement and reconstituted the old Nation of Islam. By the late 1990s, Farrakhan seemingly had begun to move closer to orthodox Islam. In 2000, he publicly acknowledged his commitment to Islam, but he often has reverted to his old views. The strength of his commitment to orthodox Sunni Islam remains doubtful.

While orthodox Islam gained converts slowly among Americans, several Islamic-influenced religious movements also have made their mark. Some of these, such as those mentioned, had a major following among African Americans, and others have had a broader appeal. Many have been organized around an individual, a guru, espousing some version of Sufism, a mystical tradition within Islam. In the United States, these gurus have tended to blend Sufism freely with the teachings and practices of other religious traditions. Among the Sufi gurus who developed followings within the United States are George Ivanovitch Gurdjieff, Muhammad Subuh, and Meher Baba.

The most syncretic and well-known Islamic-based religious movement in America is the BAHÁ'Í FAITH. Cofounded in 19th-century Persia by a man known as the "Bab" ("Gate") and his most prominent disciple, Bahá'u'lláh, the Bahá'í tradition embraces an eclectic line of prophets that stretch from Krishna to Bahá'u'lláh himself and includes Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. Although considered an apostasy by Muslims, the Bahá'í faith has appealed to some in the United States because of its apparent inclusiveness and emphasis on peace.

The immigrant Muslim community in the United States is generally quite prosperous financially but has experienced some insecurity given geopolitical realities. Attacks on the United States and its interests by Muslims abroad have created a negative picture of Islam among large segments of the U.S. population. Additionally, the conflict between the Arab countries and Israel has left most American Muslims in a minority on that issue.

Moreover, there have been problems caused by social adjustment and adaptation by American Muslims to the United States and by American culture to Islam. Issues involving the time and place to pray, the wearing of the head scarf, or *hejab,* in public by Muslim women, and the adjustment to Islamic holidays all have precipitated shifts in American Islam. Additionally, the freedom and openness of American society often created conflicts between immigrant parents and their American-born children, as had been the case with most other immigrant groups.

Muslims became increasingly integrated into American society throughout the 1990s. While exact figures are widely disputed, the number of Muslims in the United States is clearly increasing rapidly. By the start of the 21st century, there were probably between 2 and 4 million U.S. Muslims, many of them American born. Muslim chaplains served in the U.S. military, and in January 2000, President Bill Clinton hosted the first celebration of Eid al Fitr (the closing of Ramadan) in the White House. Both President Clinton and President George W. Bush referred regularly to America's churches, synagogues, and mosques as key religious sites, prompting some to observe a shift of the American religious mainstream from the Judeo-Christian tradition of the 20th century to an "Abrahamic" or "Judeo-Christian-Islamic" tradition in the 21st. At the very least, Islam was coming to be viewed less as an alien religion and more as a distinctive thread in the fabric of American religion.

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, by Islamicist terrorists threatened this process of Muslim integration. It presented a serious challenge about Islam's compatibility with pluralist, liberal democracy. In the months following the attack, George W. Bush made numerous public statements declaring that the problem was not Islam or American Muslims, and American Muslim leaders figured prominently in the memorial service commemorating those killed in the attacks. On the other hand, many responses to the events of September 11, as the United States government began an aggressive crack-down on terrorism, fell heavily on Muslims living in the United States. A clamp-down on immigration violations landed many Muslim immigrants in jail as they awaited deportation. Heightened security at airports and elsewhere often seemed to focus on individuals who looked as though they were of Arabic or South Asian descent. These events, combined with the wars in Afghanistan and particularly in Iraq, caused many American Muslims to question the extent to which they were viewed as part of American society.

Additionally, the freezing of assets of several Muslim charities who were purported to be funneling monies to terrorist organizations also had a chilling effect on Muslim life. Many American Muslims began to fear that donations to the "wrong" organization would land them in trouble for providing material support to terrorists.

The increasing visibility of versions of Islam that spoke of destroying the decadent West and the realization that some of these views had found their way into American mosques led to a process of soul-searching and introspection among American Muslims. They had to struggle with their responses to these forces and how to cooperate with law enforcement officials if there were suspicious activity in mosques and Islamic centers.

Despite these problems, the United States avoided many of the significant social conflicts over Islam that affected European countries. There was no major public conflict over issues related to Muslim women wearing a head covering and no serious threats by American-born Muslims, unlike in England and France.

As the first decade of the 21st century came to an end, Muslims in the United States found themselves in a quandary. Socially conservative, yet concerned about IMMIGRATION issues and civil rights, they found themselves ill at ease in both political parties. While they overwhelmingly supported George W. Bush for president in 2000, they turned against him in 2008 due to his foreign policy and concerns over the treatment of immigrants. As Muslims increased in numbers in the United States, they continued to struggle with their identity and level of integration. This trajectory, which had been moving relatively smoothly, was altered dramatically by September 11 and the responses to it. The extent to which these events will have long-term effects on the community's process of Americanization remains to be seen.

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Islamic Society of North America Organized in 1981 by a merger of the Muslim Students Association in the United States and Canada and its various constituent organizations, including the Islamic Medical Association and the American Muslim Scientists and Engineers, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) is the largest Muslim organization in North America (see ISLAM). Located in Plainfield, Indiana, ISNA is an umbrella organization comprised of individual members and affiliate organizations including the Muslim Students Association and the Muslim Youth of North America.

The main emphases of ISNA are the creation and maintenance of a strong American-based Islam comfortable with the realities of American culture and secure in its Islamic identity and practice. In order to accomplish these goals, ISNA began in the 1990s a concerted effort to help strengthen local Islamic institutions, especially *masjids* ("mosques") and Islamic schools. Additionally, the society has overseen conversions, issued Islamic marriage certificates, and validated the Muslim status of Americans seeking to participate in the hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca. ISNA also provides services for American Muslims to help them meet their religious obligations regarding banking (Islam prohibits charging interest) and the payment of the *zakat*, or annual charity tax.

Following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the Islamic Society of North America found itself in the center of the discussions about the role of Islam in the United States, particularly in the condemnation of terrorism allegedly based on Islam. ISNA was among the first Muslim organizations to condemn the attacks and since that time has been vocal in its condemnation of terrorism. The Fiqh Council of North America (which is affiliated with ISNA) issued a fatwa (a religious law ruling) reaffirming "Islam's absolute condemnation of terrorism and religious extremism." It also produced both a handbook for mosques and Islamic centers to provide guidance in responding to extremist voices within their communities, including cooperating with local law enforcement officials.

On the other hand, the size of ISNA with its sheer numbers of members and its ongo-

The Islamic Society of Orange County, Los Angeles. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)*

ing relationships with Muslims from across the world, including its connections to Saudi Arabia, led many to suspect it of harboring extremists, despite its ongoing commitment to working with the U. S. government. In 2006, a nearly three-year investigation of ISNA and several other Muslim organizations and charities found no terrorist connections. Also in 2006, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for public diplomacy addressed ISNA's annual convention. In that year, ISNA also elected its first woman president, a Canadian-born convert to Islam.

In 2006, ISNA had about 15,000 individual members and more than 130 affiliated organizations representing more than 1 million Muslims in the United States and Canada. Its annual convention, traditionally held over Labor Day weekend, is the largest gathering of Muslims in the United States, with more than 30,000 attendees.

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Islamism *Islamism* is a term used to describe a form of Sunni ISLAM embraced by a variety of self-proclaimed Islamic revival or restorationist movements that believe all social and political problems can be solved by creating a society adhering to their distinctive interpretation of Islam. While there are significant differences among these groups, several doctrines tend to be held in common and separate their adherents from even the most traditional Muslims.

Like all orthodox Muslims, Islamists believe in the divine revelation of the Qur'an and in the behavior of the prophet Muhammad as the basis for structuring one's life. Islamists go further and maintain that the social organization operative when the prophet Muhammad and his early followers lived should be normative for contemporary society. Islamists tend to claim that the failure to create such a society accounts for the problems in Muslim societies today. As a result, they emphasize the need to adopt Islamic law, shari`a, as a major first step in the development of an authentic Islamic society.

At this point, the various Islamist movements begin to divide between those who believe that this Islamist message can and should be spread only by preaching and service, through *da'wa*, the position of many Muslim Brotherhood movements. Others believe the only way to achieve this ideal is through violence and war.

Radical Islamist movements are marked by three major positions that separate them readily from other forms of Islamism. The first is the emphasis on jihad as a violent armed struggle. Historically within Islam, jihad has carried two related but distinct meanings. The first was that of armed struggle, "holy war," to use the common translation, against the enemies of Islam. A tradition of the Prophet, however, has called this jihad the lesser jihad, identifying the greater jihad as the internal struggle of the believer against immorality and toward a stronger and deeper religiosity.

Radical Islamists who reject this position argue that jihad as armed struggle is the primary jihad. For them, the failure to undertake or to support jihad is to align oneself with the enemies of God (see TERRORISM, RELIGION AND). In fact, anyone who manifests a form of Islam that varies from their interpretation becomes guilty of unbelief, *kufr*, an apostate against whom it is appropriate to wage war.

Being *takfiri*, those who proclaim others guilty of *kufr*, is another mark of radical Islamists. This signals an additional separation from Muslim tradition that traditionally viewed *fitna* (dissension, division) as one of the most egregious sins. Historically, there has been reluctance among even the most qualified Muslim scholars to declare an individual an apostate absent manifestly un-Islamic behavior or an express declaration rejecting Islam or its basic tenets. This was particularly true for rulers. As long as a ruler prayed and did not restrict the practice of Islam, there would be no proclamation against him. This reflected the Muslim community's opposition to dissension, conflict, and rebellion. *Takfiris*, on the other hand, drawing from the writings of the medieval Muslim writer Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymiyyah, declare that any nominally Muslim ruler who fails to institute and implement Islamic law and create an Islamic state is *kufr*, and jihad should be waged against that ruler. Radical Islamist groups in Egypt, Algeria, and elsewhere often directed their attacks against the governments of those countries, including the 1981 assassination of Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat.

The tendency of radical Islamist groups to divide the world also is reflected in the third element separating them from other Islamists and Muslims in general. While historically Islam has viewed the world as divided between the *dar al-Islam* (the abode of Islam [peace]) and the *dar al harb* (the abode of war), radical Islamists go even further and declare that the entire world (except where they are in control) is in a state of *jahiliyya* (pre-Islamic ignorance and darkness). This is as true for so-called Muslim countries as for non-Muslim ones. As one leading thinker, Sayyid Qutb, wrote, "the Muslim community has been extinct for a few centuries." True Muslims, therefore, are under an obligation to fight against this un-Islamic world, just as the Prophet himself fought against it during his lifetime.

The al-Qaeda terrorist organization is grounded in this form of radical Islamism, as are several of the radical groups operating in Iraq. These views explain their intense hatred of Shi`a Muslims, whom they see as heretics and apostates who must be destroyed.

Not all Islamists promote violence as the method for achieving an Islamic society. However, even these Islamists often use a language of separation and condemnation of everything that is "un-Islamic" in a way that could lead to support of radical and violent movements. This has presented a major challenge to Islam and to Muslims in the United States. Due to the oil wealth of Saudi Arabia, much financial support has been provided to the form of Islam practiced by the Saudi royal family. This form of Islam is often referred to as Wahhabism (from the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab, 1703–92), although they refer to themselves as *muwahhidun* (unitarians, those who attend to the single God alone) or occasionally *salafists* (those who follow the *salaf as-salih,* the righteous predecessors), although this term can refer to a wider group of Islamists.

Wahhabism focuses on a strict and literal interpretation of the Qur'an, opposes any innovation in religion, and rejects any beliefs or practices that suggest anything or anyone other than God deserves veneration. They therefore oppose any acts that honor Muslim holy men and women, tomb visitation (including to the tomb of the Prophet himself), and intercessory prayers. This has tended to put Wahhabists and many other Islamists in conflict with traditional forms of Islam, including SUFISM, and with practices in North Africa and places such as Bosnia. Wahhabists oppose the teachings of other Islamists, such as Qutb, whom they condemn for teaching innovation.

While Wahhabist doctrine does not, by itself, proclaim the obligation of violence, its radical separation between true religion and others presents challenges for American Muslims. Given the extensive funding of Muslim scholars and of religious institutions—mosques, schools, youth organizations—in the United States by the Saudi government and individual Saudis, including the royal family, Wahhabism has a marked influence in American Islam. Many Saudi books and pronouncements by Saudi religious scholars virulently oppose Muslim interaction with non-Muslims. The highlighting of the presence of these books in U.S. mosques and in American Muslim schools by the media and others has increased the suspicion of Muslims in the United States in light of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Such texts, including a Saudi-published book for 10th graders used in some American Islamic schools, contain statements such as "Residing among the unbelievers continuously is also forbidden because it is dangerous for the belief of the Muslim. That is why Allah made it obligatory to emigrate from the land of disbelief to the land of Islam." Still others claim, "To be dissociated from the infidels is to hate them for their religion, to leave them, never to rely on them for support, not to admire them, to be on one's guard against them, never to imitate them, and to always oppose them in every way according to Islamic law." Even basic neighborliness is challenged, as one book declares, "It is forbidden for a Muslim to be first in greeting an unbeliever, even if he [the unbeliever] has a prestigious position." Such teachings raise serious questions about the willingness and ability of Wahhabi-influenced Muslims to integrate into American culture and political society. The examples could be multiplied.

While these documents have not convinced the majority of American Muslims (consider the consistently ignored document issued by the Saudi embassy to the United States stating that Muslims should not wear graduation gowns and caps), they have raised serious concerns among some people and present difficulties for those who desire to be good and committed Muslims and good citizens and residents of the United States. In fact, many Muslims have begun to resist the dominance of Wahhabist influence in mosques and other Muslim institutions. Some people fear these teachings provide the entrée into radical Islam and even constitute a call for violence. Some commentators have criticized the U.S. government's failure to challenge the Saudi government's support for such publications and even questioned whether Saudi Arabia could be considered an ally of the United States.

While Islamists have had only a minimal influence on most American Muslims, the growth of Islamism in many parts of the world and its adherents' willingness to undertake violent acts against the United States and its citizens has had a major effect on the lives of many Muslims in America. Many organizations have been placed in the position of articulating their understandings of Islam and of distancing themselves from perpetrators of terrorist violence (see ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA; COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-ISLAMIC RELATIONS). On a daily basis, many find themselves under suspicion and occasionally subject to annoying and humiliating searches, insults, and scrutiny.

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J

Jackson, Jesse (1941–) Following the assassination in 1968 of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., no one exactly inherited his mantle as the voice of blacks and the conscience of whites. But the Reverend Jesse Jackson came close.

Born Jesse Louis Burns in 1941 in segregated Greenville, South Carolina, he took his stepfather's name while a teenager. A high school football star, Jesse Jackson enrolled at the University of Illinois but later transferred to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College. In 1963, he joined the Civil Rights movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, and was promptly arrested for nonviolent civil disobedience. The following year, he graduated from North Carolina A & T and enrolled in Chicago Theological Seminary. In 1965, he met King and joined the Civil Rights movement full time. King tapped him to run the Chicago operations of Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights organization, and in 1966, he launched a boycott in Chicago. The following year, he became Operation Breadbasket's national director and was widely recognized as one of the movement's rising stars.

Jackson was present when King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968. Later that year, he was ordained a Baptist minister. Resigning from SCLC in 1971, he started his own organization, Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), a group dedicated to expanding economic and educational opportunities and promoting self-esteem among African Americans. In 1984, he left PUSH and established the National Rainbow Coalition, which focused more than his prior organization had on politics and social policy. This new group got its name from Jackson's desire to expand beyond his black base and incorporate into one grand progressive organization other minorities, the poor, and peace and environmental activists. In 1996, these two organizations merged into the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition.

Jackson burst onto the national stage in 1983, when he declared his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, a post he would seek again in 1988. In 1990, he was elected a nonvoting member of the Senate, where he represented the District of Columbia and pushed for D.C. statehood. At least since 1979, when he stirred a controversy by meeting Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat in Lebanon, Jackson also has had an international role as a freelance diplomat. In 1984, he went to Syria and won the freedom of a U.S. Navy pilot shot down over Lebanon. In 1990, he secured the release of hostages held by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. In 1999, he met with Serbia's Slobodan Milošević to gain freedom for three U.S. soldiers captured during NATO air raids over Yugoslavia.

Jackson's real role in public life, however, is neither winning votes nor freeing captives, but stirring the conscience of the American people. An orator of unusual power and creativity, Jackson has carried the idioms of the African-American sermon into the public square. He has also carried the SOCIAL GOSPEL into the 21st century, arguing for a place at America's table not only for blacks but also for the poor and the oppressed. He remains a living example of the black church's commitment to liberating people from social as well as individual sin.

Jackson is not without detractors. He lost support among American Jews when he referred to New York City as "Hymietown." Some African Americans claim he has put his own ambition ahead of the advancement of the black community, and some more radical blacks prefer to call LOUIS FARRAKHAN of the NATION OF ISLAM their leader. Some in the media deride him as an opportunist, and by and large Democratic Party officials have never figured out precisely what to make of him. But Jackson's roots in the Civil Rights movement and his undeniable powers as a preacher have kept him in the public eye for decades.

In the late 1990s, Jackson served as an unofficial spiritual adviser to President Bill Clinton following Clinton's affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Not long after, in 2001, Jackson admitted to sexual improprieties himself. His admission that he had fathered a daughter out of wedlock was particularly poignant given the fact that Jackson was himself an illegitimate child. Jackson initially pledged to take time off from his public work to attend to his personal problems, but he was quickly back on the stump, advancing the work of his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. Jackson and his wife, Jackie Brown, have five children. Their oldest son, Jesse Jackson, Jr., was elected to the U.S. Congress in Illinois's Second Congressional District in 1995, and was still serving in 2007.

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Jainism Jainism is a religious tradition typically traced to sixth-century B.C. India and founder Vardhamana Mahavira. There are two main Jain schools, which originally separated over whether the ascetic life required nudity. These are the Digambara (literally, "clad only in the four directions," in other words, nude) and the Svetambara ("white clad"). Jain monks and nuns take "Five Vows" (to abstain from violence, lying, stealing, attachment to material things, and sex) and practice "Three Jewels" (right belief, right knowledge, and right conduct). Because they believe that both humans and animals have *Jiva,* or soul, Jains practice ahimsa, or nonviolence, a teaching popularized in India by the Indian reformer Mohandas Gandhi and in the United States by the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Jainism remains a relatively small religious tradition in the United States because Jain monks traditionally are prohibited from traveling abroad. In fact, they typically travel only on foot. So Jain beliefs and practices were initially brought to the United States by laypeople. Virchand Raghavji Gandhi may have been the first Jain to visit the United States. An attorney, he traveled to Chicago in 1893 to represent Jainism at the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS. Jains did not arrive in significant numbers, however, until after 1965, when new legislation opened up immigration from Asia. In 1966, Jain immigrants organized the country's first Jain center in New York City.

Jain monks began coming to the United States in the 1970s. The first was Muni Sri

Chitrabhanu, who delivered lectures on Jainism at Harvard University in 1971. Four years later, he established the Jain Meditation International Center in New York City. The second pioneering Jain monk was Acharya Sushil Kumarji, who came in 1975. He established the International Mahavir Jain Mission in 1978 and opened Siddhachalam, an ashram in Blairstown, New Jersey, in 1983. Both of these pioneering monks reached out to European-American sympathizers and converts as well as to Asian Indian immigrants and their children.

Today there are roughly two dozen Jain temples in the United States, most of them in major metropolitan areas. Roughly half are incorporated into larger Hindu temple complexes; the others are freestanding Jain temples. In Norwood, Massachusetts, Jains worship in the Jain Center of Greater Boston, a temple that was once a Swedish Lutheran church.

American Jains are knit together in the Federation of Jain Associations in North America (JAINA), an umbrella organization founded in the early 1980s. JAINA publishes a quarterly called the *Jain Digest.* Estimates of the number of Jains in the United States in 2008 varied from 7,000 to 100,000, with 40,000 to 50,000 and representing the best range. In 2006, there were 26 Jain temples in the United States and 92 congregations.

SRP

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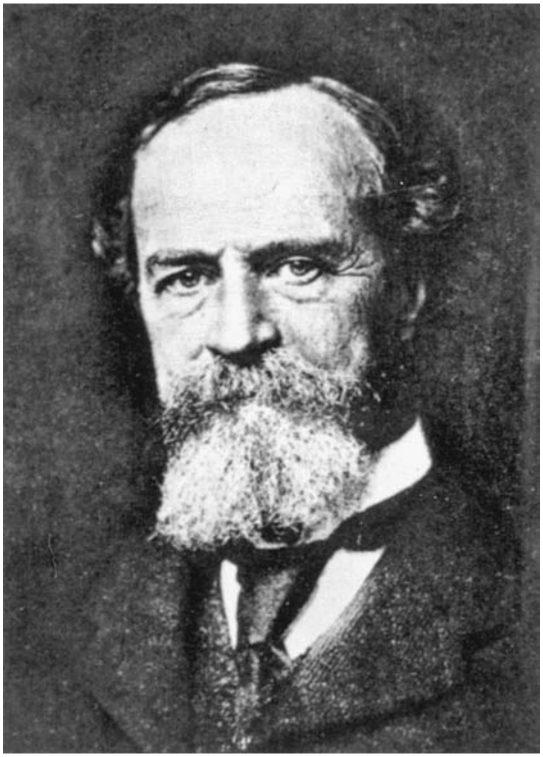
James, William (1842–1910) The author of *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), perhaps the most influential American book on religion ever written, James belonged to that generation of intellectuals who grappled with the enormous changes to American culture brought about by the rise of modern science and industry after the CIVIL WAR.

James was born in New York City to Henry, Sr., and Mary Walsh James on January 11, 1842. His family inherited wealth from his grandfather, staunch Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM) William James of Albany. James's father, Henry, Sr., lived a life of leisure. Though he graduated from both Union and Princeton Seminaries, Henry, Sr., was a freethinker, influenced by Europeans such as Emmanuel Swedenborg. Throughout James's youth, he shuttled the family back and forth across the Atlantic in order to provide the children with a cosmopolitan education. James's own formal education culminated with an M.D. from Harvard in 1869.

After a serious bout with ill health, James was appointed instructor of physiology at Harvard in 1872. Trained in the sciences, he accompanied Harvard's Louis Agassiz on a research trip to Brazil in 1865. Over the next few years, James's interests shifted from physiology and anatomy to psychology and finally to philosophy. He became assistant professor of philosophy in 1880 and full professor in 1885, a post he held until retirement in 1907.

James's work ran along several lines. His first major contribution, *Principles of Psychology* (1890), became the basic text in that field for many years. He was particularly interested in telepathy, clairvoyance, and other forms of parapsychology. His scientific training led him to approach traditional philosophical questions about the nature of knowledge (epistemology) and the nature of reality (metaphysics) in a unique manner. James argued that the world was a "blooming, buzzing confusion" and that human consciousness, or experience, was always at best only partially able to order this confusion. Thus, for James there was always something "more" to reality than could appear in our efforts to make sense of it. In fact, James thought, such attempts inevitably yield concepts that gain their clarity at the risk of distorting what they seek to clarify. Thus, James spoke of the "pragmatic" view of truth, in which concepts were



William James, Harvard philosopher and psychologist. His *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) is probably the most influential book on religion ever written by an American.

judged by their effectiveness at diminishing this risk.

These ideas were especially important for his study of religion. James, unlike many of his contemporaries, thought that the "more" to reality was what the great mystics as well as religious enthusiasts of all stripes claimed to experience. In *Varieties,* based on the prestigious Gifford Lectures that he delivered at Scotland's University of Edinburgh in 1901 and 1902, he drew upon an enormous collection of personal accounts of mystical experience and religious conversion from classical authors such as Saint Augustine up to the revivalists of his own day. Attempting to analyze these experiences without reducing them to various physiological or psychological causes (the route taken by other scientifically minded contemporaries such as Sigmund Freud), he argued that they contained two basic perceptions of life. The first, which he called "the religion of healthy-mindedness," saw the world in positive terms. The second, the religion of "the sick soul," was more inclined to see the world as marred by death, sin, evil, and suffering. James contended that these two forms of experience were perpetual parts of human history. Since the experiential cores that gave rise to historic religions were constant for James, he doubted that religion would pass away in modern times, as many of his scientific contemporaries predicted. In his own life, James was attracted to movements such as mind-cure and NEW THOUGHT, which promised a therapeutic cure to harried Victorian Americans. He died on August 26, 1910.

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Jarratt, Devereux (1733–1801) Devereux Jarratt was an Anglican clergyman and leader of the religious revivals in Virginia during the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century. Jarratt joined forces with Methodist preachers during the awakening in the hopes of ending spiritual indifference and strengthening church life in pre-Revolutionary America. Although he remained sympathetic to Methodism for many years, he withdrew his active support after METHODISTS organized a new denomination separate from Anglicanism in late 1784.

Jarratt was born in New Kent County, Virginia, on January 17, 1733. Raised a lukewarm Anglican, he experienced a religious conversion and call to the ordained ministry as a young man under the influence of Presbyterian evangelists. Jarratt chose to remain a member of the Church of England, however, because he believed the established church offered him the widest opportunities for Christian service. He sailed to London and was ordained in 1762. Upon his return to Virginia, he served as rector of Bath Parish in Dinwiddie County for the next 38 years.

Desiring to counteract what he considered the generally irreligious state of colonial ANGLICANISM, Jarratt traveled as an itinerant throughout Virginia and North Carolina during the southern phase of the Great Awakening from 1764 to 1772. While his preaching was unquestionably evangelical and stressed the need for spiritual rebirth, he remained faithful to his Anglican heritage. Thus, he strenuously resisted the efforts of Presbyterians and BAPTISTS who sought to coax Anglicans to withdraw from their church. Since the Methodists in Virginia still represented a loyal contingent within Anglicanism, Jarratt worked closely with them in raising revivals. He became a close friend of FRANCIS ASBURY, who later would be chosen as one of the first superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Jarratt's career in many ways embodied the institutional tensions that divided American Anglicanism after the War for Independence. By the end of his life, Jarratt found himself isolated from both Anglicanism and Methodism, the two ecclesiastical traditions that once nurtured him. On one hand, he was often regarded by his staid fellow Anglicans as a dangerous visionary and religious fanatic. His emphasis on the need for a personal, heartfelt religion seemed out of place amid the worldliness of Virginia Anglicanism in the period of the Revolution. On the other hand, despite his early cooperation with the Methodists, Jarratt attacked their official separation from historic Anglican traditions. He had hoped the Methodists would remain within the Anglican fold as agents of its continuing spiritual renewal, and he was bitterly disappointed when they abandoned his church.

Jarratt continued to serve as rector of Bath Parish after the organization of the new Episcopal Church in 1785. Although he still cooperated with Methodists on occasion, his autobiography reveals the resentment he harbored in his later years. Continuing true to his evangelical convictions until the end, Jarratt died in Dinwiddie County on January 29, 1801.

GHS, Jr.

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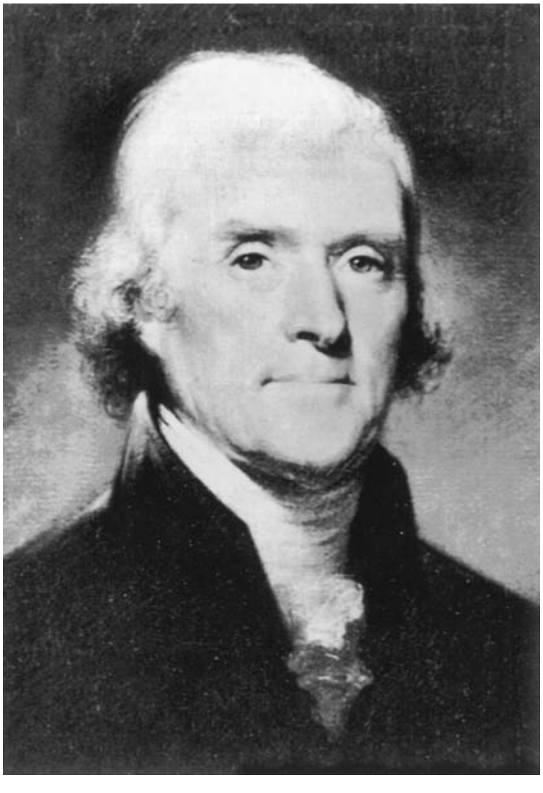
Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826) Before his death on the Fourth of July, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the colonies' independence from Britain, Jefferson penned the epitaph for his tombstone: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia." By means of such achievements, Jefferson, third president of the United States, contributed not only to the political development of the country but also to securing its intellectual and religious freedom. While Jefferson's epitaph is an accurate estimate of his influence on later generations, it is perhaps ironic that his role as an architect of American religious liberty is often linked to his phrase "the wall of separation" between church and state. Though the phrase sums up Jefferson's own view, it is taken from personal correspondence, and not from any public document.

Born to Peter and Jane Randolph Jefferson on April 13, 1743, Jefferson grew up among both the gentry and the wilderness of VIRGINIA. Tutored privately from the age of five in Greek, Latin, and other languages, Jefferson began formal schooling at the age of 14, after the death of his father. He was enrolled for two years in private school, where he developed a deep love of scholarship. In 1706, he entered the Anglican (see ANGLICANISM) College of William and Mary, where he was exposed to the worldview of the ENLIGHTENMENT. After two years of general study, he went on to read law for five more, until age 21, when he inherited a portion of his father's estate. Having grown familiar with Williamsburg's political elite during his studies, Jefferson was well connected for both a career as a lawyer and for public life. After being elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1769, Jefferson went on to serve as a delegate at the Second Continental Congress in 1775 (at which he wrote the Declaration of Independence), as governor of Virginia, 1779–81, as secretary of state during George Washington's presidency, and as vice president under John Adams. His own election to the presidency in 1800 came after crucial philosophical divisions had emerged between the Federalists, who supported a strong presidency, and those associated with Jefferson, who remained committed to limited federal power and greater individual freedom.



Thomas Jefferson, U.S. president and major architect of the Bill of Rights' separation of church and state. *(Painting by Rembrandt Peale, Princeton University)*

Appointed by the Continental Congress to draft a rationale for separation from Britain, the 33-year-old Jefferson articulated his commitment to freedom and equality in the Declaration of Independence (1776), a document that has achieved a kind of scriptural status in American life (see CIVIL RELIGION). While other members of the congress amended his writing, in particular deleting the portion condemning the institution of SLAVERY, Jefferson gave voice to widely shared views that human rights, such as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were not the products of historical custom, but the gifts of a divine creator, a law of human nature. Further, he argued that legitimate government authority, one that respects the rights of its citizens, stems from the people themselves. Because human beings are given rights and reason within the order of nature itself, they have a duty to resist the efforts of tyrants who might seek to remove them; such actions by tyrants are themselves contrary to nature. Consequently, the Declaration of Independence makes a powerful argument for the right of revolution.

If in political life authority was constrained by "the consent of the governed," then the same held true for religion as well. In Jefferson's own Virginia, the Anglican Church had been the established religion since the colony's origin. While Virginia had seen the growth of other churches since the early days and the passage of a Declaration of Rights in 1776 affirming religious liberty, Anglican powers resisted the movement for disestablishment, with its curtailment of tax monies. Jefferson's own Statute on Religious Liberty, which he wrote in 1779, was not passed by the legislature until 1786, after lengthy efforts by his friend James Madison. The statute, which guaranteed free expression of religion and prohibited the use of taxes to support religious institutions, became the model for the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.

Jefferson's own deistic religious views rested firmly upon the faith in reason he learned from his Enlightenment mentors at the College of William and Mary. A firm rationalist, a believer in the adequacy of human reason to discover the truth, Jefferson remained nominally Anglican but had little sympathy for Christianity's supernatural claims. He became quite anticlerical later in life. After his retirement, he wrote, though did not distribute, a rationalist's version of the New Testament, popularly known as the Jefferson Bible, in which miracles of all sorts were removed from the biblical text, leaving behind a set of moral teachings that Jefferson thought all could assent to as an expression of the rational core of religion. While most of his fellow citizens were unwilling to abandon the Christianity being spread through widespread revivals, Jefferson's articulation of the need for religious freedom has been supported by generations of Americans.

Jefferson's stature in American life has always been contested. In the 1990s, his views on race and his slaveholding practices received widespread scrutiny. DNA evidence indicated that he likely fathered children through his slave Sally Hemings. That revelation led many to reevaluate just how revolutionary Jefferson was in his understanding of key concepts such as equality and liberty.

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Jehovah's Witnesses Jehovah's Witnesses is a religious organization that grew out of the work of lay evangelist Charles Taze Russell and his teachings about the imminent return of Jesus Christ. Members believe they are the elect of God and prophets of the coming millennium (see premillennialism), the thousand-year reign of Christ on Earth. They often are seen as they walk from door to door, preaching their message of salvation. Over the years, the Witnesses have been called by a variety of names, including the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, Millennial Dawnists, and Russellites. In 1931, however, they assumed their present title, which is derived from a passage in the Old Testament book of Isaiah ("'You are my witnesses,' says the Lord, 'and my servant whom I have chosen'") and from their distinctive use of the biblical term "Jehovah" as the proper name of God.

"Pastor" Russell, the founder of the Jehovah's Witnesses, was raised a Presbyterian, but he became increasingly troubled about orthodox Protestant doctrines on eternal damnation and the reliability of the Bible. This crisis of faith led him into a program of private Bible study, and by 1872, he had gathered other like-minded people into an association of Christians examining biblical teachings about the approaching kingdom of God. Russell soon formulated his own elaborate scheme about the time of Jesus' return, the second chance the dead would be given to accept Christ, and the final, absolute (though painless) annihilation of the wicked. He asserted that in 1874 the "Millennial Dawn" had begun with the coming of Christ in the "upper air," and that 1914 was the year when the world would end and God's kingdom would be fully established on Earth. Russell formed his adherents into the Zion's Watch Tower Society in 1884 in order to disseminate these views.

The cosmic cataclysm Russell predicted, of course, did not occur in 1914, but his death in 1916 prevented him from fully revising his prophecies. It was left to Joseph Franklin ("Judge") Rutherford, his successor as leader of the Watchtower Society, to vindicate Russell's position. Rutherford gave new life to the movement and helped popularize its slogan, "millions now living will never die." He was responsible for organizing the Witnesses into "Kingdom Halls," local groups similar to traditional churches, and he gave structure to the program of neighborhood evangelism. He was also far more cautious than Russell about fixing a precise date for affairs in heaven. Rutherford taught that Christ had only returned "in spirit" in 1914 and emphasized that his visible return was still a few years away.

When Rutherford died in 1942, Nathan H. Knorr and a group of directors assumed control of the Jehovah's Witnesses. During and immediately after this period, the movement experienced its most dramatic growth, nearly quadrupling in size in the 1940s until its worldwide membership stood at 456,000 in 1952. The Witnesses, however, have never adopted a formal organization. They purposely avoid any possible resemblance to conventional church bodies and clergy, which they believe are agents of Satan. Instead, the Witnesses regard each individual member as an adequate messenger of God's truth. The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, headquartered in Brooklyn, New York, is—as its name implies—merely a publishing operation. It prepares materials for evangelistic activities, prints Russell's voluminous works of biblical interpretation, and publishes *The Watchtower*, the Witnesses' well-known and widely circulated magazine.

The Jehovah's Witnesses have had an important impact on American culture, not because of any intended desire to be involved in social or political issues, but because of their militant refusal to interest themselves in worldly concerns. The message elaborated by Russell and Rutherford has tended to appeal to a group of Americans often called the "culturally deprived," that is, men and women of the middle- and lower-middle classes who feel they have little stake in society. The Witnesses have consistently condemned political, commercial, and religious establishments, in which they play no role. The governments of the world, both civil and ecclesiastical, they say, are dominated by Satan and oppress the righteous. It is the duty of the followers of Jehovah, therefore, to remain aloof from them.

These antiestablishment views have had tremendous social consequences, for they have frequently brought the Witnesses into conflict with the law. Members have refused to salute the American flag, to serve in the military, to register for the draft, to allow their children to have blood transfusions (believed to represent the "imbibing" of blood), and even to obey local ordinances about trespassing and peddling without a permit. Accusations of disloyalty to their government have continually hounded the group. During WORLD WAR II, at least 2,000 Witnesses were jailed in the United States for failing either to enter the military or to accept alternative service as conscientious objectors. Yet despite the hostility repeatedly directed against them, both as individuals and as a group, opposition has usually strengthened the Witnesses' conviction that they, rather than the alien world surrounding them, are the elect of God.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the Jehovah's Witnesses were one of the fastest-growing American religious bodies. In 2008 the organization reported approximately 1 million members in more than 12,000 "Kingdom Halls" throughout the United States.

GHS, Jr.

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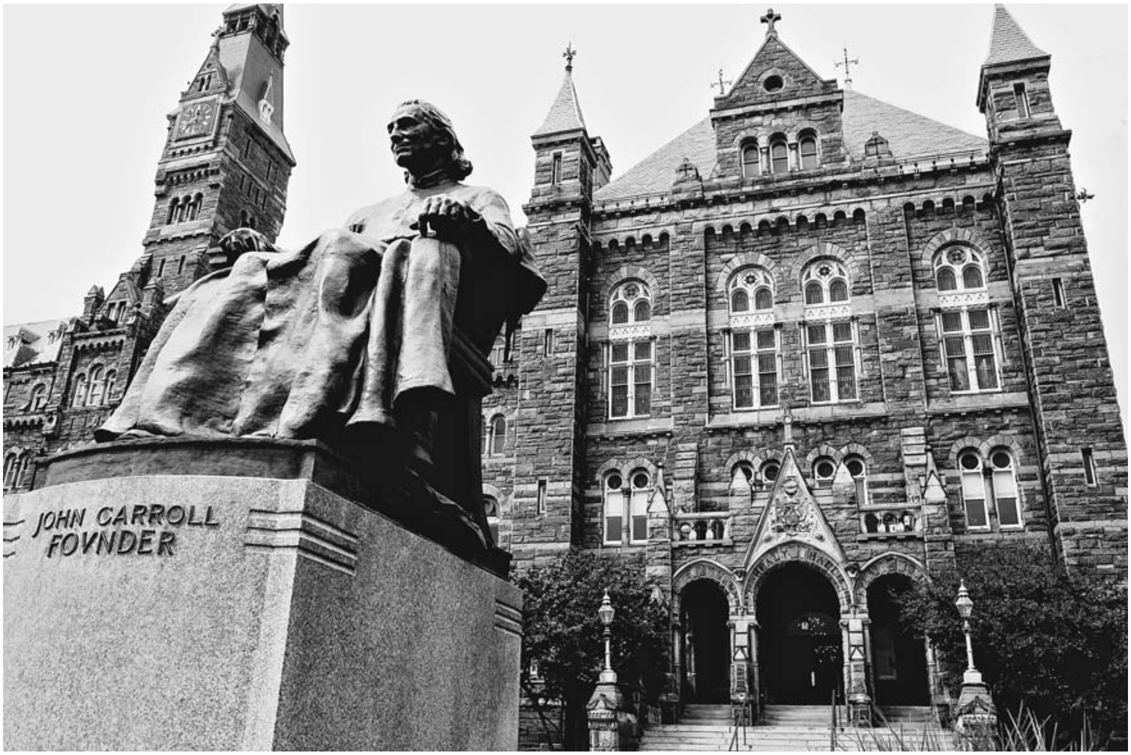
Jesuits The Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, began on August 15, 1534, when Ignatius of Loyola, a Spanish nobleman and soldier, and six companions pledged themselves to poverty, chastity, and missionary work in the Holy Land or anywhere else the pope might send them. Officially established as a religious order inside ROMAN CATHOLICISM six years later on September 27, 1540, the Jesuits dedicated themselves to strengthening the church and evangelizing among the "heathen."

Driven by religious fervor, intellectual strength, and self-discipline instilled by the



Statue of John Carroll, founder of the oldest Catholic and Jesuit university in the United States, Georgetown University. *(Getty)*

Spiritual Exercises established by Ignatius, the Jesuits soon became powerful and successful. With their centralized authority and their emphasis on education, the Jesuits fiercely fought the spread of the REFORMATION, leading one historian to dub them the "shock troops of the Counter-Reformation."

As missionaries and educators, the Jesuits made their mark on the Western Hemisphere. Between 1566, the founding of the first Jesuit mission in the present-day United States, and the order's suppression in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV, more than 3,500 Jesuit missionaries served in North America. They were the dominant Catholic religious force in NEW FRANCE and even NEW SPAIN, where they controlled higher education. In British North America, they constituted nearly the whole of organized Catholicism. Only one priest in those colonies was not a Jesuit at the time of the suppression (see COLONIAL PERIOD: MARYLAND, [COLONY]).

Restored by Pius VII in 1814, the Jesuits experienced tremendous growth in the United States. From a mere two dozen members in 1815, they peaked at more than 8,000 in the mid-1960s, nearly one-quarter of the order's worldwide membership. Although declining to slightly fewer than 4,500 members by 1992, the Jesuits still had more priests in the United States than in any other country. By 2008, the numbers had decreased further to 3,000 priests. The order has played a significant role in American history; notable American Jesuits include the early missionaries JACQUES MARQUETTE and EUSEBIO KINO, the theologian JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, the former U.S. representative Father Robert Drinan, and antiwar activist DANIEL BERRIGAN.

Education remains central to the Jesuit mission. In the United States, they run 28 colleges and universities, as well as numerous secondary and preparatory schools. Committed from its inception to Roman Catholic intellectual life, the Jesuits in the United States continue this tradition by publishing several of the most influential Catholic journals and magazines, including *Theology Digest* and *America.*

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Jesus movement The Jesus movement of the 1960s and 1970s emerged out of the student movement, EVANGELICALISM, and the COUNTERCULTURE. "Jesus People," as participants in the movement were called, wore their hair long, listened to "Gospel rock," and tuned in to Jesus rather than LSD. They were the praying wing of Woodstock Nation.

Like the CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT, the Jesus movement originated among laypeople in California in the 1960s. One important figure in the movement was Ted Wise, who, in 1967, founded a coffeehouse called the Living Room in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. This gathering place later developed into a Christian commune called the House of Acts. Among the groups that emerged from this beginning was the Berkeley-centered Christian World Liberation Front.

Members of the mass media embraced the Jesus movement as a good source for news and drama. The Jesus People made it onto the cover of *Time* magazine in 1971. They also inspired two Broadway hits: the rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* and the more sedate but equally countercultural pop musical *Godspell.*

The Jesus movement, again like the Charismatic movement, rejected unambiguously the "DEATH OF GOD' THEOLOGY" of seminary-based theologians in favor of a simple faith that centered on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. They portrayed Jesus as a countercultural hero—a long-haired dropout who rebelled against both religious and political establishments on behalf of criminals, prostitutes, street people, and the poor. Despite their countercultural inclinations, the Jesus People were theologically conservative. Born-again Christians, they stressed both the authority of the Bible and the importance of conversion. Some borrowed from PENTECOSTALISM and the Charismatic movement practices such as faith healing and speaking in tongues. Ethically, the Jesus People were decidedly square, shunning both drugs and premarital sex.

Some Jesus People mingled an apocalyptic message with this largely evangelical gospel. The world was coming to a quick end, they argued, and Jesus was to return immediately. Others devoted their energies to improving the world, preaching a SOCIAL GOSPEL that emphasized justice, peace, and brotherhood and sisterhood.

Despite their divergent positions, Jesus People agreed on the importance of fashioning their theologies not out of the proclamations of middle-aged clerics but out of their own experiences. Theirs was, therefore, a lay as well as a youth gospel. While secular student leaders were warning young people not to trust anyone over 30, the Jesus People were warning Christians not to trust anyone in a clerical collar.

The Jesus movement proved to be as evanescent as psychedelic art, fading away shortly after it peaked at "Godstock"—the Campus Crusade for Christ Expo '72 held in Dallas. It did survive, however, in Jesus People USA (JPUSA). Founded in 1971, that Chicago-based group is one of the longest-running experiments in American Christian COMMUNITARIANISM. JPUSA claims about 500 members and publishes an online magazine called *Cornerstone.*

SRP

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John Paul II (1920–2005) Born Karol Józef Wojtyła in Wadowice, Poland, on May 18, 1920, as pope, the head of the Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM), John Paul II would have the significant effect on American Catholicism that earns him an entry in this encyclopedia. Although many of his teachings irritated conservatives and liberals alike, his personal warmth and serious interest in people generated veneration usually reserved for rock and roll royalty. Many of his positions affirmed traditional Catholic views on issues such as abortion (see RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT), marriage, and HOMOSEXUALITY. At the same time, he strongly criticized what he saw as the degrading and debilitating effects of unconstrained capitalism, including hedonism and consumerism.

John Paul II was the youngest son of Karol and Emilia Wojtyła. His mother died shortly before his ninth birthday and his oldest brother, a physician, died when Karol was 12.

Karol was an excellent athlete and a committed student. He and his father lived in a one-room apartment behind the Catholic church in Wadowice, and while his father was dedicated to the young boy, sewing his clothes, overseeing his education, and encouraging his interest in sports, he also had the young boy study in an unheated room in order to strengthen him and increase his ability to concentrate.

Deeply religious throughout his youth, the future pope had other interests, including sports, poetry, and acting. Following his graduation from secondary school in 1938, he and his father moved to Kraków. There he enrolled in Poland's premier university, the Jagiellonian, where he studied literature and philosophy. He also joined an experimental theater group.

The German invasion of Poland in 1939 threw the young man's life into turmoil. To avoid arrest and deportation, he took a job as a stone cutter at a local quarry. Wojtyła's life suffered yet another blow in February 1941, when his father died. The following year, he took a job at a local chemical plant and also began his studies for the priesthood at the underground seminary in Kraków. The chemical plant and theological studies dominated his life until 1944, when a massive round-up of Polish men by the Nazis led the archbishop of Kraków to shelter all the underground seminarians in his residence. Wojtyła and his colleagues remained in hiding there until the Soviets drove the Nazis from the city in January 1945.

Ordained the following year, he continued his education and eventually earned two master's degrees and a doctorate. He also served as a chaplain at the Jagiellonian until 1954, when pressure from the Communist government forced the abolition of its theology department. The faculty and students reconstituted themselves as the (underground) Seminary of Kraków. Wojtyła also began teaching at the Catholic University of Lublin at this time, commuting back and forth between the cities on the night train. In 1956, he was named chairman of ethics at Catholic University and in 1958 became auxiliary bishop of Kraków.

While many remember John Paul II for his pastoral work and his relationships with individuals, his career as an academic and Catholic intellectual should not be minimized. When VATICAN COUNCIL II began the deliberations in 1962 that would revolutionize the church, Wojtyła was one of its intellectual leaders and took special interest in religious freedom and the drafting of *Gaudium et Spes*, the "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World."

Appointed archbishop of Kraków in 1964 and made a cardinal in 1967, Wojtyła's rise in the church initially was welcomed by Poland's Communist government. They saw the appointment of Wojtyła, who was considered "tough but flexible," as an improvement over older prelates such as Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, the primate of Poland, with whom the Communist authorities constantly clashed. When once interviewed about his skiing while serving as archbishop, Wojtyła offered a humorous response that reflected Cardinal Wyszyński's centrality to the Polish Catholic Church. He responded that two-fifths of Poland's archbishops skied. When someone noted that Poland only had two archbishops, Wojtyła responded, "Yes, and Cardinal Wyszyński is three-fifths of them."

In Poland, Catholicism served as an important source of national expression and implicit anticommunism. Archbishop Wojtyła encouraged this expression and consistently acted as a dogged and unceasing opponent of communism. As a promoter of human rights, a powerful preacher and active pastor, and a trained philosopher, he constantly wore down Communist authorities. He aggressively defended the prerogatives of the church, demanding permits to construct church buildings, supporting Catholic youth groups, and even ordaining priests to work underground in Czechoslovakia. Despite his skills as an administrator and a pastor and his intellectual abilities, Wojtyła was not considered a likely candidate for pope when the College of Cardinals gathered in September 1978 to choose the successor to John Paul I, who had died of a heart attack after only 34 days in office. Elected in the eighth round of balloting late in the afternoon of October 16, 1978, Cardinal Wojtyła, now Pope John Paul II, became the first Slavic pope, the first non-Italian pope in 455 years, and, at 58, the youngest pope in more than 130 years.

The story is told that upon hearing of Wojtyła's election, Yuri Andropov, the Soviet Union's intelligence chief, warned the Politburo that there could be trouble ahead. He would be proven correct.

As pope, John Paul II's actions affected the church, religion, and society in the United States in four major ways: reasserting papal authority and control, playing a role in the collapse of communism, reaching out to Jews and Judaism, and crossing the borders between Catholics and non-Catholics in a manner that surpassed even that of John XXIII. The Catholic Church John Paul II inherited in 1978 was in disarray. The reforms begun by Vatican II had shaken the church seriously, and both their meaning and breadth were unclear. It lost one-third of its priests and innumerable nuns. In the United States, the numbers were even greater.

John Paul II undertook a concerted effort to place the Catholic Church back on a firm footing, focusing on administrative and theological clarity, order, and discipline. Many saw his moves as conservative. His rejection of contraception, abortion, and the ordination of women, for example, was absolute. Additionally, the enforcement of papal policy, usually placed in the hands of Josef Cardinal Ratzinger (who became Pope Benedict XVI in 2005), often offended theologians and concerned laypeople, particularly in the industrialized Western democracies. The pope readily recognized this opposition, responding, "It's a mistake to apply American democratic procedures to the faith and truth. You cannot take a vote on the truth."

This comment reflected his perception that certain elements of late capitalism undermined not only religion but also human life. For him, philosophical and cultural relativism destabilized human existence. He accused the industrialized world of creating a "culture of death" and viewed consumerism as demeaning the nature of human life.

In the first year of his papacy, he returned to his native Poland as Pope John Paul II. His mere presence embarrassed the Communist government. In the officially atheistic state, massive crowds came out to see him wherever he traveled. He spoke of human rights and human dignity, adding his moral weight to the struggle of the Polish people against the government. The papal visit not only helped give rise to the Solidarity movement in Poland, but in many ways set in motion the entire series of events that would lead to the collapse of the Soviet Union and communism.

Given the long history of ANTI-SEMITISM in Poland, perhaps few activities of John Paul II were as unexpected as his rapprochement with Jews and JUDAISM. The Wadowice of his birth had 8,000 Polish Catholics and 2,000 Polish Jews. Growing up, the young Karol Wojtyła had numerous Jewish playmates, including Jerzy Kluger, who would serve as a confidante and go-between for the pope in Jewish affairs. During John Paul II's papacy, the Vatican would recognize the state of Israel, and he would become the first pope to visit a synagogue and the first to visit Auschwitz. Additionally, in expressing the church's changed views toward Judaism, he spoke of the Jews as "our elder brothers."

His outreach to Jews was only a part of his wider outreach to people of all stripes. He manifested a charisma that crossed boundaries and appealed to many people. As pope, he traveled widely. More than 170 visits to more than 115 countries made him the most traveled pope in history. (He also spoke eight to 12 languages, depending on the source.) *Time* magazine named him Man of the Year in 1994, noting that he generated an electricity "unmatched by anyone else on earth."

In many ways, he was the first modern pope. He saw the importance of adopting media and technology to the purposes of the papacy and the Vatican. Among the undertakings of his papacy was moving the Vatican into the areas of satellite broadcasting and video production.

At his death on April 2, 2005, John Paul II was a figure whose long-term effects could not be known. Clearly, he had acted in a manner that provided clarity to the murky world of the immediate post–Vatican II era. His pontificate strongly delimited the areas in and about which discussion and dissent could occur. While he may have alienated many in the industrialized West with his strident critique, he also left a stronger institutional and organized church. Most important, he made it clear that the church stood for something and had no reasons either to retrench or to recoil from the world.

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Jones, Absalom (1746–1816) The first black Episcopal priest in the United States started life in SLAVERY. Born in 1746 in Sussex, Delaware, Absalom Jones was brought to Philadelphia by his master in 1760. A clerk in his master's store during the day, he attended Anthony Benezet's school for blacks in the evening, having taught himself to read. He managed to purchase his freedom in 1786.

Committed to Methodism, Jones attended St. George's Methodist Church until 1787, when he was among a group of three blacks accosted by a church usher during prayers and told to go to the rear of the church. Angered by this affront, Jones and his fellow victim RICHARD ALLEN led an exodus of St. George's black members and founded the Free African Society. Distressed by the society's Quaker orientation (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]), Jones and Allen left and organized the first African church in Philadelphia. In 1792, they began building, but construction was interrupted by a yellow fever epidemic. The following year, as construction resumed, they debated the affiliation of the new church. Although Jones and Allen favored affiliating with the Methodists, the majority of members, still smarting from their ill treatment at St. George's, favored the EPISCOPAL CHURCH. Jones, whose commitment to the community of blacks was greater than his commitment to Methodism, accepted the call to be the church's pastor after Allen refused.

The new building for St. Thomas Episcopal Church was completed the following year and formally dedicated in July 1794. Jones was ordained as a deacon one month later. In October, the church was admitted to the Episcopal diocese of Pennsylvania, and the "Negroes" of St. Thomas were "given control over their local affairs forever." In 1804, Jones was ordained a full priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Jones was a conscientious pastor and attentively ministered to the needs of his flock until his death on April 11, 1816. As a leader in the black community, he spoke out against slavery and racism, joining with Richard Allen in the formation of several societies for black uplift and protection. Along with Allen and parishioner James Forten, Jones founded Philadelphia's African Masonic Lodge in 1798 and served as its first worshipful master.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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Jones, Bob, Sr. (1883–1968) One of the major markers of 20th-century Protestantism has been FUNDAMENTALISM's conflict with all other theological views. Few were as consistent and unbending in their strident commitment to fundamentalism as Bob Jones, Sr., and his son and grandson. For more than 100 years, they have fought against everything they viewed as deviating from the true word of God.

Bob Jones, Sr., was born in Skipperville, Alabama, on October 30, 1883, the 11th child of William Alexander Jones and Georgia Creal Jones. Although sickly as a child, he soon demonstrated gifts as a public speaker. Following his conversion at the age of 11, he began preaching the Gospel. He directed his first revival (see REVIVALISM) at 12 and by the age of 13 had his own church with 54 members. A devout Methodist, he was licensed to preach by the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1898 and was made a circuit rider the following year.

His talents and abilities led his parents to struggle to give Jones a more complete education than normally possible for a child of small-scale farmers, especially since most of the local schools had only a three-month school year. A family friend who was principal of a nine-month school offered to let Jones move in with his family to receive a full education. During this time, both of Jones's parents died, leaving him an orphan at the age of 17.

After attending Southern University in Greensboro, Alabama (now Birmingham-Southern College), for two years, he embarked on a full-time evangelistic career. His success as an evangelist was soon cut short by tuberculosis of the throat. Sent west to recover, Jones began to visit a medium who appeared to channel the spirit of his mother. When he asked this "spirit" why it never spoke of heaven or Jesus, it replied that Jesus was simply a great medium, just like the one he was visiting. This would be a turning point in his life, convincing Jones that the devil was actively at work in the world trying to ensnare the naive and innocent. From then on, his charge would be to combat the devil and to defend true Christianity.

Recovering from his illness, much to the surprise of his physicians, Jones returned to evangelistic work. Preaching throughout most of the eastern and southern United States, he was popularly rated as second only to BILLY SUNDAY as an evangelist. He was active in the leading fundamentalist organizations of his day, including the World's Christian Fundamentals Association, the Winona Lake Bible Conference, and Moody Bible Institute.

In 1926, he founded the school that now bears his name: Bob Jones University in College Park, Florida. Although bankrupted by the Great Depression, the school was revived and moved to its present location in Greenville, South Carolina, in 1947.

Under the leadership of Bob Jones, his son Bob Jones, Jr. (1911–97), and grandson Bob Jones III (1939–), the university has been a visible monument to inflexible, separatist, and aggressive fundamentalism. The school is committed to "Christian religion and the ethics revealed in the Holy Scriptures; combating all atheistic, agnostic, pagan and so-called scientific adulteration of the gospel." It affirms the tenets of fundamentalism, including biblical inerrancy, a literal virgin birth, the Resurrection, and the biblical story of creation. Staunchly anti-Catholic, the Joneses identify the Roman Catholic Church with the whore of Babylon and do not recognize Catholics as true Christians. This stance caused a serious problem for presidential candidate George W. Bush in 2000, when he spoke at the university. Many wondered whether his uncritical appearance implied support for these positions. While Bush issued an apology a few days later, the event brought Bob Jones University back into the spotlight, a position it had commanded in the 1970s, when school policy mandating racial separation and forbidding interracial dating led to the revocation of its tax-exempt status. (Although the school is racially integrated, Bob Jones, Sr., had maintained that segregation was scripturally mandated, and he had been vocal in his opposition to the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.)

One of the most distinctive elements of the Joneses' fundamentalism has been their tenacious commitment to separatism and their refusal to work or associate with any person or any organization that did not completely share their beliefs, including theologically conservative Christians. This led Bob Jones, Sr., to publicly criticize BILLY GRAHAM (who attended Bob Jones University for a semester) for including nonfundamentalists in his crusades and for encouraging converts to attend whatever church they chose. In 1966, Jones declared with characteristic bravado that Graham was "doing more harm to the cause of Jesus Christ than any living man."

EQ

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Jones, Charles Colcock (1804–1863)

Charles C. Jones was a southern Presbyterian minister and the most famed white evangelist of African-American slaves in the mid-19th century. A major plantation owner and slaveholder who was popularly called the "Apostle to the Blacks," Jones made important contributions to the development of PROSLAVERY THOUGHT in the South prior to the CIVIL WAR.

Jones was born in Liberty County, Georgia, on December 20, 1804. Although he prepared himself for a mercantile career as a teenager, a religious conversion in 1822 led Jones into ministerial studies. Educated at Phillips Academy and Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts and at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey, he was ordained to the ministry in 1830. He served in several capacities over the course of his professional career: as minister at the First Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia (his only pastoral charge), between 1831 and 1832; as professor at Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina from 1837 to 1838, and from 1848 to 1850; and as corresponding secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions in Philadelphia between 1850 and 1853.

Jones is best known for his efforts in evangelizing slaves in the area around his native Savannah. His most significant work, *A Catechism of Scripture, Doctrine and Practice*, first published in 1837, was designed for "the oral instruction of colored persons." This book was used extensively both in schools and in homes throughout the South. He also published a second volume, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (1842), which was intended to augment the usefulness of the first. In 1850, *The Southern Presbyterian* summarized Jones's importance in countering the abolitionist challenge to the slave system of the South. No clergyman other than Jones, the journal noted, possessed the skill and intelligence necessary "to check the rabid zeal of Northern fanatics and secure the confidence and hearty cooperation of the South in sustaining missions among our own people."

Poor health forced Jones to retire in 1853 and live as a semi-invalid at his Georgia plantation. He died at home in Liberty County on March 16, 1863.

GHS, Jr.

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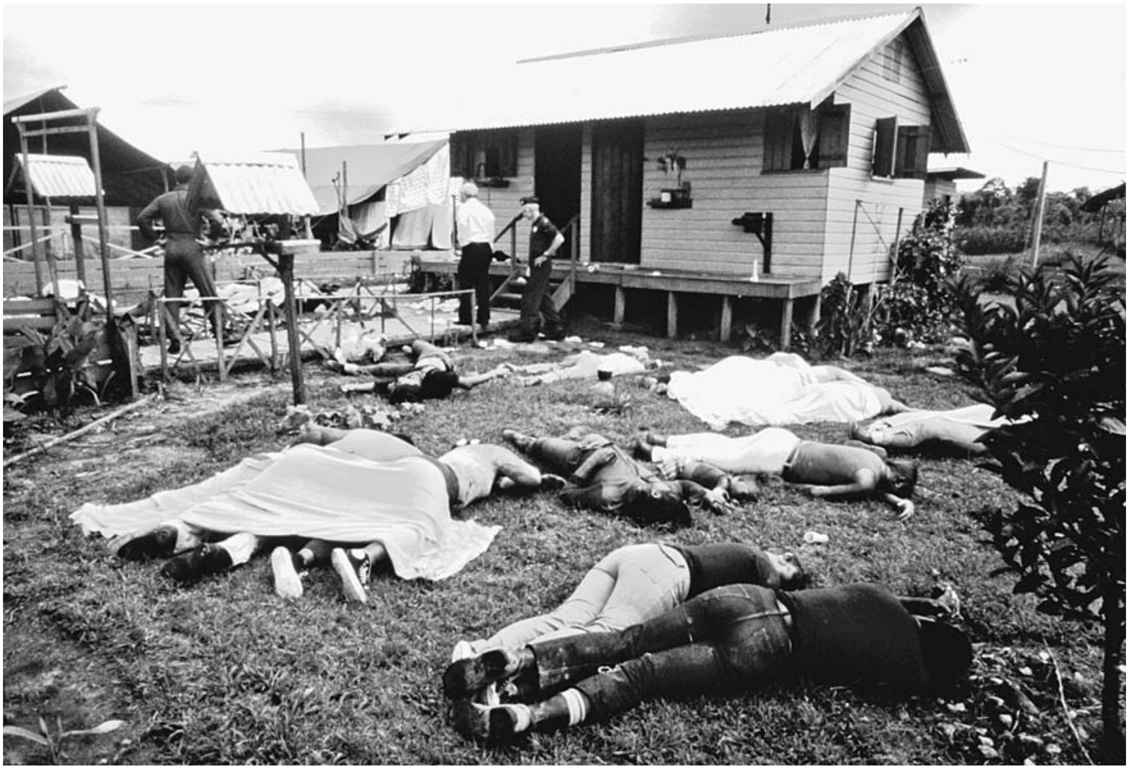
Jones, James Warren (Jim) (1931–1978)

By leading his followers in a mass murder/suicide, Jim Jones, founder of the Peoples Temple, achieved worldwide attention in 1978. His movement reflected the continuing deep-seated appeal of millennial religion in American culture.

Born to James Thurmond and Lynetta Jones in Lynn, Indiana, on May 13, 1931, Jones later recalled conflicting influences: his father's support for the KU KLUX KLAN and his mother's passion for helping the underprivileged. Finding a powerful emotional warmth and acceptance in PENTECOSTALISM, Jones became actively involved in ministry while still young, gaining recognition as a faith healer at Pentecostal conventions and conferences.

In the racially oppressive setting of Indianapolis after WORLD WAR II, Jones was an active worker for desegregation and civil rights. He drew upon his Pentecostal background to create a spiritual climate in which he could speak of civil equality as the direct outgrowth of the healing power of Christian faith. Jones disturbed many of the white proponents of segregated churches in Indianapolis, however, and in 1954, he was forced to resign as associate pastor of the Laurel Street Tabernacle, Assembly of God (see ASSEMBLIES



The compound of the Peoples Temple cult in Jonestown, Guyana, after its members committed mass suicide at the behest of Reverend Jim Jones. *(Getty)*

OF GOD), and form his own racially integrated church, named the Peoples Temple Full Gospel Church, in 1955. For the next decade, Jones continued working in Indianapolis, his rapidly expanding church affiliating with the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST in 1960. He found a powerful example of the yoking of racial equality and religious enthusiasm in the work of FATHER DIVINE's Peace Mission in Philadelphia, which he visited several times. He later claimed to have inherited Father Divine's mantle of godhood.

In 1965, Jones and more than 100 members of his congregation relocated the temple to Ukiah, California, in order to avoid what he saw as the growing risk of nuclear war. Jones began speaking of what he called "Apostolic Socialism" as the coming kingdom of God, a utopia in which his followers would find both racial harmony and economic equality. Expanding his operations to San Francisco in 1970 after receiving official recognition by the Northern California-Nevada region of the Disciples of Christ, Jones gained a strong reputation as a socially concerned minister among liberal politicians and social activists in California, where he received many humanitarian awards. In 1976, San Francisco mayor George Moscone appointed him chair of the city's Housing Authority.

Membership in the Peoples Temple continued to expand, reaching between 3,000 and 5,000, or even higher according to the temple's own estimates. While Jones's message of racial and social equality attracted people of various backgrounds, approximately 75 percent of the membership at Peoples Temple were poor, urban African Americans.

Despite these successes, Jones became increasingly paranoid and suspicious. He also began abusing drugs and demanding absolute obedience from his followers. This led many of his most trusted followers to break with him, including Jones's second in command, Tom Stoen, who helped to found "Concerned Relatives," a group of former People's Temple members who feared Jones's increasingly erratic and abusive behavior.

These defections and an IRS investigation into the People's Temple's finances only increased his paranoia. In response, Jones again moved the temple, this time to the jungles of Guyana, where the temple previously had established an agricultural community in 1974.

Like the Puritans before him, he hoped to create a perfect society in the wilderness, far removed from the corrupt influences of the dominant society. For more than a year, the colony of Jonestown cleared land, planted crops, and sought to discipline themselves to serve the cause of what Jones's preaching now called "God Almighty Socialism."

After arriving in Guyana, Jones's behavior became even more erratic as he increased his drug use, and reports of physical and sexual abuse, brainwashing, and imprisonment began to appear in the press. The members of "Concerned Relatives" appealed to Congress to investigate these abuses and to assist them in bringing home family members. In response, Jones started to prepare his followers for the "supreme sacrifice," about which he had spoken during his time in California.

Congress authorized a fact-finding mission led by Representative Leo Ryan of California. Ryan and his party arrived in Jonestown, Guyana, on November 17, 1978. The next day was spent visiting the settlement and speaking with members. During this time, Ryan was approached secretly by several members who expressed a desire to leave. By the end of the day, more than 15 members had asked to be taken away. This required obtaining an additional plane. By the time the plane arrived on the evening of the 18th, Ryan already had survived an attempted knifing. As Ryan, his entourage, and the "defectors" boarded the planes, they were attacked by members of the People's Temple, who shot and killed five members of the party, including Representative Ryan. Shortly afterward, Jones ordered all the members of the community to the central square. What followed next is unclear, but the result is not. Jones and 909 members of Jonestown died from drinking a cyanide-laced fruit drink. How many committed suicide and how many were murdered is unknown. The mass murder-suicide, however, generated an uproar throughout American society and set off an extensive debate on the dangers of new religious movements and cults.

(See also: ANTICULT MOVEMENT.)

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Jones, John William (1836–1909) J. William Jones was a Southern Baptist minister and the most prominent champion of the LOST CAUSE MYTH. Jones preached an irenic but insistent message throughout the post–CIVIL WAR period: The Confederacy's political and spiritual ideals had been high ones, and despite being overwhelmed in battle, the South was righteous in the eyes of God.

Jones was born at Louisa Court House, Virginia, on September 25, 1836. Converted at a camp meeting revival as a young man, he enrolled at the University of Virginia, where he was active in religious activities and treasurer of one of the first college Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA). After graduation, Jones traveled to Greenville, South Carolina, and became a member of the original class at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He was ordained in June 1860 and commissioned by his denomination's Foreign Mission Board for work in China, but the outbreak of the Civil War permanently delayed his departure for the missionary field.

When Virginia seceded from the Union, Jones enlisted as a private in the Confederate Army. After a year's service in the ranks, he assumed the role of regimental chaplain and, later, of missionary chaplain in General A.P. Hill's corps. In close cooperation with both General Robert E. Lee (an Episcopalian) and General Stonewall Jackson (a Presbyterian), he was instrumental in organizing what was known as "the Great Revival," a period of intense religious enthusiasm that gripped the Confederate Army in Virginia during the winter of 1862–63. Known thereafter as "the fighting parson," Jones made the Civil War and its memory the focus for his life's work.

After 1865, Jones served in a number of different capacities that placed him at the center of the religious, intellectual, and popular cultures of the postbellum South. His roles included the college chaplaincy, first, at Washington College (later Washington and Lee), then at the University of Virginia, and, finally, at the University of North Carolina; the secretary-treasurer's post in the Southern Historical Society; editorship of the *Southern Historical Society Papers;* and the chaplain-general's position in the United Confederate Veterans. He wrote numerous books and articles about his wartime experiences and the virtues of the soldiers of the defeated Confederacy. His best-known published works were *Personal Reminiscences, Anecdotes, and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee* (1875) and *Christ in the Camp* (1887). The latter book contained a collection of upbeat stories about the significance of religious revivals in the Confederate armies. He also wrote an article on "The Morale of the Confederate Army" that appeared in General Clement Evans's influential 12-volume *Confederate Military History* (1899).

Afflicted by ill health toward the end of his life, Jones died at Columbus, Georgia, on March 17, 1909. He was buried at Hollywood Cemetery, the resting place of many prominent ex-Confederates in Richmond, Virginia. As one southern writer noted at his passing, Jones worshiped "Lee and Jackson next to his God" and "died not only in the 'faith once delivered to the saints,' but in the good old Confederate faith."

GHS, Jr.

Bibliography: J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp; or, Religion in the Confederate Army* (1887/1904; Harrisonburg, Va.: Sprinkle Publications, 1986); Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).

Jones, Samuel Porter (Sam) (1847–1906)

Sam Jones was a Methodist minister and popular evangelist in the post–CIVIL WAR South. One of the most recognized religious figures of his day, he was dubbed "the Moody of the South," thus equating him with the internationally celebrated revivalist DWIGHT L. MOODY. Jones used blunt, homespun language to convince the crowds who gathered to hear his sermons to resist the evils of profanity, gambling, and liquor.

Jones was born in Chambers County, Alabama, on October 16, 1847. Growing up in rural Georgia, he was educated by private tutors and in boarding schools. After serving in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, he worked as a lawyer in Georgia between 1868 and 1872. Although his addiction to alcohol soon ruined his law career, Jones experienced a religious conversion and, honoring the deathbed request of his father, stopped drinking in 1872. That same year, he was ordained to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and began preaching in northern Georgia. He held several pastorates from 1872 to 1880, and in 1880, he became agent of the Methodists' North Georgia Conference Orphan's Home in Decatur, Georgia, a position he retained until 1892.

In raising funds for the orphans, Jones fashioned a message that stressed the moral sins of the city and the need for affluent Christians to give attention to the urban poor. He believed that true conversion brought a change in conduct and that deeds were just as important as confessions of faith. Jones's emphasis on the practical implications of Christianity helped bring the idea of a SOCIAL GOSPEL to the southern urban environment. When Jones came to Nashville, Tennessee, in the spring of 1885 and led a 20-day revival, he left the city "buzzing" with religious enthusiasm. Bringing together Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, he launched a stinging attack on the moral apathy of the city's churchgoers. He accused prosperous businessmen of bringing damnation upon themselves, because they cared more about their money than about their souls. Jones so moved Nashville steamboat captain Tom Ryman that he discontinued the thriving liquor concession on his riverboats and (legend has it) dumped the bottles into the Cumberland River.

Jones's skills as an urban evangelist brought him an invitation from T. DeWitt Talmage, a popular preacher and Presbyterian minister in Brooklyn, New York, to conduct a revival in Brooklyn. Jones's success eventually led him to become a traveling preacher who drew capacity crowds in all the major American cities of the time. He tried to break down barriers between sacred and secular life and poured contempt on clergy who failed to deal with real-life situations. "We have been clamoring for . . . a learned ministry and we have got it today and the church is deader than it ever has been in history," he told a group in Memphis, Tennessee. "Half of the literary preachers in this town are A.B.'s, PhD.'s, L.L.D.'s, D.D.'s, and A.S.S.'s."

Jones reached the peak of his popularity in the 1890s. Several volumes of his sermons were published, some posthumously. Aboard a train bringing him home from a revival in Oklahoma City, Jones died near Perry, Arkansas, on October 15, 1906.

GHS, Jr.

Bibliography: Kathleen Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner: The Life of Evangelist Sam Jones* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993).

Jordan, Clarence (1912–1969) Preacher, New Testament scholar, founder of Koinonia Farm, and godfather of Habitat for Humanity, Clarence Jordan was born on July 29, 1912, in Talbotton, Georgia. His parents, J. W. and Maude Josey Jordan, were fairly prominent citizens, and Jordan had a relatively secure and easy youth. From an early age, however, Jordan became troubled by the racial and economic inequalities he saw around him. He decided that a degree in agriculture was a way to improve the lives of his neighbors and others. Entering the University of Georgia, he graduated in 1933. Raised a Southern Baptist, he strengthened his religious commitment while in college, serving as president of the Baptist Student Union and active as a member of the Young Men's Christian Association. His YMCA activities challenged much of the young Jordan's traditional understandings of religion, politics, and race.

During his college years, Jordan felt a call to the ministry. Following graduation, he attended Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, receiving his Ph.D. in New Testament in 1938. He also met and married Florence Kroeger, who would be a major supporter and partner throughout Jordan's often difficult and financially challenged life.

Upon graduation, Jordan was viewed as a rising star in Baptist circles and received numerous offers to teach at Baptist colleges and to minister at Baptist churches. Instead, Jordan and his wife, along with another young couple, Mabel and Martin England, who formerly had been American Baptist missionaries, decided to establish an agricultural community in southern Georgia. This community, known as Koinonia Farm, began in 1942. The members of Koinonia placed all their resources in a common pool and committed themselves to sharing goods. They taught scientific farming techniques to their neighbors, both black and white, and opposed racial segregation. They also were committed pacifists, a position that, along with their commitment to racial equality, generated a great deal of hostility in the midst of World War II.

This hostility increased during the 1950s and early 1960s. Several members of the community were attacked, and Koinonia Farm was itself a target of attempted bombings and arson. By the 1960s, Koinonia faced a local economic boycott, unable to sell its produce locally and refused service by local merchants. Threatened with economic collapse, the farm started a mail order business selling pecans and pecan products. By 1968, the farm was down to only two families in full-time residence, and its future was at risk. A visit to the farm by Millard and Linda Fuller led to a decision to turn its attention to addressing the housing needs of the local community. Initially known as Koinoma Partnership Housing, this project eventually became Habitat for Humanity. Jordan did not live to see the completion of the first houses; he died from a heart attack on October 29, 1969.

During his life at Koinonia Farm, Jordan also was an active public speaker and author, particularly well known for his "Cotton Patch" versions of the Christian Gospels and several of Paul's letters. In these writings, Jordan combined his mastery of the New Testament with his rural life to produce a southern dialect version of the biblical texts, with the locations translated to the rural South and the United States. In his writings, Rome became Washington, D.C., Birmingham became Ephesus, the Kingdom of Israel became Georgia, Jerusalem became Atlanta, and Bethlehem became Gainesville, Georgia. The Cotton Patch version of Matthew was turned into *The Cotton Patch Gospel,* a musical written by Tom Key and Russell Treyz, with a score by Harry Chapin.

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Judaism Judaism in the United States has developed from a tiny minority to the point where, along with Protestantism and ROMAN CATHOLICISM, it has become one of the country's three major faiths. Like Protestantism and Catholicism, Judaism experienced tremendous transformations while responding to the distinctive social and cultural milieu of America.

Judaism as a religion is fundamentally tied to the idea of peoplehood. From the time that God promised Abraham that he would be the father of a great nation, the religion of the Jews has been inseparable from the people of Israel. In the land of Israel, the Jews developed a complex and vibrant culture that persevered throughout several periods of foreign occupation and captivity. For nearly 3,000 years, until 70 C.E., within the holy city of Jerusalem stood the temple where the priest performed the priestly duties of animal sacrifice and prayer.

During the period of Roman occupation, this ritual reached its height. Under the Roman puppet king Herod—a convert to Judaism—the temple was enlarged. Jewish communities spread throughout the Mediterranean world, and Roman soldiers guarded the caravans of money these communities annually sent to the temple. The Jews, although a conquered people, had a special status in the empire as a *religio legitas* ("recognized religion") and generally shared in the prosperity of the *pax romana*.

The period of Roman rule, however, contained the seeds of its own destruction. The Romans' behavior often offended Jewish religious sensibilities, and many Jews looked upon those who collaborated with the Romans as traitors to both their people and religion. Different Jewish groups competed for religious control and dominance; many of these groups are familiar to Christians from their reading of the New Testament, among them the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Zealots.

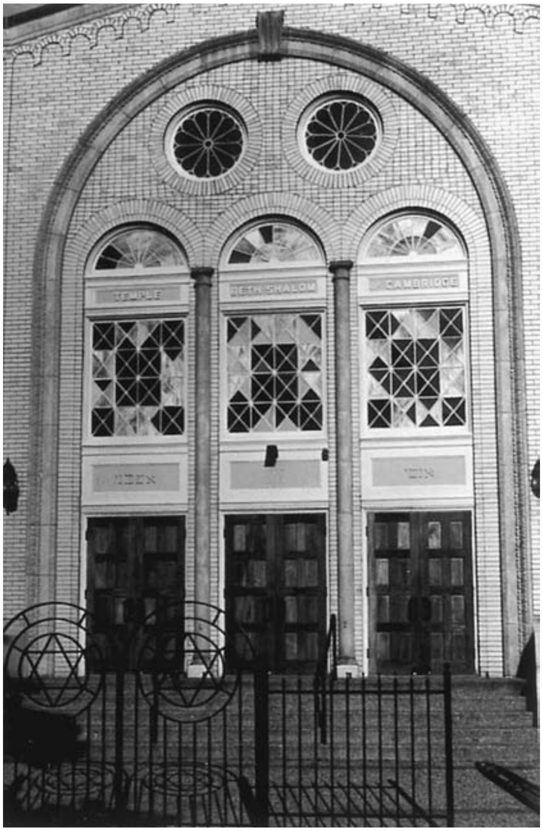
In 67 C.E. a revolt against Roman rule broke out. Initially successful, this rebellion was not suppressed completely until 73 C.E. Jerusalem, however, was taken in 70 C.E. and the temple destroyed. Successive revolts in 115 and 132 led to the complete destruction of Jerusalem. When it was rebuilt as a Roman city, Aelia Capitolina, Jews were barred from entering it. These events led to a major transformation within Judaism. Unable to continue the temple rites, Judaism was forced to adapt or die.

The process of adaptation undertaken by the Jews in the diaspora (the dispersal from their homeland) led to the creation of the Talmud, a compilation of commentaries on the religious laws, both written and oral, given by God to Moses in the Torah. Judaism became a religion based upon a scrupulous observance of these religious laws while awaiting the arrival of the Messiah, who would restore the people of Israel to their homeland and rebuild the temple.

In the period from the second century C.E. through the 15th century, the Jews developed two major centers of religious life and thought—eastern and central Europe and Spain. The Jews of eastern and central Europe, the Ashkenazim, led a difficult existence, suffering persecution from their Christian neighbors. They developed an inward-looking religious and social structure that emphasized the community and strict religious practice. The Jewish community in Spain, the Sephardim, lived in a less oppressive and more cosmopolitan society. This came to a crashing halt in 1492. In that year, the 400-year war between Christian Spain and Muslim Spain ended with the fall of the Muslim city of Grenada to the armies of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. With the political unity of the Iberian peninsula secured, the monarchs proceeded to enforce religious unity. They decreed that all Jews must either convert to Christianity or leave. This event marks the beginning of the history of Jews in America.

While two Jews were among Columbus's crew and several accompanied other Spanish explorers, the year 1654 was the start of organized Jewish life in what became the United States. Descendants of expelled Spanish Jews who had been living in Holland went to Recife, Brazil, following its capture from Portugal by the Dutch. When the Portuguese recaptured the city in 1654, these Jews fled, and 23 of them traveled to the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (modern-day New York). When the governor wrote to the colony's directors in Amsterdam complaining of the influx of Jewish refugees into the colony, fearful that they would next let in Lutherans, he was admonished and reminded that the Dutch Jewish community had invested heavily in the colony.

Receiving the right of public worship, these Jews formed the first Jewish congregation in America, Congregation Shearith Israel. In 1658, they were joined by 15 Jewish families from Holland, who established the first Jewish congregation in a British colony in Newport, Rhode Island. This community would build the Touro Synagogue (completed in 1763), the oldest synagogue in America. Jewish immigration increased after 1740, when the British parliament granted Jews naturalization rights in the colonies. By the time of the American Revolution, the Jewish community in the American colonies numbered about 2,000, with the community in Charleston, South Carolina, at 500, the largest. New York at that time had 30 Jewish families.



Exterior of Temple Beth Shalom, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)*

America's Jewish population was largely Sephardic and maintained a religious tradition described by many scholars as "dignified orthodoxy." They blended in with the rest of the colonists, and many had prominent places in colonial life. Although there was no rabbi in the colonies, the cantor—an individual who leads the recitation of prayers—took on the role of minister, and the laity passed on the religious traditions.

What had been the least oppressive society for Jews in the Western world became even less oppressive following the American Revolution and the framing of the CONSTITUTION. The national government's neutrality in religious affairs placed every religious community on a footing of independence and self-organization. This differed from the European and Islamic worlds, where even an oppressed community like the Jews had a governmentally accredited organization to oversee community affairs. The absence of such an organization had major implications for the way Judaism developed in the United States.

Following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 and the failure of the liberal revolutions in Europe in the 1830s and 1840s, the United States experienced its first wave of massive immigration. In this wave came the first substantial numbers of Ashkenazic Jews, primarily from Germany. While there had been Ashkenazic Jews in America before this time, their numbers had been small, and most had acquiesced to the Sephardic majority. There were some conflicts, however. In 1802, Jews of Ashkenazic background in Philadelphia withdrew to found their own synagogue. A similar occurrence took place in Congregation Shearith Israel in New York in 1825. Where no governmental authority oversaw the organization of the community, differences were resolved by separation.

These conflicts increased throughout the 19th century as Jewish immigration continued. Between 1800 and 1850, the Jewish population in the United States grew from 2,000 to 50,000. By 1860, it had reached 150,000. Nearly all these immigrants were central European Jews who followed the Ashkenazic ritual and came primarily from the regions of Europe influenced by German language and culture. This proved transformative for the American Jewish community and for Judaism as well, for these German immigrants brought REFORM JUDAISM to America.

Reform Judaism has its intellectual origins in the ENLIGHTENMENT and its political roots in the period of Jewish emancipation (removal of legal restrictions placed on the Jews) during the French Revolution and Napoleonic period. These events challenged many of the traditional practices of Judaism. With the removal of legal proscriptions, some felt that the insularity previously needed for communal protection was unnecessary. The new scholarship undertaken by many Jews educated in German universities demonstrated that many of the changes emerging in Judaism—preaching in the vernacular, for example—were not new at all. Most important, however, Reform had a social dimension. There was a growing dissatisfaction with those elements of Judaism that separated the Jews from their fellow citizens—modes of dress, forms of worship, dietary restrictions. In response to these new circumstances, certain congregations in Germany had changed the traditional structure of worship services. They translated prayers from Hebrew to German and dispensed with some prayers altogether. They introduced organ music, and the cantor or the rabbi delivered a weekly sermon. As German-speaking Jews arrived in the United States, they brought these practices with them.

Although the Jewish congregation in Charleston had produced its own indigenous reform movement—the Reformed Society of Israelites—as early as 1824, Reform in the United States was primarily the work of these German immigrants. The first explicitly Reform congregation in America was Temple Har Sinai in Baltimore in 1842, but 1853 is probably the most significant year for Reform Judaism in the United States. In that year, ISAAC MAYER WISE, a rabbi from Bohemia, left his congregation in Albany, New York, and took over Congregation Bene Yesherun in Cincinnati. By then, Wise had become completely committed to the transformation of Judaism. Both a modernizer and an Americanizer, Wise looked upon America as Israel and Washington as Jerusalem. He used the term *Hebrew* instead of *Jew* and spoke of the Jewish religion, not the Jewish people.

A tireless propagandist and organizer, Wise published two weekly papers, *The American Israelite* in English and *Die Deborah* in German. In 1856, he published a major revision of the Hebrew prayer book, significantly titled *Minhag America* ("American Ritual"). He also was responsible for the formation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1873 and the establishment of Hebrew Union College, the first permanent school for the training of rabbis in the United States, in Cincinnati in 1875.

Although Wise's view of religion was quite radical, his work was directed primarily toward organizational goals, and he stressed unity with the Orthodox. As a result, Wise often was attacked by the more radical and intellectual proponents of Reform, primarily in the person of DAVID EINHORN.

Einhorn had had a distinguished career as a rabbi in Europe before coming to the United States as rabbi of Temple Har Sinai in Baltimore. In seeking an intellectual basis for Reform, Einhorn looked with disfavor on Wise's Americanizing activities. He was committed to maintaining the German language and German thought for the Reform movement. "German research and science," wrote Einhorn, "are the heart of the Jewish Reform idea, and German Jewry has the mission to bring life and recognition to this thought on American soil." Einhorn and others brought to America a series of themes that made sense within the German context but basically were irrelevant in America.

They were concerned with such questions as: How can a Jew maintain that he is in exile from his homeland (Israel) and a citizen of a country? What is the nature of the hope for a personal messiah and the restoration of Israel and the temple rite? These radicals attempted to answer these questions at a conference held in Philadelphia in 1869, where they issued a statement (in German) outlining their views of Judaism. They rejected the messianic aim of the restoration of the Jewish state, claiming instead that the messianic aim of Israel was the "union of all the children of God." The exile of the Jewish people was not punishment for sin but part of the divine plan of dispersing the "Jews to all parts of the world for the realization of their high priestly mission, to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God."

Wise, who was active in bringing American Jews together in various projects, viewed Einhorn's radicalism as destructive to the unity of the American Jewish community. By 1885, however, Wise presided over another conference of Reform rabbis in Pittsburgh that issued a declaration of principles known as the PITTSBURGH PLATFORM. This platform set out the principles of Reform. It rejected all parts of Jewish law not in keeping with "the views and habits of modern civilization" and proclaimed Judaism "a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason." Such a radical statement was possible in 1885 because the possibility of union between the reformers and those who desired to retain the traditional elements of Judaism had been derailed two years earlier.

By 1880, the majority of the nation's 270 congregations and most of the 250,000 members of the Jewish community were Reform. There were opponents, however, centered primarily in the older Sephardic and Ashkenazic synagogues of the eastern seaboard and led by ISAAC LEESER, cantor of Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia and editor of the *Occident.* While the traditionalists worked with the reformers in founding the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Hebrew Union College, the issues that divided them were great. How much English (or German) should be allowed in the service? To what extent and degree should the dietary laws be followed? Not until 1883 would different answers appear to these troubling questions.

The year 1883 seemed a high point for a unified American Judaism. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was on its way to representing the entire faith, and Hebrew Union College was graduating its first class of rabbinical students. The school, knowing that many of its directors strictly observed Jewish dietary laws, engaged a Jewish catering firm to prepare the closing banquet. As the first course came, two rabbis rose from their seats and left the room. Shrimp, one of the forbidden foods (*trefa*), had been served them. The more orthodox were appalled. The event amply demonstrated the chasm that separated them from the Reform.

SABATO MORAIS, rabbi of Mikveh Israel, Morris Jastrow (1829–1903), rabbi of the Ashkenazic synagogue in Philadelphia, and HENRY PEREIRA MENDES, rabbi of Shearith Israel, were among those who joined together to create a traditionalist united front against Reform. This front found expression in the formation of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1887) in New York City and what is now known as CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM.

Conservative Judaism articulated a "positive historical" view of the religion, maintaining a reverence for the Jewish traditions that were not to be altered for mere convenience or utility's sake. These men accepted that Judaism was the result of historical processes and could be formed and reformed through those processes. They adopted certain innovations such as removing the barrier (*mehitzah*) that separated women from men in a synagogue. But they retained most of the traditional liturgy, dietary laws, and distinctively Jewish elements of the religion—especially the Hebrew language.

Though a minority among American Jews, the traditionalists persevered. The Jewish Theological Seminary held on, but barely. After the death of Morais, its first president, the seminary's future was in doubt. At this time, however, the United States was experiencing a new wave of Jewish immigration. The immigrants came from eastern Europe and were rigidly orthodox in practice. The older traditionalists felt that this group would provide them with an opportunity for growth. They would need rabbis that Jewish Theological Seminary could supply. But some trouble lay ahead. The Jews from Poland, Romania, Russia, Galicia, and Lithuania had centuries of tradition and practice separating them not only from Reform but also from the Orthodoxy of Mendes.

Between 1880 and 1920, the Jewish population in the United States grew from 250,000 to nearly 3.5 million; nearly all came from eastern Europe. These immigrants brought a history radically different from that of Sephardic or German Jews, upon whom they looked with suspicion. In eastern Europe, the Jews lived under laws and persecution more repressive and violent than elsewhere. Partially by requirement and partially by necessity, they created close-knit communities where one lived nearly all one's life surrounded by other Jews and by the traditions and laws of Judaism. Their arrival in America produced a crisis that once again altered the face of the Jewish-American community.

This crisis was caused by several factors. The first was mutual hostility between the newcomers and the "older," more Americanized, Jews. The older community viewed the newer immigrants as superstitious, vulgar, and ignorant. The immigrants looked upon this older community as heretics and traitors. Recognizing their differences from the dominant patterns of American Judaism, the new immigrants quickly began to develop their own institutions.

In 1887, several Orthodox synagogues formed the Association of American Hebrew Congregations and organized a search for a chief rabbi to oversee religious affairs. They chose Rabbi Jacob Joseph of Vilna (Vilnius), but factional conflicts caused the enterprise to fail. The absence of any power, whether state authority or communal pressure, to coerce obedience made it obvious that religion in the United States could not be reorganized on the European pattern. By 1888, it was equally obvious that Judaism had experienced the process of "denominationalism" that marked American Protestantism and that it was divided into the branches of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform that exist today.

Virtually all eastern European Jews came to the United States with Orthodox religion; a large minority also brought a background in radical politics. Increasing political and economic pressures on the eastern European Jewish community had transformed many into urban industrial workers. This weakened religious practice and pushed many into the various socialist movements of eastern Europe. Simultaneously, increasing anti-Semitism drove many toward nationalistic expressions, preeminently to ZIONISM—the movement to establish a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

Both of these strains were viewed with suspicion by older members of the American Jewish community. They feared that the radicalism of these immigrants would reflect poorly on the community, especially at a time when America was experiencing an upsurge in anti-Semitism. The immigrants' Zionist inclinations also flew directly in the face of what the American Reform movement stood for. In 1897, the CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, the organization of Reform rabbis, adopted a resolution officially condemning Zionism.

These eastern European Jews transformed American Judaism and were themselves transformed by it. Orthodoxy itself, one might argue, is an American phenomenon. Previously, there was only Judaism. Orthodoxy as a self-conscious position becomes necessary only when there are other options, and in America there were. Religiously, the result of this second immigration wave was not only an expansion in the number of Orthodox congregations in the United States, but also growth in the numbers of Conservative and Reform as the immigrants, or their children, moved into these less restrictive environments.

There was also a massive increase in the numbers of religiously unaffiliated Jews. The breakdown of traditional community structures caused by immigration and the absence of a legally defined status for the Jews in the United States disrupted many immigrants. The maintenance of Jewish dietary laws and avoidance of work on the Sabbath (Saturday) slid away as they tried to fit in to American society. For example, a 1935 survey of New York City youths between the ages of 15 and 25 discovered that 72 percent of Jewish males and 78 percent of Jewish females had not attended a religious service in the past year.

A small number of Jews arrived at this position via Reform. For them, a Judaism stripped of nearly all of its tradition was an empty shell, and they wandered off in other directions. FELIX ADLER founded the ETHICAL CULTURE Society on just such a basis.

Still others came to be unaffiliated through radical politics and secular Zionism. These people did not, however, leave their Jewishness behind. In fact, secular Zionism was deeply connected to Jewish culture and identity. Zionism revived Hebrew as a spoken language, revitalized the study of Jewish history (albeit with an ideological intent), and emphasized pride in Jewish cultural identity.

Socialism also was fused with a sense of Jewish identity, as the number of Yiddish workers' circles and the *Jewish Daily Forward* (a Yiddish-language socialist paper) attest. Both Zionism and socialism informed movements such as Ha Shomer Hatzair, which, while committed to a militantly secular version of Zionism, strongly affirmed connections with Jewish history and identity.

Most immigrants, or their children, who drifted into irreligion did so for none of these reasons. Nathan Glazer in *American Judaism* suggested that they drifted into unbelief because they had nothing in which to believe. He argued that eastern European Orthodoxy failed to provide people with the doctrine and dogma necessary to deflect doubt and argument. There was no way to answer the question, "Why?" In America, where no one imposed anything and where other options existed for affirming one's Jewish identity, religion seemed much less relevant, especially when following the religious laws seemed to limit social advancement.

In 1927, Congress passed the last of a series of bills that effectively ended immigration. The end of immigration allowed the American Jewish community an opportunity to concentrate its attention on the processes of Americanization and acculturation as well as the strengthening of community institutions before the deluge of the Great Depression and the rise of Nazism in Germany.

Although the depression had no major impact upon Jewish-American identity, it did slow the rise in social status that had been typical of the community. Hitler's coming to power in Germany, WORLD WAR II, and the murder of nearly 6 million European Jews by the Nazis did have a major impact upon the community, although the magnitude of this impact would not be fully apparent for nearly two decades. Most immediately, these events ended Reform hostility toward Zionism. In 1937, the Reform movement officially voiced its support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as a place of refuge for European Jews threatened by Nazism. A commitment to Zionism, especially after the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, became normative for most American Jews.

With the end of the war, the soldiers who returned home rode the wave of economic prosperity, the GI Bill, and VA loans into the suburbs. This was as true for Jews as it was for gentiles. In the suburbs, Jews built synagogues, sent their children to Hebrew school on Sundays and in the afternoons, and lived out the American dream. The synagogue became as much a place for the expression of Jewish identity as for religion. Most of these synagogues were Reform or Conservative, although there were Orthodox synagogues as well. In this period of Jewish revival, the institutional forms of religion played a major role in maintaining Jewish identity.

Once again, the requirement of choice played a role. As Jews moved from city neighborhoods, where 70 to 90 percent of the population might be Jewish and where one could feel Jewish without belonging to a single Jewish organization, to the suburbs, where the percentage of Jews was lower, one had to create institutions that made affirming one's Jewishness possible. Between 1937 and 1956, the number of Conservative and Reform synagogues doubled, and the number of affiliated families increased from 75,000 to 200,000 and from 50,000 to 255,000, respectively.

The impact of the 1960s on the Jewish-American community was great. Beyond the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, the student rebellion, and the VIETNAM WAR were two events that changed the directions taken by American Judaism. The first was what some have called the re-ethnicization of American society. This movement had its start in the demand for "Black Power" but found an audience among many younger American Jews, who found in a vocal Jewish identity another source of rebellion against the conformity of suburban society. This movement fused with the memory of the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel in the cauldron of the 1967 war between Israel and its Arab enemies.

The expressed Arab goal of driving the Jews into the sea presented Jewish Americans with a frightening prospect. Once again, Jewish existence was threatened while the world looked on. This threat and the resultant Israeli victory awakened in Jewish Americans new and profound feelings about both their Jewish heritage and Judaism. As Richard Rubinstein (see "DEATH OF GOD" THEOLOGY) wrote in 1968, "I can report that many Jews who had imagined themselves to be totally devoid of any inner connection with Jewish life were overwhelmed by their involvement in Israel's trial . . . I must confess surprise over the depth of my own feelings." The 1967 war engendered a period of reflection that came up with this answer: The Jewish people must survive. Although few Americans viewed themselves as potential emigrants to Israel, the country became a symbol of Jewish survival, as did the Jewish faith and the heritage of the Jews as a people.

The result was a growing militancy among certain segments of Jewish-American society, seen in the formation of the Jewish Defense League. More representative was the growth in support for Israel. Contributions for Israel quadrupled between 1966 and 1967; immigration to Israel increased from 1,700 in 1967 to 9,200 in 1970. Although insignificant compared to the size of the Jewish community in America, this was a sizable growth. The increased interest in Israel it reflected was also demonstrated by the growing number of American Jews who visited the country. The continued existence of the state of Israel became part of the affirmation of Jewish-American identity and life.

The affirmation of Jewish identity intensified in the resurgence of traditional norms that emerged in the Reform movement and in a renewed interest in Orthodoxy itself, especially among Reform and Conservative youths. Some of this interest took the form of the *havurah,* or community. A *havurah* was a group of individuals joined together to affirm both their religious and cultural identity as Jews and to replicate the close-knit community that had marked earlier periods of Jewish life.

The renewed interest in religion also caused problems. As many younger Jews affirmed a more Orthodox life than their parents, new questions emerged. Preeminent among them was the role of women within the tradition. College-age American women desiring to affirm their commitment to the religious tradition were confronted with secondary status. Some rejected that role and attempted to maintain the tradition while changing aspects of it. Others, unable to face the conflicts, affirmed the most stringent form of eastern European Judaism—HASIDISM.

Hasidism, a mystical strain of Judaism that emerged from the teachings of the Baal Shem Tov (1700–60), added a new element to American Judaism. Centered on a spiritual teacher, or *rebbe,* Hasidism was insignificant in the United States until the Nazi period, when representatives of various Hasidic dynasties arrived here. Of the various Hasidic movements, the most visible has been that of the Lubavitcher Hasidim. Under the leadership of MENACHEM MENDEL SCHNEERSON, the movement took an aggressive proselytizing stance among American Jews and established centers in major university towns in the United States, resulting in a significant number of Jewish youth turning to Orthodoxy.

While the unity of American Jewry as a community seems secure, that of American Judaism is not. Conflicts among the various branches erupt continuously. The ordination of women as rabbis, accepted by the Reform movement in 1972, and the Conservative movement in 1985, has been rejected by the Orthodox. Conflict over the validity of Reform and Conservative conversions and the refusal of Israel to recognize Reform and Conservative rabbis also caused tension.

This has been a common pattern in American religion. The absence of an overarching authority creates a situation in which conflict and dissension become the norm. It also has created the distinctly American forms of Judaism and given the United States the most vibrant and active Jewish community in the world outside of Israel.

Despite this vibrancy, American Judaism underwent a serious process of introspection and worry during the last quarter of the 20th century. High rates of intermarriage and assimilation made some doubt the community's long-term survival. Conflicts between the denominations over Jewish law and Jewish practice, while not new, increasingly touched on the very bases of Jewish identity, with Reform Judaism announcing that it would recognize patrilineal descent as a basis for Jewish identity. Additionally, Reform and Conservative Judaism approved major shifts in responding to HOMOSEXUALITY and the roles of homosexuals within their congregations. By 2000, Reform Judaism had removed all institutional barriers to gays and lesbians within the denomination. In 2006, the Conservative movement, while retaining the traditional ban on male homosexual activity, announced that gays and lesbians could be ordained as rabbis and cantors and that the movement's rabbis could oversee commitment ceremonies.

Growing anti-Semitism throughout much of the world, including Europe, and growing threats to the security and identity of Israel also increased the fears of many American Jews. Overall, Americans show lower levels of anti-Semitism and greater support for Israel than exists in other countries (in fact, a 2006 survey showed more Americans would refuse to vote for an evangelical Christian candidate for president than a Jewish candidate). The numbers, however, began to shift among the 18 to 25 age group. Jewish students began to complain that colleges were hostile and threatening places.

In this environment, as many American Jews began to fear that their community was threatened, a significant number turned to Orthodoxy as a defense against assimilation and hostility. The belief that a strong religious education and heightened Jewish identity would stem the assimilationist tide led significant numbers to increase their religious practice and religious education. Within this group, however, there were conflicts about the extent to which engagement with secular knowledge and with the non-Jewish world should occur. Many attempted to minimize that engagement, while others felt that such engagement strengthened the community overall and reflected the traditional practice of Judaism.

In the first decades of the 21st century, American Judaism seemed pulled in multiple directions. By nearly every objective measure, Jews and Judaism were well integrated into American society. The community itself was energized by an active and ongoing debate over the meaning of Judaism and how to engage the wider world. At the same time, it feared for its future because such integration removed traditional barriers to assimilation. American Jews also worried about how the rise of anti-Semitism internationally would affect their community. Additionally, while recent surveys had shown a precipitous decline in the number of identifiable Jews in the United States, new survey research in late 2006 seemed to show that the numbers were quite stable and, with more than 6 million Jews, it had the largest Jewish population anywhere in the world, although some argued that Israel's Jewish population had surpassed that of the United States. Thus, despite many concerns, the American Jewish community remained the most vibrant and active Jewish community in the world.

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Judson, Adoniram (1788–1850) One of the earliest American missionaries to labor among Buddhists in Burma, Adoniram Judson was a founding figure in the Protestant foreign mission movement (see MISSIONS, FOREIGN). Born the eldest son of a Congregational minister in Malden, Massachusetts, in 1788, Judson graduated as class valedictorian from Rhode Island College (now Brown University) in 1807, and upon graduating entered Andover Seminary. There he met a number of students, including Luther Rice and Samuel Mills, Jr., who had dedicated themselves to foreign mission service. After undergoing a profound religious experience, Judson also determined to seek a mission field abroad. Finding no immediate outlet for their aspirations, the group submitted their case to the General Association of Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, an action that resulted in the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, or ABCFM, in 1810. Within a two-week period in early 1812, Judson was ordained, married Ann Haseltine (1789–1826), and sailed with her for Calcutta among the first contingent of overseas missionaries.

During the long voyage to India, political and theological circumstances conspired to alter Judson's intentions. En route, he and his wife, along with companion Luther Rice, embraced the doctrine of adult BAPTISM, and shortly after their arrival in Calcutta they were baptized by a British Baptist missionary. This denominational shift rendered untenable Judson's commission from the Congregational ABCFM. At the same time, the outbreak of war between the United States and Great Britain forced the couple to flee from the British colony to Mauritius and eventually to Rangoon, Burma, where they organized an American Baptist mission and where Judson labored for the rest of his life.

At the small missionary outpost, Judson sought to instruct the natives in the basic elements of evangelical Christianity. Committed to the importance of teaching in the language of his pupils, he worked diligently to master Burmese. Eventually, he preached in the local tongue, translated and distributed missionary tracts, and began work on a Burmese edition of the entire Bible, which he finished 17 years later. Judson and his band of converts lived in constant fear of persecution from the Burmese government, and when war broke out between England and Burma in 1824, Judson was imprisoned along with other foreigners

Adoniram Judson. This Baptist missionary to Burma and his wives were models for several generations of young Protestant men and women. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)* living in the country. He was incarcerated for 21 months, while his wife remained at the mission outpost, giving birth to their child in 1825.

Not long after Judson's release, both his wife and his daughter died of illness. In 1834, he married Sarah H. Boardman, the widow of another missionary, who worked with Judson and assisted in the completion of his biblical translation as well as tending to their four children. After Sarah Judson's death in 1845, Judson returned to the United States for the first time in more than 30 years and was greeted with acclaim as a pioneer Baptist missionary. During his visit, he met Emily Chubbuck, a young writer whom he hired to write a biography of his second wife. The two married and returned to the mission in Burma later that year, where Judson labored until his death a few years later.

In his 1883 biography of his father, Edward Judson asserted that the missionary had baptized more than 7,000 Burmese and other tribal peoples, established 63 churches, and directed 163 missionaries and native pastors during his lifetime. He served as an important source of inspiration for several generations of young missionaries. In addition, all three of his wives, dedicated missionaries in their own right, inspired American women to take up the cause of foreign work. These examples of collaborative self-sacrifice and dedication served as models for evangelical foreign mission efforts into the 20th century.

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justification The word *justification,* derived from the Latin *justificatio,* means "to make just" or, as it usually is understood in Christian circles, "to make righteous." The concept appears in the New Testament in the writings of St. Paul, who wrote in the Epistle to the Romans that "a person is justified by faith" (3:28). Justification is traditionally associated with the concept of divine grace and the belief that Jesus Christ acquits men and women of the eternal punishment due them on account of their sins.

The theology of the great 16th-century reformer Martin Luther is the starting point for understanding teaching on justification. Luther was deeply troubled by the medieval religious system and obsessed with the question of how a person could ever earn God's love or find salvation. After meditating on Romans, Luther decided that human beings could do nothing to save themselves. He concluded that only God justifies, that is, redeems, human beings from sin. Through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, sinners were made righteous in God's eyes, and the merits of Christ were credited to them. Faith, Luther said, was the act by which God reveals his gracious character and leads a person to depend upon him for salvation.

John Calvin, even more than Luther, emphasized God's sovereignty and the divine initiative in justifying sinners and granting them eternal salvation. Without divine grace, Calvin wrote, no one could ever repent and become a Christian. Calvin stressed divine grace so strongly that he denied that human beings had any free will at all in the process of justification. God had simply predestined from eternity the fate of humankind, arbitrarily choosing some souls for salvation and others for damnation. Although Calvin believed that the elect (see ELECTION) would inevitably lead pious, Christian lives, he also contended that no amount of human faithfulness could ever alter God's eternal decrees. The merits of Christ, not human merits, justified the sinner.

In the early 17th century, the followers of Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius disputed Calvin's fatalistic logic about justification. Advocates of ARMINIANISM argued that God foreknew, but had not foreordained, who would be saved and who would be damned. Since God gave all people the opportunity to accept eternal salvation, the Arminians stressed the need for moral effort. While orthodox Calvinists believed that human beings received justification passively, Arminians argued that justification, though ultimately God's prerogative, demanded an active, human choice.

With the rise of PURITANISM in England in the early 17th century, justification became regarded as a stage in the process by which the believer attained salvation. Following the text of Romans 8:30 ("Those whom [God] predestined he also called; and those whom he called he also justified; and those whom he justified he also glorified"), Puritan theologians identified four stages in the order of salvation. At the first stage (effectual calling), men and women were brought to repentance and faith by the proclamation of the Christian gospel. At the second stage (justification), God accounted believers as righteous and forgave them their sins. At the third stage (SANCTIFICATION), God released Christians from the power of sin, thus enabling them to live godly lives. Puritans believed that the good works believers performed when they reached sanctification gave them assurance that God had justified them. And at the final stage (glorification), begun only when dying and completed at the last judgment, Christians were remade in the likeness of Christ.

Despite the stress that Luther, Calvin, and the Puritans placed upon justification, Methodist founder John Wesley dramatically altered the Protestant understanding of salvation and God's grace in the mid-18th century. Wesley transformed Arminian themes and adapted them to the new religious movement he formed. While earlier Protestant reformers had emphasized God's role in justifying recalcitrant humankind, Wesley underscored the responsibility of human beings in appropriating the salvation that God held out to them.

Wesley's heirs, the METHODISTS, grew rapidly in the early 19th century and became the largest Protestant denomination in the United States after about 1820. Democratic Arminian emphases on free will dominated the revivals of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, in which evangelists exhorted sinners to abandon evil and come to God. Consistent with the optimistic, self-reliant spirit of the early American republic, revival leaders assumed that individuals had the innate ability to reform themselves. Anyone could be converted, find salvation, and even achieve moral perfection in the present life.

Although Luther had once declared that Christians, while justified, remain sinners incapable of saving themselves, most American Protestants by the middle of the 19th century assumed that the power of accepting or rejecting God's offer of salvation lay entirely in their own hands. Thus, while the doctrine of justification still occupies an honored place in Protestantism, it no longer possesses the decisive theological significance it had at the beginning of the Reformation.

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Kallen, Horace Meyer (1882–1974) Through numerous books, public advocacy, teaching, and service to various Jewish organizations, Horace Meyer Kallen contributed to the ability of American Jews in the early 20th century to preserve their distinctiveness within American society. In a time characterized by Anglo-Saxon, Protestant NATIVISM, Kallen argued that "cultural pluralism" was actually the higher democratic ideal. For Kallen, a secularist at heart, Jews needed to retain their cultural as well as religious identity while refiguring their own self-understanding in light of modern science and modern democratic institutions.

Kallen, born in Berenstadt, Germany, on August 11, 1882, was the son of a German rabbi. He emigrated to America with his family while young. Intent on becoming a novelist, Kallen attended Harvard College, became interested in philosophy, and eventually completed a Ph.D. under WILLIAM JAMES in 1908. After filling a few temporary teaching positions and an instructor's post in philosophy and psychology at the University of Wisconsin from 1911 to 1918, he moved to New York City and took an active role in founding the New School for Social Research, an institution that provided an intellectual home to American Jews struggling against traditionalism. He remained at the New School from 1919 in various roles until his retirement in 1969, and even then wrote actively until his death on February 16, 1974.

Kallen wrote extensively: on practical topics, such as *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (1924) and *Individualism: An American Way of Life* (1933); and on issues of Jewish identity, as in *Judaism at Bay: Essays Toward the Adjustment of Judaism to Modernity* (1932). His underlying philosophy, influenced heavily by James's pragmatism, focused on finding a natural, empirical basis for human values. Following James, he emphasized the variety of immediate experience and viewed the human tendency to create dogmas, or systems of thought, as a denial of the reality of varied experience.

Such a radically pluralist view of the world, in which no particular system of belief would be capable of accounting for or defining all experience, enabled Kallen to make an important intellectual contribution to Jewish identity in American life. He saw democracy as the social system most capable of respecting the plurality of individual experiences. This was especially the case in terms of ethnic or cultural groups (see ETHNICITY).

In a truly democratic society, ethnic groups, each encouraged to preserve its unique heritage, would contribute to the "symphony of civilization." In a 1915 article for the progressive journal *The Nation*, Kallen attacked nativism head on. He argued against the idea of America as a "melting pot" where ethnic and religious differences were abolished. In America, Jewish cultural identity, or what he came to call "Hebraism," would preserve those elements of tradition that spoke to the conditions of modern life, such as the traditional concern for justice, and enable Jews to serve as a model for other ethnic groups in America.

Ultimately, Kallen's philosophical efforts to find common ground between Jewish cultural identity and the growing secularism of American culture proved unpersuasive to large numbers of American Jews. Kallen's Hebraism entailed giving up the religious conviction that the Jews were a "chosen people." This became increasingly difficult for many Jews to do as the increasing ANTI-SEMITISM of the 1920s and 1930s made clear to them the extent to which they remained on the margins of American society.

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Kaplan, Mordecai M. (1881–1983) One of the most creative and significant American Jewish theologians of the 20th century, Mordecai Kaplan addressed the challenges modernity posed to JUDAISM and in the process led in the formation of the fourth denomination of American Judaism, RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM. While many abhorred his views, Kaplan articulated a coherent and consistent vision of Judaism and the Jewish people in the modern world.

Born in 1881 in Russia, Kaplan grew up in a pious Jewish family. In 1888, his father, Israel, a distinguished Talmudist, was invited to America as part of the cabinet of the newly appointed chief rabbi of New York, Jacob Joseph. The rest of the family moved to Paris for a year before joining him. While there, Kaplan first experienced the tensions of being an observant Jew in the modern world. These tensions were exacerbated in New York, where Kaplan attended both religious and public schools. His introduction to secular learning and visitors at his home, especially the biblical critic Arnold Ehrlich, made Kaplan doubt the reality of miracles and Moses' authorship of the Torah.

Despite these doubts, Kaplan remained a devoutly observant Jew, and after graduation from the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in 1902, the same year he received an M.A. degree from Columbia University, he became assistant rabbi at Kehillat Yeshurun in New York. In this Orthodox synagogue, many members refused to recognize Kaplan's American rabbinical ordination and would not call him rabbi. During a honeymoon in Europe in 1908, however, he obtained an Orthodox rabbinical certificate, making Kaplan the first English-speaking Orthodox rabbi in the United States.

Unhappy at Kehillat Yeshurun and increasingly troubled by religious doubts, Kaplan considered leaving the rabbinate. SOLOMON SCHECHTER, president of Jewish Theological Seminary, convinced him to remain. Impressed with Kaplan's abilities, Schechter appointed him dean of the newly created Teachers Institute at the seminary and, shortly afterward, named him a professor of homiletics. In these positions, Kaplan influenced hundreds of young rabbis and teachers for half a century.

Kaplan's activities extended beyond the classroom. His vision of the synagogue as something more than a religious institution was realized in the building of the first Synagogue Center in 1917. Here Kaplan was a rabbi of a congregation whose activities were social and cultural as well as religious. His increasingly unorthodox views created dissension within the congregation, and Kaplan resigned in 1922. He was joined by 22 families who with Kaplan founded the Society for the Advancement of Judaism (SAJ) in New York City.

The SAJ became a laboratory for Kaplan's ideas and the nucleus of the Reconstructionist movement. There Kaplan defended his concept of Judaism as a civilization, the need to reconstruct Judaism in light of the modern world, and his increasingly naturalistic view of God. Feeling isolated at JTS, he resigned in 1927 but was convinced to remain.

Despite his increasingly heterodox ideas, Kaplan was highly regarded within CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM and in 1932 was chosen president of the Rabbinical Assembly. Always searching to make Judaism more meaningful, Kaplan published several new prayer books based on the experiments with ritual undertaken at SAJ. One of these, a prayer book for the Sabbath services, so enraged the Orthodox rabbis (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM) that they issued a ban of excommunication against Kaplan and publicly burned the book. In a jointly authored article, several of Kaplan's colleagues at JTS called him "unlearned in the law" and urged him to stick to homiletics.

As his views became increasingly radical and his view of God more naturalistic, Kaplan's influence within Conservative Judaism decreased. Many of his disciples urged him to separate from the Conservative movement. This he was loath to do.

After he finally did so, following his retirement from JTS in 1963, Kaplan focused all of his energy on developing Reconstructionist Judaism as a vital, independent branch of Judaism. Although becoming a separate entity violated his view that Reconstructionism should integrate all of Jewish culture and civilization, Reconstructionist Judaism remained a model for attempts to incorporate all aspects of Judaic life, culture, and religion. As such, it was a success, and when Kaplan died at the age of 102 in November 1983, he could rest secure in the knowledge that many who had initially viewed his ideas with abhorrence had adopted much of his thought.

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Keithian controversy The Keithian controversy, a split within the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]), was precipitated in 1691 by the teachings of George Keith (1638–1716). An educated Scotsman holding degrees in philosophy, theology, and mathematics from the University of Aberdeen, Keith became a Quaker during the 1660s and was close to the movement's founder, George Fox, and to WILLIAM PENN, both of whom he traveled with on preaching tours.

Often imprisoned in England for his religious beliefs, Keith came to America in 1684 at the invitation of William Penn. While serving as a schoolmaster in Philadelphia (see PENNSYLVANIA [COLONY]), Keith was accused by local Quakers of claiming that salvation was the result of the crucifixion of the historical Christ rather than of the workings of the spiritual Christ within. Keith wrote numerous pamphlets defending his views and organized his followers into a group known as "Christian Quakers." This schismatic move led the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to disown him and his followers.

Returning to England in 1693, Keith continued to propagate his views on the historical Christ and the importance of the Bible. Attempts by the London Yearly Meeting to mediate the dispute and constant warnings to Keith to exercise patience were to no avail. As a result, he and his followers were disfellowshipped by the London Meeting.

Keith's growing concern for the doctrines of traditional Christianity at the expense of the distinctive Quaker doctrines of the inner Christ and continuing and immediate revelation—a defense of which he had once written—led him to return to the Church of England, where he was ordained a priest in 1702. In that year, he returned to America as an Anglican missionary to the Quakers. Although he met with little success, later Anglican priests working among the remnants of Keith's Quaker followers managed to bring several hundred of them into the Church of England.

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Kennett, Jiyu (1924–1996) Born Peggy Teresa Nancy Kennett in Sussex, England, in 1924, the Reverend Roshi Jiyu Kennett was one of the most important Westernizers and feminizers of ZEN in America.

Kennett was baptized in the Church of England and initially felt called to the Anglican priesthood, but at the age of 16 she joined a community practicing Theravada BUDDHISM, a form popularized in Southeast Asia but spread via refugees and immigrants to England. After studying Mahayana Buddhism, a form widespread in East Asia, under a series of Chinese and Japanese instructors, including D.T. SUZUKI, at the London Buddhist Society, Kennett turned to Zen. Shortly after receiving her bachelor's degree in music from the University of Durham in 1961—she was an accomplished professional organist—Kennett left Great Britain in order to study Zen more formally under Asian masters.

In Asia, Kennett studied both Rinzai and Soto Zen, the two most important forms of Zen Buddhism. She was ordained in the Chinese Rinzai Zen tradition in Malaysia in 1962. Later that same year, she was ordained in the Soto Zen tradition in Japan and was given the name of Jiyu ("Compassionate Friend"). She also became the first woman in approximately 500 years to receive training at the prestigious Sojiji Temple in Yokohama. After being licensed as a full teacher of Zen in 1968, she served for a time as an abbess, or spiritual leader, of her own Japanese temple.

Kennett moved to the United States in 1969 and shortly thereafter established the Zen Mission Society, now the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives. She also founded Shasta Abbey, a monastery in northern California devoted to training and ordaining Buddhist priests and nuns.

In keeping with the injunction of her Zen master in Japan, Kennett worked to adapt Zen creatively to foreign circumstances. Approximately half the trainees and half the priests at Shasta Abbey have been women. Her first book, *Selling Water by the River* (1972), contains a call for Zen priests to Westernize and feminize Zen through the use of *upaya*, or "skillful means." Through her Shasta Abbey Press, Kennett also published *How to Grow a Lotus Blossom, or, How a Zen Priest Prepares for Death* (1993) a few years before her own death in 1996.

Although students at Shasta Abbey shave their heads and make a practice of bowing, they eat at tables instead of on the floor, take their tea English style, wear cassocklike robes and clerical collars, and address priests as "Reverend." Moreover, in keeping with Kennett's love of Christian music, they sing Zen texts to organ accompaniment in tones that sound strikingly like Gregorian chants. Kennett seems to have Anglicized Zen as much as she Americanized it, leading one Buddhologist to remark that Shasta Abbey presents us with "the curious state of affairs in which Japanese Zen, in trying to become American Zen, ultimately turns out to be British Zen."

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Keswick movement See Higher Christian Life movement.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929–1968) The man who would come to symbolize the struggle for black political equality in the United States (see Civil Rights movement), Martin Luther King, Jr., was born Michael Luther King, Jr., on January 15, 1929. He adopted the name Martin in the mid-1930s to match his father's name change—although he remained "Mike" to his closest friends. The oldest son of a powerful and influential black minister, Martin was raised within a comfortable environment—albeit one limited by the constraints of the segregated South (see segregation).

A precocious and sensitive child, he was groomed to succeed his father at Ebenezer Baptist Church. He entered Morehouse College in Atlanta in 1944. Although interested in studying law or medicine, the influence of Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse, and relentless family pressure turned him toward the ministry.

Following his graduation in 1948, King went north to Crozer Theological Seminary, where he graduated at the top of his class in 1951. Encouraged by his professors at Crozer and unsure about entering the pulpit, King went on to graduate school at Boston University, where he began to formulate his own theological views. Marked by a combination of personalism, moral action, and a deep awareness of sin, these views helped King overcome his religious doubts by making moral action rather than belief the root of Christianity.

During his graduate work, King encountered the work and writings of Mahatma Gandhi. Although he rarely quoted Gandhi in his writings, King was deeply affected by Gandhi's use of nonviolent action to transform unjust social and political systems. King was especially moved by the hints of transformative suffering within Gandhi's ideas—that the suffering of innocents could be used to transform social evil. For Gandhi, as for King, evil could be redeemed by love if one were willing to take the viciousness of that evil upon oneself.

While completing his dissertation, King accepted a call from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, delivering his first sermon as pastor designate in May 1954, two weeks before the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Brown v. Board of Education,* declaring segregated public schools to be illegal. During that summer, King commuted between Montgomery and Boston in order to finish the research on his dissertation. When King became the full-time pastor at Dexter, he immediately moved to assume control. In his first sermon, he discussed his view of the rights of a minister and followed it immediately with a plan for revitalizing the church. King's first year at Dexter was enormously successful. He brought the church and its finances under his control, received his Ph.D., and was constantly in demand as a speaker and guest minister. His success was so great that his father felt compelled to warn him against pride, reminding him that the devil always struck persons when they were highest.

King's second year at Dexter was radically different from the first. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a black maid returning home from work, was arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white man. Mrs. Parks's personality and stature were such that she was the perfect test case of Alabama's segregation law. The decision to carry the case to court—made by Mrs. Parks in consultation

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and associates leave the White House after meeting with President Lyndon B. Johnson. *(Library of Congress)*

with E. D. Nixon, the acknowledged leader of Montgomery's black community, and Clifford Durr, the renegade white Southern patrician lawyer—would be a historic turning point.

In response to Mrs. Parks's arrest, the Woman's Political Council—a black women's organization composed primarily of professors at Alabama State University—planned a boycott of the city's buses. A ministers' meeting held on December 2 to plan a mass meeting on the boycott chose King to lead the organization, which they named the Montgomery Improvement Association. For nearly a year, the Montgomery bus boycott remained in effect, until November 13, 1956, when the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed an appeals court decision that Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation were unconstitutional.

This victory was followed by the formation in January 1957 of the organization that eventually became known as the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC). The success of the Montgomery bus boycott pushed King into the public eye. He appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine and received even more invitations to speak both in the United States and abroad. In 1958, he traveled to Ghana at the invitation of Kwame Nkrumah, its president. This was followed the next year by a trip to India, where King met Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and deepened his interest in Gandhian nonviolence.

Increasing public and family demands led King to resign from the pastorate at Dexter effective January 1960, ostensibly to join his father at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

In reality, King would be leading "a broad, bold advance of the southern campaign for equality," as he said in the sermon announcing his resignation. The events and results of this campaign lay beyond anyone's imaginings.

From the time he arrived in Atlanta until his assassination in 1968, King's name would become linked with three events—the Birmingham protest of 1963, the March on Washington in the same year, and the Selma-to-Montgomery march of 1965. Other campaigns led by King in Albany, Georgia (1962), and Chicago (1966), and even the Memphis garbage workers' strike that resulted in his murder are overshadowed by these three.

The reasons are quite significant. In both Birmingham and Selma, the stark contrast between peaceful black protesters and the vicious savagery of law enforcement officers broadcast nationwide through the new medium of television moved the nation. The discipline of the protesters, the undeservedness of their suffering, and the eloquence of their actions spoke accusingly as they were blasted across streets by fire hoses, set upon by police dogs, and clubbed down by mounted police.

The eloquence of these acts was matched by King's oratory at the March on Washington. Before a crowd of 250,000 (organizers had hoped for 100,000), King gave one of his most memorable speeches. He told his audience about his dream, a dream, he said, that was rooted in the American dream.

> I have a dream that one day every valley will be exalted. . . . And when this happens . . . we will be able to speed up the day when all God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty we are free at last!'

The march galvanized American public opinion and aided in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the year that King's commitment to nonviolent social change resulted in his receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize.

In the last years of his life, King expanded his views in several directions. Concerned about the inability of civil rights legislation to deal with urban poverty, he turned his attention northward. A 1966 campaign in Chicago met with little success and much hostility, increasing King's concern that solving the problems in the South might prove easier than solving those in the North.

The VIETNAM WAR also drew King's attention. In 1967, he delivered his "Beyond Vietnam" speech, in which he claimed that the evils of poverty, racism, militarism, and imperialism were inextricably linked. This speech alienated many of King's early supporters and led to an increasing disinformation campaign against King directed by J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, a campaign that had begun much earlier.

In the midst of planning a second March on Washington, a racially integrated "poor people's campaign" on behalf of economic justice for all Americans, King traveled to Memphis to aid the city's black garbage collectors, who were striking for the right to unionize. Stepping out onto the balcony of the Lorraine Motel on April 4, 1968, King was felled by an assassin's bullet fired by James Earl Ray.

King's moral power was not killed, however. Although many rejected his emphasis on moral suasion and redemptive suffering as a means of transforming society, his message permeated American society. Above all, King called America to its best self, to realize that in which it claimed to believe. For this reason, King became one of the great religious figures in American history.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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Kino, Eusebio Francisco (1645–1711) One of the most important Spanish Catholic missionaries to the Americas, Eusebio Kino is known as the apostle to Sonora and Arizona for his work along the modern United States–Mexico border. Although much of this work met with Indian hostility, governmental animosity, and the suppression of the Spanish JESUITS in 1783, his lifelong struggle remains as an example of the relentless determination and faith shown by the Spanish missionaries.

He was born Eusebio Chino in Segno, Italy, on August 10, 1645. He was always a religious child, and a serious illness led him to promise to enter the Jesuit order if he were spared. After his recovery, he joined the Society of Jesus (1665) and took the name Francisco (after Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary who died of a fever in 1552 while trying to enter China as a missionary) as a sign of his desire to undertake a mission to China.

After 13 years of study in Innsbruck and Ingolstadt, where he developed a strong interest in mathematics and cartography, he was assigned to his first mission post, NEW SPAIN. An inability to obtain transportation left him stranded in Spain for two years, but he finally arrived in Vera Cruz in 1681. Joining the Atondo expedition to Baja California in 1683 as cartographer, he remained there as a missionary until a massive drought forced him to return to Mexico City in 1685. During this time, he adopted a Spanish form of his name, spelling it either Kino or Qino.

Venturing to the border regions in 1687, he began his missionary and exploring work in modern-day Sonora, Mexico, and Arizona, establishing missions as far north as what is now Tucson, at San Xavier del Bac. In Arizona alone, he claimed to have personally baptized more than 4,500 Pima Indians. Kino also introduced cattle into the region, using them as a means of financing his work.

The maps he drew of his travels aided colonial authorities as they struggled to establish their authority in the region. Among other discoveries, his explorations proved that Baja, California, was not an island but a peninsula (1701). He died at Mission Magdalina in Sonora on March 15, 1711.

(See also ROMAN CATHOLICISM.)

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Kohler, Kaufmann (1843–1926) One of several German rabbis who came to the United States because their views were too radical for their homeland, Kaufmann Kohler helped to create American REFORM JUDAISM and to sustain it. Committed to harmonizing JUDAISM with modern science, he pushed for a progressive view of that religion as destined to take to the whole world the message of the unity and righteousness of God and of justice for all humanity.

Born on May 10, 1843, to a devout Jewish family in Fuerth, Germany, Kohler began religious study at age five, entering the rabbinical seminary of Mayence at 14 and the yeshiva at Altona five years later. He followed this with several years of study with Samson Raphael Hirsch, founder of Jewish neo-Orthodoxy, an attempt to harmonize modern society and Orthodox Judaism.

Studies at the Universities of Munich and Berlin undermined the young man's Orthodox beliefs, causing him much anguish. Kohler became increasingly attracted to the Reform movement, and the publication in 1867 of his doctoral dissertation, a plea for adaptation of religious forms to changed historical circumstances, was hailed by Reform leaders. But the Orthodox were appalled, and he was soundly criticized in the Orthodox press. This reaction made a rabbinical career in Germany impossible, and Kohler was urged to go to America.

Welcomed in New York by Rabbi DAVID EINHORN, whose son-in-law he later became, Kohler found a spiritual father for his religious mission. Shortly after assuming rabbinical duties at Temple Beth-El in Detroit, he attended the Philadelphia Conference of Reformers in 1869 and ardently supported the statement of principles drafted by Einhorn. After two years at Beth-El, Kohler became rabbi at Sinai in Chicago. In 1879, he was called to be Einhorn's successor at Temple Beth-El in New York, where he became the chief spokesman for Reform Judaism, a position he maintained until his death on January 26, 1926.

While at Beth-El, he became embroiled in a pulpit debate with the Conservative rabbi (see CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM) Alexander Kohut—a debate that drew in nearly all the Jewish press and the various rabbis who weighed in on the side of their respective heroes. In an 1885 sermon, Kohut had challenged the very validity of Reform as a legitimate expression of Judaism. Kohler responded intemperately, describing Orthodoxy as "fanatical; offensive and anachronistical," and calling for "a Bible purified from all its offensive and obnoxious elements." Kohler declared that he distinguished in the Bible "the kernel from the husk, the grain from the chaff, the spirit from the form."

In order to bolster the position of Reform in the aftermath of this debate, Kohler invited the leading Reform rabbis to a conference "for the purpose of discussing the present state of American Judaism. . . ." This meeting, held in Pittsburgh in November 1885, produced a document that determined the direction of Reform Judaism for a half century. Known as the PITTSBURGH PLATFORM, it is a mirror of Kohler's thinking. Perhaps in no section is this more true than in section 6, which declares Judaism to be a "progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason."

Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler, a founder of Reform Judaism and president of the Hebrew Union College in the early 20th century.

In 1903, Kaufmann was asked to become president of Hebrew Union College, the center for the training of Reform rabbis. Accepting the position only after the school explicitly stated its commitment to Reform, Kohler served for 19 years, strengthening both its academic and its pastoral content. He added courses—many of which he taught—in biblical criticism, apocryphal and Hellenistic literature, and the Christian scriptures.

Kohler was deeply concerned with the maintenance of Judaism and the Jewish people. His desire to save what was valuable, what he called the positive side of Reform, often is missed in the alterations Reform made in traditional Judaism. Although the destruction of old forms was necessary, in his view, to save the religion, the significant task was, as Kohler wrote, "building up Judaism, render[ing] it the object of love, of pride and joy for all, the source of comfort and peace for every thirsting soul, a fount of life and inspiration to Jew and Gentile alike."

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Koinonia Farm Koinonia (Greek for "fellowship") Farm was founded by Baptist minister Clarence Jordan near Americus, Georgia, in November 1942. Koinonia drew its name and operating principles from the earliest Christian churches described in the New Testament book of Acts. Koinonia was intended to be an example of an interracial community in which members pooled their material resources and shared all property.

Jordan, a native of Georgia, earned a doctorate in New Testament studies from Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1939 and served as a minister to inner-city African Americans in Louisville, Kentucky. During his graduate studies, he became committed to pacifism, racial justice, and the ideals of communal living. After Jordan met Mabel and Martin England, who had been American Baptist missionaries in Burma, the three decided to place all their money into a rundown 400-acre farm in south Georgia. The farm was established as a racially integrated community that practiced Christian brotherhood and peace.

Although both Jordan and the Englands had some agricultural training, none had much practical experience. Jordan used to joke that, every morning, he would climb his roof to see what the neighboring farmer was doing that day. The greatest obstacle to Koinonia's survival, however, was not the founders' lack of agricultural expertise, but racist opponents who objected to their integrated living arrangement. The community endured an economic boycott for many years. Members of the KU KLUX KLAN also periodically threatened violence to warn of their hostility to the mixing of races. Eventually, as the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT blossomed in the late 1950s, Koinonia received national support, developing a mail-order constituency that helped it survive without local support. Jordan responded as well by writing a "Cotton Patch Version" of the New Testament—the Bible translated into the southern rural vernacular.

The Englands left Koinonia soon after World War II, but Jordan continued with his social experiment. By 1956, 60 people, of whom 25 percent were black, lived on the farm. Although Jordan died in 1969, he reorganized Koinonia with Linda and Millard Fuller shortly before his death. They transformed Koinonia Farm into Koinonia Partners and established the Fund for Humanity to provide capital for low-cost housing. The Fullers withdrew from Koinonia in 1976 in order to found HABITAT FOR HUMANITY. Habitat has built more than 95,000 houses worldwide using the funding plan initiated at Koinonia.

The decision Jordan and the Fullers made revived the community, and many new members flocked to it throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Koinonia's relationship with the local community also began to change. Most of Koinonia's neighbors now do business with it; the one local merchant who still refuses its trade claims to base his objection not on Koinonia's racial position but on its peace protests. The community celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1992 and continues to function actively today through the efforts of adult residents and a group of volunteers.

GHS, Jr.

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Krauth, Charles Porterfield (1823–1883)

Charles Porterfield Krauth was a Lutheran (see LUTHERANISM) minister and theologian. During the theological crisis that developed in the mid-19th century between liberal American-born and conservative European-born Lutherans, Krauth became the chief spokesman for the traditionalists. He urged unswerving loyalty to the historical beliefs and practices of Lutheran orthodoxy.

Krauth was born in Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), on March 17, 1823. His father, Charles Philip Krauth, was himself a prominent Lutheran minister. The elder Krauth served as president, first, of what is now Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania and, later, of the General Synod, his denomination's central organizational body. Charles the younger received his undergraduate degree from Gettysburg College in 1839, and two years later he graduated from Gettysburg Seminary. He was ordained to the ministry in 1842. Over the next 20 years, Krauth served pastorates in several locations: Baltimore; Martinsburg; Winchester, Virginia; Pittsburgh; and Philadelphia. He resigned his position at St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, to become editor of the *Lutheran and Missionary* in 1861.

During his years in the parish ministry, Krauth undertook a thorough study of the classic theological texts of German Lutheranism. He discovered in those writings standards of orthodoxy from which Lutherans in the United States were clearly falling away. Krauth resisted the efforts of Lutheran leader SAMUEL SCHMUCKER to create a new "American Lutheranism" that was lax in doctrine and open to fellowship with other Protestant churches. While Schmucker wanted his denomination to become more like other mainline American Protestant churches, Krauth believed Lutherans possessed a theology, polity, and liturgy that were and ought to remain unique. He fostered a sense of denominational exclusiveness based on historical documents such as the Augsburg Confession, the 16th-century statement of essential Lutheran beliefs.

Since Krauth's views coincided with those held by large numbers of German immigrants entering the United States in the 1840s and 1850s, his opinions received a wide hearing. Meanwhile, the entire Lutheran General Synod seemed headed toward schism over the questions Krauth and others raised. First, Lutheran conservatives formed a new seminary at Philadelphia to teach a more traditional theological curriculum than what was available at the denomination's seminary at Gettysburg. Krauth was chosen as the first professor of systematic theology at Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia, in 1864. Next, conservatives seceded from the General Synod and formed the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1867. Krauth composed a creedal document, the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity," around which representatives of the General Council could unite.

Beginning in 1868, Krauth functioned both as professor of theology at Lutheran Seminary and as professor of philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania. Well known for his biblical scholarship, he served on the American Revision Committee of the Old Testament from 1871 until his death. In 1882, Krauth became editor of the newly established *Lutheran Theological Review,* a journal founded to express the orthodox ideas he championed. His most important publication was *The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology* (1871), a book that influenced the thinking of many Lutheran ministers about the nature of their church.

Krauth intended his final scholarly task to be the composition of a biography of the great Protestant reformer Martin Luther. Krauth died at Philadelphia on January 2, 1883, before bringing that project to completion.

GHS, Jr.

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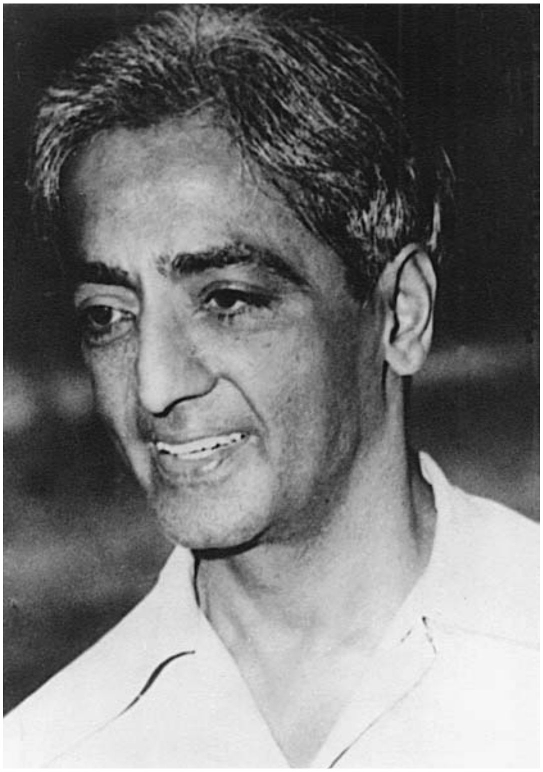
Krishnamurti, Jiddu (1895–1986) A native of India, Jiddu Krishnamurti was raised to be a Theosophical leader (see THEOSOPHY), but he left behind both his homeland and the Theosophical Society and went on to become an independent guru in the United States.

Krishnamurti was born in 1895 in Madanapalle, India. While Krishnamurti was still a boy, his father went to work at the Theosophical Society and moved his family to its headquarters outside Madras. When Krishnamurti was 14, Annie Besant, then the president of the Theosophical Society, prophesied the coming of a messianic figure called the World Teacher. In 1911, Besant founded the Order of the Star of the East and tapped Krishnamurti to lead it. To educate him for that mission, she brought him to England. That education, which included extensive travel, seemed to be going well when Krishnamurti achieved a spiritual awakening while meditating under a pepper tree in 1922 at his U.S. base of Ojai, California. However, in 1929, Krishnamurti renounced the messianic role assigned to him, separated from the Theosophical Society, and began a long career as an independent spiritual teacher.



Independent spiritual teacher Krishnamurti split with the Theosophical Society in 1929. *(Johnson Studios. Courtesy of the Krishnamurti Foundation of America Archives)*

Krishnamurti's teachings are hard to categorize, in part because he taught his listeners to reject all authority, including his own. But his message was clearly a call to spiritual self-reliance. "Truth is a pathless land," Krishnamurti wrote. "Man cannot come to it through any organization, through any creed, through any dogma, priest or ritual, not through any philosophic knowledge or psychological technique." Truth, he insisted, could only be experienced immediately and intuitively in the here and now. This message of freedom proved tremendously appealing to Americans tuned in to the COUNTERCULTURE. They eagerly embraced him in the 1960s and 1970s as a world teacher of a different sort.

Toward the end of his life, Krishnamurti emerged as an important figure in the ongoing dialogue between modern science and Asian religions. In 1999, his book *Think on These Things* was named one of the 100 Best Spiritual Books of the Century. Krishnamurti died at age 90 in 1986 at his American headquarters in Ojai, California. Although Krishnamurti was as averse to organization as he was to doctrine, his legacy lives on in the Ojai-based Krishnamurti Foundation of America, established in 1969.

SRP

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Krishna Consciousness See INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS.

Ku Klux Klan A nativist (see NATIVISM) and racist organization, the Ku Klux Klan has experienced several declines and resurgences in its long history. The Klan has had three distinct manifestations that, although linked by basic beliefs, are chronologically and organizationally separate.

The original Ku Klux Klan was formed in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866 in the wake of the Confederate defeat in the CIVIL WAR. Originally a social fraternity, it was taken over by Confederate veterans under the leadership of Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821–77) and became a local vigilante group. It soon moved into political terrorism designed to prevent the establishment of Republican government and black political equality. For half a decade, various Klans, for they were all local in form and organization, terrorized much of the South until local militias or the federal government managed to crush them.

The original Klan seems to have had little religious motivation. The same cannot be said for the rejuvenated Klan of the 1920s. The 1920s Klan drew its inspiration from the 1915 movie *The Birth of a Nation* by D. W. Griffith, which was based on Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman*. This Klan directed its animosity not only against blacks but also against Jews, Catholics, and immigrants. An extreme version of the reaction to urbanization, industrialization, and immigration that emerged after WORLD WAR I, the Klan preached a return to small-town Protestant values and Anglo-Saxon superiority. Primarily a political movement, this Klan was less violent than its earlier incarnation. It also developed the Klan signature of cross burning. While this Klan provided many people an opportunity to express their fears and hatreds, it was politically quite unsuccessful despite a membership that numbered nearly 2 million. Although in many areas political candidates needed Klan endorsement to ensure election, only two Klan-endorsed laws seem to have been passed during this period: an Alabama statute requiring state inspection of convents, and an Oregon law requiring all children to attend public school. Both were later overturned by the courts. This Klan collapsed when it was discovered that in many states, especially Indiana, its leaders were criminals and con men who used the organization for personal gain.

The period after WORLD WAR II saw another resurgence of the Klan, driven by fear of communism and the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Although marked by divisions and numerically small in this period, probably peaking at 25,000, this version of the Klan was quite violent, and its various groups accumulated large caches of weapons and explosives. Following a decline in the early 1970s, the Klan reemerged in the 1980s, this time affiliated with neo-Nazi and other white supremacist groups. This Klan continued its attacks on Jews and blacks, although many groups softened their anti-Catholicism and spoke of saving white, Christian America. The Klan also became increasingly a part of the IDENTITY MOVEMENT, which viewed the Anglo-Saxons as the true biblical Israelites and Jesus as a white Anglo-Saxon.

Damaged by its violent reputation and financially weakened by several successful civil lawsuits, the various Klans had dwindled to about 6,000 members in 162 separate and often competing Klan groups by 2006. Since it lacked a distinctive identity, hangers-on drifted between the Klan and the numerous other racist groups that dotted the American political fringe. All of these groups continued to appeal to a vision of Christian America brought on by violence and excluding everyone different from themselves.

(See also ANTI-CATHOLICISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; SEGREGATION.)

EQ

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L

Landmark movement See BAPTISTS; GRAVES, JAMES ROBINSON.

Lavey, Anton Szandor See SATANISM.

Lee, Ann (1736–1784) Born the daughter of a blacksmith in Manchester, England, Ann Lee became known in America as the founder of the SHAKERS, a utopian religious movement that advocated communitarian living, celibacy, and the strict separation of the sexes. From a small group of eight immigrants in 1774, Lee's movement grew to encompass communities from Maine to Indiana by the 1840s, and her spiritual vision of sexual relations as the root of all human sinfulness became the basis for a prominent religious organization that prospered into the 20th century.

Ann Lee had already demonstrated her deep religious piety well before leaving England. In the 1760s, she came under the influence of James and Jane Wardley, members of an enthusiastic group known as the "Shaking Quakers" for their spiritual outbursts. She apparently experienced religious visions during this period, but it was not until after her marriage and the subsequent deaths of four children during infancy, that Lee had the vision that changed her path. In 1770, she received a revelation that the original sin of Adam and Eve was sexual intercourse, and that once human beings abstained from sin, they would recognize that the millennium had, in fact, already arrived along with this newly revealed truth.

Impelled by poverty and persecution, Lee, her husband, and a small group of followers fled to America in 1774 and settled in Watervliet, New York. There they established a way of life based on the dictates of a celibate life and a socialist millennial community, consecrating all of their worldly work to God. "Mother Ann," as head of this association, soon came to be regarded as the second coming of Christ, a female incarnation that corresponded to the first, male incarnation. For believers, her leadership demonstrated that the godhead was both male and female, and this bipartite notion of divinity in turn reinforced the importance of the separation of sexes in their communities. For members of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, Ann Lee's life and leadership had ushered in the kingdom on Earth.

Although her leadership and religious experience proved integral to the growth of Shakerism, Ann Lee died before the movement began to expand. In 1785, one year after her death, the first Shaker community was founded in New Lebanon, New York. In death, however, Mother Ann was deified and extolled as the new messiah, and her legacy has provided spiritual inspiration for Shakers to the present day.

LMK

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Lee, Bruce (1940–1973) Bruce Lee was a movie star and America's best-known martial artist. Though he is not typically regarded as a religious figure, through his influence, the martial arts made their way into American culture. Those arts, in turn, have been a key vehicle for the popular transmission across America of the beliefs and values of ZEN and TAOISM.

Though born in San Francisco's Chinese Hospital, Lee was raised in Hong Kong. Legend has it that he was a sickly child who was bullied at school, so in 1954 Lee began to study the Wing Chun style of kung fu. After he was expelled from school in Hong Kong, Lee went to San Francisco and then Seattle, where he attended high school and studied philosophy at the University of Washington. In 1964, Lee was married. He and his wife moved to Oakland and opened a kung fu school. Two years later, he began to star as Kato, a valet and chauffeur, on the TV series *The Green Hornet*. Soon he was starring in movies, most notably *Enter the Dragon* (1973), and training actors such as Steve McQueen and athletes including former basketball star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar.

Lee's early and mysterious death at the age of 32, reportedly from an allergic reaction, secured his status as an American icon. Today in martial arts dojos across the United States, countless young Americans pay homage to Lee and to successors such as Jackie Chan. Although some instructors downplay the philosophical and religious roots of the various martial arts, students typically learn something about key Taoist notions such as chi and yin/yang and Zen concepts such as emptiness and egolessness.

As for Lee, he explicitly rooted his fighting in religion in *Tao of Jeet Kune Do*, an enduringly popular book published posthumously in 1975. That book, which has sold more than a quarter million copies, included an application of Buddhism's Eightfold Path to Lee's distinctive martial arts style, called Jeet Kune Do. It also included hints on how to transcend karma and achieve spiritual liberation. "Jeet Kune Do," Lee concluded, "is the enlightenment."

SRP

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Lee, Jarena (1783–?) A pioneer in American religion and literature, Jarena Lee was the first African-American woman in America to write her spiritual autobiography. She was also one of the first women of any race to break through the Victorian "cult of true womanhood" to become a preacher.

Born female and black in 1783 in southern New Jersey, Lee began life as an outsider times two. She had a conversion experience in 1804 at the age of 21 and was "born again." Shortly after joining Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, Lee inaugurated her career as a preacher by standing up, interrupting the congregation's male minister, and proclaiming her glorious salvation. Four years after her experience of JUSTIFICATION, Lee was blessed with SANCTIFICATION, the second experience of grace described by the pioneering Methodist John Wesley.

In 1811, Lee approached the minister of Bethel A.M.E. Church, the Reverend RICHARD ALLEN (1760–1831), and reported that she had been called by God to preach. Allen responded by informing her that she must have been mistaken, and Lee for a time repressed her call to a Christian ministry. Taking up a life as a wife and mother, she married Joseph Lee, a minister of a black church outside Philadelphia, in 1811 and moved out of the city. After her husband died unexpectedly and Lee found herself alone with two children, she moved back to Philadelphia.

In 1819, Lee once again dramatically interrupted a service at Bethel Church. This time, however, she stood up to offer her own interpretation of the Gospel reading of the day. To Lee's surprise, Allen, who had since become bishop of the newly independent African Methodist Episcopal Church, responded to this second incident by sanctioning Lee's now-evident call to preach.

Although Lee was never ordained, she spent her remaining years as an itinerant revivalist. Her work took her to states up and down the eastern seaboard and west into the frontier as far as Dayton, Ohio. In one year, she traveled an estimated 2,325 miles and preached 178 sermons. Although Lee confined herself largely to calling her listeners to Christ, she did join the American Antislavery Society in 1840.

Lee is remembered primarily for her remarkable memoir, which first appeared in Philadelphia in 1836 under the title *The Life and Religious Experience of Jarena Lee, A Coloured Lady, Giving An Account of Her Call to Preach the Gospel.* In this book, Lee shares with her readers the despair that preceded her justification, the doubts that nagged at her until her sanctification, and the triumphs and difficulties associated with living a life as an African American, a woman, and an itinerant evangelist.

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Leeser, Isaac (1806–1868) A religious traditionalist who struggled against the radical changes of Reform Judaism, Isaac Leeser recognized the need for Judaism to make adjustments simultaneously to American society and modernity. His 44-year career in the United States was spent trying to maintain traditional Jewish practice without creating an isolated and insular community. For this reason, Isaac Leeser deserves to be called the unofficial founder of Conservative Judaism in the United States.

Born in Neuenkirchen, Prussia, on December 12, 1806, Isaac Leeser was tutored privately until he entered the *Gymnasium* of Münster. At the age of 18, his formal education ended when he immigrated to the United States. He spent five years working at an uncle's store in Richmond, Virginia. During this time, he taught Hebrew and other subjects in Richmond's Jewish community and achieved a degree of fame by rebutting a series of anti-Semitic articles that appeared in a local paper. His erudition so impressed the congregation of Mikveh Israel Synagogue in Philadelphia that he was invited to be its *hazzan,* or cantor.

During his 21 years there, Leeser devoted himself to the welfare of American Judaism. He published a monthly newspaper, the *Occident and American Jewish Advocate,* in which he voiced his opposition to reformers such as Isaac Wise and promoted his version of a traditional yet Americanized Judaism. For despite his opposition to the reformers, Leeser did not reject all changes. He translated both the Sephardic (1837) and Ashkenazic (1848) rites into English and preached in English, taking on a role traditionally reserved for the rabbi and leading to his resignation from Mikveh Israel in 1850.

Leeser's major concern, however, was the continuation and stability of Jewish life in the United States. To this, more than anything else, he devoted himself. Convinced that the maintenance of Jewish life lay in religious education, he wrote or translated several textbooks for Jewish schools, including the first Hebrew primer (1838). Committed to the idea that all Jews should know Hebrew (and aware that large numbers did not), he translated the Hebrew Bible into English (1845).

Following his resignation from Mikveh Israel, Leeser traveled around the United States and was disturbed to find that families in small towns were greatly in need of religious leaders. To provide those leaders, in 1867 he founded the first rabbinical school in the United States, Maimonides College.

In the pages of *The Occident*, Leeser repeatedly issued calls for the creation of an organization that could provide the educational and religious institutions necessary to insure Judaism's survival in the United States. He even joined forces with Isaac Wise in 1849 to effect its creation, with no success.

Like Isaac Wise, whom he resembled in so many ways, Leeser was convinced that America was the promised land for the Jews. While, unlike Wise, he supported Jewish colonization efforts in Palestine (see ZIONISM), Leeser viewed the United States as a nation where Jews and Judaism could flourish. As he wrote, "This country is emphatically the one where Israel is to prepare itself for its glorious mission of regenerating mankind." Leeser devoted his efforts to this vision until his death on February 1, 1868.

EQ

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Leland, John (1754–1841) John Leland was a Baptist minister and opponent of the Anglican religious establishment in Virginia during the era of the American Revolution. Leland's writings and public speaking made him a key figure in securing the passage of THOMAS JEFFERSON's Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1786. This bill was an important first step toward the eventual separation of church and state in the United States.

Leland, born in Grafton, Massachusetts, on May 14, 1754, was brought up as a member of the Congregational Church. After undergoing a conversion experience when he was 18 years old, he was rebaptized by immersion and later licensed as a Baptist preacher. He moved southward in 1776 and began service as an itinerant evangelist in Orange County, Virginia. In traveling throughout Virginia, Leland founded many new churches and immeasurably aided the development of the Baptist denomination. After his ministerial credentials were challenged by some of his fellow BAPTISTS, he was ordained again in 1786. Leland eventually became one of the most effective leaders of the Separate, or revival-oriented, Baptists in Virginia.

Because of their refusal to comply with the church establishment in colonial Virginia, Baptist preachers were repeatedly imprisoned and their worship services disrupted. The Baptist General Committee, to which Leland belonged, repeatedly circulated petitions to the Virginia legislature in an attempt to have their grievances redressed. Joining with the Presbyterians, who similarly dissented from Anglicanism, Baptists sought freedom to worship without legal constraints.

Leland believed that the most effective thing a government could do for Christianity was leave it alone. To make his argument, he drew an analogy to the deaths of Christian martyrs in the early church. Leland observed that state establishments of religion had done more to harm the cause of Jesus Christ than all the persecutions of Christianity combined. He remarked that while the official support of religion warmly "hugs the saints," it also corrupts the faith. Persecution, on the other hand, "tears the saints to death, but leaves Christianity pure." In alliance with rationalist exponents of religious freedom such as Thomas Jefferson and JAMES MADISON, Leland and the Baptists eventually saw their position vindicated. They witnessed, first, the disestablishment of Anglicanism in Virginia in 1786 and, later, the passage of the FIRST AMENDMENT to the United States Constitution in 1791.

Leland proved to be outspoken on behalf of freedom in another sphere as well. African Americans in the South had been turning to the Baptists in great numbers. Baptist polity gave black Christians leeway in creating their own fellowships, improvising their own forms of worship, and ordaining their own clergy. Leland welcomed the conversion of slaves to Christianity, but he worried about the physical conditions of their bondage. In 1790, he presented to Virginia Baptists an antislavery resolution condemning the institution not only as a violent deprivation of God-given rights, but also as inconsistent with the republican political ideals for which all Americans had struggled in the Revolution.

Leland returned to Massachusetts in 1792 and devoted himself for nearly 50 more years to Christian evangelistic activity. He never settled into a single home but crisscrossed New England during that period. He became renowned as a preacher who promoted both spiritual piety and religious liberty. Having championed the separation of church and state in debates over the continuing religious establishments in the New England states, Leland lived to see Congregationalism disestablished in Connecticut in 1818 and in Massachusetts in 1833. He died at Cheshire, Massachusetts, on January 14, 1841.

GHS, Jr.

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liberalism, theological The term *theological liberalism* when applied to Christianity covers a wide area of Protestant theology, and what many might consider "liberal" others would consider normative. As it developed in its classical form in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th century, liberal theology began with the premise that theology must integrate the findings of science and history into its work. As a result, liberal theologians attempted to reconstruct theology in light of biblical criticism (see BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), evolutionary theory (see EVOLUTION; SCIENCE AND RELIGION), archaeology, and geology.

Related to this premise was liberalism's view that theology had to speak to the conditions and realities of its particular historical period, that is, that theology is historically conditioned. For this reason, it should not be surprising if religious language reflected the level of scientific knowledge available at the time it emerged. In the Bible, creation was condensed into days. Miracles were readily accepted, and social views matched those of the surrounding culture. Theology's goal was to get behind these relative truths and discover what was pure, true, and eternal.

For liberal theologians, the primary elements in the Christian message centered on the following: that God is love, that in the person of Jesus Christ God had affirmed the importance of humanity and had shown what humanity should and could become, and that as Lord of time, God was in control of the world. As a result of these claims, liberal theology dispensed with many traditional understandings of Christianity.

The first of these was the belief in eternal damnation. Such a concept was inconsistent with the liberals' understanding of God's love. Following a theological development that had a long history in Christian thought and in the United States since the late 17th century, liberal theologians were often universalists, believing that all eventually would be redeemed or saved (see UNIVERSALISM).

In making Jesus the model of what humanity could and should become, liberal theology minimized, but did not reject, his divinity. Jesus' significance lay less in his redemptive sacrifice for human beings as an atonement for their sins than in his life. Jesus remained the son of God, but liberal theology emphasized his moral teachings and his life as a moral exemplar. For liberal theology, the true message of Christianity was its morality.

Given their understanding of divine providence—God's control over history—the liberal theologians were strong believers in progress. Progress was the norm as human beings used the divine gift of reason to uncover error and to discover natural laws that enabled them to create a better world. Human beings had a role in creating the kingdom of God; they had both the ability and the obligation to build a good society on this Earth (see SOCIAL GOSPEL). This belief in progress and in human ability led to a relatively weak doctrine of sin. Sin was error or ignorance, not an inherent element of fallen existence that perverted everything. Sin could be overcome by removing the things that led to it—ignorance, drunkenness, poverty, and so forth.

Liberal theology prompted several reactions that soon displaced its dominance in American Protestant theology. Fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM) reacted to liberal theology's blunting of traditional Christian doctrines and its accommodation to modern science, especially evolution. MODERNISM took liberal theology to the extreme, removing all supernaturalism from theological reflection. NEO-ORTHODOXY, while accepting liberal theology's accommodation to science and the modern world, rejected its views on progress and sin.

Despite the fact that it was superseded in the second half of the 20th century, theological liberalism had a major influence on American religion. Nearly all theology done in the 20th century and after either built upon the groundwork set by liberal theology or was articulated in opposition to it. For this reason, despite its seeming naiveté, it remained a serious theological force.

(See also AMES, EDWARD SCRIBNER; FOSDICK, HARRY EMERSON; MATHEWS, SHAILER)

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liberal Protestantism See MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM.

liberation theology *Liberation theology* is a term used to describe a group of theologies that perceive the centrality of the Christian message as the actualizing of social justice. Liberation theology developed in Latin America during the 1960s as the "Third World Priests Movement." This movement, initially restricted to ROMAN CATHOLICISM, emerged among priests who were concerned with the political and economic oppression of their parishioners and convinced that the Gospel commanded feeding the hungry, freeing the captives, and healing the sick. This view was affirmed by the Roman Catholic bishops of Latin America at their 1968 meeting in Medellín, Colombia. There the bishops proclaimed that the existing situation in their countries was oppressive and that Christians needed to work to radically transform society in the spirit of the Gospel. They encouraged the formation of "base Christian communities," where groups of Christians would meet for Bible study and prayer and to formulate a Christian response to their lives. The base communities spread quickly. By 1980, there were more than 100,000 such groups, despite the hostility of political and social elites as well as many bishops.

The significance of the movement was undeniable, and it soon entered into Latin American Protestantism, primarily through the work of José Miguez Bonino, an Argentinean Methodist theologian. The movement met with even greater hostility in Protestant circles, since many Protestant leaders felt that it undermined the spiritual message of the Gospel and deflected attention from evangelism and individual conversion.

In its Latin American form, liberation theology entered into American consciousness in 1973 with the translation of Gustavo Gutiérrez's *A Theology of Liberation*. At this time, it merged with a more indigenous form of liberation theology developing in the United States, primarily among African Americans (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION).

The significance of liberation theology grew steadily throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. There were, however, countervailing forces. Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Josef Ratzinger, head of the Congregation fide, the papal office responsible for ensuring religious orthodoxy, led the counteroffensive. The pope, having lived under communist domination for much of his life, was disturbed by the key role that Marxism played in liberation theology, particularly in its sanctioning of class conflict.

In the United States, liberation theology also met with much hostility and resistance, especially during the presidency of Ronald Reagan, when conflicts over U.S. foreign policy in Central and South America were hotly debated. Critics complained that, like Protestant liberalism, it aligned itself too closely with secular ideologies and political platforms.

Liberation theology has two major methodological assumptions: the preferential option for the poor and contextualization. The preferential option for the poor means that those who are weak, despised, sick, and imprisoned are those to whom the Gospel is first given and those whose cries Christians have a primary obligation to hear. This involves attending to their material as well as their spiritual needs. In the Gospels, the first manifestations of Jesus' messiahship were acts responding to people's physical needs. He healed the sick, fed the hungry, and raised the dead. Liberation theologians argue that Christians must act in a similar fashion, but through political means to make their work most effective.

The second point, contextualization, speaks to the fact that liberation theology is a theology done in response to the needs of a particular sociopolitical location and is done from the bottom up. The base communities played a fundamental role in enabling this theology. They were places where people read Scripture and interpreted it in light of their own experiences. In the process, they learned that social and economic deprivation was not what God had intended for anyone.

In the United States, liberation theology took on numerous forms dictated by a radically different context. African Americans and Hispanics have developed the most traditional liberation theologies by responding to their own forms of political and social oppression. Other socially marginal groups also applied liberation theology to their situations. This trend has been most fully developed by feminist theologians (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY), who have argued that social conditions have blinded people to the liberating religious message proclaimed to women by Jesus.

The power and influence of liberation theology on U.S. theology and religious practice have been quite significant. As a result, theology in the late 20th century was much more open and responsive to concerns beyond those of white males, who previously dominated the field. Equally important, liberation theology altered the basic perceptions of the role of theology, and even those who were not supportive of the movement were forced to articulate their understanding of theology in response to the questions asked by liberation theologians.

Nonetheless, the long-term impact of liberation theology was uncertain at the beginning of the 21st century. With the collapse of communism in the 1980s, liberation theology lost a great deal of its rhetorical force. While few liberation theologians viewed the communist model as a viable alternative, the existence of a countervailing form of social organization that appeared to be relatively functional and able to meet the minimum economic needs of its people gave liberation theology's economic and social claims some power. The absolute and utter discrediting of communism and the growing openness of most European social democratic parties toward market economics also signified the increasing intellectual isolation of liberation theology. Finally, the slow collapse of authoritarian governments in South and Central America in the face of growing democratization also undercut a great deal of the impetus behind the movement.

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Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865) More than any other public figure in American history, Abraham Lincoln, the 16th president of the United States, profoundly shaped the expression of American CIVIL RELIGION. During the CIVIL WAR, Lincoln delineated the moral dilemmas his nation faced in the struggle with slavery and transformed the idea of the Union into a mystical, religious cause.

Lincoln was born near Hodgenville, Kentucky, on February 12, 1809. He spent his youth on the edges of poverty as his family moved from Kentucky to Indiana and then to Illinois. He was postmaster of New Salem, Illinois, from 1833 to 1836 and studied law during that period. After moving to Springfield, Illinois, in 1837 and opening a law office, his reputation grew rapidly. Lincoln represented the Whig Party in the Illinois legislature from 1835 to 1843 and in the United States House of Representatives from 1847 to 1849. He joined the newly formed Republican Party in 1856. Despite losing to Democrat Stephen Douglas in the race for the United States Senate in 1858, Lincoln received the Republican nomination for president two years later and was elected after a bitter four-sided campaign. Following his election, seven Southern states seceded from the Union, prelude to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861.

There has always been considerable controversy about Lincoln's religious beliefs. As a young man, he turned against the Baptist faith of his parents and demonstrated little use for Christian creeds and formal theology. Still, he never explicitly rejected the teachings of the Bible, and biblical references appeared frequently in his speeches and political writings. After the death of his four-year-old son in 1850, Lincoln regularly attended Presbyterian churches in Springfield and Washington, but never officially became a member of any denomination. As he stated in 1846, when challenged about his religious beliefs, "That I am not a member of any Christian Church, is true; but I have never denied the truth of the Scriptures; and I have never spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular."

Lincoln's piety remained genuine but unconventional throughout his lifetime. While he was certainly casual about external religious observances, the vicissitudes of his public career and the unhappiness he experienced in his family life continually drove him into contemplation of the divine will. His mother died when he was a boy, and two of his sons died as children. Above all, the tragedy of the Civil War forced him to ponder how the providence of God related not only to him as an individual, but also to the nation as a whole. In the Gettysburg Address of 1863, he expounded a public religious faith, explaining the meaning of American nationalism in theological terms. Lincoln thought that the United States was called by God to be a proving ground for democracy. He believed that only the victory of the Union in the Civil War could preserve the United States's God-given mission of championing human freedom, a cause he once called "the last best hope of earth."

Lincoln's second inaugural address of March 1865 contains the most enduring ethical statement ever articulated by an American political leader. Lincoln noted the irony that Northerners and Southerners read the same Bible and trusted the same God for aid in their fratricidal war. Yet Lincoln also saw a religious meaning that transcended the narrow interpretations the Union and the Confederacy assigned to the conflict. He envisioned the Civil War as the punishment of a righteous God against *both* sections, and he called upon *all* Americans to repent of their public sins. Slavery had placed the nation under God's judgment, he said, and every ounce of blood drawn by a slaveholder's lash promised to be requited by the blood shed by soldiers in the war.

Lincoln's assassination in Washington, D.C., on Good Friday (April 15) in 1865 made him a martyr and symbolic figure of forgiveness in the public eye. Having suffered immense psychological agony during a struggle in which he sent thousands of young men off to die, he demonstrated his faith in the national cause by laying down his own life at its end. Lincoln had destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, and embodied the nation's wartime sacrifice

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Lipscomb, David (1831–1917) David Lipscomb was the most influential leader of the Churches of Christ between the Civil War and World War I. Editor of the *Gospel Advocate*, the principal paper of the Restoration movement in the United States, Lipscomb wished to see the primitive simplicity of apostolic times reestablished within American Christianity.

Lipscomb was born in Franklin County, Tennessee, on January 21, 1831. He graduated from Franklin College in Nashville in 1849. He made his living as a farmer for a while, but in the mid-1850s, he began to serve as a lay preacher for the Disciples of Christ, the denomination Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone had organized in 1831. When the the Civil War ended and order was restored in his state, Lipscomb assumed control of the *Gospel Advocate* with the support of Tolbert Fanning, its former editor. In 1891, he founded the Nashville Bible Institute, which after his death was renamed David Lipscomb College in his honor.

Lipscomb believed that the Bible was the all-sufficient rule for Christian life, and he advocated absolute trust in its teachings. He thought loyalty to the plain teachings of Scripture required that believers take no active role in earthly affairs. During the Civil War, he was adamant that Christians should not participate in the fighting, and the last election in which he cast a vote was in 1860. In his book *Civil Government* (1889), Lipscomb argued that God had originally intended to be the world's sovereign. Although Satan gained dominion when humankind transferred allegiance from God to earthly rulers, Jesus would one day return from heaven, destroy all governments, and inaugurate the reign of God on Earth.

Applying these arguments about the dangers of worldliness to the life of the church, Lipscomb attacked the use of instrumental music in worship and opposed missionary societies and other ecclesiastical agencies. None of these, he argued, had warrant either in the Bible or in primitive Christian history. Lipscomb's extreme positions revealed how severe the division in the ranks of the Disciples of Christ had become. In 1906, after prodding by Lipscomb, the United States Census Bureau first recognized the existence of two separate denominations: Lipscomb's militantly antimodern group, now called the Churches of Christ (Noninstrumental), and the more mainstream Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

Lipscomb wrote constantly on religious topics in the *Gospel Advocate* from 1866 until 1913. In 1913, he retired from his work as a writer, preacher, and teacher at the Bible Institute. Lipscomb died at Nashville on November 11, 1917.

GHS, Jr.

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literalism, biblical See INERRANCY.

literature and religion The relationship between religion and American literature has been both fruitful and complex. Some of the most significant works of the American literary canon have dealt with religious themes or employed religious imagery. Indeed, American literature cannot be fully understood without an appreciation of how authors have made use of religious ideas. While organized institutional expressions of religion and formal theology have had little place in American writing, religious concepts have been consistently vital. Even in writing that implicitly rejects traditional beliefs, questions about life's ultimate meaning and the spiritual struggles in which individuals engage have often played critical roles.

The complicated relationship between religion and literature in America begins with the Puritans who settled New England in the 17th century. Unlike their more worldly fellow church members who remained in the Church of England, the Puritans were suspicious of the arts. The most important book for them was the Bible. Yet as human beings struggling to understand the workings of divine providence, Puritans had to interpret the Bible in the light of their own personal and communal histories. Sermons were the key form of Puritan literature, but poetry and biographies, too, described the reflections of men and women on God's place in their lives.

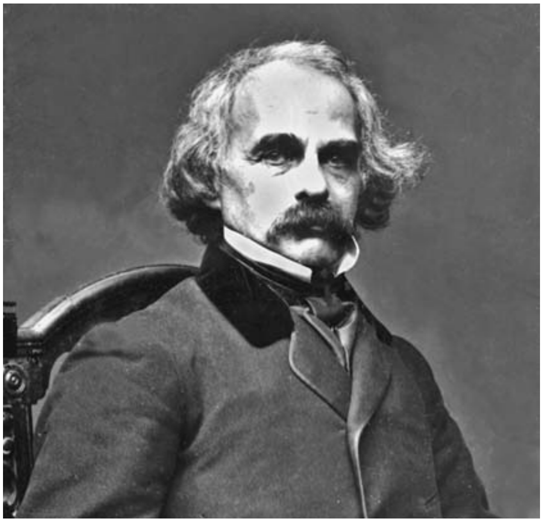
The earliest example of American literature is Pilgrim governor WILLIAM BRADFORD's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, a work begun in 1630 but not finished until 1650. His description of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod in 1620 is matchless: "Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven." Bradford goes on at length to compare his people with the people of Israel at the time of the biblical exodus. In Bradford's mind, the Pilgrims were God's new chosen people. They, like the Israelites of old, had escaped from the bondage of the past and, in the wilderness, were seeking a promised land to which God had called them.

Puritan poet ANNE BRADSTREET arrived with the first group of Massachusetts Bay settlers in 1630. Mother of eight children, Bradstreet wrote in the midst of domestic duties about her religious experiences and the pleasures of family life. In 1647, her brother-in-law took a copy of her poetry to London, where it appeared in 1650 as *The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung up in America*—the first published poetry written in the New World. Most of Bradstreet's work is based upon the interaction between the natural world and God who created it, between the realities of earthly life and the hope of heaven. This dichotomy is skillfully evoked in the poem she penned, "Upon the Burning of Our House," in 1666: "Thou hast a house on high erect / Fram'd by that mighty Architect, / With glory richly furnished. . . . / A Prize so vast as is unknown, / Yet, by his Gift, is made thine own. / There's wealth enough, I need no more; / Farewell my Pelf [Riches], farewell my Store. / The world no longer let me Love,/ My hope and Treasure lies Above."

Congregational minister JONATHAN EDWARDS, credited with initiating the New England phase of the GREAT AWAKENING, is generally recognized as the last great writer of the Puritan tradition. Edwards recorded an account of the revivals in his church in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*. That work, published in London in 1737, had a tremendous influence on the later efforts of evangelists and revivalists. His 1740 sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," moreover, is probably the most famous sermon in American history. It contains a memorable description of the sinner held by God like a spider over the pit of hell: "You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it, and burn it asunder." As this graphic image suggests, Edwards sought to evoke emotions that would reinvigorate the spiritual fervor of those who heard or read him.

When the great age of American literature dawned in the early 19th century, PURITANISM as a religious phenomenon had disappeared from the churches of the United States. Its legacy remained, however, in many of the writings of the period, especially in the work of Nathaniel Hawthorne, who sensitively explored the Puritan heritage. His story "Young Goodman Brown" (1835) and the novel *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) describe characters wrestling with questions of sin and evil. Although he disdained Puritan theology, Hawthorne clearly believed Puritan notions about depravity and the deviousness of the human heart. He dissected personalities and the society in which his characters lived to bring to light the psychological darkness that lurks within even the most upright circumstances.

Herman Melville was another mid-19th-century writer who explored religious themes. His two greatest works, *Moby-Dick* (1851) and *Billy Budd* (1891), ostensibly tales about life at sea, examine the nature of evil. Captain Ahab of *Moby-Dick* feels wronged by nature and attempts to conquer it, but his quest proves demonic and destructive. The character Billy Budd, on the other hand, is all innocence, yet the reality of evil still dooms him. Before



Nathaniel Hawthorne. *(Library of Congress)* he is hanged for a murder he had committed inadvertently, Budd forgives the man who condemned him and displays unmistakably Christlike qualities. At the moment of Budd's death, Melville wrote, "it chanced that the vapory fleece hanging low in the East, was shot thro with a soft glory as of the fleece of the Lamb of God seen in mystical vision, and simultaneously . . . Billy ascended; and, ascending, took the full rose of dawn."

Although still heir of Puritanism's stress on the human experience of God, mid-19th-century TRANSCENDENTALISM diverged from past theological systems through its emphasis on the fundamental perfectibility of humankind. RALPH WALDO EMERSON, renegade Unitarian minister and leading figure of the Transcendentalist movement, believed that truth was found within concrete experiences, not within the "corpse-cold" rationalism of theological systems. He also believed that God was discoverable in the natural world, as his meditations in the 1836 essay "Nature" reveal. This emphasis appears as well in the writings of Emerson's friend HENRY DAVID THOREAU. In his masterpiece, *Walden*, published in 1854, Thoreau described an extended stay in a rustic cabin where he went to escape the increasing materialism of American society. "I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately," he wrote.

Another figure in the American Renaissance, Emily Dickinson, also understood the spiritual advantages of seclusion. One of the greatest American poets, Dickinson lived reclusively in Amherst, Massachusetts, where she composed more than 1,500 poems, all discovered after her death in 1886. While she spurned the institutional church, her poetry (as in "I Never Saw a Moor") described her search for God's presence: "I never spoke with God, / Nor visited in heaven; / Yet certain am I of the spot / As if the chart were given." Dickinson was also obsessed with death, which she often depicted in personal terms. The poignant "Because I Could Not Stop for Death" begins with the stanza: "Because I could not stop for Death, / He kindly stopped for me; / The carriage held but just ourselves / And Immortality."

Some pieces of American literature, while not renowned for their artistic genius, have still expressed ideas that profoundly shaped religion and culture in the United States. No popular writer has been more influential in her lifetime than HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. Stowe's most famous and enduring work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), was written to arouse northern opinion against the evils of slavery. Stowe portrayed her hero, the slave Uncle Tom, as a sacrificial figure who symbolically redeemed America from the sin of slavery. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold more than 300,000 copies in its first year of publication. Despite Stowe's prayer that the United States would repent, abolish slavery, and be spared God's wrath, she was (as ABRAHAM LINCOLN quipped when he first met her) "the little woman who wrote the book that made" the CIVIL WAR.

The Civil War had a tremendous effect on all aspects of American life, including both Christianity and literature. ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS, for instance, was a best-selling novelist in the post–Civil War era who was obsessed with questions about the Christian afterlife. Her most famous work, *The Gates Ajar* (1868), challenged traditional, dour concepts about heaven and hell. The novel told the story of Mary Cabot, who learns that the soul of her brother Royal, who had been killed in battle, was safe in heaven. Americans whose loved ones had died in the Civil War found *The Gates Ajar* so comforting that the book was reprinted more than 50 times between 1869 and 1884. Phelps also composed a sequel, *Beyond the Gates*, that described how heaven resembled some of the most pleasant and important aspects of earthly life.

A perspective far different from Phelps's appears in the work of popular short story writer Ambrose Bierce. Although Bierce's fiction, like Phelps's novels, exemplifies the disillusionment with traditional religious beliefs often expressed in post–Civil War America, Bierce was a pessimist and an agnostic. Yet despite his rejection of the strict Protestant upbringing of his youth, his stories are still laced with religious terminology and themes. Bierce served in the army for three years and wrote prolifically about the experiences of men caught up in the madness of battle. He evokes the idea of divine purpose, but as a distant and malign, not gracious, force that thwarts the stories' protagonists. In Bierce's stories, men suffer and die, and fate inexorably crushes even the best and brightest.

As Bierce's religiously tinged fiction contains meditations upon the shortcomings of God, no modern American writer better captured the depravity of the human heart than Mississippi novelist William Faulkner. In the fictional Yoknapatawpha County, Faulkner created a gothic world in which flesh and spirit were constantly at war. Faulkner's vision was essentially a tragic one, reflecting his upbringing in a region still nursing sad memories from the war. Yet in the tragedy of Confederate defeat, which the LOST CAUSE MYTH embodied, religious hope had emerged. As Faulkner's character Brother Fortinbride declares in *The Unvanquished* (1938), the southern people had turned their attention to religion, where they found the spiritual strength they needed to survive.

Flannnery O'Connor was another 20th-century writer who explored religious themes within the lives of fictional southerners. "While the South is hardly Christ-centered," she stated in a 1960 lecture, "it is most certainly Christ-haunted." Although O'Connor was a Roman Catholic, her characters were usually fundamentalist Protestants, outlandish people who discover the Christian God whom sophisticated, rational men and women ignore. As an apologist for Christianity, she sought the traces of divine grace even in the most depressing situations. O'Connor's novels and short stories contain moments when the expectations of their characters are dramatically overturned. At those times, they are enabled to confront the mysteries of God's universe and turn toward faith.

Modern African-American authors are exploring religion in the South from the perspective of those who experienced degradation and oppression. Toni Morrison's novels *Tar Baby* (1981) and *Beloved* (1987) grapple with the problem of human sinfulness and the power of myth. Morrison envisions that one of the tasks of her fiction is to recover the deepest meanings in myths and use them to strengthen contemporary African-American culture. Black writers also recognize the central, though not always beneficial, role of the church in the lives of African Americans. Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) and Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* (1982), for instance, examine this important topic.

Although American society in the early 21st century might appear to be heading toward increasing secularity, serious fiction writers continue to wrestle with questions of faith. Although these authors do not write to affirm traditional religious tenets, they still take seriously questions of religious identity. The wry satire of Walker Percy's novels, for example, communicates a sense of human fallibility and of the precarious nature of existence.

Despite the overt sexuality in many of his stories, the prolific John Updike writes with notable sensitivity toward theological matters. In *Roger's Version* (1986), a seminary professor, trained in the skepticism of neo-orthodox theology, matches wits with a young computer wizard intent on proving the existence of God, and the farcical novel *The Witches of Eastwick* (1984) contemplates the nature of evil. Finally, John Irving's best seller *A Prayer for Owen Meany* (1989) is a lengthy meditation on divine predestination. Religious ideas appear consistently throughout the novel, beginning with its opening sentence, when the narrator says of his friend Owen Meany: "I am doomed to remember a boy with a wrecked voice . . . because he is the reason I believe in God."

More expressly Christian was the Rapture series by Jerry Jenkins and Tim LaHaye. This series, the first volume of which, *Left Behind*, was published in 1995, consists of more than 13 (including prequels) thrillers based on the biblical book of Revelation and contemporary political and social events. With several volumes reaching the *New York Times* best-seller list and turned into major motion pictures, the series (regardless of the volumes' literary merits) served to bring the doctrines of the RAPTURE and of DISPENSATIONALISM to a much wider audience.

While the Christian tradition has influenced most American writers, other religious traditions have played their roles in American literature. It is important to note that much religiously based literature, including most Christian-themed writing, has been directed toward specific audiences. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, American Jews developed a rich literature (and theater) in Yiddish. In fact, many of the leading Yiddish writers, including Sholem Aleichem (author of *Tevye the Dairyman*, which became *Fiddler on the Roof*) immigrated to the United States. The Nobel Prize winner in literature in 1978, Isaac Bashevis Singer, arrived in the United States in 1935. His stories, all originally written in Yiddish and then translated into English, are invariably rooted in the world of eastern European Jewry and infused with the religiosity of that community.

Singer was not the only Jewish writer to have a major influence on American literature. Others, including another Nobel winner, Saul Bellow, as well as Norman Mailer, Philip Roth, and Allen Ginsberg, have brought a strong Jewish religious and cultural ethos to America literature. Bellow, in particular, was of marked importance because his novels, while overwhelmingly filled with Jewish themes, were quintessentially American and gloried in the United States's, particularly Chicago's, vibrancy.

Another tradition that penetrated American literature is BUDDHISM. Dating back to the American transcendentalists, Buddhism, as well as HINDUISM, has influenced a significant strand in American literature. The influence of Buddhism became particularly marked in the writings of the BEAT MOVEMENT. Jack Kerouac integrated Buddhist themes into novels such as *Dharma Bums* (1958). Similarly, the poetry of Gary Snyder is infused with Buddhist sensibilities and understandings. Although not fiction, Robert Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974) not only is permeated by Buddhist and Hindu themes, it played a tremendous role in popularizing Zen throughout the United States. Hinduism also played a major role in the writings of Christopher Isherwood.

The opening up of immigration during the 1960s has resulted in a growing body of literature written by Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, and other Asians who explore both the traditions of their ancestral lands and the struggles of immigrants to adjust to American realities. These authors include Amy Tan, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Bharati Mukherjee, whose books also highlight the particularly distinctive reality of women's experiences in moving between two cultures.

Additionally, the increasing globalization of culture has led to a growing literature written by those outside the United States that has had a marked influence in it. To some extent, one can see the influence of such literature as far back as the 19th century and even before if one considers the awareness of the texts of world religions. Its influence has increased since the mid-1950s; of particular importance have been the writings of V. S. Naipaul and Salman Rushdie.

Regardless of the religious influences on writers, the depth of this literature and its broad readership highlight the universal themes that underlie it. Human suffering amid the existence of a purportedly good and all-powerful deity, alienation from one's tradition, sin and redemption, breaking away from a repressive religion, and finding grace are themes with which nearly everyone can resonate, even when written from perspectives that seemingly are alien and unfamiliar.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Little, Malcolm See MALCOLM X (MALCOLM LITTLE).

Log College See GREAT AWAKENING.

Longinqua Oceani A papal encyclical, or doctrinal letter, addressed to the Roman Catholic Church in the United States (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) by Pope Leo XIII on January 6, 1895, *Longinqua Oceani* represented a turning point in papal involvement with the American church. The encyclical signified greater papal attention to American culture and contained explicit warnings to Catholics against aggressive Americanization.

Most of the letter involves internal church matters. It lauds the American church on the formation of Catholic University and defends the pope's recent appointment of an apostolic delegate as a sign of the high regard in which he holds the American church. The pope also commends the American hierarchy on its work to regularize and stabilize church life. The remainder of the letter, however, addresses tensions between the values of American culture and Catholic doctrine.

Although warmly praising the young nation and its "latent forces for the advancement alike of civilization and of Christianity," the pope warns against many of the ideals of the American republic. Recognizing that the church "unopposed by the Constitution and government of [the] nation . . . is free to live and act without hindrance," the pope gave thanks for the well-ordered society created by that republic. He pointedly noted, however, that despite the successes and growth of the Roman Church under this system, "it would be erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the most desirable status of the Church. . . ." This implicit rejection of church and state separation would cause much suspicion of Catholicism and Catholics for decades (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM).

Several paragraphs caution against the dangers inherent in an unfettered press and direct Catholics to increase the number of journalists committed to improving virtue and strengthening religious observance. The pope also warns Catholics to be circumspect in their readings and to join only Catholic organizations "unless forced to do otherwise by necessity."

Longinqua Oceani signified a growing concern within the Roman Catholic Church that segments of the church in the United States were becoming too enamored of American political and cultural values. It was a reminder that Rome remained committed to its traditional view of the relationship between church and state and to an authoritarian and hierarchical view of the world.

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Lost Cause Myth The term *Lost Cause Myth* refers to political, social, and religious ideas advanced by southern whites in defense of the culture of the SOUTH in the period after the CIVIL WAR. Edward A. Pollard, editor of the *Daily Examiner* in Richmond, Virginia, coined the phrase through the publication of his book *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (1866). Soldiers, politicians, novelists, poets, journalists, and clergymen rallied to a continuing ideological battle with the North and expressed their region's frustrations at the cultural upheavals of the Reconstruction and New South periods. The Lost Cause writers argued that the South, though defeated in battle, had emerged a moral victor after 1865.

Religious ideology proved to be one of the most crucial elements in the myth-making about the meaning of the Civil War. White clergy and others eager to vindicate their people saw in the Confederate defeat universal spiritual lessons about redemption in the midst of suffering. Worldly debasement, as the crucifixion of Jesus Christ demonstrated, could be transformed by faith into a symbol of God's enduring love. Roman Catholic priest and poet Abram Joseph Ryan of Mobile, Alabama, expressed this idea well. While "crowns of roses" worn by conquerors always fade, he said, "crowns of thorns" inflicted upon the conquered are enduring.

Northern Christians, of course, had their own interpretation of Southern defeat, one first enunciated in antebellum ABOLITIONISM: God had punished the South for the sins of slavery and rebellion. Although few white Southerners dared admit that slavery was the principal cause of divine displeasure or that the institution per se was sinful, some conceded that abuses and deficiencies in a generally beneficent system (coupled with other sins like Sabbath-breaking and intemperance) had caused God's wrath to be turned against them. By admitting that they had strayed from divine laws, pious Southerners transformed their wartime suffering into a providential means of chastening and conversion. Even defeat became a testament of ultimate vindication by God.

Throughout the rest of the 19th century, white spokesmen in the South moralized against the evils of northern society and pointed with pride to their own provincial culture, untouched by the spirit of the modern age. Only in the churches of the defeated South, they said, did men and women still practice true piety. Central to the myth of the Lost Cause, moreover, was the belief that the Confederate Army had been a special bearer of Christian spirituality and virtue. Many Confederate generals were extolled as paragons of heroism and religious faithfulness by clergy like ROBERT LEWIS DABNEY and JOHN WILLIAM JONES, who had served in the army during the war. Jones, a former chaplain in the Army of Northern Virginia, also published a popular history of the revivals that had occurred among the Confederate troops. His *Christ in the Camp* (1887) extolled the soldiers' religious faith as the factor that enabled them to endure defeat, build up their churches and ruined homeland, and seek reconciliation with the North.

Many other former Confederate soldiers discussed REVIVALISM in the southern armies and the religious faith of the men with whom they served. D. H. Hill (Presbyterian lay theologian and general), Clement A. Evans (a general ordained to the Methodist ministry in 1866), John Brown Gordon (a general converted during the war and first commander of the United Confederate Veterans), Robert Stiles (son of a Presbyterian minister), and Carlton McCarthy (an officer in the Richmond Howitzers) all linked the supposed moral superiority of southern soldiers with their piety. Most outstanding of all, not as a writer but as an ethical exemplar, was Robert E. Lee, once commander of the Confederacy's chief army. The figure of Lee provided an answer to the most troubling theological question with which southern whites grappled: why did God allow the righteous South to be conquered by a godless enemy? Lee was portrayed in Christlike terms: morally spotless, betrayed by lesser men, yet forgiving of all. His Confederate career shone like a beacon of rectitude in the midst of degradation and ruin.

Religion stood at the heart of the southern mythology about the Civil War. Romantic images of gallant outnumbered soldiers praying with their generals around the campfire gave the Lost Cause a quality that inspired many white Americans in the late 19th century. Religious apologists for postbellum southern society imagined that spiritual, not temporal, goals were the only ones worth pursuing. Religious victory in the midst of worldly defeat furnished a seductively powerful image in an otherwise demoralized time. As a result, the Lost Cause and the memory of defeat, rather than forcing the collapse of the South's religious tradition, actually helped rejuvenate it.

GHS, Jr.

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Lutheran Church in America See EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod is the largest Lutheran denomination of German background and the second-largest denomination of Lutheranism in the United States today. The Missouri Synod was founded by emigrants from Germany in the 1830s who were critical of the cold rationalism, doctrinal laxity, and state-imposed worship of the established churches in their native land. The denomination has always remained loyal to this heritage. It has remained conservative in its theology, emphasizing strict adherence to 16th-century Reformation creeds and the infallibility of the Bible, as well as the autonomy of local congregations.

Hundreds of thousands of Germans arrived in the United States between 1830 and 1920. Approximately 2 million German Protestants had come to America by 1880, and the majority were Lutherans. The Midwest held a special appeal for these Germans, who tended to move into a triangular area outlined by the cities of St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee. The Missouri Synod acquired its name because its headquarters were located in St. Louis, where the Lutheran immigrants most responsible for the denomination's formation had first settled.

About 700 Saxon Germans under the leadership of Martin Stephan came to Perry County, Missouri, in 1839 to establish a Lutheran "Zion on the Mississippi." Influenced by PIETISM with its stress on godly living, this group had left Saxony to escape the spiritual indifference that marked German Lutheranism at the time. Stephan himself, accused of sexual misconduct and mismanagement of funds, was deposed from his position. Leadership fell instead on CARL F. W. WALTHER, who served a congregation in St. Louis and edited a popular periodical, *Der Lutheraner.* Walther's Saxons allied themselves with other German immigrant groups, including missionaries sent to the American Midwest by Bavarian pastor Wilhelm Loehe, and organized the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States in April 1847.

Walther served as the synod's first president (1847–50), and the denomination soon took on his distinctive theological cast. Upholding an objective rule of faith, Walther believed that the Bible and the traditional Lutheran doctrinal system contained all the essentials of salvation. He looked, therefore, to the Scriptures and to the confessional statements of Martin Luther both to foster personal piety and to combat heretical teachings. Distrustful, moreover, of a centralized bureaucracy and of clerical authority generally, Walther's Lutherans developed a democratic polity for their church and stressed the need for laity to have an equal voice with clergy in church affairs. They also rejected praying and worshiping with other Protestants, even other Lutherans, who were not in complete doctrinal accord with them.

Under the leadership of the first two presidents, Walther and F. C. D. Wyneken, who together served from 1847 to 1878, the church steadily expanded. Missouri Synod Lutheranism became a distinctive subculture for German immigrants in the Midwest, meeting not only religious, but also social, educational, and even medical needs. The church's combination of doctrinal orthodoxy and pragmatic organization was highly effective in swelling its membership. Acculturation to American society came slowly, and the Missouri Synod retained an ethnic identity longer than any other major Lutheran denomination. Only the persecution of German Americans during WORLD WAR I eventually hastened the process of assimilation. The word *German* was finally dropped from the denomination's title in the wartime period, and in 1947, Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod was adopted as its official name.

In the first half of the 20th century, some leaders in the synod attempted to reach out into the American religious mainstream. Through publishing and radio ventures and through auxiliary organizations such as the Lutheran Laymen's League and the Lutheran Woman's Missionary League, the denomination began to emulate many features of American evangelical Protestantism. The Missouri Synod was also strengthened by mergers with two churches that had long been related to it: the Finnish-descended National Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church. These churches were absorbed in 1964 and 1971, respectively.

The Missouri Synod, like a number of other denominations, enjoyed its greatest growth from the 1930s to the 1960s. However, the uneasy alliance that existed between theological moderates and conservatives in the denomination was tested severely at the end of that period. Tensions over the proper authority of the Bible and over the value of ecumenical relations with both Lutheran and non-Lutheran bodies split the church in the early 1970s. What occurred in the Missouri Synod in many ways paralleled the split between fundamentalists and modernists in mainline Protestantism early in the 20th century. Conservatives feared that modern biblical scholarship and openness to theologically liberal denominations would undermine the synod's historic traditionalism.

The schism took place during the militantly conservative presidency of J. A. O. Preus. In 1974, the majority of students and faculty at the synod's principal seminary, Concordia in St. Louis, withdrew and formed a new school, Christ Seminary-Seminex (Seminary in Exile). Liberal pastors and congregations left the denomination at the same time and created an independent Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in 1976. That schismatic body comprised roughly 4 percent of the denomination's membership, about 110,000 people in 272 churches. The association later merged with the mainline Evangelical Lutheran Church in America in 1988.

The Missouri Synod's doctrinal positions remain as rigid today as they did when the denomination was founded more than a century and a half ago. The church is committed to biblical literalism, opposed to the ordination of women to the ministry, and bound to a thoroughly conservative political and social worldview. Nevertheless, some Missouri Synod Lutherans believe their church ought to practice greater toleration of opposing theological opinions. They fear that members of the denomination fight far too much, focusing more on each other's faults than on their strengths.

In 2006, the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod had about 2.5 million members in nearly 6,200 congregations in United States.

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Lutheranism Lutheranism is a Protestant church tradition derived from the teachings of the 16th-century German reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546). Although the history of American Lutheranism extends back to colonial times, the forebears of most 20th-century Lutherans arrived as immigrants to the United States from Germany and Scandinavia in the 19th century. Up until WORLD WAR II, Lutherans generally held themselves separate from the dominant evangelical Protestant culture of the United States. Their continuing foreign-language use, structured liturgical worship, and commitment to traditional Lutheran creeds made American Lutherans distinctive. The majority of Lutherans today, however, especially those belonging to the large EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ELCA), are part of the theologically liberal Protestant mainstream.

Martin Luther's theology provides the intellectual basis for Lutheranism. Luther's principal contribution to Christian thought is contained in his teaching on JUSTIFICATION by grace through faith. Luther was deeply troubled by the medieval religious system in which he had been raised. He was obsessed with the question of how a person could ever earn God's love or find eternal salvation. After meditating on the New Testament epistle to the Romans, Luther decided that human beings could do nothing to save their souls. He concluded that God alone "justifies," that is, redeems human beings from sin. Faith, he said, was the divine gift by which God reveals his gracious character and leads a person to depend upon him for salvation.

Luther, like all the original Protestant reformers, believed that the Bible contained all that Christians needed to know about their faith. He rejected many of the religious customs and traditions of medieval ROMAN CATHOLICISM because he thought they obscured, rather than illuminated, the true nature of God. The creedal statements that Lutherans developed, especially the Augsburg Confession (1530), composed by Luther's disciple Philip Melanchthon, condensed biblical teachings and set forth the central themes of Christian belief.

Over the years, however, Lutherans often disagreed about the interpretation of the Bible and their denominational creeds. Some Lutheran bodies, the LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD and the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, for example, have insisted that the words of the Bible are literally correct in every detail. They teach that the Lutheran confessions must also be accepted literally, since they are in fundamental agreement with the biblical text. But the ELCA, now the largest American Lutheran denomination, takes a far broader approach to these documents. Most ELCA leaders, while by no means rejecting past statements about the faith, tend to emphasize God's continuing revelation to present-day Christians.

Luther and his contemporaries intended to maintain the traditional threefold Catholic order of ordained ministers—bishops, priests, and deacons. As time passed, however, many Lutherans abandoned that polity because they did not consider it of primary importance to the Christian faith. Lutheran experience in the New World, moreover, encouraged the growth of a different church order. It was especially cumbersome to have to rely on the centralized ministry of a bishop in the fluid society of the American frontier. As a result, most Lutheran churches in the United States adopted a polity in which clergy and laity shared leadership in local congregations. Synods, that is, federations of congregations with the power to ordain clergy, were administered by executive officers, not bishops.

The earliest Lutherans in America came from Sweden and the Netherlands to the New York area in the 1620s. Forced to worship at the established Dutch Reformed Church, Lutherans tended to accept many of the practices of that tradition. However, after the English took over the colony in 1664, Lutherans were free to organize on their own. By 1669, the two oldest Lutheran congregations in America, at Albany and at Manhattan, had been founded. When Finns and Swedes settled along the Delaware River in the 1630s, the colony's governor was required by the Swedish Crown to provide for Lutheran worship. When the English assumed control over that area, they implemented the same policy of toleration as was present in New York.

With the opening of Pennsylvania in the 1680s, Lutheran emigrants from the German Rhineland began to arrive in large numbers in America. Since they shared the same language and German ethnic culture with fellow settlers of the German Reformed tradition, Lutherans and German Reformed generally organized joint churches and worshiped together. Further complicating Lutheran church life was the arrival in 1741 of Moravian leader Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, who hoped to bring all Christian groups together in a single fellowship. Zinzendorf was particularly anxious to include Lutherans in his united Christian body, and while not formally ordained as a Lutheran minister, he posed as one in America.

Church authorities back in Germany determined to take action against these deviations from proper Lutheran church order in America. They dispatched HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG, now considered the patriarch of American Lutheranism, from Germany to America in 1742. Muhlenberg wished his church to remain loyal to Luther's teachings. The most effective step he took toward attaining that ideal was the formation of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1748, the denomination's first permanent governing body. Muhlenberg had always complained of a number of institutional deficiencies fostered by the American religious environment: adults woefully lacking in religious training, no established procedure for calling clergy when parishes were vacant, and laity possessing too much power in church life. With the formation of the Ministerium, Muhlenberg addressed all these concerns, thereby helping to regularize Lutheran church life.

In the late 18th century, German Lutherans in the mid-Atlantic states began to move southward along the Shenandoah Valley and westward across the Appalachians. Since the Pennsylvania Ministerium was incapable of providing for those distant settlements, new synods had to be formed. By the early 19th century, leaders in these synods sought a national body to unite them and make corporate decisions about worship and doctrine. Despite some resistance to the principle of a centralized hierarchy, the formation of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1820 gave a new common direction to Lutheranism in the eastern United States.

In the period that followed, SAMUEL SIMON SCHMUCKER, president of the General Synod's new seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, helped integrate his denomination into the Protestant evangelical movement that dominated the religious landscape of the United States. Schmucker especially opposed the narrow doctrinal conservatism of the "Old," or "Historic," Lutherans, who insisted upon strict adherence to classic Lutheran confessions. He believed that Americans should not have to be bound to antiquated ecclesiastical documents and argued that the genius of the new "American Lutheranism" would lie in its ability to adapt to changing cultural and religious circumstances. Under Schmucker's direction, the General Synod, which was centered in the East, eventually gathered together two-thirds of the Lutherans in the United States.

Meanwhile, thousands of other Lutherans from Scandinavia and Germany flooded into the Midwest each year between 1830 and WORLD WAR I. Some 60 new Lutheran church bodies were started by Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Finns, Germans, and others between 1840 and 1875. Among those new denominations were two highly conservative churches that remain independent today: the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, founded in 1847, and the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, founded in 1850.

The Missouri Synod is still the largest Lutheran organization in the Midwest. It was organized by German immigrants who settled in Perry County, Missouri, in 1839. Influenced by PIETISM, with its stress on godly living, this group had left Germany to escape the spiritual indifference that then marked Continental Lutheranism. Under the leadership of CARL F. W. WALTHER, Lutherans in Missouri allied themselves with other German immigrant groups and became a distinctive subculture that met many diverse needs. Acculturation to American society came slowly, and only the persecution of German Americans during World War I completed the process of assimilation.

World War I proved to be a critical point for all American Lutherans. The conflict not only suspended the flow of immigrants to the United States but also heightened a self-conscious "Americanism" among many recently arrived ethnic groups. Most Lutherans also recognized the value of an agency that would represent their common interests. As a result, the National Lutheran Council, which represented eight Lutheran church bodies, formed in 1918. Such semiformal cooperation eventually led to the amalgamation of a number of independent Lutheran synods into two large denominations by the 1960s: the eastern-oriented Lutheran Church in America and the midwestern, heavily Scandinavian American Lutheran Church. Concern about the authority of the Bible and allegiance to the historic Lutheran confessions, however, helped the Wisconsin Synod and the Missouri Synod resist the trend toward merger.

By the mid-1960s, many believed that the Lutheran divisions in the United States were about to end, as the Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church began to discuss the possibility of one final merger. After a conservative theological movement solidified control of the Missouri Synod in 1969, about 110,000 moderates left the denomination and founded the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. This group also joined the talks about unification. An accord was reached at a meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in 1987, and the next year the Lutheran Church in America, the American Lutheran Church, and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches officially became the ELCA.

There are about 9 million Lutherans in the United States today. The ELCA is one of the largest American Protestant denominations with nearly 5 million members. The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, itself a major denomination, contains about 2.5 million members. Finally, the Wisconsin Synod, still an independent body, has a membership of about 400,000 people.

(See also Krauth, Charles Porterfield.)

GHS, Jr.

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M

Machen, John Gresham (1881–1937) J. Gresham Machen was the leading intellectual voice of American FUNDAMENTALISM in the opening decades of the 20th century. A Presbyterian clergyman, educator, and New Testament scholar, Machen accused Protestant leaders of rejecting the traditional beliefs of Christianity and substituting a new religion, which he called "liberalism," in their place.

Machen was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on July 28, 1881. He received a B.A. in classics from Johns Hopkins University in 1901 and a B.D. from Princeton Seminary in 1905. At Princeton, Machen was strongly influenced by BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, the theologian who coined the term INERRANCY to describe the literal truthfulness of the biblical text. Machen studied in Germany for a year at Marburg and Göttingen, but he was disturbed by the modern notions of biblical interpretation he learned there. In 1906, he returned to Princeton to take a position in the New Testament Department, where he taught until 1929. He was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1914 and, during WORLD WAR I, served for a year with the YMCA in France.

Machen was the author of several books on theology and New Testament interpretation, including *The Origin of Paul's Religion* (1921) and *The Virgin Birth of Christ* (1930). His most enduring work, however, was *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923), which placed him at the forefront of the controversy between fundamentalists and theological modernists. He feared that Presbyterians and other American Protestants were drifting away from their theological and spiritual moorings. He also believed that those who held beliefs contrary to his own definition of orthodoxy should not be allowed to remain members of his church.

As it turned out, Machen and his followers, not their liberal adversaries, left the mainline Presbyterian denomination. First, Machen withdrew from the Princeton faculty in 1929 and founded Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. Next, after becoming concerned that foreign missionaries were doctrinally lax, he formed the Independent Board of Foreign Missions in 1933. The Presbyterian General Assembly condemned that action a year later and called upon Machen to renounce his support of it. Since he refused to comply with the General Assembly's decision, he was judged guilty of violating his ordination vows, and his ministerial standing was revoked in 1935. In response, Machen helped organize a new denomination: the Presbyterian Church of America (later called the Orthodox Presbyterian Church).

Machen worked tirelessly in an effort to gain members for the church and explain its theological positions and rigorous conservatism. On a trip west to rally support, however, his health failed. He died of pneumonia at Bismarck, North Dakota, on January 1, 1937.

GHS, Jr.

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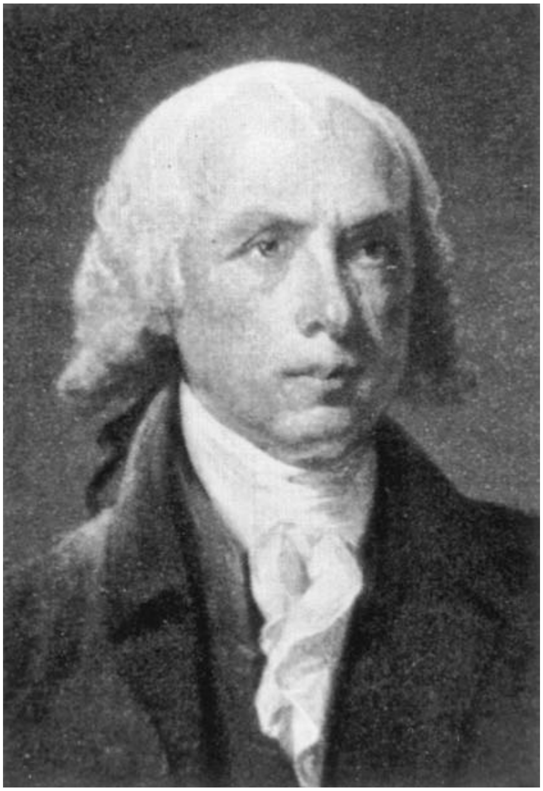
Madison, James (1751–1836) In the years following the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, Americans grappled as seriously with the problem of religious freedom as they had struggled earlier over political freedom. James Madison, the fourth president of the United States, sought to prevent the new government from providing any particular religion with formal recognition or support. Madison's efforts to undercut attempts to establish religion, culminating in his work on the FIRST AMENDMENT, contributed significantly to the growth of American religious liberty.

Madison came from the same upper ranks of colonial Virginia as his friend THOMAS JEFFERSON. Born to James and Nelly Conway Madison on March 16, 1751, Madison gained his education from private tutors and at the Presbyterian College of New Jersey (later Princeton) from 1769 to 1772, where he studied with John Witherspoon. In the years after graduation, having rejected careers in law and the ministry, Madison served the revolutionary cause working in the Virginia governor's office and as a Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress. He also had helped draft the Virginia constitution and the Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776), in which he proposed not merely that government encourage religious "toleration," but instead the far stronger claim: "all men are equally entitled to the full and free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

In the aftermath of revolution, sharp disagreement arose over the most appropriate structure for the new country. Madison was concerned that the diversity of interests within the 13 original states would inevitably produce a weak and short-lived nation. As a Virginia delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, he was instrumental, along with Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, and a few others, in designing the new federal government, which sought to balance powers and respect the plurality of interests among states and groups that Madison referred to as "factions." Along with John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, Madison authored the widely read *Federalist Papers* (1788), which argued for the necessity of a strong national government and ratification of the new constitution.



James Madison, U.S. president who, with Jefferson, led the disestablishment of religion in the Continental Congress. *(Painting by Gilbert Stuart)*

While many of his fellow citizens saw religion as the key underpinning of government, Madison did not. Winning the Virginia seat in the first federal congress, in part by promising to introduce a bill of rights amending the Constitution, Madison went on to draft several versions of what became the First Amendment in June of 1789.

Madison's views on religious liberty are summed up best in a document that subsequent generations have nearly venerated, but which in his own day circulated anonymously. The Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessment (1785) was written to combat Virginia governor Patrick Henry's continued influential advocacy of his General Assessment bill, a tax in support of "the Christian religion." Madison's argument against taxes levied in support of religion rested on the assumption not that religion was unimportant but that such policies would deprive people of the "unalienable" right to worship as their own consciences required. Thus, he made religion an area of human life beyond the reach of the state. Religion is "precedent, both in order of time and in degree of obligation, to the claims of Civil Society." As a republican, Madison believed that religion was the wellspring of morality and civic responsibility. The only way in which a liberty-loving society could endure, one in which citizens lived responsibly, was to insure that each individual's conscience was allowed the freedom of drawing on that religious wellspring as seemed best. In spite of the fact that Christian majorities, in Madison's day and later, often chafed against the extension of this liberty to unbelievers and non-Christians, his thinking has shaped subsequent judicial approaches to religious liberty. As president and diplomat later in life, Madison's attention turned to other issues, though up to the time of his death, on June 28, 1836, he was ready to respond in letters and statements to continuing challenges to religious freedom.

MG

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Maezumi, Hakuyu Taizan (1931–1995)

Hakuyu Taizan Maezumi, the founder of the Zen Center of Los Angeles (ZCLA), helped to spread Soto ZEN in the United States by raising up a generation of American-born teachers. He was nearly as influential on the West Coast as the Zen teacher D. T. SUZUKI was on the East Coast.

Like Shunryu Suzuki, an Americanizer of Soto Zen (a Zen form that emphasizes *zazen,* or sitting meditation), Maezumi was born and trained in Japan. Ordained a monk at the age of 11, he graduated from Komazawa University and studied at Sojiji, one of the most venerable Soto Zen monasteries in Japan. He came to the United States in 1956 to work among Japanese Americans as a priest at the Zenshuji Temple in Los Angeles. But his teaching proved popular among European Americans, and in 1967, he established the Zen Center of Los Angeles to meet their needs. That center flourished during the heyday of the COUNTERCULTURE and today remains a major locus of American Zen activity.

Maezumi is best known, however, not as the ZCLA founder but as a trainer of students, many of whom have gone on to become influential Zen masters themselves. One of Maezumi's best-known students is John Daido Loori, who now heads the Zen Mountain Monastery (ZMM) in the Catskill region of New York. A network of ZMM-affiliated centers called the Mountains and Rivers Order (MRO) includes centers in New England and New York. MRO also has an outreach arm called Dharma Communications and publishes *The Mountain Record,* a Buddhist quarterly.

Bernard Tetsugen Glassman is another high-profile student. After studying under

Maezumi in Los Angeles, Glassman moved to New York in 1979 and established the Zen Community in New York (ZCNY) in the Bronx. Now working out of the Zen Peacemaker Order in Santa Fe, New Mexico, Glassman is a leading figure in "engaged Buddhism," a worldwide effort to apply the teachings of Buddhism to social problems such as homelessness, war, and poverty.

At the time of his death in 1995 in Tokyo, Maezumi had ordained an estimated 68 priests. His legacy lives on in the White Plum Sangha, an extensive network of Maezumi's students and their various organizations. In keeping with Maezumi's eclecticism (he studied both Rinzai and Soto Zen), the White Plum Sangha includes both rural retreats and urban centers and extends from the United States to England, France, and even New Zealand.

SRP

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Mahan, Asa (1799–1889) Asa Mahan was a Congregational minister and the first president of Oberlin College in Ohio. An antislavery advocate, Mahan accepted the presidency of Oberlin in 1835 on the grounds that the school would be open to African-American students. After a profound religious experience, he began to emphasize Christian PERFECTIONISM, a hallmark of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT then emerging within the American churches.

Mahan was born in Vernon, New York, on November 9, 1799. He taught school to earn money for an education and eventually graduated from Hamilton College in 1824. Despite an orthodox Calvinist theological upbringing, a period of spiritual questioning led Mahan to reject the idea of predestination and affirm instead humanity's free will and moral autonomy. He studied for the ministry at Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts and graduated in 1827. Mahan served as pastor of the Congregational church in Pittsford, New York, from 1829 to 1831. During that time, he participated in CHARLES G. FINNEY's Rochester revival of 1830 and 1831, one of the most celebrated revivals of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING.

In 1831, Mahan was called to the pastorate of the Sixth Presbyterian (later Vine Street Congregational) Church in Cincinnati, Ohio. While functioning on the board of trustees of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, he supported the group known as the "Lane Rebels." Led by THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, those students withdrew from the seminary when they were prohibited from discussing slavery and the injustices of the slave system. Mahan's strong support of Weld and other antislavery advocates led to an offer to become president of Oberlin College, which had been founded on abolitionist principles in 1833. Some 80 students from Lane followed Mahan to Oberlin. This led to the establishment of a theology department at the college and the appointment of Charles Finney as professor of theology.

In 1836, Mahan and Finney together began to explore the doctrines of entire SANCTIFICATION and perfection in the writings of Methodist founder John Wesley. Mahan published his *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection* in 1839. In that book, he described how believers might attain complete victory over sin through the spiritual presence of Jesus Christ within their hearts. The Oberlin community as a whole became excited by Mahan's views on holiness, and *The Oberlin Evangelist* was founded in 1838 to publicize those Perfectionist ideas. Mahan's theological beliefs had social and political applications as well. He advocated the involvement of Christians in social reform, especially in activities promoting equality for African Americans and women.

Mahan's personal tactlessness and poor relations with some faculty members at Oberlin forced his resignation from the presidency in 1850. He held several positions over the next few years. He was president of Cleveland University from 1850 to 1855, and pastor of the Congregational church in Jackson, Michigan, from 1855 to 1857. He then pastored a church in Adrian, Michigan, from 1857 to 1860, and acted as president of Adrian College from 1860 to 1871. Adrian College was connected with the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and Mahan eventually joined that denomination. By 1870, when he published *The Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, Mahan's theology reflected the major themes of the HIGHER CHRISTIAN LIFE MOVEMENT and stressed the sanctified Christian's release from the power of sin.

In 1871, Mahan moved to England, where he spent the remainder of his life. In his later years, he edited a monthly magazine entitled *The Divine Life*, and he was a frequent speaker at Keswick meetings, the conferences that popularized Holiness teachings in Great Britain. Mahan died at Eastbourne, England, on April 4, 1889.

GHS, Jr.

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Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (1917–2008)

When the editors at *Life* magazine declared 1968 the "Year of the Guru," they were no doubt thinking first and foremost of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the Indian-born spiritual teacher who brought TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION (TM) to the West and personified the role of the Asian sage to millions of Americans in the COUNTERCULTURE of the 1960s and 1970s.

Little of the early life of the Maharishi (an honorific title meaning Great Sage) is known. He was born in Jabalpur, India, probably in 1917, although there is some dispute about the year of his birth. He received a degree in physics from Allahabad University around 1940. Shortly thereafter, he began training in meditation under Swami Brahmananda Saraswati. Also known as Guru Dev, that swami was a highly regarded Hindu teacher in northern India. After 13 years of intensive study under Guru Dev, the Maharishi retired to the Himalayas for two years of solitude. He then went on a pilgrimage that took him to southern India, where he began to lecture and gather followers. Following a conference of his devotees in Madras, Maharishi formally organized on January 1, 1958, the Spiritual Regeneration Movement, which aimed to regenerate humanity through the teachings and practices of Transcendental Meditation.

For the next decade, the Maharishi traveled the world and trained students in mantra chanting, the core practice of TM. He published his best-known book, *The Science of Being and Art of Living*, in 1963. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, he achieved considerable fame in the West after the rock group the Beatles took up TM, and Merv Griffin promoted the practice on his television talk show.

TM's success in the United States can be attributed in part to the Maharishi's charismatic appeal, but he was also adept at establishing organizations to spread his beliefs and practices, among them the International Meditation Society, the Maharishi University of Management, and most recently the Natural Law Party. Both the Maharishi and his organizations have demonstrated a knack for reducing the sometimes abstruse philosophies of Hinduism to a simple practice: the repetition of a secret mantra for 15 or 20 minutes twice a day. And they claim that TM improves not only individuals but also societies.

Although widely revered in the United States, the Maharishi settled in western Europe. His popularity among Americans faded in the late 1970s, likely because by then the counterculture had run its course but also because of negative publicity surrounding a new TM course designed to teach meditators to levitate. Today his Web sites in the United States and Europe emphasize the practical effects of TM practice on mind, body, and society. Those sites prominently feature studies demonstrating that TM increases intelligence, lowers blood pressure, and decreases crime. The Maharishi died on February 5, 2008, after retiring from leadership of his movement.

SRP

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mainline Protestantism The term *mainline Protestantism* refers to the group of dominant Protestant denominations that long occupied the center of American religious life. Although not all commentators agree about the group's exact composition, the following church bodies are usually thought to compose it: Congregationalists, now the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST; the EPISCOPAL CHURCH; the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.); northern Baptists, now the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES IN THE U.S.A.; the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH; the Disciples of Christ (see CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST)); and the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, the largest Lutheran body. Other terms employed to identify these seven churches include religious *mainstream* (denoting their position at the heart of American life); *liberal Protestantism* (describing their relatively liberal social and theological attitudes); and *Protestant establishment* (emphasizing not a formal state-supported establishment, but the central role the denominations have played in American history).

These churches, which long controlled America's spiritual and cultural values, share a number of characteristics. Shaped over the last century by progressive trends in theology, they exhibit an openness not only to other churches, but also to religions other than Christianity. They have traditionally been concerned with influencing American society as a whole and, as a consequence, have helped sponsor numerous moral and political reform movements. Although they all have adherents who are African Americans and members of other races, the denominations' members have always been predominantly European Americans. Finally, unlike theologically conservative evangelical, Pentecostal, and fundamentalist churches, which stress individual salvation and the need for evangelism, the mainline denominations have tended to deemphasize soul-winning. Their current decline in membership, a combined loss of more than 6 million members over the past quarter century, may well reflect the unintended results of the liberals' inattention to a clearly defined religious mission.

Use of the term *mainline* is of fairly recent origin, a fact itself illustrative of one further attribute these churches share. Until the 1960s, historians usually discussed American religion with few references outside mainline Protestantism. It was commonly assumed that those churches simply *were* American religion and the standard against which all other groups should be measured. Nowadays, the fluid and multifaceted character of American religion is often highlighted by scholars instead. As a result, the Protestant establishment is now believed to be faced with two major challenges. First, the rapid growth of evangelical churches and the emerging political strength of religious conservatives have both tended to reduce the prominence of the old mainline. Second, the celebration of PLURALISM and the recognition of the many diverse groups that compose America have challenged the idea that a "mainstream" has ever existed at all. It is ironic, then, that these historic Protestant denominations have been labeled "mainline" only after the dominance they once enjoyed has been greatly diminished.

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Malcolm X (Malcolm Little) (1925–1965)
Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 19, 1925, Malcolm X transformed the debate over the role of blacks in American society and paved the way for a radical change in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, from nonviolence to assertiveness and militant self-defense.

Malcolm's earliest memory was of the family's house in Lansing, Michigan, where the family had moved shortly after his birth, being burned by night riders in 1929. Two years later, his father, Earl Little, a Baptist preacher and organizer for MARCUS GARVEY's Universal Negro Improvement Association, was murdered by members of the Black Legion, a racist organization.

Burdened with ill health, poverty, and 11 children, Malcolm's mother, Louise, began to collapse. Several of her children, including Malcolm, were removed from her care by the state welfare agency. (She was later committed to the state mental hospital.) Malcolm was placed in a foster home, where he lived until he was sent to a detention home for putting a tack on a teacher's chair.

Although a good student and popular in school, he was dissuaded from his desire to become a lawyer by his English teacher who told him, "You've got to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer—that's no realistic goal for a nigger. . . . Why don't you plan on carpentry?" Malcolm reacted to such treatment with increasing anger and hostility.

After finishing the eighth grade, he moved to Boston to live with his half sister, Ella Little. Although she attempted to convince Malcolm to associate with the middle-class blacks of the Humboldt Avenue Hill section of Boston's Roxbury neighborhood, he was more attracted to the poorer ghetto section of the area. During this time, he began his criminal activities by making extra money as a procurer while working as a shoe shine boy at the Roseland State Ballroom.

In the late 1930s, Malcolm began working as a railroad porter and immersed himself in the fast life in New York City. Dealing drugs, running numbers, and pimping, he lived the life of a hustler. He managed to secure a psychiatric draft deferment during WORLD WAR II and avoided the police pressure on his New York drug dealing by using his railway identification card to travel along the eastern seaboard selling drugs to the jazz players he had met in Harlem.

Returning to Boston, he organized a burglary ring that led to his arrest and conviction in 1946. The judge, infuriated by the fact that the ring included two upper-class white women, gave Malcolm the maximum sentence of 10 years, despite the fact that he had no previous convictions.

Malcolm entered prison as an incorrigible hustler and troublemaker. His foul mouth, blasphemous attitude toward religion, and active violation of prison rules soon earned him the nickname "Satan." The example of one black prisoner who, due to his knowledge and learning, commanded respect from black and white prisoners, as well as the white guards, impressed Malcolm. At the suggestion of this prisoner, Malcolm began correspondence courses and started reading library books.

In 1948, letters from members of his family informed him of the teaching of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI). Although originally hostile and unreceptive, he became increasingly convinced by Elijah

Muhammad's teaching that the white man was the devil. He soon converted and began to conform to the strict moral code the NOI demanded of its members and to advance his education.

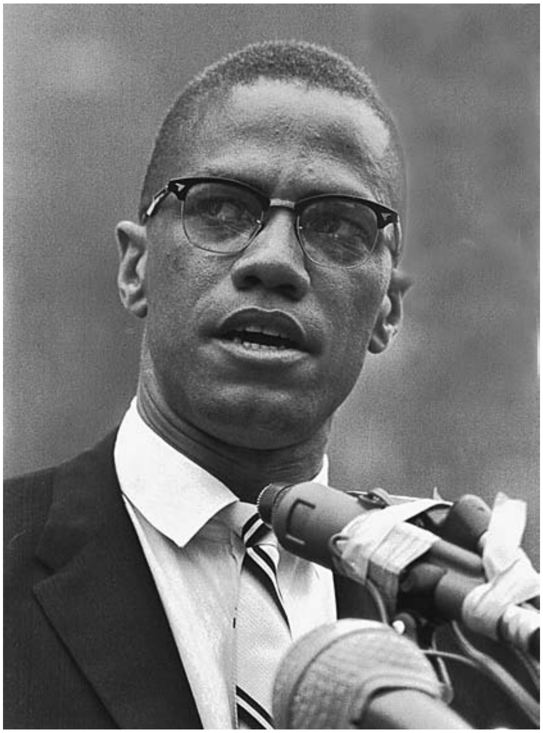
Paroled in 1952, he went to Detroit, where he lived with his brother Wilfred and his family. An active Muslim, Wilfred introduced Malcolm to the daily NOI routine. Malcolm joined Temple Number 1 in Detroit, receiving his "X" to replace the slave name of Little that had been forced on his ancestors.

Malcolm soon attracted the attention of Elijah Muhammad, who led the NOI from the Chicago temple. After expressing concern about the small size of the Detroit temple, Malcolm received Elijah Muhammad's permission to begin recruiting actively among the black youths of Detroit. The size of the Detroit temple tripled, and in 1953, Malcolm X was appointed its assistant minister.

He soon began working full time for the NOI and attained notable success organizing temples in Boston and Philadelphia. The result was his appointment, in June 1954, as minister of Temple Number 7 in Harlem, which Malcolm soon turned into one of the most important mosques in the movement.

From the mid-1950s until 1964, the growth of the NOI was linked with the rise of Malcolm X, who became its national representative and official spokesman. In 1961, he founded *Muhammad Speaks* as the official NOI newspaper. Still a relatively unknown organization outside the black community and the FBI, the NOI leapt into the public view in 1959 with the television documentary "The Hate that Hate Produced." This program, along with the publication of C. Eric Lincoln's *The Black Muslims in America* in 1961, brought the Nation of Islam to the awareness of the entire country.

As one of its most outspoken leaders and its New York minister, Malcolm X became the object of much media and public attention. His criticisms of white society and of the "integration-mad negroes" in the Civil Rights movement earned him enemies in both the white and black communities, who accused the NOI and Malcolm of being racists, "black fascists," and "hate mongers." Despite this opposition, his uncompromising delivery of the NOI message that whites were devils who would never accept blacks as equals earned him a large following in the urban ghettoes.



Black Muslim leader Malcolm X addresses a rally in Harlem, New York, on June 29, 1963. *(AP/Wide World Photos)*

Just at the time that the stars of both the NOI and Malcolm were rising, conflicts developed within the organization that led to Malcolm's break with it and his eventual assassination. During the last four years of his life, Malcolm X underwent numerous personal transformations. Internal dissension within the NOI led to a decrease in Malcolm's responsibilities and his access to Elijah

Muhammad. Rumors of Elijah Muhammad's sexual indiscretions disturbed Malcolm. His off-the-cuff remark that President Kennedy's assassination in 1963 resulted from the inherent violence in American society—that "the chickens had come home to roost"—led to his official silencing by Elijah Muhammad. These events, combined with Malcolm's growing dissatisfaction with the NOI's official policy of "non-engagement" in responding to American racism, led to his official break with the NOI on March 12, 1964.

After announcing the formation of his own organization—the Muslim Mosque, Inc.—Malcolm left the country to embark upon the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca required of every orthodox Muslim. During this trip, which included visits throughout the Middle East and Africa, Malcolm was confronted with the differences between orthodox Islam and the teachings of the Nation of Islam as well as the lack of racial distinctions within Islam itself. Malcolm began to rethink his views on both race and religion—a rethinking that was only beginning when he was shot and killed at a meeting of his newly organized Organization of African-American Unity on February 21, 1965.

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Manifest Destiny From the early 19th century to the present, the term *Manifest Destiny* has been used in a variety of ways to indicate the close association in American history between concepts of providential mission and geographical expansion. Used in its more circumscribed political sense, it refers to the vision of a free, confederated, self-governed republic spanning the North American continent, a goal that dictated federal policy in the mid-1840s, particularly under President James Polk. Although similar terms had been used previously, the precise phrase was coined and popularized in 1845 by John O'Sullivan, a journalist, lawyer, politician, and theoretician of westward expansion. As editor of the *Democratic Review*, O'Sullivan used the expression in a series of editorials supporting the annexation of Texas, asserting that the United States had a divinely ordained right "to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us." His reasoning provided a popular justification for the Mexican War that followed later in the decade, but the general concept has emerged in various guises from the early 19th century to the present.

Americans who supported the principles of this doctrine did not always agree on precisely what Manifest Destiny meant. In many respects, its genius lay in its ambiguity. For most people, the idea that Americans had the right to spread their political control to the "natural boundaries" of the nation meant that the United States should occupy the entire continent, extending to the Pacific Coast. Others argued for expansion throughout the hemisphere, including much of Latin America. And some even saw the doctrine as applicable to the claiming of American colonial possessions across the Pacific. Equally equivocal was the matter of how European Americans, in spreading a culture that they presumed to be superior to any other, would relate to the native peoples whose lands they coveted. While some assumed that Native

American and others, as "naturally" inferior cultures, would eventually yield and be assimilated or exterminated in the onrushing tide of European-American migration, others, particularly Protestant mission leaders, advocated the education and regeneration of "backward" peoples so that they could become good American citizens. Finally, Americans also disagreed about how aggressively this expansion should take place. The most vocal supporters of the war with Mexico argued that only the initial use of force would allow the power of republican, democratic values to flourish in western territories. But many others saw military aggression as unnecessary. With their optimism about the self-evident superiority of American civilization, they firmly believed that the example of the republic would eventually win over its neighbors without bloodshed. Both sides, however, saw the eventual domination of American values on the continent as inevitable.

Religious values, and particularly those held by Protestant Americans, played an integral role in the formulation of notions of Manifest Destiny. Indeed, scholars have noted that the doctrine continued and built upon a longstanding tradition of seeing America as a missionary nation, playing a central part in sacred history. Like the Puritans before them, many Americans in the 19th century depicted America's religious and political forms as a beacon to the world, an example for others to follow. Because providence had smiled on the nation, some people argued that Americans were thereby obligated to a "higher calling," to spread the blessings of their political, social, and religious institutions to those less enlightened than themselves. In turn, the doctrine of Manifest Destiny shaped the views of religious organizations in 19th-century America, particularly those of Protestant EVANGELICALISM. Beginning in the early 19th century, evangelicals formed mission associations to spread the gospel of Christianity and American culture across the continent and throughout the world. In most cases, the goal of these organizations was not merely the reiteration of a narrowly defined Christian doctrine. It also encompassed the inculcating of the values of democracy, liberty of conscience, and free trade. At times, the tasks of missionaries even included statistical or geographical surveys of various territories for entrepreneurs or the federal government. Most mission organizations saw no inherent tension between their roles as disseminators of religious values and promoters of American economic and political expansion, because they believed that God had fortuitously and purposely connected the two in a divine plan for worldwide Christianization.

Reaching its peak of popularity during the Spanish-American War in the 1890s, in the 20th century, the doctrine of Manifest Destiny as justification for aggressive expansion became much less popular. But it is significant that certain aspects of the doctrine remain politically salient, particularly the idea of America as a superior civilization that can serve as an example to other nations in the world. From the Puritan era to the present, many Americans have continued to believe that the nation plays a unique and privileged role in history.

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Mann, Horace (1796–1859) Legislator and educator Horace Mann's vision of the task of education had a lasting effect on the growth of public schools in America into the 20th century. Through his work on the Massachusetts Board of Education, Mann articulated a democratic philosophy of public education that gained wide acceptance.

Mann was born into the modest home of Thomas and Rebecca Stanley Mann in Franklin, Massachusetts, on May 4, 1796. His own schooling came through self-study and tutoring at home and church, until his admission to Brown University in 1816. Taking up law after graduating, he was admitted to the bar in 1823 and served in the Massachusetts legislature for several years. As president of the senate, he helped push through a measure establishing a state board of education and in the process began to make education his life's work.

Although lacking formal training in education, Mann was appointed secretary of the state board and labored for 12 years to educate the Massachusetts citizenry on the need for public education, writing countless articles and speeches, editing a journal, and turning his influential *Annual Reports* into a major forum for the discussion of educational theory. While Massachusetts, through Mann's influence, came to provide an influential model for pubic education in America, Mann's own national prominence grew after he took up the stormy cause of ABOLITIONISM in Congress, having succeeded John Quincy Adams in the House of Representatives in 1848. In 1852, the founders of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, offered Mann the presidency of the new college. Lured west by the opportunity to work in the nonsectarian, coeducational, and racially integrated setting provided by the liberal Unitarians and Disciples of Christ who governed Antioch, Mann remained there until his death on August 2, 1859.

Mann's ideas about education were shared by many in his day. In common with the thinking of American founders such as THOMAS JEFFERSON, Mann saw education as the primary means to create reasonable, responsible citizens capable of living within the framework of liberty without succumbing to the forces of economic, religious, or sectional passion. While Mann distanced himself from American Protestants' frequent denominational quarrels, he shared the millennial expectations of the day, believing that education was the key to an American future free of crime, immorality, disease, and other social ills.

But whereas many in America saw the civic function of education achieved through home, church, or private institutions, Mann provided the republic with a well-thought-out model of public, or what he called "common," education. Common education would enable Americans of different class and religious backgrounds to develop a set of shared values and virtues. Mann's vision of the common school's provisions was evangelical: piety rooted in Scripture, civility through awareness of shared history, and intellect grounded in reading, arithmetic, writing, and hygiene. Given its functions, such an education could only be provided by the state's organizational powers. Mann understood that public power over education depended not simply on the agency of the state, but rather upon the citizens themselves. He strove to create mechanisms, such as local school boards, through which parents themselves had a role in shaping the schools' philosophy and task. Mann's contribution to the development of public education was regarded highly by his contemporaries, and his vision pervaded the public schools until well into the 20th century, when a more secular wave of thought took hold.

(See also DEWEY, JOHN; SECULARISM).

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Maréchal, Ambrose (1764–1828) The third archbishop of Baltimore, Ambrose Maréchal was born on August 28, 1764, in Ingres, France. Although wishing to enter the priesthood, Maréchal bowed to the wishes of his parents and studied law until 1787, when he no longer could resist the call and entered the Sulpician Seminary in Orleans. Two years of study there followed by two years at the seminary in Bordeaux led to the young man's ordination in 1792. By this time, the French Revolution had forced Maréchal and other priests to flee the country.

Like many French Sulpicians, Maréchal came to America, where he served as a priest in St. Mary's County, Maryland, and then as pastor and administrator of the former Jesuit (see JESUITS) plantation at Bohemia Manor until 1799. In that year, he was appointed to the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, where he taught theology until he was transferred to Georgetown College in 1801. In 1803, with the religious situation in France stabilized, he was recalled by his superior general to aid in the reorganization of that country's seminaries.

After returning to France, he taught at various seminaries until 1811, when Napoleon, in an attempt to strengthen state control of education, expelled the Sulpicians from France. Maréchal returned to the United States, where he taught at the Baltimore seminary and later served as president of St. Mary's. Deeply committed to his teaching, Maréchal refused offers to become bishop of New York and Philadelphia, but when he was tapped to become coadjutor bishop of Baltimore, he accepted. Official notification of the appointment did not reach the United States until after the death of the then archbishop, Leonard Neale. Upon receipt of his appointment, Maréchal was consecrated archbishop of Baltimore on December 14, 1817.

Responsible for the ecclesiastical oversight of the entire United States, Maréchal faced numerous difficulties during his 11-year reign. Chief among them was the ongoing issue of TRUSTEEISM, which involved questions of church property ownership and of authority in hiring and firing priests. This conflict was exacerbated by the constant influx into the United States of priests from Europe, especially Ireland. Many of these priests would accept a position at a parish without obtaining permission from the archbishop. Maréchal viewed this breach of ecclesiastical authority as a danger to priestly discipline and lay faith, and he took strong steps to end it.

His attempts to assert episcopal prerogatives created much animosity. The Irish and Germans looked upon Maréchal as a foreign bishop whose actions were designed to secure French control over the American church. Maréchal did little to allay their fears. He steadfastly refused to gather his bishops together for a provincial council, despite the obvious need for regularizing the rules and institutions of the rapidly growing American church.

Notwithstanding these troubles and an ongoing conflict with the reestablished Jesuits over the ownership of property, Maréchal provided the American church with strong management and administration. He traveled extensively through his vast archdiocese and managed to quell most threats to his authority. Maréchal also obtained papal approval for the right of the American bishops to nominate candidates for open bishoprics. Although not as liberal as JOHN CARROLL's desire to have the priests elect bishops (with the right of papal veto), this compromise gave the American church greater say in its leadership. Taken ill in 1826 during one of his many trips, Maréchal never recovered, dying on January 29, 1828, at home in Baltimore.

(See also ROMAN CATHOLICISM.)

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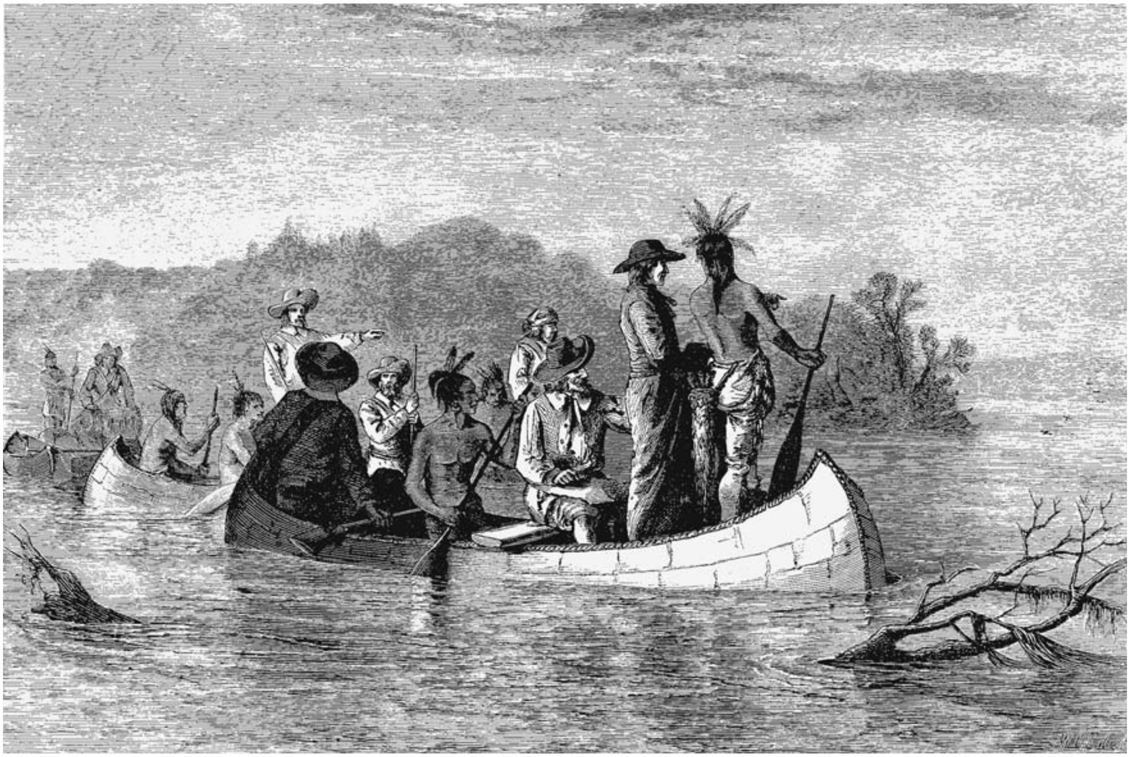
Marquette, Jacques (1637–1675) Although best remembered as the explorer who accompanied Louis Jolliet on the expedition that opened the Mississippi River to Europeans, Jacques Marquette considered himself first and foremost to be a Jesuit missionary. Born on June 1, 1637, in Laon, France, he became a novice in the Society of Jesus (JESUITS) in 1654. Trained in philosophy, he taught at several Jesuit seminaries in France until 1666, when he received his desired posting to Canada.

After three years at Trois-Rivières, Quebec, where he served as pastor and mastered six Algonquin dialects, Marquette was posted to the mission of La Pointe de St. Esprit on the southern shore of Lake Superior. There Marquette maintained a successful mission among the Ottawa and Huron, baptizing many children and making contact with tribes farther inland. He even attempted to establish contact with the eastern Lakota (Sioux) bands, but ongoing Huron-Sioux conflicts led the Sioux to abandon La Pointe. Marquette joined them and established a new mission at St. Ignace on the shores of the Straits of Mackinac (Michilimakinac) in modern-day Michigan.

While at St. Ignace in December 1672, Marquette met Louis Jolliet, who had been commissioned by the governor of NEW FRANCE to locate the great river described by the Illinois Indians. Marquette, whose earlier contact



This engraving shows Marquette and Jolliet exploring the Mississippi River. *(Library of Congress)* with the Illinois had led him to desire to establish a mission among them, was to accompany Jolliet as interpreter. Traveling from St. Ignace to Green Bay, they journeyed down the Fox River, making the portage to the Wisconsin River, which they traversed to the Mississippi. They followed the great river south to the mouth of the Arkansas. Informed that the river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and that the Spanish were present on the lower river, they headed back north. Returning via the Illinois River and the Chicago portage, they followed the shore of Lake Michigan up to the mission of St. Francis Xavier at De Pere, Wisconsin.

Seriously ill and terribly weak, Marquette remained there for a year. By October 1674, he felt well enough to return south to establish his long-desired mission among the Illinois. Although he managed to begin a small ministry among them, his illness returned and he felt compelled to return to St. Ignace. During this trip, his strength failed, and he died on May 18, 1675, near present-day Luddington, Michigan. Two years later, his remains were recovered and carried to St. Ignace, where they were reinterred at the chapel.

A gentle, even saintly, man, Marquette was among those early missionaries who exhausted themselves in order to bring what they saw as the religious truth to Native Americans. While many may consider his activities misguided and even wrong, it is still possible to recognize the courage and faithfulness he manifested in his endeavors.

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Maryland (colony) Planned by George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, as a refuge for English Catholics who suffered under legal and social liabilities at home, colonial Maryland had a turbulent history of civil war and rebellion interspersed with periods of legal and social tolerance. Although this noble experiment was overwhelmed by external forces, Maryland became the center for ROMAN CATHOLICISM in British North America during the COLONIAL PERIOD.

Although George Calvert died before he could bring his plan to fruition, his son CECILIUS CALVERT inherited the charter and in November 1633 sent two ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove,* to Maryland under the governorship of his brother, Leonard. After making land in March 1634, the two priests who accompanied the party of 20 mostly Roman Catholic gentlemen and 200 mostly Protestant laborers and artisans offered up in thanksgiving the first mass in British North America.

In order to preserve the peace, Cecilius had directed his brother to allow complete religious freedom to all Christians. The Catholics also were warned to avoid antagonizing their fellow colonists and not to practice their religion too publicly. As added insurance against conflict, Calvert attempted to control the activities of the JESUITS, extracting from the Jesuit General a ruling that all priests must conform to the colony's laws and a promise of veto power over appointments of priests to the colony.

Hostility from those in England who opposed a colony ruled by a Catholic and from the colonists who chafed under the absolute rule of the proprietor forced Cecilius to grant a measure of self-government to the colony, retaining only his right of veto over the colony's laws. This development brought little respite, however, and until his death in 1675, Cecilius's expended considerable energies in attempting to control the colony. After a period of armed rebellion in the early 1640s, he reestablished his control in 1647. In

1649, Leonard's successor, the Protestant William Stone, attempted to maintain peace by convincing the colonial assembly to pass an "Act Concerning Religion" (Act of Toleration of 1649) that allowed religious freedom to all those not denying the Trinity and made it illegal to disparage anyone's religion.

This act did not have the desired effect. In 1650, Protestants gained control over the colony's government and in 1654 forced the assembly to disfranchise all Catholics and to outlaw "popery, prelacy, and licentiousness." The Calverts once again regained control of the colony in 1658. Maryland remained relatively peaceful and stable for the next 17 years, and when Cecilius died in 1675, the proprietorship passed to his son George.

England's "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, which deposed the Roman Catholic King James II and replaced him with James's Protestant daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, marked the end of Catholic proprietorship in Maryland. Galvanized by the revolution in England, a group of Maryland Protestants seized control of the government in 1689. In 1691, King William III relieved the Calverts of their grant, and Maryland became a royal colony. In the following year, the Church of England was officially established, and a series of laws limiting Roman Catholic political and religious rights soon followed. These anti-Catholic laws (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM) remained on the books until the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Then, with the achievement of independence and the adoption of the Constitution, Maryland's Catholics finally regained the legal rights they originally had allowed to others.

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Mason, Charles Harrison See CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST.

Masonic Order See FREEMASONRY.

Massachusetts Bay Colony Now the state of Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Bay Colony was established by Puritans (see PURITANISM) fleeing religious persecution in England. Composed of numerous settlements established at various times, the colony had its beginning on June 19, 1630, when JOHN WINTHROP stood aboard the ship *Arbella* and delivered a sermon to a group of sick and weary passengers about to begin a new life in the "howling wilderness" of New England. Winthrop reminded his listeners that their removal from England did not break their social and political ties, indeed those ties should become tighter and more closely follow the will of God. The colony was to be an ordered community, dedicated to realizing the will of God and to creating a model society for old England to emulate.

The rulers of old England however, did not wish to, follow the Puritan lead. Both James I and Charles I were suspicious of the Puritans, especially their rejection of bishops, which they saw as tantamount to rejecting royal authority. James I had been surfeited with this rejection of episcopal authority while king of Scotland, having seen the Scottish Presbyterians remove his mother from the throne and place him upon it while still a youth. When he succeeded to the throne of

England, James knew that he wanted to retain the Church of England's bishops and promised to make his Puritan subjects conform or "harry them out of the kingdom or worse," as he put it. This anti-Puritanism was continued and expanded by his successor, Charles I. Charles and his archbishop of Canterbury engaged in a process of persecution that led to the "great migration" of thousands of English Puritans to British North America.

This migration, led by the *Arbella* and accompanying ships, resulted in numerous Puritan colonies in New England, the most significant of which was Massachusetts Bay. The colony was originally organized as a stock company with voting rights limited to stockholders who chose the colony's leaders, but this changed soon after their arrival in America. Winthrop, who held the title of governor, gathered the colony's inhabitants on October 29, 1630, and by a show of hands gave all the freemen of the colony the right to elect assistants, or legislators. This action, which soon encompassed nearly all adult males in the colony, gave Massachusetts Bay a much wider franchise than England and most of Europe, despite its limitation to church membership.

The Puritans desired to build an ordered community, under the watchful providence of God. This society was not, however, the theocracy that many have claimed it to be. In fact, ministers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony had less formal power than anywhere in Europe and did not constitute a recognized class with special privileges. This absence of inherited privileges was a significant factor in the life of the colony. Although the Puritans firmly believed that there were greater and lesser people, and titles such as Goodwife, Mistress, and Master constantly affirmed these divisions, the range was much less than in England. Sumptuary laws governed the nature of individual dress—limiting the colors, amount of gold, and jewelry a person could wear. These laws both affirmed social distinctions and limited ostentatious displays of wealth and power. When combined with the Puritan doctrine of human sin and of human equality before God, they resulted in much less overt social differences in Massachusetts Bay than the home country.

The desire to maintain harmony, stability, and social order was great. The magistrates enforced the laws against blasphemy and punished those who failed to attend church services. The nature of colonial settlement also served to strengthen social stability and cohesion. Land was allocated to each colonist for farming, but people lived in towns, traveling out to their farms each morning and returning in the evening. Towns centered on the meetinghouse, the church building that functioned as the center of the community's social, political, and religious life. The stereotypical independent settler separated from the community was not acceptable in Massachusetts Bay. Such a settler, separated from the bonds of family, church, community, and government, was bound to lapse into antisocial and irreligious behavior. The godly life could be lived only with others.

Conflicts over the nature of that life, however, were such that the harmony desired by the colony's political elite was never realized. These conflicts emerged early in the colony's life. The first was the so-called ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY. Occasioned by the religious instruction that ANNE HUTCHINSON provided in her home and involving conflicts between the growing merchant class and the colony's political and religious elite, the Antinomian Controversy was typically Puritan in that it was fought over theology and the role of social harmony in theology.

Similarly, the expulsion of ROGER WILLIAMS from the colony was a response to theological differences that authorities viewed as destabilizing. Williams's belief that the government had no right to enforce the first part of the decalogue—the first four of the Ten Commandments dealing with worship—was seen as an assault upon the social stability of the colony. Indeed, many viewed any failure of the state to enforce these laws as an invitation to divine destruction. To outlaw blasphemy was not only an act of religious faith, but also helped ensure social survival.

Such conflicts, like those with other "socially disruptive" groups such as BAPTISTS, Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]), and witches (see SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS) recurred as the Puritans attempted to build a viable society in a hostile land.

They struggled mightily to establish the social institutions that would provide for the colony's stability. Churches and towns were the first to appear, then came a college (Harvard, 1638), printing presses, and schools. Soon Massachusetts Bay was an expanding and successful colony, kept alive by fishing, agriculture, timber harvesting, and even the slave trade.

Prosperity did not, however, ease the difficulties of creating an ordered society pleasing to God. Tensions emerged within the New England way among not only those outside, but those within it as well. The first concern was the perception that piety was declining within the colony. From the heroic period of settlement, when the colony seemed to have been dominated by great men and high religious concern, many saw a decline by the mid-17th century. Religious interest appeared to have waned and the number of visible saints to have declined. This concern became so prevalent that the sermons preached about it have received their own name. *Jeremiads,* as they are known, were directed against this perceived declension. Whether the decline was as great as the ministers claimed is debatable, but it is true that the colony experienced the shift from a time when people immigrated from religious conviction to a period when people simply were born into the society. A telling anecdote, probably apocryphal, illustrates this change well. A Puritan minister once berated a man he caught unloading fish on Sunday, reminding him of the religious nature of the colony and its founders. The fisherman quickly responded, "My grandfather came here for God, I came here for cod."

The colony faced other challenges. Chief among these were the local Indians and the French who, from their outposts in Canada, occasionally harried the colony's more distant settlements along with their Native American allies. These challenges ended with the eventual British conquest of France's North American colonies in 1759.

The removal of this external threat only exacerbated the internal one, the ongoing conflicts between the colonists in America and the mother country. This conflict was not to be taken lightly, and in Massachusetts it had a religious dimension. The late 17th century had seen an apparent victory of the "Puritan" party in its monarchical form in England. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had removed the Catholic king, James II, and with it the threat to the colony's independent existence under James, who had revoked the colony's charter and established an Anglican foothold at King's Chapel in Boston.

But this was not the only religious threat that England presented to the colony. If some contemporary writers are to be believed, the most significant conflicts and the true start of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION began with the rumor that England would send a bishop to the colonies. The imposition of a bishop was seen by many colonists as an inherent threat to their liberties. In Massachusetts Bay, where stories of episcopal persecution of Puritans were still remembered, this was the final assault on everything they had tried to create. Already forced to allow toleration to other Protestants, they now faced the final loss of their religious independence. The Puritan tradition of self-government, the rule of law, and human activity helped to set the stage for the American Revolution. The revolution in "the hearts and minds," as John Adams—a Puritan scion—wrote, had already occurred. It was no coincidence that a great deal of the revolutionary leadership came from Massachusetts. The colony and its Puritanism had helped to pave the way.

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Mather, Cotton (1663–1728) Related to the Puritan minister and theologian JOHN COTTON and son of INCREASE MATHER, minister at Boston's Second (Old North) Congregational Church, Cotton Mather attempted to live in both the older world of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY's Puritan founders (see PURITANISM) and the increasingly diverse and changing world of the 18th century.

Born in Boston on February 12, 1663, Cotton Mather was quick to learn Puritan religious and cultural values. After graduating from Harvard College at the age of 15, he joined his father as a minister at Second Church, a position he would hold until his death on February 13, 1728.

Mather was a complex and contradictory figure who has been viewed by his contemporaries and later historians as a self-righteous nag. He struggled to stop what he saw as the decline in religious fervor in New England through his preaching and writing. A prolific author of 469 works, his subjects included the reality of witchcraft, the history of New England, natural science, and the usefulness of smallpox inoculation—which he defended against most medical men of the time.

Although an orthodox churchman and often viewed as backward-looking, Mather was a strong proponent of science. He was one of the first colonial members elected to the Royal Society of London (1713) and was honored by the University of Glasgow with an honorary D.D. degree in 1724. Such recognition provided Mather with little favor among his contemporaries, however, and his support of the SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS and defense of the use of spectral (invisible) evidence in the trials (against the suspicions of his father) severely damaged his reputation.

Mather's greatest disappointment was his failure to receive appointment as president of Harvard College after his father stepped down in 1701. This setback turned him increasingly against the school, which he felt was drifting away from its religious roots. He became an active supporter of the Yale Corporation, established in response to this perceived drift and designed to promote more orthodox Christian teaching.

The maintenance of this orthodoxy was the driving force in Mather's life. Increasingly, however, his pleas were ignored, and at the time of his death, Mather appeared to be a man who had outlived his era.

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Mather, Increase (1639–1723) As minister of Second Church in Boston for nearly 60 years and president of Harvard College for 16, Increase Mather played a major role in trying

Increase Mather was minister of Second Church in Boston for 60 years and president of Harvard College from 1685 to 1701. *(Painting by Jan Van Der Spriett)*

to maintain religious orthodoxy in Massachusetts. In this role, he deserves the description "the last American Puritan" given him by biographer Michael Hall.

Born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, on June 21, 1639, Increase Mather left for Ireland after his graduation from Harvard. He received an M.A. from Trinity College, Dublin, and served as a chaplain to the British army during the period of Puritan rule in England. The restoration of a Stuart king in 1661 ended his hopes for advancement in England, and Mather returned to America.

Upon his return, he took up the cause of orthodoxy and tradition against his own father. Richard Mather and several other ministers had argued for a relaxation of the rules that limited BAPTISM to those infants having at least one parent in full church membership (see HALF-WAY COVENANT). Increase, his brother Eleazar, and the president of Harvard, Charles Chauncy, led the opposition. All three maintained that such a relaxation would encourage the growth of irreligion. They were outvoted, and the change was gradually adopted by all Congregational churches. Increase eventually was reconciled and wrote two books defending the Half-way Covenant.

This would be the conundrum in which he would find himself throughout his life—how to maintain traditional forms of belief while responding to changes in society and the world. In his sermons and his writings (more than 130 books and pamphlets), and as president of Harvard (1685–1701), Mather called the people to task for their sins with little long-term effect.

Mather also played a major role in ending the SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS. While accepting the reality of witches, he was convinced that witchcraft was a rare phenomenon and rejected the courtroom use of spectral evidence (the claim by witnesses that the defendant's specter had appeared to and tormented them). His influence with the royal governor, Sir William Phipps, helped end the trials and executions.

Mather was also a public figure. When James II revoked the charter of Massachusetts in 1684 and appointed Edmund Andros as governor (1686), many rightly feared that self-government and religious purity were threatened. Andros immediately requisitioned a church for Anglican services, legalized Christmas celebrations, and installed a maypole on Boston Common. Such actions appalled the Puritans. With the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the overthrow of James II, the Puritans (who learned of it in April 1689) imprisoned Andros. Mather, already in England pleading Massachusetts's case, negotiated a new charter with William III.

The new king, while more sympathetic to the Puritans than James, desired to retain as much royal control over the colony as possible. This made Mather's job all the more difficult. He managed to retain most elements of local government in the colony, but the new charter removed church membership as a requirement for voting, guaranteed religious toleration for all Protestants, and provided for a governor appointed by the king.

Mather received little applause for what he had gained. Returning to Boston in 1692, he faced growing criticism. Associated with an unpopular charter and religious traditionalism, his popularity waned. In 1701, he resigned as president of Harvard. Despite this loss of prestige, Mather continued his advocacy for traditional Puritan beliefs in the face of new religious forces and social changes until his death on August 23, 1723.

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Mathews, Shailer (1863–1941) Shailer Mathews epitomized Protestant MODERNISM. A theological radical, he was also an active churchman. Rather than being hostile to tradition, he saw his work as firmly within the tradition of American EVANGELICALISM. For him, modernism, as he wrote in *The Faith of Modernism* (1924), was nothing more than the use of "scientific, historical, social methods in understanding and applying evangelical Christianity to the needs of living persons."

Mathews, born in Portland, Maine, on May 26, 1863, stressed a historical approach to the doctrines of the Christian church. For him, the doctrines reflected the historical period that gave birth to them. These traditional beliefs, therefore, needed to be reformed constantly by application to changing circumstances and adaption to new needs. Like his colleague EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES, Mathews believed that an individual's religious experience and the developmental process were more significant than metaphysical systems or revelation in determining authoritative religious standards. The purpose of religion was the improvement of human life. Jesus, who lived completely for others, provided the model for that life.

The churches, as the location of the Christian life, played a major role in Mathews's thought. Their purpose was to realize the religious goal of improving individual and social life, especially in transforming the values of industrial society by making them more Christian. These views led him to support the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement, which he understood as an important religious step toward human progress.

Mathews was active as an educator, theologian, writer, and churchman. Between 1887 and 1894, with one year of study (1890–91) in Berlin, he was professor of rhetoric, history, and political economy at Colby College in Waterville, Maine. He left Colby to become a professor at the University of Chicago Divinity School, where he served as dean between 1908 and 1933 and where he remained until his death on October 23, 1941.

Mathews edited two major religious magazines, the *World Today* (1903–11) and the *Biblical World* (1913–20). He also served on the boards of many organizations and was especially concerned with the improvement of race relations, inner-city missions, and the Chautauqua Institution. Mathews's concern with the church is illustrated by his activity within his own denomination. He played a major role in the American Baptist Convention and was convention president in 1915. A vocal exponent of Christian unity (see ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT), he served as president of the Federal Council of Churches (1912–16) and as a delegate to the 1925 Life and Work Conference in Stockholm and the 1927 Faith and Order Conference in Edinburgh (see

National Council of Churches; World Council of Churches).

Mathews had his greatest impact as dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School. His teaching influenced numerous ministers and theologians, and his high profile, combined with his gentle personality, greatly furthered the spread and acceptability of modernist ideas.

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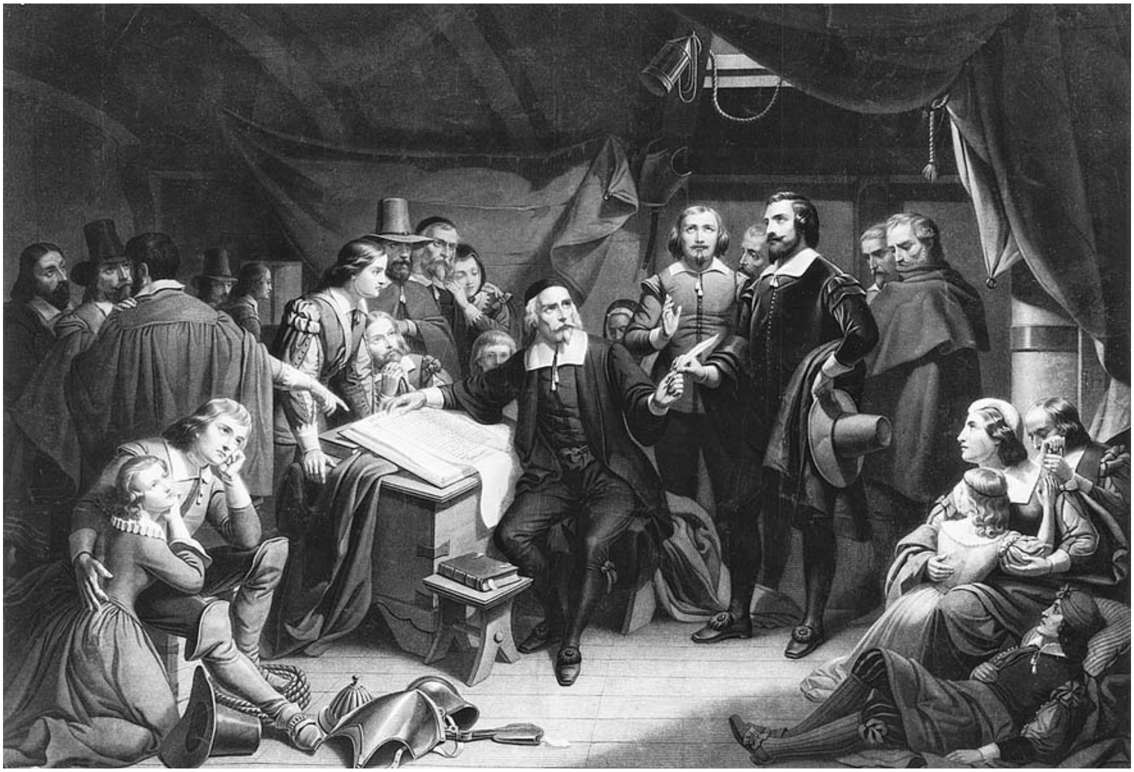
Mayflower Compact Signed on November 11, 1620, the Mayflower Compact is generally understood as the starting point of the American ideal of self-government. Drawn up by the Pilgrims prior to the establishment of their settlement at Plymouth Plantation, it became the basis for the colony's political and social organization and a means of asserting their continued loyalty to the British king despite their geographic separation. By signing it, the Pilgrims pledged "to covenant and combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation. . . ." The



Signed aboard the *Mayflower* in 1620, the Mayflower Compact became a key document in the American tradition of representative government. *(Library of Congress)* colony would be held together by laws that its members would enact as required to accomplish the "general good of ye Colonie. . . ."

While the connection between the Mayflower Compact and the American ideal of representative democracy can be overdrawn—the Pilgrims limited political participation to the "saints," or members of the church, for example—it does suggest something significant. This is the idea that governments can be organized and created by the governed who gather together in a compact and agree to abide by the laws they will later adopt. As the first statement of that principle in what later became the United States, the Mayflower Compact has a revered and well-deserved place in the national memory.

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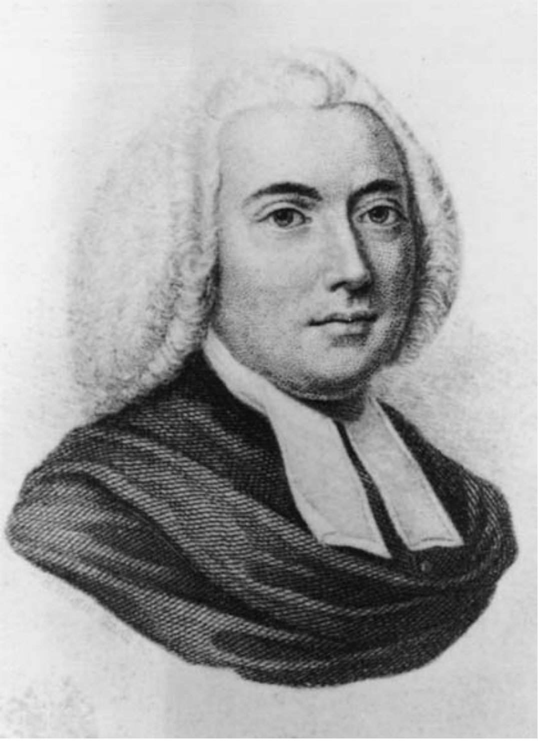
Mayhew, Jonathan (1720–1766) Described by John Adams as one of the first to promote the cause of American independence from England, Jonathan Mayhew was the descendant of Puritan ministers who had given their lives to missionary work among the Indians on Martha's Vineyard. While born (October 8, 1720) and raised amid traditional Puritan learning, Mayhew's life and thought signified a radical departure from orthodox PURITANISM.

His radical religious views were known early. When the young Harvard graduate was called to the ministry by West Church (Congregational) in Boston, it was difficult to find enough ministers to officiate at Mayhew's ordination.



Jonathan Mayhew, Congregational minister at West Church in Boston, whose opposition to English bishops and taxes greatly influenced New England's revolutionary leaders.

There was good reason to fear Mayhew's views. Like his friend CHARLES CHAUNCY, Mayhew emphasized the reasonable nature of the Christian religion. He rejected the doctrine of eternal damnation, feeling that such punishment violated both the categories of reason and the existence of a just God. Mayhew was also a nontrinitarian (see UNITARIANISM). He rejected the belief that Christ was equal to God. Certainly Christ was a spiritual being superior to both humans and angels, but not coextensive and coeternal with the Father.

Mayhew also emphasized human ability more than orthodox CONGREGATIONALISM. This emphasis brought Mayhew into conflict with the so-called New Divinity men, who emphasized the CALVINISM of their Puritan forebears and downplayed human ability. Mayhew was flatly Arminian (see ARMINIANISM), believing human action had a positive role to play in bringing about salvation and in doing good.

Mayhew's stress on human ability also led to a greater emphasis on human liberty and freedom. The implications were obvious in Mayhew's sermons. In 1750, he delivered a sermon entitled "A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to Rulers." The Scripture text was Romans 13, where Paul admonishes the church at Rome against disobedience to the government, reminding it that all authority comes from God. Mayhew transformed this apparently clear rejection of revolution, arguing that surely evil rulers were not of God—they must be of the devil. If so, resistance to them was virtue, not sin.

Mayhew took his own advice and led the opposition to the appointment of a Church of England bishop in America. Here he combined the traditional Puritan hatred of bishops with a new emphasis on liberty. In sermons, he denounced bishops as servants of tyranny and destroyers of liberty.

It was the Stamp Act, however, that provoked Mayhew's greatest political involvement. Colonial opposition to the Stamp Tax imposed by the British parliament had been violent. In Boston, rioters destroyed the home and offices of the tax collector, prompting him to resign. In this atmosphere on August 25, 1765, Mayhew preached a sermon called "Ye have been called unto liberty." The "liberty" was renewed rioting that destroyed the home of lieutenant governor Thomas Hutchinson. Although Mayhew bemoaned the act of violence in an apology to Hutchinson, the colony's governor in his report to England labeled Mayhew as a leading agitator.

News of the repeal of the Stamp Act elicited a thanksgiving sermon from Mayhew. In "The Snare Broken," delivered on May 23, 1766, Mayhew emphasized the importance of freedom. He argued that God willed liberty for humanity, and that anything limiting that liberty displeased God. Mayhew did not live to see the fruits of the seeds he planted. Less than two months after delivering "The Snare Broken," he died on July 9, 1766. Although he missed the AMERICAN REVOLUTION by a decade, Mayhew deeply affected many of New England's revolutionary leaders. Josiah Quincy, John and Samuel Adams, James Otis, and James Bowdoin had been friends of the minister. In 1818, John Adams could still recommend Mayhew's 1750 sermon to THOMAS JEFFERSON and reminisce about the impact it had on him as a 14-year-old boy.

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McGready, James

See CAMP MEETINGS.

McPherson, Aimee Semple (1890–1944)

Aimee Semple McPherson was a flamboyant Pentecostal leader and the founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. She was the most famous female preacher of her day and one of the greatest American evangelists of all time. McPherson emphasized faith healing and the importance of speaking in tongues as evidence of having been baptized by the Holy Spirit.

Aimee Kennedy was born on a farm near Ingersoll, Ontario, in Canada on October 19, 1890. She was raised as a member of the SALVATION ARMY but converted to PENTECOSTALISM at a 1908 revival led by Robert James Semple. Soon thereafter, she married Semple, was ordained, and traveled with him as a missionary to China. After her husband's death in Hong Kong, Aimee returned to the United States in 1911 with the intention of continuing her work as an evangelist. She then married Harold McPherson in 1912 but, finding her marriage confining, divorced him in 1921.

Between 1915 and 1923, Aimee McPherson conducted tent revivals throughout Canada and the United States. "Sister Aimee" knew how to use her good looks and theatrical oratory to draw thousands to her worship services. In 1917, she also began publishing *Bridal Call*, a monthly magazine that contained transcripts of her sermons and reports on the meetings she led. McPherson was one of the first evangelists to recognize the potential of the ELECTRONIC CHURCH. Radio, she said, carried "on the winged feet of the winds, the story of hope, the words of joy, of comfort, of salvation." By 1923, McPherson had made nine transcontinental tours and held preaching credentials from the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, the METHODISTS, and the BAPTISTS.

Aimee Semple McPherson founded the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in 1927. *(Library of Congress)*

On New Year's Day in 1923, McPherson opened the 5,000-seat Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, where she served as minister for 21 years. That site became the headquarters of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, a new denomination incorporated in 1927. The church's name refers to a vision McPherson experienced, when she saw the four-faced figures described in the Bible in Ezekiel 1:4–14. McPherson believed the faces in her vision symbolized the four roles that Christ's ministry fulfilled: Savior, Healer, Baptizer, and King. McPherson also founded a Bible institute known as L.I.F.E. (Lighthouse of International Foursquare Evangelism), which eventually trained more than 3,000 pastors and evangelists. Her son Rolf McPherson assumed leadership of the denomination after her death, and it grew rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s.

After an alleged kidnapping in 1926, McPherson's mental health deteriorated precipitously. She suffered a nervous breakdown in 1930, was married for a third time in 1931, and was divorced four years later. While on a journey to help strengthen churches in her denomination, she succumbed to an accidental overdose of barbiturates, dying at an Oakland, California, hotel on September 27, 1944.

GHS, Jr.

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medicine, religion and The relationship between religion and medicine is a long and intimate one. Historically, in most cultures, illness was viewed as related to some aspect of religion, whether as a punishment for some wrong, caused by demons or sorcery, or capable of being cured by some form of divine intervention. The centrality of this is clearly seen in American popular culture by the (admittedly now-declining) use of the phrase "medicine man" to describe a shaman. In ancient Greece, Asculepius is raised to the rank of the gods because of his healing abilities. In the history of Christianity, Jesus was noted for his ability to heal the sick, and many hospitals were run by religious orders. The examples could be multiplied throughout the history of religions. This connection between religion and medicine has been equally true in the history of America.

The relationship between religion and medicine in the history of America is complex and rich, and an exhaustive analysis is beyond the reach of an encyclopedia article. This article examines the relationship between religion and medicine in the United States by focusing on three major themes. These are religion and illness and healing, religion and the development of hospitals, and religion and attitudes to medicine and medical procedures.

As mentioned above, the relationship between religion and healing is one that reaches back to the mists of earliest human time. In what we know of human history, healing traditionally has been seen as an activity within the province of religion or religious leaders. Often illness was interpreted as a punishment for some transgression of a religious law or norm, a violation of some taboo. In other instances, it could be brought on because of evil spirits or demons, occasionally intentionally directed against the sufferer by some ill-intentioned person through the use of sorcery, witchcraft, or magic. Even if the illness had no identifiable or articulated religious cause, it generally was assumed that a cure could be accomplished through divine intervention. One of the responsibilities of religious adepts was to muster this divine healing through the invocation of divine intervention, whether through uttering the appropriate words or phrases or through the performance of prescribed rituals.

This is a dominant theme in many of the religious traditions of Native American peoples and also plays a major role in VODOU and SANTERÍA. At the time of North American colonization, it was a major component of European Catholicism and even European Protestantism. Although the latter often lacked the formal ritual structures of other traditions, prayers for the sick, both public and private, were an accepted part of religious practice.

Religious responses to illness were necessary because illness, particularly epidemic illness, often was interpreted as divine punishment. The plague (mostly smallpox) that severely reduced the Indian population of modern-day New England in the decades before settlement (it probably had been introduced by English fishermen) was understood as part of the divine plan to open up the New World for Protestant English settlement.

Such afflictions were not only inflicted on others. European colonists in North America regularly interpreted epidemics as God scourging the people for their sins. Because these illnesses had their source in divine punishment, they could be ended only by ceasing the actions that had led to the punishment. The community needed to repent of its sins, publicly demonstrate its contrition, and request divine forgiveness. Such actions, if they truly reflected a change in heart, could lead God to end the plague.

That the epidemics were viewed as punishment can be seen in the language used to describe them, "An awful judgement of God upon the land." In response to the 1721 smallpox epidemic that struck Massachusetts, COTTON MATHER declared to his congregation, "Because of the destroying angel standing over the Town, a day of prayer is needed that we may prepare to meet our God."

While illness may have been a source of divine judgment and punishment, one never could know. Other sources may have been causing it, and human actions regularly were taken to try to avert the spread of illness, at least within the knowledge of the time. Suspicion of infection usually resorted in quarantines imposed on those infected. Ships and even individuals traveling from locations where smallpox, yellow fever, influenza, or some other epidemic was active could be turned back or made to endure a long quarantine to limit the spread.

The 1721 epidemic in Massachusetts (and subsequent ones in the United States) shows the complexity of the relationship between religion and medicine. That epidemic was the first in which a new treatment for smallpox was available, inoculation. In the form available in the early 1700s, an individual intentionally was inoculated with the smallpox virus taken from a sick person. The inoculated individual actually got smallpox, but the form usually was less virulent, shorter in duration, and had fewer consequences. Mortality rates also were markedly lower, in the 1 to 3 percent range as opposed to 10 to 25 percent for those who contracted the illness naturally. Most important, one was immune to the illness for the rest of one's life.

Inoculation did not meet with overwhelming approval. For some, the treatment seemed designed to thwart God's designs and natural forces. Others added that the conferring of immunity meant that individuals no longer had to put their faith in God. Critics of this view responded by inquiring as to how inoculation differed from any other form of medical treatment.

Interestingly, some of the leading supporters of inoculation in Massachusetts were the clergy. Cotton Mather vigorously supported inoculation during the 1721 epidemic and after the epidemic's passing wrote a pamphlet extolling his friend Dr. Zabdiel Boydston, who, at Mather's urging, had undertaken to inoculate 274 Bostonians, with a fatality rate of 2.2 percent as opposed to the 15 percent mortality rate that affected the city as a whole. Mather, who outlived three wives and 13 of his 15 children, saw no use in illness and suffering. He firmly believed that human beings had been given reason to effect good and, if so, they should use it. As one of his colleagues, the reverend William Cooper of Cambridge, wrote during the epidemic, "Let us use the light God has given us and thank him for it." The most vocal opponent of inoculation was Dr. William Douglas, the city's most formally trained physician, having graduated from the University of Edinburgh's medical school.

The position of such important ministers as Cotton Mather, William Cooper, and, later, JONATHAN EDWARDS did not end all resistance, however. Many opposed inoculation on religious grounds and, during the 1721 epidemic, letters to Boston's newspapers railed against the practice, with some even demanding that giving an inoculation be made a capital offense. Its proponents were physically attacked, and Mather's house was firebombed, although the device failed to ignite.

The debate over smallpox reflected, to a great extent, the debates over treatments of medical conditions throughout U. S. history. If illness were a scourge of God, then to remove that scourge or even fear it was to take a step down the road toward immorality. This concern is historically reflected in the fact that most of the major conflicts over religion and medicine in the United States have had to do with medical treatments, medicines, or procedures that specifically involved behaviors that came with some moral valuation, particularly sexual behaviors. Conflicts over contraception, abortion, and the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases were intense because they dealt with issues of sexual behavior. For some, these only served to remove the logical and natural consequences of immoral behavior. Individuals no longer would have a reason to avoid immorality because they would not have to bear the consequences of that behavior. This is a separate question from the morality of the medical treatment itself, which is discussed below.

If the major relationship between religion and healing involved a shift in how to respond to or interpret illness (one which has been facilitated by the germ theory of illness), the other major relationship in American history is the role of religion itself in the process of healing. As mentioned, most religious traditions encourage and often formalize prayers and other rituals for the sick. These can include the prayer trees common among evangelical Christians (but not limited to them). In those groups of individuals, all agree to pray for individuals that participants add to a list. In JUDAISM, the *mi sheberakh* prayer for the sick is a formal part of the service. Catholics and the Orthodox light candles, and Hindus may support specific *puja*s, religious rituals, to be performed on behalf of the sick. Private prayers on behalf of the sick are also nearly universal.

For some traditions, however, medical issues themselves predominate. At least two homegrown American denominations owe their existence to issues related to medicine. These are the Church of Jesus Christ, Scientist (see CHRISTIAN SCIENCE) and the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH. Additionally, within several American denominations, there exist movements that emphasize the cure of illness and infirmities. "Faith healing," as it is known, brought notoriety to many individuals within popular American religion. Some of these individuals include AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON, ORAL ROBERTS, and even Jim Jones (see JONES, JAMES WARREN [JIM]).

While each of these strands approaches the relationship between religion and healing or medicine in very different ways, they all see an intimate connection between human health and one's religious life. For Christian Scientists, right thought regarding the nature of the world is essential not only to one's health, but to one's spiritual well-being. Among Seventh-day Adventists, health is intimately connected with right behavior, particularly behavior relating to what one puts into one's body. To a great extent, for them, divinely prescribed rules regarding what one should eat, drink, and so on, have both a religious and physical import. A healthy body reflects one's spiritual well-being. Finally, for the faith-healing traditions, health, while usually amenable to the ministrations of modern medicine, is not constrained by them. God can do what human beings cannot. This is why faith healers (and those healed) tend to emphasize the miraculous cure of the inoperable cancer, the person who had spent decades in a wheelchair and now walks, and the individual who was blind from birth and now can see. As a rule, healers do not minimize modern medicine, although some do; they simply point out its limitations. God's ability to heal those that modern medicine cannot serves to demonstrate the divine power and its unlimited nature.

The relationship of religion to medicine is not limited to a spiritual approach to the ill and infirm. Most religious traditions historically have seen care for the ill and infirm as one of their duties. This has been particularly true in the United States, where the creation and maintenance of hospitals has been dominated by religious denominations.

While the first hospital in the United States, Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia (1751), was not a denominational hospital per se, it was created by a combination of public subscription and governmental funds. The hospital was the idea of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN and a Quaker physician, Dr. Thomas Bond, and its first director is described in the histories as Elizabeth Gardner, a Quaker widow. Although initially built on land purchased from the Penn family, its expansion was made possible by a gift of land from the children of

WILLIAM PENN. Built through a combination of gifts from individuals throughout the colony, the hospital reflected a significantly American development, the shared labors of citizens of different stripes to create public goods (see PHILANTHROPY; VOLUNTARYISM). While many of the other early hospitals in the United States were created by such a combination of governmental monies and private donations, by the 19th century, religious denominations began to establish hospitals on their own.

The first Catholic hospital in the United States, Mercy Hospital in Pittsburgh, was established in 1847, and the first Jewish hospital, Jewish Hospital of Cincinnati, three years later. Hospitals created by Protestant denominations tended to emerge later in the century. To a great extent, this reflected the fact that during the 19th century, seemingly nondenominational hospitals in the United States were expressly Protestant in orientation and ethos. There seemed little need for the development of hospitals until theological differences, numerical growth, and the centralization of denominational control met increased need. The second half of the 19th century saw a massive growth of denominational hospitals. Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians all took a role in the activity. They were followed in this work by churches of new immigrants, such as the Lutherans, and by new denominations, such as the Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS). The first Mormon hospital, Deseret Hospital, was established in 1881 by the women's relief society, which previously had organized and directed home health care in Salt Lake City. When it opened, the hospital had an all-female board of directors and a staff of primarily female physicians. Other new denominations also established their own medical establishments. The Western Health Reform Institute (later the Battle Creek Sanitarium), based on the health principles advocated by Seventh-day Adventists, was established in 1866. In 1905, Adventists also established what would become a major international medical center in Loma Linda, California.

The drive for denominationally affiliated hospitals came from several sources. First was the religious imperative that the sick should be cared for and that this care is a religious duty. Second was the conviction that health care within the context of a distinctive faith commitment had important values to bring to the medical enterprise. For many religious people, treating the physical person was insufficient. One also needed both to attend to religious needs but also to be able to access religious resources in the treatment of illness. Additionally, different religious communities felt the need to ensure that their coreligionists received medical care within the context of their particular tradition. Catholic patients should have ready access to the Mass, Jewish patients to kosher food, and everyone to freedom from proselytization during their hospital stays. The development of medicine in the 20th century saw a process of convergence within the treatment processes and even a merger of hospitals into medical centers with names such as, Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke. Despite these convergences, differences remained driven overwhelmingly by the variations between religious traditions on the nature of medicine, how medical care should be delivered, and, most important, whether certain medical procedures are morally and religiously acceptable.

The role of religion in constructing people's understandings of medicine and medical treatment is an important one. Religions have played central roles in understanding and explaining illness. For some traditions, medicine and medical treatment are central to their identity and even to their creation. All traditions, however, have understandings of what ought and ought not to be done in the name of medicine. In contemporary American society, these understandings often are divergent. Conflicts and disagreements have increased markedly since the late 20th century. Legal and cultural changes that expanded the level of individual freedom along with the development of technologies that pushed the boundary of the possible have greatly increased the active role of religion in addressing medical care and medical treatment.

Much of the current conflict and disagreements involving religion and medicine revolve around issues of sexuality and reproductive technologies. This should not be surprising, because those areas are ones in which the cultural shifts have been the greatest and in which the technological growth has been immense. Since several religious traditions in the United States, particularly the Catholic Church, oppose contraception, abortion, and many forms of aided conception, including in vitro fertilization, in many hospitals throughout the country, a patient cannot access these medical procedures. Even traditions that do not necessarily oppose contraception, evangelical Protestants, for example (see EVANGELICALISM), may oppose abortion, further limiting access to that procedure.

More important, however, is how religious teachings affect individuals' approaches to such procedures and others. During the late 20th and early 21st centuries, developments in genetics, including genetic manipulation, raised serious ethical questions in American society (see ETHICS). Issues involving cloning of human beings or even the altering of individuals' genetic makeup for reasons other than the curing of an illness, such as selecting for certain physical characteristics, presented serious ethical challenges that many individuals in the United States tried to answer from their religious views. The most divisive of these issues was stem cell research. Stem cells, particularly those from fetuses, have a significant property in that they can grow into any type of cell. Many people, therefore, believe that research on these cells holds out immense promise for developing treatments for illnesses such as Parkinson's disease and for treating spinal cord injuries and possibly curing paralyzed individuals.

Since these stem cells are most readily available from fetuses that were not required by patients undergoing in vitro fertilization, their use raises serious moral questions for some. Many individuals are convinced that these fetuses are human beings and should not be used as sources for stem cells. Many others disagree, arguing that they will never develop into human beings and that it is immoral to refuse to undertake research that seemingly holds out such promise. These views are driven to a great extent by religious understandings. The Roman Catholic Church is opposed to the use of such stem cells because it means killing what they see as human beings. Many evangelical Protestants agree. Mainstream and liberal Protestants as well as most of the movements within Judaism are less opposed, and some are vehemently supportive of the research. The goal of saving human lives has major significance for them, especially since they do not have the theological views that such fetuses are unborn humans.

The relationship between religion and medicine in U.S. history has been complicated and connected. From colonial times to today, religion and medicine have found themselves in an embrace, sometimes dancing, sometimes wrestling. This connection is inseparable, however. Religion and medicine deal with those things that are most central to many individuals' existences—their physical well-being and their spiritual well-being—neither of which can be experienced separated from the other.

EQ

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megachurches *Megachurch* is a modern term used to describe both the size of churches and a way of undertaking worship that began to develop formally in the 1970s. These churches normally have memberships exceeding 2,000 and a fairly nontraditional worship style that focuses on being inviting and nonthreatening.

Large churches are nothing new in the history of Christianity. St. Peter's in Rome can accommodate more than 60,000 worshippers, and both Charles Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle in London and AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON's church in Los Angeles had weekly attendances in excess of 5,000. Megachurch, however, as a descriptor of both size and way of doing church are phenomena of the second half of the 20th century.

While the start of the megachurch phenomenon in the United States can be associated with the creation of Robert Schuller's Crystal Cathedral in Los Angeles, the movement truly had its start with the establishment of Willow Creek Church outside Chicago and Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard Fellowship in California. These early precursors of what would become the megachurch movement began with efforts to reach individuals, primarily youths, unmoved by traditional forms of worship and judgmental sermons.

Willow Creek, which many consider the paradigm of the megachurch movement, grew out of a youth program at South Park Church in Park Ridge, Illinois. The youth group, which was attracting nearly 1,000 participants weekly, was forced to move to a rented theater. Although the first meetings in October 1975 had fewer than 200 attendees, within three years, 2,000 people were attending services. The church bought 90 acres of farmland, eventually expanding to 150 acres, for a church building that opened in 1981. The church's main sanctuary seats more than 4,000, and the complex includes a second sanctuary, a gymnasium that also serves as an activity center, a bookstore, a food court, and a coffee shop. Most important, like all good megachurches, it includes sufficient parking. For this reason, most megachurches, at least those serving primarily white populations, tend to be located in suburban areas where there is sufficient space for parking lots and megasized buildings. While most African-American megachurches tend to have their beginnings in urban areas, the challenges presented by size often confront them with the question of whether to move to the suburbs or maintain a commitment to the urban core (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION). Some, such as First African Methodist Episcopal of Los Angeles, have remained committed to their urban neighborhoods (even though most of the congregants live elsewhere) and have used their size to undertake extensive social services, while others have moved either to the suburbs or, in some cases, the exurbs.

Worship in most megachurches, particularly those not affiliated with a particular denomination, tends to be fairly formulaic and scripted, although untraditional in tone. Worship at a megachurch is highly structured. The service actually is a theatrical production. The immense size of the sanctuaries requires careful attention to the needs of the congregants, an audience, in fact. Like a theater performance, care has to be taken so that everyone in the congregation can see and hear. The sanctuaries invariably are large open spaces that provide adequate sight lines for the elaborate video presentations and projections that typically are part of the services. Elaborate sound systems and mixing desks are required to ensure that everyone can hear the service. Music is upbeat and popular, praise music in place of traditional hymns, and the words often are projected on screens, eliminating the need for hymnals. Emphasizing the feeling of church as entertainment, many megachurches use theater-style individual chairs instead of pews. This combination is most visible in the largest megachurch in the United States, Lakewood Church in Houston, Texas, with its 16,000-seat sanctuary combining theater seats, a stage, and massive video screens.

Like their suburban surroundings, megachurches, on the whole, work hard at being inoffensive and nonthreatening, despite the fact that most megachurches are evangelical or Pentecostal in doctrine (see EVANGELICALISM, PENTECOSTALISM). The architecture often lacks any distinctively Christian symbols, while the message itself rarely presents significant challenges to the hearers. In fact, many megachurches expressly define themselves as "seeker" churches, places for those who lack religious homes and are seeking a place of comfort and support.

This aspect of megachurches has been the source of much criticism. Many condemn the churches as being "religion lite" or "McChurch," lacking any strong critical depth or religious demands on their congregants. Critics also chastise the lack of social concern among many megachurch leaders, criticizing them for focusing solely on individual salvation and personal morality. The leaders of these churches respond by saying that they are taking seriously the words of Jesus in the Gospels to go to people where they are and bring them in. While some dismiss the latter criticism, more reflective megachurch leaders see its source more in the life cycle of the churches themselves and their members, arguing that as these churches become more established and undertake deeper reflection, the social component will grow.

The megachurch movement has affected American religion in other ways as well. Not only are most megachurches unaffiliated with a denomination, some, such as Willow Creek and others, have spun off their own associations of churches that share logos, formats, and styles. With these churches, one sees the influence of the franchise model of business creeping into American religion. The growth and power of the megachurches also affected the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. The pastors of several megachurches have become convention presidents, with a resulting shift in power from the rural and small-town churches that predominate in the convention to suburban churches and their concerns.

In 2005, researchers identified more than 1,200 churches in the United States with weekly attendances of more than 2,000 (twice the number that existed in 2000). Roughly half of these churches were not affiliated with any denomination. Of those that did have a denominational affiliation, about 20 percent were affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention and 10 percent with the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD. Nearly 10 percent of all megachurches were primarily African American.

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Mencken, H. L. (Henry Louis) (1880–1956) H. L. Mencken's talent, the consummate production of vitriolic satire, let loose on all pieties and personalities of his day, found expression in a body of essays and newspaper columns. Acknowledging the wide resonance of Mencken's satire in the 1920s, social critic Walter Lippman spoke of him as "the most powerful influence on this whole generation of educated people." As editor of the *Baltimore Herald* and other newspapers and magazines, Mencken produced a large number of essays, several books, and an enduring scholarly contribution in three editions of *The American Language* (1919).

Mencken's grandfather emigrated from Germany in 1848, part of a large wave of Germans settling in Baltimore, Maryland. Born September 12, 1880, Mencken grew up in a successful middle-class family, with a strong belief in the superiority of German culture over that of non-German neighbors. Although thrust by his parents into the American Protestant world of Sunday school (see SUNDAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT) from an early age, in his youth, Mencken also picked up a suspicion of all things religious from his father and grandfather.

While apprenticed in his father's cigar factory, Mencken enrolled in a writing course, taking a job as a reporter for the Baltimore *Morning Herald* in 1899. Mencken's many years in journalism gave his prose its hard, direct edge. In *Newspaper Days* (1941), one of his three autobiographical works, Mencken referred to himself as "a critic of ideas," and in his striving to fill this role, he developed widely appreciated attacks on what he saw as the most pernicious influences on American culture, in particular PURITANISM and FUNDAMENTALISM. Writing for his magazine, the *American Mercury,* in the 1920s, Mencken reached an audience of approximately 65,000 people and was especially popular on the nation's college campuses.

Mencken, who valued the individualism and liberty at the heart of American life above all else, scorned those features of the culture that threatened to replace America's room for diversity and achievement with social conformity and mutual suspicion. A serious student of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1901), he railed against what he saw as the mob's resentment of superior things and individuals, a tendency promoted by democracy's chief illusion—the idea that individuals are equal in fact. His *Diaries* also betray a lasting ANTI-SEMITISM. While a supporter of capitalism, he attacked the growing consumerism of his own day as an attempt to satiate the masses. He also lampooned the mindless turning to religious "quackery," whether forms of Christianity typified by popular evangelists (see SUNDAY, BILLY) or the eclectic blending of NEW THOUGHT in an age of science. As a reporter for the *Baltimore Herald,* he covered the famous 1925 SCOPES TRIAL in Tennessee, where WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN (see CREATIONISM) took on agnostic Clarence Darrow. Mencken's widely circulated sarcastic treatment of the trial provided many Americans with their primary exposure to the ideological conflict between modernists and fundamentalists.

By the Great Depression, Mencken's readership had declined, yet he remained an active writer, even though plagued by ill health from 1940 until his death on January 29, 1956. While his reputation has sometimes waned, members of later generations, dissatisfied with their culture, still find humor and insight in his biting critiques of American religious and political life.

MG

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Mendes, Henry Pereira (1852–1937)

Although often overshadowed by men like ISAAC MAYER WISE, SOLOMON SCHECHTER, and

Cyrus Adler, Henry Pereira Mendes was a significant figure in 19th- and 20th-century American Judaism. Among the more traditional members of the so-called Historical School, he served as a mediator between that school and the Orthodox (see Conservative Judaism; Orthodox Judaism). He was instrumental in founding many of the institutions that strengthened traditional Judaism in the United States and helped to bridge the differences between the older Sephardic and German Jewish communities and the newer eastern European Jews who immigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1924.

Born in Birmingham, England, on April 13, 1852, and descended from a long line of Sephardic rabbis, Henry Pereira Mendes came to the United States in 1877 as rabbi of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City. During his 43-year tenure, Mendes labored to create a traditional, yet decorous and Americanized, Judaism. Working closely with Rabbi Sabato Morais, Mendes helped establish Jewish Theological Seminary (1887), where he lectured on Jewish history and served as interim president (1897–1902) following Morais's death.

As rabbi of the oldest congregation in New York, Mendes took the lead in establishing the New York Board of [Jewish] Ministers (now the New York Board of Rabbis) in 1882. He was also instrumental in the formation of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (1892) and served as its president until 1913. The union's statement of purpose—to "advance the interests of positive Biblical, Rabbinical, Traditional, and Historical Judaism"—can be read as Mendes's own vision for American Judaism.

Mendes was no parochial traditionalist. Reared in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Sephardic Judaism, he had an abiding interest in promoting the cultural aspects of Judaism and serving the wider Jewish community. He contributed numerous poems, articles, and translations to the pages of the *American Hebrew*. He also wrote pamphlets, children's books, and plays. He worked with a coalition of Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative Jews to produce the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and a new English translation of the Tanakh, the Hebrew Bible.

Mendes's concern for *klal Israel* (universal Israel) is seen in his early support of Zionism. Although more interested in its cultural and spiritual aspects as a means of revitalizing Jewish life, he lent his aid to political Zionism as a member of the Federation of American Zionists.

Poor health forced Mendes's retirement from public life in 1920. Although unable to continue most of his activities, he maintained an abiding interest in American Jewry. He continued his writing whenever his health allowed, publishing his last book, *Derech Hayim: The Way of Life,* three years before his death on October 20, 1937.

(See also Reform Judaism.)

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Mennonites One of the most successful groups to emerge from the radical Reformation in 16th-century Europe, the Mennonites are now the largest Anabaptist body in the United States. The Anabaptists were religious sectarians who exited what they saw as the corrupt state churches of Switzerland, Germany, and Holland in order to form a group of true believers who would model themselves and their congregations after the patterns of the primitive church as described in the Bible. In addition to attempting to maintain pure com-

Descendants of the radical, pacifist wing of the Reformation in Europe maintain a simple lifestyle in rural communities. Shown above is a Mennonite church near Hinkletown, Pennsylvania, in the 1930s. *(Library of Congress)*

munities of visible saints who lived apart from the impurities of society, Anabaptists typically practiced pacifism and attempted to live simply. Their practice of rebaptizing adults who could give accounts of their conversion experiences gave the Anabaptists (literally, rebaptizers) their name.

Mennonites derive their name from Menno Simons (1496–1561), a 16th-century Dutch convert from ROMAN CATHOLICISM who established early Mennonite congregations in both the Netherlands and Germany. But their deepest roots are in Switzerland, where the Mennonites first emerged as dissenters from the religious establishment championed by the Swiss reformer and theologian Ulrich Zwingli and as pacifist opponents of the revolutionary Anabaptism of Melchior Hoffman, a radical reformer whose attempts to create a "New Jerusalem" in Münster had ended in bloodshed.

Like other Anabaptist groups in 16th-century Europe, the Mennonites refused to participate in activities of the state, which they saw as "worldly." They objected to state churches and vociferously championed the separation of church and state. Like the HUTTERITES and the AMISH, the Mennonites are included among the "peace churches" because of their refusal to participate in the military.

Mennonites first migrated to America in 1683. They were among a group of 13 families from Krefeld, Germany, who responded to William Penn's promises of religious freedom in the Pennsylvania colony (see Pennsylvania [colony]) by founding Germantown (now in Philadelphia), the first German-speaking settlement in America. Led by Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1720), these 13 families included both Mennonites and Quakers (see Friends, Religious Society of [Quakers]), and by 1686, a meetinghouse to serve both these communities had been built. Eventually, the groups went their separate ways. The first separate Mennonite place of worship was established in Germantown in 1708.

Since they largely refused to proselytize, the Mennonites' numbers in America were not increased through conversions. Their numbers were augmented instead by high birthrates and three waves of immigration. In the colonial period, German-speaking Mennonites settled alongside their brethren in Pennsylvania. Eventually, these earliest Mennonites removed themselves to rural areas in present-day Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and from there, moved south into Virginia and the Carolinas and west into Ohio, Indiana, and Ontario, Canada.

The religious freedom and economic prosperity enjoyed by America's first Mennonites prompted two additional waves of German-speaking Mennonite immigrants from Europe. One group arrived after the Napoleonic wars and came from Alsace, Bavaria, and Hesse. Another came from southern Russia in the 1870s. They were fleeing not the ravages of war but the indignities of a "Russification" campaign that threatened their folkways and religious practices. Both these groups settled for the most part in the Midwest, and together they populated what is now the General Conference Mennonite Church of North America, a less stringent, smaller cousin to the so-called Old Mennonites of the Pennsylvania-based Mennonite Church.

Mennonites have split into numerous branches in America, most often over questions regarding what concessions may be made to "worldly" contingencies. The Old Colony Mennonites, who quit Canada for Mexico in the 1920s in order to escape government-mandated education, have clung tightly to their sectarian roots in Anabaptist dissent. They usually manifest their withdrawal from the corrupt world by dressing and speaking plainly and by shunning technological trappings such as radio, television, and the internet. They also refuse to buy insurance, secure in the conviction that Mennonites can and must take care of one another in times of trouble. Other groups have become both more "churchly" and more "Americanized." The Mennonite Church, for example, now conducts services in decorated churches rather than simple meetinghouses, and its liturgies use English rather than German. Its members run colleges and seminaries and sit on missionary boards. As the largest Mennonite organization in the country, the Mennonite Church claimed more than 110,000 members in about 950 congregations in the United States in 2008.

SRP

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Mercersburg Theology See Nevin, John Williamson; Schaff, Philip.

Merton, Thomas (1915–1968) *Social commentator, poet, monk, hermit*—all are words that describe Thomas Merton, one of the most enigmatic and intriguing figures in American religion. Though a Roman Catholic, his audience, like that of Dorothy Day, spread beyond Catholicism. In many ways, Merton resembles Francis of Assisi in that his appeal reaches far beyond the Catholic fold.

Merton's religious pilgrimage was circuitous. As described in his autobiography, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, it was a journey from worldliness and confusion to contemplation and clarity. Perhaps most significant was Merton's discovery that the deeper his withdrawal into contemplation, the more pronounced his engagement with the world. He opened up to the world as he died to it.

Thomas Merton was born the son of artists in Prades, France, on January 31, 1915. His father was a New Zealander and his mother an American. Shortly after his birth, they moved to the United States to escape World War I. Merton's early life was marked by the death of his mother in 1921, extensive travel, temporary residences, and irregular education. His father's death in 1931 left Merton alone and depressed.

Entering Clare College at Cambridge University in 1932, Merton took too great advantage of the financial security provided by a trust fund set up by his grandfather. His dissolute and frivolous life led to his dismissal and his guardian's demand that he return to America. On doing so, he entered Columbia University, where he majored in English. Active in literary affairs, journalism, and the avant-garde communism of the day, Merton led a life typical of the rebellious intellectual of the 1930s. While at Columbia, however, he also encountered different views of the world provided by two of his professors, Mark Van Doren and Daniel Walsh. Both men encouraged him to look at the medieval period and the Catholic intellectual tradition in interpreting the world and living one's life. This approach was strengthened by his reading of Étienne Gilson's *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy.*

After entering Columbia's master's degree program in English, Merton began to focus his reading on Catholic authors, especially the English Jesuit Gerard Manley Hopkins. During this time, he attended his first Catholic mass and after much internal struggle decided to convert. Shortly after his conversion (November 16, 1938), he felt a call to the priesthood and was accepted by the Franciscans, who sent him to teach at St. Bonaventure College in upstate New York in order that he might experience the religious life. During that time, he began to doubt his calling, and in a period of emotional turmoil during 1941 made a Holy Week retreat to Our Lady of Gethsemani, a Trappist abbey in Kentucky. Impressed by the silent and contemplative life of the Trappists, Merton returned in December and after a two-month trial period became a novice monk in February 1942.

Brother Louis, as he was called, entered into the regimen of the Cistercian Order of the Strict Observance, as the Trappists are officially known. Silence, manual labor, regular devotions, and a simple life mark the daily existence of the members. Under these circumstances, Merton began to write more. A book of poems and a guide to Cistercian life were followed by his spiritual autobiography. This work, *The Seven Storey Mountain* (1948), brought fame to the young monk and renewed popular interest in monasticism, leading to an influx of young people into contemplative orders such as the Trappists.

Despite the demands of the order and his positions as Master of Scholastics (1951–1955) and Master of Novices (1955–1965), Merton was a prolific author, producing 50 books and hundreds of articles. His interests were in two apparently divergent areas. He was best known for his social concerns. Pacifism, racial equality, and economic justice all were topics of his writings. Deeply committed to nonviolence, he was a strong supporter of Martin Luther King, Jr. His pacifism was so absolute that he was silenced by his superiors in 1962 during the Vietnam War. His deep spiritual commitment and the popularity of his autobiography allowed Merton's views on social issues to reach an audience that otherwise might have rejected them out of hand.

Spiritual experience was the other aspect of Merton's writings. In the early 1960s, Merton began serious study of monasticism and contemplation in the Asian religions, developing strong interests in ZEN, SUFISM, and TAOISM. In 1965, he received a dispensation from the corporate rule of the order and entered a hermitage located on the monastery's grounds. During this period, he wrote several books on Zen and on the contemplative life. Invited to attend a conference on Asian Christian contemplation, he embarked on a whirlwind tour of the United States and Asia. While at the conference in Bangkok, Thailand, he was electrocuted as he adjusted an electric fan in his room. He died on December 10, 1968, exactly 27 years after he had entered the monastery at Gethsemani. Although his death cut short his career, Merton's work continues to have a deep impact on people concerned about the spiritual life and the corrosive impacts of materialism and violence on the human soul and human society.

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mesmerism Mesmerism refers to a tradition of healing techniques and metaphysical speculation initiated by the Austrian physician Franz Antoine Mesmer (1733–1815) and popularized in the United States in the mid-19th century.

Mesmerism was first and foremost a technique for healing. According to Mesmer, diseases of both the body and the mind were caused by subtle imbalances in a fine fluid called animal magnetism. The way to heal diseases and to foster life and health was to redirect this fluid back to its natural and harmonious state. Mesmer's technique for accomplishing this realignment was to put the patient into a trancelike state and then to manipulate that patient's animal magnetism by passing his or her arms over the area of the disease.

Although Mesmer described his discoveries as scientific rather than religious truths, mesmerism possessed for its defenders a spiritual as well as a therapeutic allure. According to Mesmer, animal magnetism could promote not only healing, but also seemingly supernatural insight into occult mysteries. It could also foster extraordinary mental abilities such as extrasensory perception (ESP).

Mesmer performed his first cures in 1773. His healing system became such a hit in Paris that the French Academy felt compelled to denounce him in 1784. That rebuke limited Mesmer's influence in Europe, but in the United States, his ideas and practices prospered. Promoted in the books and lectures of Charles Poyen, mesmerism drew wide audiences in America in the 1840s. Poyen's advocacy attracted figures such as ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, who began shortly after hearing the lecture of an itinerant mesmerist to cultivate the clairvoyant powers that would make him one of the most important figures in American SPIRITUALISM.

Like SWEDENBORGIANISM, mesmerism appealed primarily to educated, middle-class Americans who were able to follow its esoteric theories (and, in the case of mesmerism, afford its practitioners). Again like Swedenborgianism, it peaked in the middle of the 19th century before gaining a significant following. Through people like Davis, however, who integrated mesmerist ideas and practices into

Spiritualism, mesmerism made its way into other occult movements, including THEOSOPHY, homeopathy, and phrenology. Mesmerism also played a role in the development of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, hypnotism, and Freudian psychoanalysis. In all these ways, the work of Mesmer lived on well after his death in 1815.

SRP

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Methodists The Methodists are a group of churches that trace their origins back to 18th-century Church of England clergyman John Wesley (see WESLEYAN TRADITION). Organized at first as societies under lay leadership within ANGLICANISM, Methodism developed into a separate denomination after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Today the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH is the largest Methodist denomination in the United States and the second-largest Protestant denomination overall (after the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION). Several smaller churches, including the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH and the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH, the major branches of black Methodism, also compose this denominational family.

In 1729, John Wesley joined a small association of Oxford University students (known derisively as "methodists") who were seeking to deepen their religious faith. A number of years later, on the way to attend a church service in London in May 1738, Wesley felt his heart "strangely warmed" and sensed for the first time that God truly loved him. Soon afterward, he began traveling about the countryside with his brother Charles, a brilliant writer of hymns. He preached to large crowds of common people who gathered in open areas to hear his message about the saving grace of Jesus Christ. Wesley also developed an elaborate connectional system that spread Methodist ideas throughout England.

Eventually, friction developed between Methodists and the Anglican establishment of which they were a part. American Methodist congregations had begun to meet regularly both in Virginia and in New York in the 1760s. Because the War for Independence forced many Anglican priests to flee the colonies, Methodist societies were often left without access to baptism and Holy Communion, sacramental acts over which only clergy could preside. Although Anglican polity required a bishop to ordain a man to the ministry, Wesley and two other priests ordained clergy for the American church in September 1784. At the same time, Wesley appointed THOMAS COKE and FRANCIS ASBURY superintendents over Methodists in the new United States. In December 1784, a gathering of preachers in Baltimore, Maryland, known afterward as the "Christmas Conference," established the Methodist Episcopal Church and confirmed Wesley's appointment of Asbury and Coke as superintendents.

Methodists soon were major participants in the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, the remarkable series of revivals that sprang up in the early 19th century. Asbury, their most active leader, was an aggressive evangelist who traveled widely, preaching the Gospel and building up his denomination. He became a model for other circuit-riding preachers who spread Methodism across the Appalachian Mountains and into what was then the FRONTIER. Asbury recognized the value of "circulation," prodding clergy to seek converts in even the most remote locations. He was also an advocate of CAMP MEETINGS, the extended outdoor revivals that helped establish Methodism as the most vigorous denomination of the period.

Despite the tremendous growth the Second Great Awakening inspired, conflicts began to emerge as Methodism expanded. Race precipitated one division. Although

African Americans had been among the earliest participants in American Methodism, racial discrimination forced Richard Allen, a black preacher in Philadelphia, to leave his church. In 1816, he organized the African Methodist Episcopal Church and became its first bishop. In New York City in 1821, two other black Methodists, Peter Williams and James Varick, formed the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Both churches have had immense influence within the African-American community. The African Methodist Episcopal Church contains 3.5 million members today, while the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church now has a membership of 1.2 million.

The other major dispute within American Methodism concerned the authority of bishops. James O'Kelly, a Methodist minister, wanted his church to adopt an egalitarian governing structure, one that did not contain bishops and was more in accord with the democratic ideology of the Revolution. When this protest failed, O'Kelly and his followers withdrew from the main denomination in 1794 and formed the Republican Methodist Church. This denomination later chose the name "Christian Church." It numbered about 20,000 people before part of it merged with the Disciples of Christ in the mid-19th century. In the 1820s, another Methodist party arose that sought both the elimination of the episcopate and greater authority for laity. This challenge also was unsuccessful, and as a result about 5,000 Methodists formed the Methodist Protestant Church in November 1830.

John Wesley abhorred slavery, and the earliest rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church gave slaveholders one year to emancipate their slaves if they wished to be considered church members. Although Methodists moderated their views about slavery for a time, rising abolitionist sentiment in the North during the 1830s and 1840s again brought the issue to the center of denominational life. When the 1836 and 1840 General Conferences failed to adopt a strong antislavery position, Orange Scott, a prominent New England minister, convinced 15,000 Methodists in 1843 to organize a new denomination, the Wesleyan Methodist Church. In 1860, another group of antislavery Methodists left the main denomination and formed the Free Methodist Church. The group added "free" to its name to signify that it stood for freedom in worship as well as freedom for slaves. The Wesleyan Church (as the Wesleyan Methodist Church is now known) and the Free Methodist Church, which were both strongly influenced by the Holiness movement at the end of the century, contain about 110,000 and 65,000 members, respectively, today.

Barbara Heck (1737–1804), the "mother of Methodism," helped to organize America's first Methodist society in New York City in 1766.

The greatest schism in the Methodist ranks occurred in 1845, when Methodists in the southern and border states created the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. At the 1844 General Conference, antislavery forces were able to require that James O. Andrew, bishop of Georgia, either discontinue functioning as a bishop or free the slaves he owned. Since Andrew had not bought his slaves but acquired them through marriage, he thought he should not have to comply. Gathering in protest at Louisville, Kentucky, the following year, the Methodist annual conferences in the slaveholding states created a new church in which ownership of slaves was acceptable. The first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in Petersburg, Virginia, in May 1846. Although Union victory in the CIVIL WAR encouraged northern Methodists to attempt to win back the southern churches by *force,* white southerners resisted and maintained their ecclesiastical independence after 1865.

In 1870, African Americans who formerly belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, were encouraged by white southern Methodists to organize their own denomination. In cooperation with white Methodists, black Methodists formed the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. They were given title to church property by white trustees, and African-American clergy were ordained by the southern Methodist bishops. This denomination altered its name in 1954 and, now known as the CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, has 850,000 members.

In the half century after the end of the Civil War, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, each grew fourfold—from 1 million to 4 million members in the North, and from 500,000 to 2 million members in the South. Despite such impressive figures of growth, defections from these churches also occurred, as discord over the Holiness movement challenged the comprehensiveness of the mainline denominations in the late 19th century. While most Methodists believed that the quest for personal holiness was a lifelong process, others insisted it could be an instantaneous experience. Since Wesley himself had admitted the possibility of a believer's attaining perfect sanctification in the present life, some Methodists believed they were justified in separating from their churches. These Holiness advocates formed several new denominations, including the SALVATION ARMY, the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, and the Pilgrim Holiness Church.

During the last years of the 19th century, representatives of the northern and southern branches of mainline Methodism began to discuss reunion. As the animosities of the Civil War era started to fade, Methodists in both sections of the country realized that their shared theological ancestry and similar governing structures made unity once again feasible. Although preparations for the merger took several decades, a uniting conference in the spring of 1939 brought the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (as well as the smaller Methodist Protestant Church), together.

The ecumenical trends of the 1950s and 1960s, moreover, culminated in another merger that further strengthened American Methodism. After a meeting in Chicago in November 1966, the union of the Methodist Church with the Evangelical United Brethren Church, a denomination of German pietist origin, was approved. This new denomination, called the United Methodist Church, came into being early in 1968. Despite a recent decline in membership, typical of all the denominations of MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM over the past two decades, the United Methodist Church reported more than 8 million members in 2004.

GHS, Jr.

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Metropolitan Community Churches The Metropolitan Community Churches (MCC), also referred to as the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (UFMCC), is a recent Protestant denomination that ministers especially to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered Christians.

The MCC was founded in 1968 by Troy D. Perry, a pastor at the Church of God of Prophecy in Santa Ana, California, who was ousted from his church after publicly acknowledging his homosexuality. Perry was born in Tallahassee, Florida. When he was 12 years old, his father died, and he subsequently moved in with churchgoing relatives who introduced him to PENTECOSTALISM and the controversial practice of SNAKE HANDLING. Shortly thereafter, he experienced a call to the ministry. At the age of 13, he became an itinerant preacher in the Tennessee-based Church of God (see CHURCH OF GOD [CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE]). He preached in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Illinois before being called at the age of 23 to the pastorate of the Church of God of Prophecy in Santa Ana.

Distraught over losing his church as well as his wife and two children following his avowal of his HOMOSEXUALITY, Perry attempted suicide. On October 6, 1968, he advertised a church meeting open to homosexuals at his home in Huntington Park, California. A total of 12 congregants attended, and the MCC was born. The AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s swelled the denomination's ranks, as HIV-infected gays and lesbians turned to a church that embraced them unflinchingly. But that same crisis also took, through death, many of the denomination's parishioners and clergy.

Perhaps because of Perry's roots in Pentecostalism, MCC churches tend to be rather conservative theologically. Many members view the Bible as the inspired word of God and affirm orthodox creedal positions such as the Trinity. On social issues, however, MCC churches tend toward liberal stances. The denomination supported, for example, a nuclear arms freeze. It has, moreover, spoken out against claims that the Bible condemns homosexuality. Paul, many MCC members claim, was condemning not homosexuality in general but particular types of homosexuality in his letters to the Romans and the Corinthians. And the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah was not homosexuality but idolatry.

The MCC has attempted unsuccessfully to join the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, but the group was given official observer status at a general assembly of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES held in Australia in 1991. By its very existence, the MCC has forced more mainline Protestant denominations to address theological, ethical, and liturgical issues regarding homosexuality, including the "holy union" rites of same-sex couples in MCC churches and the controversial assertion of MCC members that "God made me gay." The increasing openness of some of these churches to gays and lesbians also has had an effect on the MCC. In fall 2006, the Cathedral of Hope in Dallas, Texas, believed by many to be the country's largest gay-identified congregation, with more than 2,000 members, left the MCC and affiliated with the United Church of Christ.

In 1999, the MCC dedicated a new international headquarters and "mother" church in West Hollywood, California. Six years later, Perry retired as moderator of the denomination. In that year, the denomination completed a major planning process, proclaiming itself to be a church of inclusion, community, spiritual transformation, and social action. In

2006, it had nearly 45,000 members in 250 congregations in more than 23 countries.

SRP/EQ

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millennialism See ESCHATOLOGY; DISPENSATIONALISM; POSTMILLENNIALISM; PREMILLENNIALISM.

Miller, William (1782–1849) William Miller was a farmer and Baptist lay preacher in upstate New York whose prediction that the second coming of Jesus Christ would occur in 1843 created a flurry of religious excitement across the United States. The movement Miller created, which represented one of the most extreme instances of American millennial (see PREMILLENNIALISM) fervor, provided a nucleus for the formation of the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH.

Born on February 15, 1782, in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Miller grew up in Low Hampton, New York. After his marriage in 1803, he worked as a farmer in Poultney, Vermont, and served as an officer in the United States Army during the War of 1812. In 1815, he returned to Low Hampton, where he experienced a religious conversion and abandoned the skepticism of his youth. Following a lengthy period of biblical study, he announced in 1831 that the return of Jesus Christ would take place 12 years later. Miller was licensed as a lay preacher by the Baptist Church in 1833 and published his computations about the second coming (*Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ*) in 1836.

The revivals of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING had already raised millennial expectations that the thousand-year reign of Christ might soon be realized. As a consequence, large crowds came flocking wherever Miller spoke. Joshua V. Himes, a Boston minister who publicized Miller's predictions, bought him the largest tent in the country and a chart on which to display his biblical calculations. Despite opposition from most clergy and the ridicule of many other Americans, people of all denominations joined Miller's nonsectarian movement. At the height of the Millerite excitement, more than a million people are estimated to have viewed his teachings sympathetically.

As January 1843 began, Miller announced that Christ would return to Earth sometime between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844. After the latter date passed, Miller confessed he had erred in his original computation and instead named October 22, 1844, as the correct date. When October 23 dawned and the millennium failed to arrive, most of Miller's disciples abandoned their hopes, repudiated their leader, and went back to their lives. A few followers, however, remained faithful to his teachings. No longer desiring to predict a specific date for the second coming, they met in Albany, New York, in April 1845 to continue the Millerite movement. Although this organization itself proved short-lived, one part of it under Ellen Gould White's leadership eventually helped establish the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Miller himself played little part in the subsequent development of Adventism. Embittered by his experiences and virtually a forgotten man, he died at Low Hampton on December 20, 1849.

GHS, Jr.

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missions, foreign A phrase applied to a number of Christian missionary efforts throughout American history, foreign missions has most often denoted Protestant efforts to bring the message of salvation and/or the blessings of American civilization to those considered to be non-American. In general, Protestant foreign missions have focused on two sorts of cultural outsiders. During the colonial period and into the early 19th century, efforts centered around the conversion of "foreigners" on the North American continent, particularly Native Americans. In the decades following the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, Protestant missionary organizations began to extend their work to foreigners abroad, and outreach to Native Americans gradually was subsumed under the category of domestic, or "home," missions. Indeed, the distinctions made between home and foreign mission fields have always been hazy at best and most often have reflected current attitudes regarding racial difference and the potential for cultural assimilation.

During the colonial era, Protestant outreach to Native Americans was largely limited to work among those in areas adjacent to European settlement, tribes that Anglo-American settlers hoped to civilize and enlighten with the blessings of Christianity. In general, these efforts encountered fierce native opposition and suffered the logistical problems created by cultural and linguistic differences. Moreover, missionaries also coped with land-hungry whites who exhibited little sympathy for Native American missions and who favored cultural extermination over conversion.

Although the 17th-century Puritans were largely preoccupied with the welfare of their own religious community, within the first decades of settlement, they initiated sporadic missions to Native Americans. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., established the first "foreign mission" on Martha's Vineyard in 1642. A more extensive effort was launched in 1646, when JOHN ELIOT began to preach among the Massachusetts tribe and to work on a translation of the Bible into the local tongue. He saw the conversion of the Native Americans as an integral aspect of sacred history that would help to usher in God's kingdom. Believing that civilizing and Christianizing went hand in hand, Eliot attempted to isolate Christian converts by organizing them into "praying towns" where they could be immersed in the values of a Christian culture. By 1671, more than 3,500 Native Americans had congregated in 14 praying towns, but these efforts were cut short by King Philip's War in 1675, in which an estimated 5,000 Native Americans were killed along with many European Americans. Other colonial missions to Native Americans included John Sergeant's work among the Housatonic in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, beginning in 1734; Eleazer Wheelock's boarding school, established in 1743 in Lebanon, Connecticut; and David Brainerd's work in New Jersey in the mid-1740s.

Although colonial missionary efforts were neither sustained nor systematic, notable Protestant theologians followed Eliot's lead in seeing foreign missions as an important part of God's providential plan. Religious leaders such as Samuel Sewall and COTTON MATHER wrote about the importance of missions in the early 18th century. By mid-century JONATHAN EDWARDS, perhaps the most famous colonial intellectual and theologian, and also a preacher to Native Americans in western Massachusetts, conceptually linked the missionary spread of the revivals of the GREAT AWAKENING with God's plan for the work of redemption. Gradually, Protestants came to see the evangelization of the rest of the world as an obligation placed upon America by virtue of its unique covenant with the creator.

Anglicans conducted more extensive, if not more successful, missionary efforts among Native Americans and African Americans in the colonial period as one aspect of their work in North America under the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS. Although the primary concern of the Church of England remained the organizing of unchurched European Americans, in the first decades of the 18th century, attempts were made to catechize and baptize Native Americans. When linguistic and cultural barriers rendered these efforts fruitless, missionaries focused on the slave population and experienced some modest successes. Most slaves defied Anglican instruction, but greater resistance came from slave owners, who worried that bringing Africans into the church would threaten their status as property and eventually necessitate manumission. In turn, clergy worked hard to convince both masters and slaves that Christianity and slavery were compatible institutions.

The 19th century is often called the "Great Century" of American missions because in that period ideology and organization combined to form the first well-supported national foreign missions organizations dedicated to the task of evangelizing the world. The foreign mission movement was not entirely a creature of American soil; indeed, leaders depended on the British precedents of the BAPTISTS, who formed a mission society in 1792, and especially the London Missionary Society (1795), for their inspiration. But local impetus sprang from the evangelical zeal ignited by the revivalism of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, a movement that promoted the connection between individual regeneration and Christian service to society as a whole. In 1806, a group of Williams College students, seeking shelter from a thunderstorm in a local haystack, prayed together (see HAYSTACK PRAYER MEETING) and promised to dedicate their lives to foreign missions. Out of this gathering arose the largely Congregational- and Presbyterian-sponsored American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM, 1810), the first national society dedicated to the task of outreach overseas. In turn, after two of its first missionaries, ADONIRAM JUDSON and Luther Rice, were convinced of the theological importance of adult baptism en route to their field in India in 1812, American Baptists formed the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions (1814) to support foreign work. These societies were joined by the Methodists (1819), the Episcopalians (1821), and the Old School Presbyterians, who broke from the ABCFM to form their own denominational missionary society in 1837.

Inherent in all of these efforts were assumptions about America's providential role in the history of the world, many carried over directly from 18th-century Puritan theorists. To be sure, the missions movement as a whole, as William Hutchison has noted, was a New England-centered enterprise, despite the location of national offices in New York and Philadelphia. New Englanders had always been assured of the natural superiority of their own culture. After the founding of the nation, much of this assurance was transferred to the notion of the republic as the unique agent of God's will on Earth. Thus, it is not surprising that as the United States opened itself politically and economically to commerce with other countries, Protestants believed that the blessings of its superior culture, and especially its religion, should travel along as well. By mid-century, Americans supported missions in China, Burma, India, Southeast Asia, the Sandwich Islands, Africa, South America, and Palestine.

Often overlooked in studies of the foreign mission enterprise is the crucial role that has been played by women. Prior to the CIVIL WAR, most societies did not commission single women for overseas posts. However, it was common for women who wanted to carry the Gospel abroad to marry men headed to foreign fields in order to work alongside them as "helpers." Schools such as Mount Holyoke trained women specifically for this occupation, and single men about to embark on their assignments were encouraged to choose spouses from these academies. Moreover, mission efforts were highly dependent upon financial assistance from home, and lay women frequently organized fund-raising efforts to support men and women in the field. In the postbellum era, when women were granted commissions as missionaries in their own right, they entered the field in large numbers and often brought a distinctive style to their Christian outreach by emphasizing education and the training of children. By 1900, women in some overseas missions far outnumbered their male colleagues. Moreover, beginning in the late 1860s, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian women organized their own auxiliaries to the national denominational missions boards, enlisting millions of American women in the largest of the great 19th-century female voluntary movements.

If the early 19th century witnessed the birth of national missions organizations, the period from 1880 to 1920 marked the heyday of foreign missions among American Protestants. At the center of this crusade was the STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT (SVM), an instrument for recruiting college-age volunteers founded in 1888. By the mid-20th century, the SVM claimed to have sent 20,000 missionaries abroad to preach the Gospel, and along with auxiliary fund-raising organizations, the work of able leaders such as JOHN R. MOTT, Arthur T. Pierson, and Robert E. Speer led to a sharp rise in voluntary giving to the cause of missions, which peaked at $45 million per year in 1924. Yet even at the pinnacle of its success, the evangelical missions movement was being eroded by internal ideological disputes. The relative harmony that had existed throughout the 19th century among people holding disparate theological opinions about missionary strategy began to unravel with the growing rift between conservative and liberal evangelicals.

For liberals, growing secularization and pluralism in American society meant that the notion of overseas outreach itself became increasingly problematic, and mainline denominations became less inclined to cooperate with the conservative emphasis on American preaching and baptizing as the principal means of foreign assistance. By the 1930s and 1940s, liberals increasingly favored handing over control of missions to native churches and providing smaller-scale social services to supplement local expressions of Christian practice. Conservative evangelicals, on the other hand, have been joined by Holiness and Pentecostal Churches in recent years in a burgeoning program of outreach. In recent decades, these missions have achieved remarkable successes in Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia, and large numbers have converted to evangelical Protestantism.

Additionally, many foreign missions moved away from explicit evangelism to undertake medical and social service missions. Although such missions historically have played a major role in foreign missions work, increasingly they have become a method for individuals to live out their own faiths. Active evangelism is rare and occurs (if at all) by the missionaries' example. Many major international relief and medical services in the United States have such a religious model. These include World Vision, Feed the Children, and Map International. In fact, four of the five largest international relief agencies in the United States have an expressed religious motivation in their mission statements (see PHILANTHROPY).

In the 20th century, American Catholics also organized to sponsor foreign missions. Although European-based missionary orders, such as the JESUITS, had been seeking American recruits prior to this time, in 1911, the Maryknoll Order established the first American-based association, the American Foreign Missionary Society. Prior to World War II, Maryknoll focused its efforts primarily on Asia, but in recent years, the focus has shifted to Latin America and Africa. Lay missions within the church began in the 1940s, and by the late 1950s, Americans had organized a number of successful lay mission groups, including the Association for International Development in New Jersey, Lay Mission Helpers in Los Angeles, and the Papal Volunteers for Latin America. In 1970, the church consolidated its missions outreach under the umbrella of the United States Catholic Missions Council.

The collapse of communism saw a new opening for foreign missions work. Much of this was led by evangelical Protestant missionaries, who, during the COLD WAR, had been active in smuggling Bibles and other religious literature into these countries. They were not alone. Much of the effort to revitalize Jewish life in the countries of eastern and middle Europe has been directed and led by American Jews and American Jewish communities. While not within the traditional understanding of "foreign missions," the U.S. government and its representatives have played a major role in encouraging religious freedom in other countries and in the protection of religious minorities, particularly since Congress passed the International Religious Freedom Act in 1998.

LMK/EQ

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missions, home The commitment to domestic, or "home," missions has been an important aspect of Protestant church life throughout the history of European-American settlement in North America. The conversion of Native Americans was offered frequently as a reason for the exploration and colonization of the New World. Missionary efforts were sporadic during the colonial period, and in the eyes of religious leaders, they usually fell under the rubric of foreign missions because they were conducted among peoples of other cultures. The push for home missions, which initially connoted outreach to other European Americans who remained outside the bounds of Protestant church life, was largely a product of 19th-century EVANGELICALISM. The primary impetus for such outreach came from Christians in the Northeast, particularly New England, where the motivating vision of America as God's chosen nation remained clearest.

A number of social conditions in the post-Revolutionary nation contributed to the growth of interest in domestic missions. The notion of the United States as a unified republic with a shared destiny encouraged a conceptual separation between the conversion of those at home and those abroad. While both tasks were seen as important, the former took on added urgency after the disestablishment of churches in the early national period, an institutional rupture that left northern evangelicals fearful about the moral consequences of letting individuals find their own spiritual paths. Increasingly, the onus of communal religious guidance, and thus missionary outreach, fell upon the denominations, which were forced to compete for adherents in a newly opened marketplace of beliefs. Although they did vie for members, they also demonstrated a new willingness to cooperate interdenominationally. The resurgence of revivalism during the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING of the 1820s and 1830s, in which preachers emphasized the connection between individual salvation and social reform efforts, further reinforced the commitment to missions. And finally, the opening of western territories to settlement in the decades after the Revolution left large numbers of European Americans in need of religious organization.

The establishment of missionary societies proceeded swiftly, beginning at the local and state levels. The New York Missionary Society (1796) was founded by Baptists, Presbyterians, and Dutch Reformed as the first interdenominational association dedicated to missions, and it was followed by societies in Connecticut (1798) and Massachusetts (1799). Initially devoting their attentions to both the evangelization of Native Americans and the establishment of churches in the new American settlements in western territories, these societies gradually turned over work among Native Americans to foreign missions organizations. The Connecticut Missionary Society, the largest and most expansive of the New England organizations in this period, concentrated the majority of its efforts on American settlers. Its first missionaries were sent on four- to eight-week tours, preaching the Gospel and distributing Bibles and religious tracts. The itinerant work of Joseph Badger in Ohio and Timothy Flint and Salmon Giddings in Missouri reflected the circuit-style organization adopted by the societies to effectively cover large expanses of western land. In 1826, these state societies became auxiliaries of the newly established American Home Missionary Society, an association of churches from the Reformed tradition that sponsored thousands of missionaries across the country. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1821) and the American Baptist Home Missionary Society (1832) also reflected the increased tendency toward national consolidation of mission efforts, as well as a growing Protestant focus on church-building in western regions.

Out of the social ferment of the Second Great Awakening came many auxiliary interdenominational organizations that contributed to missionary efforts. The American Bible Society (1816) determined to supply Bibles to every family in the nation; the American Sunday School Union (1824) dedicated itself to establishing a Sunday school in every place in the United States with sufficient population; and the American Tract Society (1825) commissioned hundreds of colporteurs, or distributors of religious literature, to work throughout the Mississippi River Valley and in the territories beyond. In addition, the missionary impulse spurred the establishment of dozens of colleges and universities between 1815 and 1860 with the aim of inculcating morality and piety in young American citizens.

Increasingly, moral behavior and social reform also fell within the purview of missionary efforts, leading to the creation of TEMPERANCE, antislavery, antigambling, and antidueling associations in the antebellum period. These crusades, meant to wipe out maladies defined as sinful, increasingly mobilized the support and voluntary efforts of lay Protestants, many stirred by the zealous calls for reform sounded in the revivals. The voluntary labor of women figured largely in these societies, inasmuch as these social ills were often depicted as direct threats to the welfare of the home and the family. Through "moral suasion" rather than coercion, American Protestants hoped to save the country from spiritual dangers that seemed to take an expanding variety of forms. Some scholars have attributed this increased apprehension of moral peril as a consequence of the lack of obvious external dangers to the nation, which led to a heightened tendency to fear internal subversion and to see it in many guises. To be sure, antebellum mission supporters did not lack for certitude about the righteousness of their work, and recent scholarship has indicated the extent to which "sinfulness" often was defined as anything falling outside the bounds of normative middle-class, European-American behavior. Whatever its causes and shortcomings, the antebellum mission effort remains unmatched in terms of the financial and human resources mobilized during this period. Some of these crusades endured into the 20th century, most notably the temperance cause, a movement that led directly to the work of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the late 19th century. Other crusades reached their peak of support in this period and subsequently yielded to newer mission movements.

Both the focus of home missions and its organizational bases shifted dramatically in the years after the CIVIL WAR. The Protestant commitment to interdenominational cooperation gave way to an increasing denominational consciousness by mid-century. Thereafter, most missionary associations worked under denominational auspices. Several new social concerns also came to occupy religious attention. The most immediate was the education of newly freed slaves in the southern states, a cause that northern Protestants quickly placed at the center of their domestic agenda. The Congregational American Missionary Association led the way in offering education and "proper" Christianity to African Americans, although its efforts frequently aroused the antagonism of southern blacks who viewed their help as patronizing. Northern black denominations, including the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (AME) and the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH (AMEZ), also conducted extensive domestic missions in the southern states during Reconstruction. In general, educational efforts were quite successful, leading to the establishment of many schools and colleges, but southern blacks resisted attempts to promote northern, and particularly European-American, evangelical practices and beliefs, such as more formalized, less enthusiastic worship services. Similar efforts were also initiated among Native Americans in the postbellum period and continued in some places into the 20th century.

A second, increasingly important field of home mission activity arose with increased immigration to the United States after 1880. Once again fearful about the effects of non-Protestants on American morality and piety, Protestant leaders initiated work among American immigrants. Yet the definition of this labor as a home mission field was dictated largely by prevalent racial theories of the period. Just as Native Americans in the early 19th century had been considered objects of foreign mission (see MISSIONS, FOREIGN) work, so now was outreach to Asian Americans seen as a distinctly foreign field. Conversely, concern for European immigrants fell under the control of home missions agencies, and religious leaders initiated a broad array of social programs, Sunday schools, and language classes in an effort to "Americanize" new migrants. These exertions largely overlapped with increased Protestant interest in the welfare of Christians in the urban environment, where "institutional churches" were established to compete with employment offices, training programs, gymnasiums, and social centers to encourage Protestant morality. Bolstered by the rise of interdenominational Christian agencies such as the YMCA, YWCA, and the SALVATION ARMY, urban missions became an integral component of Protestant outreach.

Although in the 21st century most Protestant denominations have boards or commissions assigned to deal with home missions, the intensive and broadly popular efforts that characterized 19th-century home missions have given way to specialized efforts that cover the social and theological spectrum. Mainline Protestants and more conservative evangelicals have come to view the missionary task in substantially different ways, with liberals emphasizing the social service component and evangelicals concentrating on evangelization and the preaching of the Gospel. Indeed, among liberal Christians, the notion of mission itself has become problematic, inasmuch as it implies a form of cultural imperialism that runs counter to liberal assumptions about the positive aspects of PLURALISM. This ambivalence about identity and values played a major role in the decline of liberal Protestantism throughout the second half of the 20th century.

Home missions in the older sense, as a crusade combining individual salvation with social transformation, have increasingly been left to conservative Protestants. Some scholars have suggested that aspects of the evangelical antiabortion movement come close to replicating older models of American domestic missions, in which the vision of American destiny was intertwined with personal morality and spiritual striving.

If the Protestant vision involved a process of converting a continent, Catholic home missions in the United States focused more on ministering to those who already were Catholic but were at risk of becoming swamped in the American Protestant sea (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). Throughout much of the 19th century, the United States was viewed as a mission field by European Catholics. Italian and German-speaking monks and nuns arrived in the United States to maintain and strengthen the religious and cultural traditions of their countrymen and -women. Irish priests and nuns also flocked to the country to minister to the numerous Irish immigrants.

This division of Catholics by culture and language caused numerous problems for America's Catholic hierarchy. It also forced them to focus their attention not only on meeting the religious needs of these immigrants, but on molding an American Catholic church and identity. One major result was the growth in Catholic parishes and what the historian Jay Dolan has called "Catholic revivalism." This movement led to greater attention to worship and devotional practices among the Catholic immigrants to the United States.

Another result was the growth in Catholic social and educational services. Hospitals, orphanages, and schools were dominated by a Protestant ethos, if not an overt Protestantism. The entry of Catholics into such environments, particularly orphanages and schools, risked their loss to the faith. Only through a concerted effort to provide American Catholics with these social and educational services could the church be reasonably assured that they would not be lured away by Protestantism. More important, such institutions provided a safe and cohesive environment in which American Catholics could grow and be formed while minimizing the temptations of Protestant and secular America.

This model worked well until the 1960s. The social and religious turmoil of that decade, including the changes wrought in Catholicism by VATICAN II, loosened many of these boundaries, resulting in a marked loss of priests and nuns and a decline in Catholic religious participation. Additionally, the movement to the suburbs by the children and grandchildren of Catholic immigrants meant the loss of the compact and tightly knit immigrant communities and the traditional parish structure.

Initially, the church had a difficult time responding to these changes, but beginning in the 1980s, it started to respond more aggressively, instituting programs such as the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults, which focuses both on those converting to Catholicism as well as those Catholics who received minimal religious instruction as children. Along similar lines, the Catholic Church has strengthened and updated its catechetical teaching, issuing a new *United States Catholic Catechism for Adults* as both a book and a compact disc in the summer of 2006. A great deal of effort has been spent on strengthening youth ministry. In this area, the church has struggled, like many other traditions, to find the right balance between making that ministry relevant and meaningful to contemporary youths while providing sufficient direction and guidance. During the 1980s, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops issued several statements in this area and produced new materials for youth ministry. The effect of the scandals involving pedophilia and Catholic priests on these youth ministries remains to be seen, but it generated some marked changes in the ways such ministry is undertaken and structured.

In the last few decades of the 20th century, the Catholic Church also found itself returning to mission practices of the previous century as it responded to increased immigration. While many immigrants were from Mexico and Central and South America, other important groups included Vietnamese and Poles. The church again needed to find ways to provide religious services that were familiar and welcoming to these groups and to help them integrate into the American Catholic Church and the wider society.

While non-Christian religions do not, on the whole, have "home missions" in the United States, these traditions do need to ensure that they retain members, teach their children, and, in varying degrees, reach out to converts. For many of these religions, the most important tasks have been to prevent the loss of individuals from the traditions, to increase religious knowledge, and to strengthen religious practices.

The Jewish community in the United States has been the most active and direct in undertaking such activities. Known as "Jewish outreach," these programs focus on unaffiliated Jews and intermarried couples and their families. One of the largest programs is the National Jewish Outreach Program (NJOP), founded in 1987 by Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald of the Lincoln Square Synagogue in New York City, a leading modern Orthodox congregation (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM). Other outreach programs exist among other Jewish denominations and in many local communities. All focus on opening up the world of Jewish knowledge and practices to those individuals who lacked any significant Jewish engagement or might feel separated from the community because of intermarriage.

In the Orthodox world, an individual who makes this move is known as *baal teshuvah* (one who has returned or repented). Beyond the NJOP, the most active Orthodox group in this regard has been the Lubavitcher Hasidim (see HASIDISM). Under the personal direction of the Lubavitcher rebbe Rabbi Yosef Yitzchok Schneerson and his successor and son-in-law Rabbi MENACHEM MENDEL SCHNEERSON, the Lubavitcher movement sends out hundreds of emissaries across the United States and even throughout the world to function as a Jewish presence in places where Jews may be rare and underserved. They also emphasize work with college and university students, providing places for weekly prayers and for students to celebrate the Jewish holidays.

One of the more interesting "home mission" activities of the Lubavitcher movement has been its outreach to non-Jews to become not Jews but Noahides, or B'nai Noah (children of Noah). The B'nai Noah commit to abide by the seven Noahide laws incumbent upon all civilized persons. Derived from an exegetical reading of Genesis 1–2 and 9, the laws constitute a moral and religious minimum for all. They forbid worship of false gods, murder, theft, sexual immorality, blasphemy, and eating flesh torn from a living animal. There also is a positive commandment to establish a system of justice and courts. While being a true Noahide requires more than this, these rules provide the minimum that God demands of all humanity.

Other religious traditions in the United States increasingly have begun to address the issues of home missions, including outreach to unaffiliated brothers and sisters, youths and college students, and individuals seeking to convert. Many of these traditions have lacked much formal outreach, given the absence of strong and centralizing organizational structures. Some, such as Islam, have begun to adapt to the U.S. model and have developed umbrella organizations that can provide such work. Others, such as the Buddhist Church of America, have created completely new structures previously unknown to the tradition to provide the coherence and organization that make such missionizing possible.

LMK/EQ

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Missouri Synod Lutherans See LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD.

modernism (Protestant) Modernism, an outgrowth of liberal theology (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL), was a theological movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, numbering EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES, SHAILER MATHEWS, Henry Nelson Wieman, and Douglas Clyde Macintosh among its leaders. It was a radical readjustment of Protestant theology in light of new intellectual and scientific developments. Darwinian EVOLUTION, historical research, biblical criticism, and the entire scientific worldview threatened beliefs in miracles, the literal truth of the Bible, and the Genesis view of creation (see BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION; SCIENCE AND RELIGION). Rather than rejecting or ignoring these new developments, modernists embraced them and reformulated Christian tradition in their light.

The modernists accepted the new ideas and formed an understanding of religion and of Christianity based upon them. Rather than destroying Christianity, as their opponents claimed, modernists understood themselves to be "saving" it. They asserted that the truth of Christianity did not rest on the reality of miracles, the Virgin birth, or the literal truth of the Bible. The conservatives and fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM), asserted the modernists, made a dangerous mistake by insisting on their centrality to the Christian message.

While the term *modernism* covers a wide range of individuals and perspectives, all shared certain views. The first was an emphasis on experience as the source of religious knowledge. Some located this in the realm of human feeling or psychology, others in the realm of empirical reality. Both emphasized that within certain human experiences—friendship, wisdom, kindness—an in-breaking of the divine occurs.

Modernists rejected attempts to ground religious understanding in traditional creedal formulations or appeals to authority. Since knowledge of religion is rooted in human experience, the traditional formulations of religious belief are expressions of the historical period that created them. While important, religious knowledge cannot be limited by them.

The emphasis on human experience sprang from a belief in the immanence of God: God's presence within the world, history, and human activity. This presence made it possible to experience religious feeling within human activities. The immanence of God and religious experience drove humanity in search of progress, of striving for the higher and better. This drive for progress was manifested both in the moral improvement of individuals and in social progress.

For Christianity, the possibility of what human beings could become was manifested in the person of the historical Jesus. Jesus, as a person who lived a life on Earth subject to all the limitations of humanity, showed himself to be the moral example. He was the perfectly altruistic being who lived completely for others up to his death on the cross. The fact that one man could lead such a morally acceptable life demonstrated the possibility of its attainment by all.

Social reform also played a major role for modernists. Most were committed to the SOCIAL GOSPEL and felt that individual Christians and the churches had an obligation to work to Christianize the social order. Prohibition, poverty, race relations, pacifism, and workers' rights all attracted the concern of modernists. This reformist drive was strengthened by their firm conviction of God's immanence. If God were working in human activity, in history, then the outcome eventually must be positive. This gave the modernists an optimism that was nearly unshakable.

Optimism was also visible in their understanding of sin. The modernists understood sin as error that could be overcome by education, training, or human activity. Sin was not an inevitable part of human existence. It was, in fact, alien to that existence, as demonstrated by the life of the historical Jesus.

Given such an understanding of religion, sin, and Jesus, the modernists placed little emphasis on such traditional elements of Christianity as miracles or the doctrine of the atonement. They did have a deep commitment to the church, however. The church was the location for the education of human beings to their moral obligations. Within the church, people were brought face to face with the historical Jesus and his moral example. The church had an especially important role in bringing people to awareness of the new moral obligations and duties incumbent upon them within industrial society.

The optimism that gave modernism its vitality and power proved to be its undoing. While modernism was able to defeat its theological foes, the fundamentalists, it could not defeat the problems caused by historical events, events that challenged its optimism and its understanding of God's immanence.

WORLD WAR I, the Great Depression, and the rise of Nazism destroyed modernism. In the face of these events, the belief in constant progress that was its hallmark was difficult to accept. If progress were constant, then how could one explain the reversion to barbarism in war? If sin were mere error, how does one explain why so many educated persons welcomed Nazism in the land of Kant, Hegel, and Schiller? Modernism was challenged by a new theological movement, NEO-ORTHODOXY, that raised these questions and supplanted both modernism and the wider movement of liberal theology itself.

Not all the themes addressed by modernism collapsed. Its acceptance of historical research and science was adopted by neo-orthodoxy. Also significant was its work on the psychology of religious experience. Drawing as it did on WILLIAM JAMES, modernism has had a continuing influence on the study of religion. Finally, modernism's emphasis on social obligation exerted a major influence on Christian thought into the 21st century.

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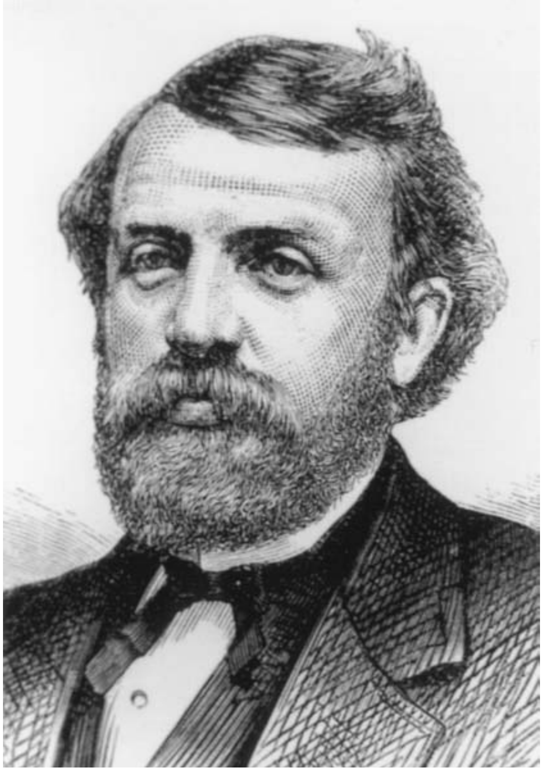
Moody, Dwight Lyman (1837–1899)

Dwight L. Moody, a layman and evangelist, was the greatest revivalist (see REVIVALISM) of his day. He helped reconcile the "old-time religion" practiced in small towns before the CIVIL WAR to the flourishing urban and industrial environment of late 19th-century America.

Moody was born in Northfield, Massachusetts, on February 5, 1837. He had very little educational or religious training as a youth.



Dwight Lyman Moody, with singer Ira Sankey, rejuvenated revivalism, preaching to millions in 19th-century cities. *(Library of Congress)*

In 1854, he left his home in western Massachusetts to work in his uncle's shoe store in Boston. There, Moody experienced a religious conversion and began attending church. He moved to Chicago in 1856, where he not only continued his career as a shoe salesman but also threw himself into church work. Joining the Plymouth Congregational Church, he rented four pews every Sunday morning and filled them with anyone he could find on the street or in the city's boardinghouses. He took charge of a Sunday school in the Chicago slums in 1858, and two years later left his business in order to devote himself fully to that missionary endeavor.

When the Civil War came in 1861, Moody served for four years as an agent of the United States Christian Commission, the evangelistic organization that ministered in both practical and spiritual ways to the Union troops. After the war, he became president of the Chicago YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA), where he proved himself an able executive and fund-raiser. He visited more than 600 families in the city in one year to try to win their souls for Christ—an effort that earned him the nickname "Crazy Moody."

Following the 1871 Chicago fire that destroyed his YMCA building, Moody began his most important work as an itinerant revivalist. While in England on business for the YMCA in the spring of 1872, he was invited to preach in a London pulpit. When 400 people responded that day to his call to dedicate their lives to the Christian faith, Moody believed he had discovered his true calling. Having earlier persuaded IRA DAVID SANKEY to join him as a chorister, Moody and his song leader began a successful evangelistic tour of the British Isles between 1873 and 1875. Sankey, who popularized the gospel hymn, knew how to supplement the sermon with simple, moving lyrics and with melodies borrowed from dance and march rhythms. At least 3 million listeners are estimated to have heard the Moody-Sankey team in England, Scotland, and Ireland over that two-year period. On returning to the United States, Moody and Sankey began a series of revivals that filled auditoriums in every major northern and midwestern city.

Moody founded several educational institutions to help train evangelists. In his hometown, he established the Northfield Seminary for girls in 1879 and the Mount Hermon School for boys two years later. He also created the Northfield Conferences in 1880. Those conferences provided lay men and women with opportunities for spiritual renewal and were instrumental in spreading religious teachings that were hallmarks of early FUNDAMENTALISM and the HOLINESS MOVEMENT. Participants at the 1886 Northfield Conference also conceived the Student Volunteer movement, an organization that promoted overseas missionary work. Finally, Moody started a Bible training school (see Bible schools) in Chicago in 1889 that was named Moody Bible School after his death.

A good businessman, Moody preached a message that was simple, winsome, and relatively unemotional. He combined typical American optimism with a theology that stressed how individuals could, with God's help, effect their own salvation. He would hold up a Bible and assure his congregations that eternal life was available for the asking if they would merely "come forward and t-a-k-e, TAKE!" He eschewed discussion of controversial topics, including doctrinal niceties and political concerns. Moody was convinced that the salvation of individual souls was the only effective means of solving America's social problems. He described his ministry as essentially an other-worldly rescue operation: "I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.'"

Although Moody's evangelism helped encourage the conservative religious movement that would later be called fundamentalism, his own temper was irenic, and he maintained cordial relations with theological liberals throughout his lifetime. He rejuvenated the American revivalistic tradition. When a heart ailment forced him to curtail his activities in 1892, no figure of equal stature arose to replace him. Moody died in retirement at Northfield on December 22, 1899.

GHS, Jr.

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Moody Bible Institute See Bible schools.

Moon, Sun Myung (1920–) The founder of the Unification Church, Reverend Sun Myung Moon is one of the most controversial religious leaders in contemporary America.

Born in 1920 in northwestern Korea, Moon was raised in a Presbyterian church (see presbyterianism) influenced by Pentecostalism. He graduated from high school and studied for a time at Waseda University in Tokyo. The defining event in his life occurred on Easter in 1935. On that day, Moon reports, Jesus came to him in a vision, informing him that he had been selected to usher in the kingdom of God on Earth. This incident set off a series of subsequent revelations in which Moon received instructions from angels, Moses, and even the Buddha.

Moon's career as an independent Christian minister and staunch anti-Communist began when he began gathering disciples in 1944. Two years later, he established the Kwang-ya Church in northern Korea. But Moon's ministry was interrupted shortly thereafter by his arrest and imprisonment. After two and a half years in prison at the hands of the Communist government of North Korea, Moon was freed in 1950 by United Nations forces fighting in the Korean War. Moon began once again to preach, first in Pusan and later in Seoul. In 1954, he founded the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, popularly known as the Unification Church. Three years later, he published his magnum opus, *The Divine Principle,* which now functions as sacred scripture for Unification Church members.

Although Moon sent missionaries to the United States as early as 1959 and toured the country twice beginning in the mid-1960s, his movement did not start to grow rapidly in the United States until his immigration in 1971. Soon "Moonies," as members of his church are popularly called, seemed like permanent fixtures on urban street corners across

America. These clean-cut devotees further distinguished themselves from the hippies who occupied some of the same street corners by shunning drugs, profanity, and premarital sex. Viewing themselves as members of a divine family, they referred to Moon as "Father," his wife as "Mother," and God as the "True Parent." Despite the all-American image of his followers and his emphasis on family values, Moon's church was criticized by the media and by relatives of some of its members as a dangerous "cult."

In 1982, Moon was convicted of tax evasion in a controversial case in which the received support from religious leaders across the religious and political spectrum. After serving 13 months in prison, Moon left the United States and returned to Korea. Since that time, he has focused the church's work on Asia, Latin America, and Africa. As a result, the Unification Church's American membership has declined markedly from its height in the 1970s. While some scholars claimed that the Unification Church continued to have close to 50,000 members in the late 1990s, committed members in the United States probably numbered no more than 6,000 in 2006, with several thousand more influenced by Moon's teaching.

Sun Myung Moon, the controversial founder of the Unification Church. *(BAP/Wide World Photos)*

Moon retains some control over church-affiliated institutions in the United States, including the *Washington Times* newspaper. Additionally, a 2006 *Chicago Tribune* article detailed the church's role in controlling the purchasing, processing, and distribution of fish used in sushi restaurants throughout the United States. These businesses, including a shipbuilding firm, are controlled by a nonprofit separate from the church named Unification Church International, or UCI. These businesses provide an ongoing source of funding for the church and a stable financial basis for future operations.

SRP/EQ

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Moorish Science Temple The Moorish Science Temple was one of several black religions founded in the United States that preached a combination of racial pride and called on American blacks to turn from Christianity to their true and original religion (see BLACK JEWS; NATION OF ISLAM). The first Moorish Science Temple was organized in Newark, New Jersey, in 1913 by the Noble Drew Ali (see DREW, TIMOTHY). Incorporated as the Moorish Temple of Science in 1925 and renamed the Moorish Science Temple the next year, it had branches in Detroit, Philadelphia, New York, and Pittsburgh as well as several southern cities. At its height, membership reached nearly 30,000.

The beliefs of the Moorish Science Temple were laid out in its *Holy Koran*, written by Drew. The black people in America were not

Africans but were correctly called Asiatics. Their true homeland was Morocco. Only after the so-called Negroes were restored to their legitimate nationality could they know their true religion. The Noble Drew Ali was in the line of all prophets, including Jesus, Mohammed, Confucius, Buddha, and Zoroaster, and he came to restore his people to their rightful status on Earth. The message of racial pride and identity was very strong, and, in fact, the Moorish Science Temple taught that MARCUS GARVEY was to the Noble Drew Ali as John the Baptist was to Jesus.

Members of the Moorish Science Temple tended to sport fezzes and to adopt "El" or "Bey" as surnames in order to emphasize their "Moorish" heritage. Secure in their newfound identities as "Asiatics" and the truly chosen people, members of the Moorish Science Temple soon came to the attention of midwestern police departments, particularly in Chicago, where the temple had its main headquarters. They would accost whites and declare that they were freed from white domination. While little violence ever transpired, the mere fact of proud black males sent many a white police chief into hysteria. Drew finally was forced to inform his followers that they were merely sowing confusion and that he had come to "uplift the nation."

The Moorish Science Temple survived the Noble Drew Ali's death in 1929. (He either was murdered by opponents within the temple or died as a result of abuse he experienced in police custody.) It did, however, split into numerous factions. The three largest groups were established by individuals who had been close associates of the Noble Drew Ali. Additionally, there exist several independent groups that claim to be part of the Moorish Science Temple. The largest group, led by C. Kirkman-Bey, retains the legal claim to the name "Moorish Science Temple of America, Inc." One breakaway group was established by the Noble Drew Ali's former chauffeur, J. Givens El, who referred to himself as "Noble Drew Ali, Reincarnated," thereby giving the group its common name, the Reincarnated Temples. The successors of Givens El eventually established what is now known as the Moorish Orthodox Church. The remaining breakaway group (and the smallest) was led by E. Mealy El. Still other members of the Moorish Science Temple joined the young Nation of Islam, drawn to it because of the rumor that its founder was Drew reincarnated.

During WORLD WAR II, the Moorish Science Temple found itself under scrutiny by the FBI, which suspected that the temple's members supported the Japanese cause. The suspicion had its roots in the temple's teaching that the world would return to its original order and that "Asiatics" would once again dominate the world. In June 2006, the movement once again found itself under suspicion when seven men claiming affiliation with the Moorish Science Temple were arrested for plotting to blow up the Sears Tower in Chicago.

The 1990s and early 2000s saw a slight resurgence of the Moorish Science Temple, despite the fact that it remained riven by schisms and fights over which branch reflected the true heritage of the founder. While only two temples could be located in 1990, this number had increased by 2006. The Moorish Science Temple of America, which claimed to be "The only true continuation of the original grand body of the Moorish Science Temple of 1928," was headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, and claimed to have eight temples throughout the United States. In cities such as Chicago, several temples existed, many of which were affiliated with different central bodies or none at all. By 2006, the total number of members in all the various Moorish Science Temple groups may have returned to the level it had before Noble Drew Ali's death.

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Morais, Sabato (1823–1897) In his 46 years as rabbi at Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, Sabato Morais worked to establish the institutions necessary to maintain and strengthen traditional Judaism in the United States. Associated with what is called the Historical School of Judaism, the precursor of CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM, Morais attempted to balance the demands of both tradition and modernity. Although orthodox (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM) in his opposition to family pews, organs, and his insistence on adherence to Jewish dietary laws and the Sabbath, he recognized the need for modifying some of the religious laws and called for a clear, brief, and contemporary code "with due respect for our changed conditions."

Born in Leghorn, Italy, on April 13, 1823, Sabato Morais trained privately as a rabbi until the age of 23, when he moved to London, England, as a teacher of Hebrew. Five years later, he was called to the pulpit of Mikveh Israel to replace ISAAC LEESER. As rabbi of this distinguished Sephardic synagogue, he devoted himself to the affairs of American Jewry and his new country.

Like many of his contemporaries, Morais viewed Jewish learning and education as instrumental in revitalizing American Judaism. He privately tutored many students and served as professor of biblical literature at the short-lived Maimonides College. Although suspicious of REFORM JUDAISM, he cooperated with ISAAC WISE in the founding of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and served on its board of examiners. Shocked by the serving of nonkosher food at the banquet honoring the college's first graduates, and even more by Wise's callousness to the injury, Morais decided that no cooperation with the reformers was possible. Traditionalists would have to establish their own institutions. For Morais, this meant a rabbinical school, an institution for the training of rabbis who would be both American and traditional. This need led to the creation in New York of the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1886, where Morais served as president and professor of Bible until his death on November 11, 1897.

Sabato Morais, a Sephardic rabbi, prolific writer, and one of the founders of Conservative Judaism in the United States.

Morais also desired to create an umbrella organization for American Judaism. He felt that such an organization was necessary to sustain and unite the community. He especially desired the creation of an American ritual that would be both traditional and modern. Such a ritual would help to unify American Jewry, a goal dear to Morais. Although he did not live to see either unity or organizational coherence among traditional Judaism, the formation of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations the year after his death owed much to Morais's activity.

An early Zionist (see ZIONISM), Morais raised funds for the establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine. Suspicious of the secular, political Zionists, Morais was interested in the religiocultural aspects of Zionism, belonged to Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion), and advocated Zionism from his pulpit.

Morais concerned himself with more than religious affairs. He was a vocal opponent of slavery and aided nearly every charity in Philadelphia. He vehemently opposed attempts to have Pennsylvania declared a "Christian State" and was among the most visible in providing aid and assistance to the eastern European Jews who streamed into the United States after 1880. His death left a void in American Judaism, and without his energetic and inspired leadership, the Jewish Theological Seminary nearly closed. His work did not collapse, however, and he bequeathed to Conservative Judaism the strength and identity it needed to transform itself into the largest branch of American Judaism.

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Moral Majority Established in 1979 by Virginia Baptist pastor Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority was an educational and fund-raising organization dedicated to lobbying on behalf of conservative political causes. The most visible embodiment of the ideals of the new RELIGIOUS RIGHT, the organization advanced conservative theological and social views on a host of ethical issues troubling late 20th-century America.

Falwell organized the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1956. There he launched, first, a daily radio program and, later, a weekly television broadcast of his Sunday morning services (called *The Old-Time Gospel Hour*). In 1971, he also founded what is now Liberty University as a Christian undergraduate institution. Falwell's alarm at the changing mores of American society roused him to political action in 1976. The "I Love America" rallies he staged during the Bicentennial celebration and the "Clean Up America" campaign he led the next two years were a prelude to the formation of the Moral Majority. His books *How You Can Help Clean Up America* (1978) and *Listen, America!* (1980) summarized what he wished his organization to become: a coalition of God-fearing Americans dedicated to undertaking the moral reform of their society.

Despite its lobbying on behalf of candidates and its strong support from white fundamentalist Christians, the Moral Majority envisioned its agenda as neither political nor religious but ethical. The organization was intentionally nonsectarian and claimed to represent a broad Judeo-Christian tradition. As a 1983 brochure stated, the Moral Majority was made up of Protestant ministers, Roman Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, and ordinary citizens of all faiths who were united against a common enemy: "the moral decline of our nation." Committed to battling "amoral and secular humanists and other liberals . . . destroying the traditional family and moral values" on which the United States was built, Moral Majority members opposed the sexual revolution and the many "evils" it generated.

For a time, the objectives of the Moral Majority exactly mirrored those of the conservative wing of the Republican Party, and the group was credited with aiding the victory of Ronald Reagan in 1980. Exultant, Falwell called the November 1980 election his "finest hour." After the 1984 elections, however, the influence of the Moral Majority began to decline as rapidly as it had grown. While legislators in Washington refused to act favorably on such key conservative issues as prayer in public schools and abortion, liberal groups such as People for the American Way accused the Moral Majority of violating the time-honored separation of church and state. Despite strenuous efforts in the media, Falwell and his group were never able to transcend the relatively narrow religious base that nurtured them.

Pledging to devote more time to his pastoral and television ministries in Lynchburg, Falwell resigned from the presidency of the Moral Majority in 1987. In June 1989, Falwell, confidently claiming that his organization had accomplished all its original goals, officially dissolved the Moral Majority. The election of Bill Clinton to the U.S. presidency in 1992, however, led him to reconsider that decision. In a 1993 sermon entitled "America Must Return to the Faith of Our Fathers," Falwell lambasted the Clinton administration and the United States Supreme Court. He declared that they had "raped the Constitution and raped the Christian faith and raped the churches." While the Moral Majority is formally defunct today, its work has been taken up by groups such as the Christian Coalition (established in 1989) and activists like Ralph Reed, Jr., and Cal Thomas, who continue to fight for what they now refer to as "family values."

GHS, Jr.

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Moravians Probably the most influential manifestation of PIETISM in the United States, the Moravians, or Unitas Fratrum (Unity of Brethren), emerged out of the Hussite movement in Moravia in the 15th century. The Hussites borrowed their name from Jan Hus, a Catholic priest and university professor whose attempts to restore the church to the primitive simplicity of apostolic times led to his excommunication in 1411 and execution as a heretic in 1415.

The Moravians first organized themselves in 1457 at Kunvald, Bohemia, as a reform movement within ROMAN CATHOLICISM. In 1467, however, they broke irrevocably from Rome when they began to ordain their own ministers. Initially, the Bohemian Brethren, as they were called, were rigidly sectarian. They refused to swear oaths or to bear arms, abjured higher education, and used legends of the martyred Hus to emphasize the state of war that existed between themselves and the world. Later in the 15th century, however, the group decided to accommodate itself to the circumstances of that world. As a result of this shift, the movement prospered, swelling to about 400 churches and more than 100,000 adherents in the early 16th century.

The persecutions of the Counter-Reformation brought an abrupt end to the Moravians' early period of growth, but the tradition maintained an underground existence in Bohemia and Moravia until it reemerged in the 18th century. Under the direction of Christian David (1690–1751), a layperson, a group of these secret Moravians escaped from religious persecution in 1722, gathering in Saxony on the lands of Count NICHOLAS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF (1700–60), which they called Herrnhut.

Soon Zinzendorf took charge of both this religious settlement and this second phase of Moravian history. Though a convert from LUTHERANISM, Zinzendorf attempted to instill in what came to be called the Renewed Moravian Church his own brand of Christocentric Lutheran piety. Under Zinzendorf's direction, Moravians affirmed evangelical theology and stressed hymn singing, missionary work, and ecumenism (see ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT). Zinzendorf's attempts to find common ground between Lutherans and Moravians bore some fruit, but his decision to become a Moravian bishop in 1737 stretched the understanding of local Lutheran authorities to the breaking point.

Moravians first came to North America in 1735. Led by Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg (1703–92), who would eventually become Zinzendorf's successor, they arrived in Georgia hoping to cultivate both the lands provided by the colony and a mission to the Creek and Cherokee. In Georgia, Spangenberg met John Wesley (see METHODISTS), introduced him to the Moravians' "heart-religion," and set him on the course to his famous conversion experience of 1738.

Unfortunately for these pioneering American Moravians, their Georgian experiment in communal living failed. So when, in the midst of the GREAT AWAKENING, the grand itinerant GEORGE WHITEFIELD urged Spangenberg to take his followers north, the Moravians gladly uprooted themselves to Philadelphia. Soon they settled planned towns whose names—Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Emmaus in Pennsylvania; Hope in New Jersey; and Salem in North Carolina—demonstrated their fidelity to both Christocentric piety and biblical inspiration, and whose success demonstrated their commitment to communitarian living and hard work.

Following his banishment from Saxony, Zinzendorf joined his fellow Moravians in the New World. He was active in rooting Moravian settlements in the fertile soil of Pennsylvania but devoted most of his energies to bringing all the "Pennsylvania Dutch" into one nonsectarian Christian community, which he named the Congregation of God in the Spirit. Although he managed to gather a handful of German-speaking Protestant ministers into his ecumenical organization, his hopes for Christian union fared no better in the New World than they had in the old.

From the time of the foundation of the Unitas Fratrum, Moravians have emphasized Christian unity. In the 16th century, Moravian churches allied, at least for a time, with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. And Zinzendorf himself was one of the earliest and most committed of Protestant ecumenists. What fueled the Moravians' ecumenical vision was their pietistic emphasis on the experience of conversion and their relative lack of interest in creeds and doctrines. Like the CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), whose attempt to incorporate all Christians into one great nonsectarian organization ended, ironically, in the formation of yet another denomination, the Unitas Fratrum fell short of its goal of uniting all Christian brethren.

In addition to ecumenists, American Moravians have been avid missionaries. Beginning in 1732, Moravians from North America and Europe maintained missions to West Indians, Africans, and Native Americans. By some estimations, Moravians provided the majority of Protestant missionaries in the 18th century. They clearly did more missionary work in that century than did any other Protestant denomination.

Despite their commitment to evangelization, Moravians have never reached large numbers in the United States. In 2004, the Moravian Church in America reported roughly 24,000 members. Moravians are significant, therefore, not for their numerical strength but for their contributions to Protestant missions and ecumenism. They greatly influenced American hymnody, and other Protestant denominations have adopted modified forms of their passionate hymns to a bodily Jesus who is simultaneously suffering and deified.

Moravians also played an important role in the intellectual and spiritual development of theological luminaries such as the Methodist evangelist John Wesley and Friedrich Schleiermacher, the so-called father of liberal Protestant theology. Both men were greatly influenced by Moravian teachers who instilled in them the Moravians' characteristically pietistic emphases on the passion of Jesus Christ and the experience of conversion.

SRP

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Mormons See CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS; COMMUNITY OF CHRIST.

Mott, John Raleigh (1865–1955) John R. Mott, often ignored today, was the most significant American voice in the movement for Christian unity, the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT, and one of the most influential religious figures in America. Born May 25, 1865, he was involved in the creation of nearly every major interdenominational organization from the 1880s until his death on January 31, 1955.

Mott, with a group of mission-minded college students, spent a month at DWIGHT L. MOODY's school in Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, in 1886. While there, many including Mott were moved to commit themselves to serving in the foreign missions field. When asked what mission field interested him, Mott supposedly responded "the world." While never officially a missionary, Mott definitely had the world as his field.

In 1888, while serving as a secretary for the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA), Mott was involved in the formation of the STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT (SVM), whose phenomenal growth was due to his leadership. The SVM became an international movement in 1895, when the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF), of which Mott served as general secretary until 1920, was organized. This position, along with the many others he held, demanded constant international travel—by sea and rail in those days. It is estimated that Mott, despite being afflicted with seasickness, travelled 1.7 million miles just in his capacity as an officer of the WSCF.

He helped organize the First World Mission Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 and served as the chairman of its Continuation Committee. Mott and the committee's secretary, Joseph H. Oldham, maintained the committee during WORLD WAR I, keeping it sufficiently vibrant that it became the nucleus of the International Missionary Council in 1924, with Mott serving as chairman until 1946.

During World War I, Mott was equally busy in other fields. He served as chairman of the international committee of the YMCA and directed the United War Work Campaign, which brought together American Jews, Catholics, and Protestants for religious work among American soldiers in Europe. During this time, he was offered the post of ambassador to China, which he declined, but did join former secretary of state Elihu Root on a diplomatic mission to Russia in 1917 with the stipulation that he limit himself to "religious, educational, and humanitarian contacts."

Following the war, Mott worked to reinvigorate international religious cooperation. He presided over the second Life and Work Conference in Oxford in 1937 and served on the consultative committee that urged the merger of that conference with the Faith and Order Conference to create a WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. When the World Council was organized in 1948, Mott was chosen as one of its first presidents. The title later was made honorary and given to him for life. The significance of Mott's devotion to international cooperation and ecumenical work is illustrated by his receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

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Muhammad, Elijah (1897–1975) The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, leader of the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), the Black Muslims, for 41 years, was born near Sandersville, Georgia, on October 7, 1897, as Elijah (Robert, according to some sources) Poole. One of 13 children born to former slaves, he dropped out of school in fourth grade to help support the family. He married Clara Evans (Sister Clara) in 1919, and in 1923 the young couple joined the black migration to the urban North, settling in Detroit. There, Poole worked in various factories until 1929, when the Great Depression put him out of work.

Around 1931, Poole met W. D. FARD. Fard was an itinerant peddler who wandered Detroit's black neighborhoods preaching that Islam was the true religion of blacks, who shared a common bond with all Africans and Asiatics but had had their history and heritage stolen from them by the "white devils." Poole became a trusted follower of Fard, who made Poole his chief lieutenant, bestowing upon him his "true" Muslim name: Elijah Muhammad.

Although opposed by several of Fard's other assistants, Elijah Muhammad was chosen by Fard to oversee the nascent Nation of Islam. Shortly after this, Fard disappeared mysteriously in 1934. The result was schism and conflict within the small religious community. Fearing for his life, Elijah Muhammad led a large proportion of the membership to Chicago, where he transformed the two-year-old Temple Number 2 into the movement's headquarters.

From Chicago, Elijah Muhammad formalized and expanded the organizational and theological elements of the movement. He instituted a girls' training school, rebuilt the Fruit of Islam as the NOI security branch, and reorganized the University of Islam. In this combined elementary and secondary school, boys were taught traditional subjects as well as the truth about black history. Here also the lies of white "tricknology" were exposed.

Elijah Muhammad introduced the idea that Fard had been Allah come to Earth to lead his black children to the truth, and that at his disappearance, he had appointed Muhammad as his spokesman on Earth. For this reason, Elijah Muhammad often was referred to as the "Prophet" or the "Messenger [of Allah]." He also oversaw the development of businesses owned and operated by the NOI as part of his message of black independence from the white man's world.

Rejecting the idea that white American society could possibly be a country for blacks, he advocated that blacks not fight in WORLD WAR II against another colored people. As a result, he was convicted of violating the Selective Service Act and imprisoned from 1942 to 1946. After his release, he was welcomed back as a martyr, and between 1946 and 1965, the movement underwent tremendous growth. By 1963, the NOI probably had a membership of half a million, as well as several million sympathizers. Much of this was due to the work of Muhammad's handpicked lieutenant, MALCOLM X.

Declining health forced Muhammad to move to Phoenix in the late 1950s, although Chicago remained the NOI headquarters. A scandal over Elijah Muhammad's sexual relations with several of his secretaries rocked the puritanical movement, causing the loss of many members, especially from Temple

Number 2. The scandal, along with growing political differences, led to a schism between Malcolm and Muhammad, who is alleged to have ordered the former's assassination.

Less visible and aggressive after these problems, the NOI continued under Elijah Muhammad's leadership until his death on February 25, 1975, in Chicago. At that time, the mantle of leadership fell upon his son Wallace Dean Muhammad (see MUHAMMAD, WARITH DEEN), who led the NOI toward orthodox Sunni Islam. The result was another schism within the movement, with a breakaway faction led by LOUIS FARRAKHAN returning to the beliefs and racial separatism that had distinguished the Nation of Islam during Elijah Muhammad's leadership.

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Muhammad, Warith Deen (1933–)

The fifth of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's six sons, Wallace Deen Muhammad (born October 30, 1933, in Hamtramck, Michigan) succeeded his father as chief minister of the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI) on February 26, 1975. He wrought tremendous changes within the former Nation of Islam, transforming it into an orthodox Muslim organization. In doing so, he became the most important Islamic (see ISLAM) leader in the United States.

Raised in the center of the NOI, Warith Muhammad early assumed a major role in the movement. Named Wallace, after W. D. (Wallace) FARD, the founder of the NOI, he gained a mystical aura within the NOI for his association with Fard, who was recognized as Allah incarnate. This significance was so great that when he moved the NOI toward orthodox Sunni Islam, he dropped the name Wallace and adopted Warith as a way of signifying this break.

In many ways, his life was inseparable from that of the NOI. But his training in classical Arabic and his Islamic education led him, as it did his friend MALCOLM X, to develop doubts about its doctrines.

Troubled by disclosure of his father's sexual relations with several of his secretaries, Wallace Muhammad joined with Malcolm in developing a response to those events. This resulted in the first of his three suspensions from the movement. Despite this, he retained the trust of his father and most of the other leaders within the NOI, who recognized within Warith the same deep spirituality that Malcolm did. Not only was he put forward as his father's successor by the family, but the choice was unanimously ratified by 20,000 delegates at the NOI's 1975 meeting in Chicago.

Following this succession, he began to take the NOI down a new path. In June 1975, he shocked delegates attending the annual convention by announcing that the NOI no longer viewed all whites as devils and that it would be open to all people regardless of color. He disbanded the security force, the Fruit of Islam, and proceeded with a process of Islamization throughout the organization. This included the adoption of traditional Islamic titles and names—temples became mosques (in Arabic, *masjids*), ministers became imams—and of the Islamic calendar for the reckoning of feasts. The earlier rigid discipline also was relaxed. Women were allowed to travel after dark, and their status within the movement was elevated. Military service was allowed, and members were encouraged to participate in civic affairs. Warith reversed the view that the United States was an alien government for blacks, and members of the now named World Community of Al-Islam in the West (changed to the American Muslim Mission in 1980) were encouraged to view themselves as loyal Americans.

These changes met some resistance. Some members drifted away. Others refused to give up the racial separatism of the NOI. Led by LOUIS FARRAKHAN, they reappropriated the Nation of Islam name, along with the mythology of black superiority and white "deviltry."

Despite these losses, the American Muslim Mission under Warith Muhammad obtained a remarkable level of significance, if not within the consciousness of the United States then at least within the wider Muslim community. During the 1980s, the American Muslim Mission was accepted into the World Muslim Council (WMC), and he received the title Mujaddid (renewer) to signify his role in vivifying Islam in the United States. The WMC also gave him the position of certifying all Americans desiring to make the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca required of all Muslims. These titles were accompanied by economic muscle. Several of the Persian Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, appointed him the "sole conduit and trustee" for all funds to Muslim organizations engaged in propagating Islam in the United States.

The religious and spiritual nature of W. D. Muhammad was particularly visible in his encouragement and welcoming of Farrakhan into Orthodox Islam. Although Farrakhan had made some signs of this move previously, in 2000 at the annual NOI Founder's Day celebration, he officially announced the organization's movement into Sunni Islam while W. D. Muhammad sat on the dais. Muhammad welcomed his former opponent graciously and warmly, welcoming him into the community of the faithful and encouraging Farrakhan and his followers to grow in Islamic knowledge.

Despite his importance in the Islamic world, most Americans are unfamiliar with his name. Mujaddid Muhammad remains undaunted by this fact, as well as by the incipient anti-Islamic attitude in the United States engendered by conflicts with the Islamic world over oil and the Palestinians. Committed to making Islam an American religion (he was a vocal supporter of America's involvement in the first Gulf War), he feels that it can surpass Judaism and become the second-largest religion in the United States.

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Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior (1711–1787)

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was a German-born minister who came to the American colonies in the mid-18th century. He is generally considered to be the patriarch of LUTHERANISM in the United States. A church historian once remarked that Muhlenberg's influence was so great that the history of the colonial Lutheran Church was "scarcely more than his biography."

Muhlenberg was born at Einbeck in the Duchy of Hanover in Germany on September 6, 1711. He graduated from the University of Gvttingen in 1738 and, after training for the ministry at the University of Halle, was ordained in 1739. He served for two years as a minister at Grosshennersdorf. At Halle, Muhlenberg was influenced by PIETISM, a Protestant religious movement that stressed individual spiritual renewal and attention to godly living. Pietist leaders convinced Muhlenberg of the need to undertake missionary work among Lutheran congregations in the New World. He arrived in South Carolina in September

1742, moved northward to Philadelphia that same year, and quickly began stabilizing the confused organization of his church in the colonies.

After Muhlenberg arrived in Philadelphia, he discovered that the three congregations to which he had been assigned were being pastored by other men, the most formidable of whom was the Moravian leader Count NICHOLAS VON ZINZENDORF. The Moravians, representing one branch of the pietist movement, were religious enthusiasts determined to create an interdenominational fellowship they called the "Congregation of God in the Spirit." Zinzendorf, moreover, while not ordained as a Lutheran minister, posed as one in America. Despite Muhlenberg's pietist sympathies, he still wished to create an American church that was loyal to the traditional creeds and organizational structure of Lutheranism. So he suppressed the Moravians and within a few years established control over Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York.

Muhlenberg's greatest achievement was the creation of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1748, the first permanent governing body within American Lutheranism. Muhlenberg had long complained of institutional deficiencies fostered by the American religious environment. The problems he cited included adults who were poorly educated in their faith and lay members who possessed too much power over church life. With the formation of the ministerium, Muhlenberg addressed these concerns. A constitution was prepared that established procedures for calling ministers to vacant parishes and gave the laity a voice in church government but subordinated them to their clergy. A book of worship was also drafted that drew upon Lutheranism's rich liturgical heritage and deterred REVIVALISM, which Muhlenberg despised, from gaining a foothold in the church.

As the War for Independence approached, Muhlenberg avoided making an overt political stand. He even resigned his pastorate in the revolutionary hotbed of Philadelphia and moved to rural Providence, Pennsylvania. Nonetheless, Lutherans generally supported the patriot cause. In 1775, Muhlenberg's clergyman son Peter dramatically left his parish in Virginia and joined the Continental Army, in which he was eventually commissioned a general. Throughout the war, Henry Muhlenberg labored to maintain Lutheran congregations, encourage immigration from Germany, and recruit clergy for the American church. Although poor health forced his retirement in 1779, his authority in the church remained strong. He died at Providence on October 7, 1787.

GHS, Jr.

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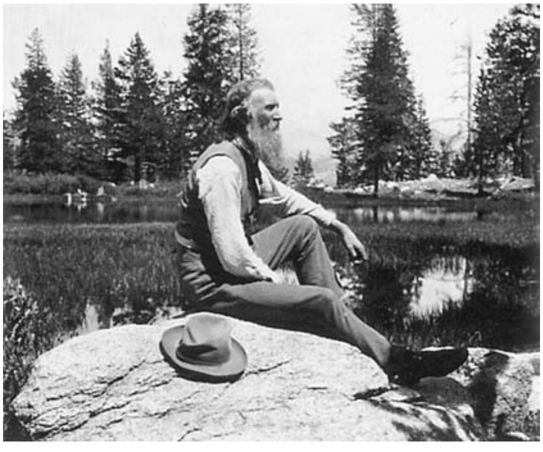
Muir, John (1838–1914) John Muir, father of the American nature preservation movement, founded the Sierra Club and initiated the creation of the National Park system, which became the most important model for the global national parks movement.

Born on April 21, 1838, in Scotland, Muir immigrated with his family to southeastern Wisconsin as a boy of 11. Early on, he showed a genius for technological invention, leading to studies in the natural sciences at the University of Wisconsin in the early 1860s. But in 1867, after nearly losing his sight in an industrial accident, Muir turned from his technological path and focused all his attention on his foremost love since childhood, wild nature. By his late 20s, he began experiencing epiphanies in the wilderness, leading him inexorably toward a biocentric and pantheistic world view. In his *Thousand Mile Walk to the Gulf* (1868), Muir noted that, contrary to Christian notions that the natural world was provided by a sovereign God for human use, nature was indifferent or fundamentally hostile to humans. Muir walked west, spending many years becoming intimate with the Sierra Nevada Mountains as a sheepherder, mountaineer, and naturalist. By 1878, Muir had married and settled down on his wife's ranch in California's Central Valley, never again to spend extended time in his beloved mountains. But somehow his mountain experiences sustained his passions for the rest of his life. By 1901, Muir's pantheism was woven through many of his writings. By the time of his death in 1914, shortly after the damming of the Sierra Nevada's Hetch Hetchy Valley (which he likened to the desecration of a holy temple), Muir had transformed public discourse over environmental issues.

Until recently, Muir was seen primarily as a popularizer of ideas from TRANSCENDENTALISM. Contemporary scholarship, however, asserts that although influenced by the transcendentalists (HENRY DAVID THOREAU more than RALPH WALDO EMERSON), Muir made several important contributions to American reflections on wilderness. Most notably, Muir challenged the Christian anthropocentrism that confers value to nature only to the extent that it is useful to humans. By contrast, Muir asserted that ecosystems have intrinsic value apart from their usefulness. Muir's wilderness experiences also led him to perceive that nature as a whole functions like a unified organism, and eventually to a pantheistic sense of the relatedness and sacrality of all being. He derived his ethics primarily from his own experiences in the wilderness, from his empirical observations, but also from affective, aesthetic, and ultimately ecstatic religious experiences of the sacred in nature.

Today Muir is recognized for being at the forefront of 19th-century evolutionary thought, especially regarding its moral implications—for him, biocentrism. But as provocative and innovative as his ideas were, his clearest long-term contribution was his role in establishing the National Parks movement and its preservationist mission and in founding the Sierra Club in 1892. Muir served as the club's president until his death, thereby contributing directly to the tradition of preservationist activism in the United States. He also inspired indirectly the formation of several other important environmental organizations that split off from the Sierra Club in the years since his death, usually when activists became convinced that the club had strayed too far from Muir's preservationist crusade. Moreover, Muir's naturalist and activist writings have themselves been influential. Even when losing important battles, Muir's passionate arguments contributed to shifts in public perceptions that help account for the continuing strength of preservationist sentiment in the United States. His thought has become nearly canonical within the contemporary environmental movement. Deep ecologists (see DEEP ECOLOGY) have posthumously adopted Muir as a central intellectual and spiritual elder—precisely for his "resacralization"



John Muir, who pioneered the environmental movement and instigated the creation of the National Parks system. *(Library of Congress)* of nature, a task they view as a prerequisite to the reestablishment of proper human behavior toward the natural world. Muir's influence on the deep ecology movement may turn out to be his most significant legacy.

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Murray, John Courtney (1904–1967)

Although recognized at his death as the most important American Catholic theologian of his time, John Courtney Murray long endured opposition and even silencing before attaining that status. Born in New York City on September 12, 1904, Murray studied at several minor Catholic seminaries and colleges before graduating from Weston College in 1926. After receiving his M.A. degree from Boston College the following year, he taught in the Philippines until 1930, when he returned to the states.

Ordained in 1933, he began advanced theological studies at Woodstock College, completing them at the Gregorian Institute in Rome in 1937. He returned to Woodstock as a professor of dogmatic theology, a position he held until his death on August 16, 1967.

As a theologian, Murray was an expert on the Trinity, publishing numerous articles, but no books, on the subject. Despite the complexity of this specialty, Murray had an abiding interest in doing theology that was accessible to the laity and capable of helping them relate their faith to the secular world.

This concern about the role of faith in the world led Murray to reflect increasingly on the relationship between government and religion. Following a consistent, but generally unrecognized, strand of thought in Catholic social theory, Murray articulated a distinction between government and society. Given this distinction, it was the role of government to maintain the social peace through the application of law. Incompetent in matters of religion, the state's role lay in ensuring that people could exercise their beliefs without fear or favor.

The state was a subsection of society, which is composed of all the institutions—religious, trade, labor, families, and so on—in which human beings participate. Members of these institutions, through a process of dialogue and debate made possible by the laws of the state, are to struggle together to achieve the common good.

These views set Murray at odds with the predominant Catholic social theory—integralism. Integralism argued that religious truth (that is, the Roman Catholic faith) is a primary social good and that the state as the locus for creating and realizing the social or common good had a moral obligation to promote that faith, even to the point of proscribing other religions. After his suggestion in the early 1950s that the Vatican recognize the legitimacy of the U.S. separation of church and state, his superiors in the Jesuit order forbade him to lecture on church-state issues and required that all his writings be cleared with Rome. In 1963, he was barred from speaking at the Catholic University in Washington, D.C., and at the beginning of the Second Vatican Council (see VATICAN COUNCIL II) he was sufficiently suspect that he was not invited to the early sessions, despite his stature as a theologian.

Rescued from this exile by CARDINAL FRANCIS JOSEPH SPELLMAN, who brought him to Rome as an adviser, Murray played the key role in drafting the council's "Declaration on Religious Freedom" (*Dignitatis Humanae,* 1965). In this document, the Roman Catholic Church declared for the first time that "the human person has a right to religious freedom." Vigorously supported by the American bishops, its passage was the high point of American participation in the council.

It also represented the beginning of Murray's rehabilitation. He was chosen to be a concelebrant with Pope Paul VI of a mass for the council participants and, upon returning home, received numerous honorary degrees and accolades from secular, Protestant, and Catholic quarters. He spent the last years of his life lecturing widely and serving as director of the LaFarge Institute, whose purpose was to promote dialogue between blacks and whites, Protestants and Catholics, as well as Marxists and Christians.

(See also ROMAN CATHOLICISM.)

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music and art The United States rarely is seen as a center of religious music and art. While the country has created few "classical" masterpieces in these areas, there is an important history of both, particularly music. The musical and artistic forms that Americans have created reflect their distinctive histories and deeply held beliefs as well as efforts to strengthen worship and to reach out to others. As a result, religious art and music in the United States primarily have been expressed in popular and folk forms. This fact both reflects the relative absence of cultural patrons of religious art and the country's predominant Protestant ethos, which, while not rejecting the aesthetic elements of religion, had a marked suspicion of them.

When European colonists arrived, they encountered a diverse group of Indian peoples with complex and varied traditions of religious music and art. Songs, dances, and decorated religious artifacts abounded. Among some Indian peoples, these forms were markedly complex. The Zuni in the American Southwest had elaborate rituals complete with carefully sculpted and decorated representations of their divinities, as did many tribes in the Northwest. Most Native American peoples also had complex ritual calendars that assigned specific songs and stories, to address the particular social and material needs of the seasons. Ritual religious articles were beautifully decorated and embellished. Many of these forms later would be taken up by American and other artists. With the coming of the Europeans, many traditional forms would find themselves under pressure. Despite that fact, the Indian peoples soon adapted and adopted European trade goods into their repertoire of religious art.

Both the early colonists and later immigrants brought to America the aesthetic senses that they knew in Europe, Asia, and Africa. These aesthetics would be reflected in their ARCHITECTURE as well as in their music and art. One of the major results was a blending of styles. This blending would be most notable in the area of Protestant hymns, as musical forms and styles as well as the songs themselves emerged from combining the musical sensibilities of African Americans and British immigrants with Arminian theology (see ARMINIANISM) and the struggles of rural life.

While the Spanish and French colonial empires brought an aesthetic that reflected the distinctive Catholic baroque styles of their respective kingdoms, these styles had little influence outside their time and settlements. The dominant religious aesthetic would be set by Protestantism and, for several decades, a Protestantism deeply influenced by John Calvin's Geneva and John Knox's Scotland. This aesthetic was marked by a sparseness of decoration and a minimalist approach to religious art. Paintings and iconography were eschewed, although much attention was paid to the quality of workmanship in church buildings and their furnishings. This attention reflected the Protestant sense of calling and the view that one ought to engage in one's work, no matter what it was, for the glory of God.

Church music among the Puritans was limited to the psalms sung without accompaniment. Most were sung in accord with John Calvin's insistence on singing one note to a syllable, so that no word would be lost or distorted. During this time, there also circulated *The Psalms of David in Metre . . . to be sung and played upon the lute, orpharyon, citterne, or base violl* for private entertainment that many Puritans also owned.

By the second generation, Puritan congregations had developed the tradition of "lining out" the psalms. In this method of singing, the music leader would sing a line of song, or line it out. This line would then be sung by the congregation. Lining out would continue as a form of singing among some congregations in certain forms of Protestantism. It served as a useful tool among poorer congregations in which hymnals were scarce or in which many congregants may have been illiterate. Lining out also probably explains the practice of one section of a choir or the congregation repeating a line of a hymn quickly in between the rest of the congregation singing the line in full and singing the next line.

The centrality of psalms to Puritan worship is demonstrated by the fact that the first book completely written and printed in British North America was a psaltery, *The Bay Psalm Book* (1640). In fact, New England's first printing press was purchased and imported specifically to print that volume.

The translations of the psalms from Hebrew were undertaken by a committee of 30 or so clergymen, including Richard Mather, JOHN ELIOT, Thomas Weld, and JOHN COTTON. The earliest editions included no music, but they did, however, identify appropriate tunes for each Psalm and where those tunes could be found in other common psalters. Later editions did include music.

Many individuals considered the translations of the first edition to be crude and awkward and claimed that they lacked the poetry and beauty of the Hebrew originals. The translators acknowledged this fact, but they had more concern for faithfulness to the biblical text than to artistry. They announced as much in the book's introduction, stating, "we have therefore done our endeavor to make a plain and familiar translation of the psalms and words of David into English metre, and have not so much as presumed to paraphrase . . .; we have therefore attended herein as our chief guide the original, shunning all additions, . . . avoiding all material detractions from words or sense."

The Bay Psalm Book went through several editions and was used for more than a century. It also underwent extensive revisions. Later editions considerably polished the translations, making them more poetic. The ninth edition (1698) was the first to contain music. This movement toward regularizing tunes increased during the 17th century as several ministers and religious leaders fought against the multiplicity of tunes for different Psalms that their congregants had learned. Music from memory (often different memories) meant that often a congregation might be singing the same psalm to five or six different tunes. This movement led to the development of singing schools and, as settlement moved west and south, would give the 19th-century United States a distinctive character, the itinerant music master, who traveled from town to town providing singing lessons.

The move toward (actually a return to) a more regularized form of church singing also merged with the movement from the singular emphasis on psalm singing to the development of individually composed hymns. One of the early leaders in this movement was Isaac Watts, an English independent minister (and theologian whose *Logic* was a standard textbook at Harvard). Watts's influence was closely followed by that of Charles Wesley. The brother of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, Charles eventually composed more than 6,500 hymns, including such familiar ones as "O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing" and "Hark the Herald Angels Sing."

By the 19th century, there existed several tensions in the development of religious music in the United States. The first tension was between those congregations that opposed the use of hymns alongside psalms. The second conflict was over the nature of religious music. Many congregations, particularly frontier and rural congregations, used a poplar singing style originally known as "shape note" singing (because the notes were marked by shapes) and eventually Sacred Harp singing, after the *Sacred Harp* songbook by Benjamin F. White and E. J. King, first printed in 1844 and still in print today. This form of singing lent itself to easy teaching among a relatively undereducated population and was spread by the singing masters. It also lent itself to easy adaptation to traditional tunes and new hymns and served as the basis for the development of white spirituals.

Such popular religious music also was central to the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING and would become an essential part of American REVIVALISM up to the present. IRA DAVID SANKEY, who led music for the revival activities of DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY and FANNY CROSBY, composed innumerable hymns that became central to American Protestantism and are common to most hymnals.

Shape note and other forms of popular singing were opposed by those who felt music should conform to traditional European modes of musical notation and scales. These individuals not only strove to recover traditional music, such as that written by Johannes Sebastian Bach, but also promoted the emergence of a form of hymnody that fused traditional European high art with social and ethical concerns. American poets such as John Greenleaf Whittier, Samuel Longfellow, and JULIA WARD HOWE ("Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory of the Coming of the Lord" known more popularly as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic") produced numerous works that became popular hymns.

There were other countervailing movements in the 19th century. The Oxford movement among Episcopalians and the confessional movement among Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM), particularly German Lutheran immigrants to the United States, looked to traditional hymn forms. Latin and Greek hymns were revived by the Oxford movement, while Lutherans strove to retain traditional musical forms as well as their languages and produced their own hymnals drawing heavily on the works of Martin Luther and other traditional hymns.

Despite these high culture and traditionalist movements within the history of American religious music, the dominant thrust in religious music has combined musical forms from the African-American tradition, white southern traditional music, and popular music. These forms, all of which, in various ways, combine easily recalled lyrics, syncopation, and simple tunes have created some of the most well-known and readily recognized songs. Even many songs that may have been composed outside those forms, such as "Amazing Grace," have become popularized (and even ubiquitous) because of the incorporation of those elements into them.

African-American religious music, beginning with those songs known as spirituals and continuing through black gospel and praise music, has played a major role in American religious music. Much of these songs' power, particularly the spirituals, comes from the distinctive experience of African Americans in the United States, particularly the experiences of slavery and oppression. The sorrowful and haunting tunes and lyrics intermixed with the deep and abiding hope that marks many of these songs reflect the reality of African-American life and religion. They combine the pain of life under slavery and segregation with a deep awareness that this world is not in accord with God's will and that God eventually will make everything right. Another distinctiveness of much of this music is its connection to the stories and characters in the books of the Hebrew Bible (what Christians refer to as the Old Testament). The Israelites' escape from Egyptian slavery or Daniel surviving his night imprisoned with a lion were readily understood as reflecting the situation of African Americans and their commitment to the deliverance that assuredly would come to them as well. Songs such as "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," "Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho," and "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel" not only reflect these realities but have entered into American popular idiom.

African Americans also played a major role in other ways as well. Individuals who got their start in black gospel music such as Mahalia Jackson, Aretha Franklin, and Al Green have been instrumental in expanding American music more generally and religious music in particular. Black composers such as Thomas A. Dorsey (1889–1993) (not to be confused with the swing musician Tommy Dorsey) also had major influences on American religious and popular music. Dorsey, who began his career as a jazz and blues musician, turned to gospel music (in fact he may have coined that name). Dorsey's songs include "Take My Hand (Precious Lord)" and "Peace in the Valley," which not only have become major gospel standards but have been recorded by numerous popular artists. "Precious Lord" was recorded by Mahalia Jackson (and was the favorite song of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.), Aretha Franklin, Roy Rogers, and Elvis Presley. Both King and President Lyndon Johnson requested that the song be performed at their funerals. "Peace in the Valley" also has been recorded by dozens of artists and has been a regular fixture in country music, having been not only a 1951 hit for Red Foley, but also for Johnny Cash and Elvis Presley.

If religious music has readily found its way into popular music, a more contentious issue has been the adoption of popular musical forms in religious worship. Traditionalists have tended to view these new forms as proof of religion's decline and have strenuously resisted their introduction. Such resistance can be traced back to the 18th century, and it has marked every major change in religious music. The biggest conflicts undoubtedly involved the adoption of jazz, rock, and blues forms into religious music. These styles, long associated in the minds of many religious people with sex, drinking, and loose living and viewed as the "devil's music," met with particular resistance. Despite this resistance, even these forms found their way into religious music in the United States, and by the early 2000s, "Christian rock" had become an identifiable musical genre, with bands in every rock form including heavy metal.

Genres such as Christian rock highlight another element of religious music in the United States. This is religious music as popular music. Not only have popular musicians recorded religious songs, but religious music is itself a form of popular music. There are radio stations dedicated to gospel (both black and white) music, Christian rock, and even "family friendly" radio, which invariably combines "light rock," Christian rock, and other genres with positive and morally uplifting messages. These stations are important for certain sectors of American society, as some Christian denominations and individual Christians look askance at all "worldly" music and do not allow it to be played. For such individuals, Christian music and Christian radio stations constitute their entire listening experiences.

Such limitations are not confined to Christians. Many Orthodox Jews (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM) and some Muslims (see ISLAM) also avoid much popular music and culture. These communities have their own bands that perform religiously acceptable songs. While rarely capable of supporting commercial radio stations, they often do have stations available via the Internet, and the music circulates widely on compact discs and, increasingly, in MP3 formats. The genres span the gamut from Muslim rap to Orthodox rock and roll.

As the above suggests, the history of religious music in the United States has not been solely a Protestant history or even a Christian history. Catholic religious music also has been affected by the American experience. These effects, however, traditionally were limited due to the formalized elements of the Catholic Mass. While some variation existed due to the different countries from where the immigrants came, the Latin Mass provided a common experience for worship, and the traditional European forms of the song and performed Masses remained the standard.

The changes wrought in the church by VATICAN COUNCIL II also affected Catholic religious music. Unfortunately, the rapid move to find tunes for the new English text of the Mass often led to the adoption of woefully mediocre music. The late 1960s and early 1970s were an unfortunate time for religious music. The shift from traditional to new forms in the Catholic Church during this time, marked particularly by the proliferation of "guitar masses," led to much that was forgettable. Since then, there has been an effort to improve the quality of religious music in the Catholic Church, including, in many areas, a return to more traditional forms such as Gregorian chant and polyphony. The pronouncement by Pope Benedict XVI in July 2007 to expand the use of the Latin Mass suggests that the Catholic Church in the United States will continue to see greater attention to traditional musical forms in the Mass.

JUDAISM in the United States also has seen major transformations in its musical traditions. Since the destruction of the temple in 70, Judaism has proscribed the playing of musical instruments on the Sabbath. Song, however, has been essential to Jewish ritual, and the prayer services are marked by numerous traditional tunes, many of which reflect the particular background of the congregation. Jews from central and eastern Europe (Ashkenazim) have very different forms than do Jews who draw their traditions from pre-expulsion Spain (Sephardim). Both traditions, however, have celebrated prayer leaders (cantors) capable of chanting the service in exquisite and moving ways, and in the early 20th century advertisements for high holiday services often would note the cantor who would be leading the prayers.

Changes in Jewish tradition undertaken by REFORM JUDAISM also affected music. Reform congregations reintroduced musical instruments, beginning with organs. Like many large Protestant congregations in urban areas, some also introduced paid choirs. During the 1960s and 1970s, Reform Judaism in particular was affected by the introduction of folk music forms, and the guitar became almost ubiquitous. This trend led to the emergence of some leading singer-songwriters who infused popular music with Jewish content. Debbie Friedman has been the dominant member of this movement and has played a major role in Reform Judaism. Her influence has been extensive, including a series of 12 Hallmark Cards containing lyrics from her songs.

Another major shift in the musical traditions of American Judaism has been the increasing influence of Hasidic elements.

HASIDISM has long been marked by a strong musical tradition and a celebratory sense of religion. One of the dominant forms of Hasidic songs, the *niggun,* often consists merely of one syllable repeated over and over to a particular tune. During the 1970s and 1980s, Hasidic song and music increasingly found its way into all forms of American Judaism, particularly through the movement known as Jewish Renewal, which emphasized the mystical and prophetic elements of Judaism and placed a tremendous emphasis on creativity and meditation.

The dominance of Hasidism in eastern Europe also played a major role in the transformation of klezmer music into a Hasidic form. While unable to play on holidays or during worship, klezmer bands were important elements of religiously sanctioned ceremonies such as weddings. As klezmer musicians joined other Jews immigrating to the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the music followed them. Given its style and instruments, klezmer soon began to influence American popular music as well, finding its way into "Tin Pan Alley"–style songs and jazz.

Religious music in the United States has run the gamut from high church to revival meeting, from worship to commercial radio. In this, it reflects the breadth of religious worship and practices in the United States as well as the high level of religious belief and membership in the United States. In many ways, religious music has been the most developed religious art form in the United States, influencing everything from politics to commercial music and even extending across the globe.

Such, however, cannot be said for religious painting and sculpture in the United States. The United States has produced few major makers of "high art" who focused on religious themes. Part of this results from the overwhelming dominance of a particular version of Protestantism in American religion that viewed religious paintings and sculptures as vaguely idolatrous.

In the area of popular art, however, religion has been a dominant theme throughout American history. From illustrations in religious books and magazines to popular prints, religious art in the United States traditionally has played a role in teaching religious lessons or providing models to emulate. Many of these illustrations also reinforced American CIVIL RELIGION, from Robert Weir's *Embarkation of the Pilgrims* (1840) and John Gadsby Chapman's *Baptism of Pocahontas* (1847) to Arnold Friberg's *Prayer in the Snow* (1976), which shows George Washington kneeling in prayer at Valley Forge during the darkest times of the Revolutionary War. Other illustrations printed in numerous ephemeral forms taught biblical stories, from Moses in the bulrushes to Jesus dying on the cross to the women's discovery of Jesus' empty tomb.

Some of these popular images have become iconic. Warner Sallman's *Head of Christ* (1940) has created the normative image of Jesus for an overwhelming number of Protestant Christians. The 15th-century *Praying Hands* by Albrecht Durer has long been a presence in American Protestantism, decorating plaques and bookends. It has been the model for a massive memorial in Webb City, Missouri, and even has become associated with its own moral story that claims the hands are those of Albrecht's brother, whose work in the mines of Nuremberg supported Albrecht during his time studying art.

The above examples highlight a major element of religious art in the United States. Like much religious music, it has not necessarily been linked to religious worship but has been part of popular art. That art has illustrated religion as a theme in people's lives, whether Norman Rockwell's painting *Easter Morning* or carvings on gravestones, is nearly universal in American history. Religion has been viewed not as an interruption into people's lives but part of their daily experience.

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Muslim Public Affairs Council Established in 1986 as the Political Action Committee of the Islamic Center of Southern California, the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) adopted its current name in 1988 (see ISLAM). Its stated goal is "to establish a vibrant Muslim American community that will enrich American society through promoting the Islamic values of Mercy, Justice, Peace, Human Dignity, Freedom, and Equality for all." With offices in California and Washington, D.C., MPAC struggles to overcome negative views of Islam in the media, to combat hate crimes against Muslims and others, and to convey a vision of Islam grounded in a sense of Islamic knowledge, a commitment to an American Muslim identity, and a responsive attitude to current realities.

In the 1990s, MPAC was among the earliest Islamic organizations in the United States to take public stances against the fatwa urging Muslims to kill the writer Salman Rushdie, suicide bombing attacks in Israel, and, in March 2001, the Taliban in Afghanistan. It also condemned the refusal of professional basketball player Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance on the grounds that doing so violated Islamic teachings.

From its inception, MPAC has presented itself as inclusive and open. It claimed to seek peaceful coexistence with Jews and Christians and sought to make Americans comfortable with Islam by showing how much the religion embraced core American values. Throughout the 1990s, MPAC organized Muslim-Jewish dialogues in Los Angeles. Its members received invitations to the White House during the presidency of Bill Clinton and, in 2000, were actively courted by the presidential campaign of George W. Bush. The senior adviser of MPAC, Maher Hathout, addressed the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles in 2000. MPAC, however, eventually endorsed George W. Bush's candidacy for president.

Despite MPAC's efforts to demonstrate its role as a moderate face of Islam and its express condemnation of violence, some see MPAC as a covert supporter of Islamist movements and even terrorists (see ISLAMISM; TERRORISM). These individuals condemn MPAC's equivocal response to violence against Israeli civilians and point to some extreme statements by former and current associates of MPAC, including a 1999 position paper that appeared to justify the 1983 bombing of the marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon.

In addition to its national offices and its outreach programs, MPAC has eight local chapters. Although smaller than the COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC AFFAIRS and less actively involved in policy making, MPAC has a much deeper grounding in local communities, particularly in California.

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National Association of Evangelicals The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) is an organization of denominations, congregations, and individuals who affirm the divine inspiration of Scripture; the doctrine of the Trinity; the divinity, virgin birth, and resurrection of Christ; and Christ's atoning death for human salvation. The association was founded in 1942 at Moody Bible Institute (Chicago, Illinois) by several neo-evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM) including HAROLD J. OCKENGA of Park Street Church in Boston and CARL F. H. HENRY of Fuller Theological Seminary partly in response to CARL MCINTIRE's fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) American Council of Christian Churches. More important, however, the founders saw a need for an evangelical counter to the Federal Council of Churches (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES), which, they believed, harbored theological liberalism and sacrificed doctrinal distinctiveness to further the cause of church unity.

The NAE has served as a focal point for thoughtful and reflective conservative theological versions of Christianity. While maintaining strict doctrinal orthodoxy, the NAE has avoided the separatism that marks most fundamentalist organizations. The association's willingness to extend membership to those Holiness and Pentecostal movements (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT; PENTECOSTALISM) traditionally spurned by fundamentalists is an example of this openness.

In 2006, the National Association of Evangelicals, headquartered in Los Angeles, had 52 member denominations, representing about 4.5 million individuals in nearly 50,000 congregations. It serves as a major publisher of evangelical literature and provides the primary institutional structure for American evangelicalism.

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National Baptist Convention of America, Inc. Known popularly as the "unincorporated body" or convention, and at one time as the "Boyd Convention," the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., is the second-largest historically black denomination in the United States, with nearly 4 million members in 2008. The National Baptist Convention of America, Inc. (NBCA), was formed as a result of a split in the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., when it was discovered at the convention's 1915 meeting that the publishing house established under the auspices of the convention's Home Mission Board was not convention property, but was titled to Reverend

Richard Henry Boyd, the publishing house's chairman.

Attempts by the convention to gain control over the publishing house were met with resistance by the Boyd supporters, who began meeting in Salem Baptist Church in Chicago, eventually organizing the National Baptist Convention, Unincorporated, on September 9, 1915. Reorganized in 1987 with its headquarters in Shreveport, Louisiana, it assumed its present name, the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.

Although one of the first decisions of the newly renamed convention in 1987 had been to declare the publishing board independent of the convention, the following year saw a move to bring it and the National Baptist Sunday Church School and Training Union Congress under the control of the convention. The result was another schism and the formation of the National Missionary Baptist Convention of America, comprising about 25 percent of the membership of the NBCA. The new convention supported the independent publishing house and Sunday School Congress, while the parent body organized two new institutions under its control.

A growing interest in social concerns has brought the denomination into a working arrangement with both the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., and the PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, INC., on issues relating to African-American survival. As a result, it has begun to address more directly the problems of alcohol and drug abuse, family stability, violence, and racism.

The NBCA is strongest in Louisiana, Texas, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and California and, like most of the historically black denominations, has a strong missionary presence in Africa and the Caribbean. It operates 15 colleges and seminaries, and in 2006 had about 8,500 ordained ministers and 3,000 member churches.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

EQ

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National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. The largest historically black denomination, and reportedly the largest African-American organization in existence, the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. (NBC, U.S.A.) is a dominant force in AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION. It has a membership of 5 million members, but those numbers were contested greatly following the arrest of its president, Reverend Henry Lyons, in 1998. The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., was organized in Atlanta, Georgia, on September 28, 1895, through the merger of the Baptist Foreign Mission Convention of the U.S.A., the American National Baptist Convention, and the National Baptist Educational Convention of the U.S.A.

The convention was split early by schisms, a minor one in 1897 and a major division in 1915, when conflicts over the reelection of the convention's president, E. C. Morris (president from 1895 to 1922), and the ownership of the publishing house led a minority of the members to establish what is now the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA, INC.

As the dominant black religious denomination, the NBC, U.S.A. has had a major influence on African-American life. In the early years of the 20th century, both BOOKER T. WASHINGTON and W. E. B. DUBOIS were frequent speakers at its annual conventions. The convention, however, was more drawn to Washington's accommodationism, reflecting perhaps the rural poverty of most of its members, and officially endorsed Washington's policy of black uplift through labor in 1909. Despite this, it remained a staunch supporter of the NAACP and was outspoken in its support for black enfranchisement.

Throughout its existence, the NBC, U.S.A. has been dominated by strong convention presidents. In its 110-year history, it has had only nine presidents. One of these, Joseph H. Jackson, served for 29 years. Elected in 1953, Jackson continued the convention's traditional gradualism and opposed MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s, campaigns of civil disobedience. Attempts by King and others to replace Jackson during the convention's annual meetings in 1960 and 1961 failed, and many of the Jackson opponents organized a separate convention, the PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, INC., in 1961.

Under Jackson's successor, Dr. Theodore J. Jemison, the NBC, U.S.A. took on a greater role in the struggle for black equality, especially in voting rights and voter registration. It also began building its first permanent headquarters, the World Center Headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee, which was opened on May 1, 1989.

Throughout the 1990s, the convention was wracked with controversy as its president, Reverend Henry Lyons, and another convention official were investigated on charges that the two had diverted money from the convention to their own personal use. Lyons was eventually convicted of state charges for racketeering and grand theft in Florida in January 1999 and pled guilty to federal tax and fraud charges in March of that year.

Lyons was succeeded as president by Dr. William Shaw in November 1999. Following his election, Dr. Shaw promised to undertake a reorganization of the convention and to focus its mission more directly on serving its members rather than aggrandizing its powerful leaders.

With more than 30,000 congregations, 12 colleges, including Spellman and Morehouse in Atlanta, and an annual budget of more than $5 million, the NBC, U.S.A. remains, despite its internal difficulties, a powerful force on the American religious landscape.

(See also CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.)

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National Catholic Welfare Conference

The National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) began its life in August 1917 as the National Catholic War Council, the purpose of which was to coordinate religious and social services for Roman Catholics (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) serving with U.S. forces during WORLD WAR I. At home, it worked with the Federal Council of Churches (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES), the YMCA (see YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION), and the Jewish Welfare Board to raise money and maintain home-front morale. Its membership was composed of all the U.S. bishops, although its ordinary activities were directed by a committee of four bishops. Father John J. Burke, a Paulist priest instrumental in its founding, was appointed as director.

Meeting after the war, the U.S. bishops were encouraged to continue the organization by a pastoral letter from Pope Benedict XV, who asked them to work for peace and justice in the world. Equally important was the work done by Father JOHN RYAN in making the church's statements on a just society an integral part of the American scene. Ryan, in fact, adhered to the "Bishops' Program on Social Reconstruction" that constituted the social agenda for the NCWC in its early days. This program called for the establishment of a guaranteed wage and unemployment, old age, and health insurance, as well as laws to protect labor unions and to limit child labor.

Although best known for its concern about social issues, especially during the time when Ryan headed its social action department (1928–45), the NCWC also served as a standing committee to deal with issues relating to the health and vitality of the Roman Catholic Church in America. This made it the first ongoing institution concerned with the affairs and policies of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States on a national level.

The group's success, however, raised several concerns about the NCWC impinging upon the rights and autonomy of the bishops. Out of just such a concern, the pope threatened to suppress the NCWC in 1922. In response, the bishops issued a statement clarifying the NCWC's role. In a letter to the Vatican, the administrative committee of the NCWC pointed out that it was a voluntary organization, membership in which was the free choice of each bishop, and that the NCWC possessed no ecclesiastical jurisdiction or compulsory authority over bishops, members of religious orders, priests, or laity. To dispel any further confusion about the organization's authority, the word *Council* was changed to *Conference*.

Rome approved the changes in 1923, and the NCWC continued the activities of the earlier body. Until 1966, the NCWC had two main purposes. The first was to act as a source of information and locus of communication for the leaders of the American Catholic Church. In this role, it functioned primarily as a bishops' organization, providing a continuity of policy and effort in the absence of annual episcopal meetings. Its second function was to act on behalf of the entire church as a proponent of Catholic interests and concerns. In this role, it took on the job of political lobbyist and watchdog to ensure that Catholic interests were protected.

By the mid-1960s, these functions had become too diverse and numerous for one institution. In 1966, the NCWC was divided into two organizations. The first of these was the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB), which took on the informational and policy making role of the old NCWC. Composed of all the bishops and archbishops in the United States and its territories, the NCCB has much more authority and power than the old NCWC. Although most of that power is moral, it does have the authority to make statements juridically binding on all U.S. Catholics.

While much of its time involves matters pertaining to the administrative matters of the church, the NCCB has spoken out with much vigor on controversial issues. The most significant of these were its pastoral letters on nuclear war (1983) and the economy (1986). Both of these struck many people as politically radical and as unnecessary religious meddling in politics. The latter charge also has been directed at the NCCB for its vocal and consistent opposition to abortion. Despite these criticisms, the bishops have remained steadfast in their commitment that the church has a right and duty to speak out on the moral implications of public policy concerns.

The lobbying work of the NCWC was vested in the United States Catholic Conference (USCC). Composed of laity, clergy, and members of religious orders, the USCC is concerned primarily with three areas of work: education, communication, and peace and social concerns. It is responsible for producing the church's media programs, including television and radio, training Catholic religious educators, as well as monitoring human rights, economic development, and political and legal affairs.

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National Conference of Catholic Bishops

Organized in 1966, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) was the successor organization to the NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE. When the reorganization occurred, the NCCB took responsibility for all internal church affairs, especially affairs related directly to the administration of the Roman Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) in the United States. The United States Catholic Conference (USCC) was given responsibility for political lobbying and policy implementation. Both organizations were reorganized again in 2001, when they were merged to form the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS.

Composed of all local bishops and their associate bishops, the NCCB has several focal points. The first area involves matters of liturgy and ritual. Here the decisions of the NCCB have the force of ecclesiastical law, and the bishops traditionally have spent much of their time on such internal church matters.

Similarly, the NCCB has responsibility for internal and public policy matters that affect the functioning of the Roman Catholic Church. Issues of primary concern to the bishops have included religious education, Catholic colleges and universities, and priestly formation. Although lobbying efforts on behalf of the church are handled by the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), the NCCB gives the USCC direction on those matters. These include lobbying on behalf of aid to private education, opposition to abortion, and a concern for human rights.

The most visible work of the NCCB has centered on its role as the source of moral teaching for the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. In this respect, its work has been most controversial, especially its pronouncements on the economy (1983) and nuclear war (1986). In the pastoral letter on the economy, "Economic Justice for All: Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy," the bishops called for the establishment of an economic system that guaranteed all citizens a sufficiency of the goods necessary to live a human life. This was followed closely by the pastoral letter on nuclear war, "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response." This letter criticized nuclear deterrence as a strategy for achieving peace and argued that nuclear war could never be just since it violated the traditional Catholic teaching that for a war to be just it had to be conducted on the basis of proportionality. The bishops argued that the goods achieved in winning a nuclear war could never be greater than the mass destruction it would cause and, therefore, never could be just.

Both of these letters drew vocal criticism from conservative Catholics and politicians, who argued that the bishops either had succumbed to a left-wing agenda or were too naive to know what they were saying. They were successful, however, in bringing these issues to the fore and engendering a tremendous amount of public discussion. In so doing, they brought the questions of moral teaching and public policy into the foreground and worked to improve the quality of public debate in the United States.

While few pronouncements during the 1990s were as publicly discussed as those two, the bishops continued to take stances on numerous issues of public import. Much effort, however, was spent on internal questions involving the role of women in the church and the appropriate stance and ethos of Catholic colleges and universities. While many felt that the eventual statements on these issues were far too restrictive or cautious, the ongoing debate and struggle within the church and among the bishops regarding the appropriate response reflected the ethos created by the conference—that of an ongoing, thoughtful dialogue between the church's teachings and changing social and economic structures.

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National Council of Churches The National Council of Churches (NCC) of Christ in the U.S.A., organized in 1951, is the institutional setting of the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT in America. In 2001, its membership consisted of 36 denominations representing every branch of the Christian tradition except ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

The establishment of the National Council of Churches must be seen within the trajectory of both world and United States church history. On the world level, it was the result of a disenchantment with the divisions within Christendom. The council is both an institutional response to this separation and an attempt to overcome it.

The formation of the NCC and its precursor, the Federal Council of Churches, was also the culmination of growing interdenominational cooperation in 19th-century America. The impetus for this cooperation lay in the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, the movement of religious revival that swept the United States in the early 1800s. The magnitude of Christianizing the FRONTIER and converting (see CONVERSION) the world lay beyond the scope of any one denomination. To increase efficiency and reduce organizational duplication, denominations joined forces. American Protestants formed the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), and the American Home Missionary Society (1826) to achieve that purpose.

Perhaps the most far-reaching of these joint ventures was the PLAN OF UNION worked out between the Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM) and Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM) in 1801. This plan, designed specifically to meet the needs of the unchurched frontier, allowed for unprecedented cooperation between the two denominations.

While many of these organizations, including the Plan of Union, foundered on the shoals of doctrinal conflicts or sectional tensions (see CIVIL WAR), they set the tone for interdenominational cooperation. Cooperation was to be based primarily upon actions, upon what the churches could do together. Theological and doctrinal issues could be ignored while the denominations worked together on such general enterprises as missions, charity, combating infidelity, and moral reform.

Following the Civil War, there was a resurgence of interdenominational organizations, especially for people of college age. These included the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION and YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, the Interseminary Missionary Alliance, and the STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT (SVM). Organized on an international level in 1895 as the World's Student Christian Federation, the SVM had a major impact on the ecumenical movement, for it created a core of educated, able, and adventurous young people committed to cooperation among churches.

In the United States, these movements came together in December 1908, forming the Federal Council of Churches (FCC) of Christ in America. Originally composed of 33 denominations representing approximately 18 million people, the Federal Council was organized around issues of Christian activity, not questions of doctrine. In fact, its constitution denied it "authority to draw up a common creed, form of government, or worship."

The early years of the council were periods of struggle; many wondered whether it would long survive. Oddly enough, WORLD WAR I proved the savior of the Federal Council. The mobilization of American soldiers demanded an organized response for their religious welfare. The institutional nature of the FCC enabled it to provide the necessary religious and social services. Its high profile during the war gave the Federal Council greater credibility and importance.

The successful work of the Federal Council during the war did not exempt it from criticism afterward. Its commitment to action, designed to avoid doctrinal squabbles, instead immersed the council in controversy. The FCC's responses to child labor, poverty, unsafe working conditions, and racial prejudice all proved divisive.

Following the end of WORLD WAR II, the rapid growth of ecumenical and international concerns, illustrated by the formation of the United Nations and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, brought home to ecumenically minded Americans the need for a more broadly based organization. To accomplish this, a proposal was made in April 1944 that the eight major interdenominational agencies not affiliated with the FCC, including the Home Missions Council, the Foreign Missions Conference, and the International Council of Religious Education, merge with the council and form a new agency. By 1950, all these organizations had approved the plan. Four previously uninvolved agencies—Church World Service, the Protestant Radio Commission, the Protestant Film Commission, and the Inter-Seminary Movement—and three major Lutheran bodies had also decided to join the new union.

The new institution, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, officially began its existence on January 1, 1951. Membership consisted of 29 denominations, 25 Protestant and 4 Eastern Orthodox.

Like its predecessor, the National Council of Churches has had numerous problems, including financial insecurity. The refusals of the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION and the Roman Catholic Church, the two largest denominations in the United States, to join the National Council have limited its representative nature. Like the Federal Council, the NCC has been criticized for its involvement in social issues. The NCC has been savaged as a communist-infiltrated organization and denounced for its commitment to racial and social equality. During the 1980s and 1990s, the council's struggle with the issue of women's rights also brought it under fire. Despite these criticisms and attacks, the National Council survived, growing both in size and activity. It also matured into a more representative organization. A sign of this maturity was the selection of the Very Reverend Leonid Kishkovsky of the Orthodox Church in America as president in 1990. This represented a significant move away from Protestant dominance within the National Council.

Despite this growing maturity, during the 1990s, the National Council of Churches found it increasingly difficult to be taken seriously as the dominant religious voice in the United States. Its opposition to the Persian Gulf War and to continued sanctions on Iraq marked it in the minds of many as marginal and irresponsible. So did its vocal claims that a wave of arsons against African-American churches was part of a concerted racist plot (a claim later shown to be untrue). By the turn of the 21st century, the NCC struggled for both its identity and its role.

By the first decade of the 21st century, the NCC seemed even less relevant to the wider population, despite its efforts to be an effective voice on public issues. Overshadowed by the rise of evangelicalism and by a highly popular pope, JOHN PAUL II, and his successor, Benedict XVI, the NCC increasingly seemed out of touch with the American people. Additionally, the NCC has had a difficult time negotiating the vast differences of its member denominations on many issues, particularly sexuality. The issue of HOMOSEXUALITY played a major role in the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, which withdrew from the council in 2005, although representatives cited more broadly the council's commitment to a liberal political agenda and its inattention to the Christian message.

This withdrawal left the National Council with only 35 denominational members. The remaining denominations also represented a declining number of members and congregations. In 2006, the NCC's membership represented only about 45 million members in 100,000 congregations. This represented a loss of 5 million members and nearly 40,000 congregations since the turn of the century. Most of this decrease reflected the declining membership of the mainline Protestant denominations, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian.

The early 2000s saw the National Council of Churches beset by declining membership, financial difficulties, and challenges to its relevance. Its ecumenical visions seemed to be superseded by bilateral and multilateral agreements among denominations themselves. The NCC's apparent inability to generate any wide connection with the American public also raised serious questions about its value. In many ways, it seemed less like a prophetic and positive voice than a predictable old crank.

(See also NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS.)

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Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) Few religious movements have seared themselves as deeply into the American psyche as the Nation of Islam (NOI), or as they are more commonly called, the Black Muslims. Perhaps it is because no religious movement in American history has been so militantly hostile to the dominant social and political ethos.

The Nation of Islam had its genesis in Detroit in 1930 with the appearance of W. D. FARD, known also as Farrad Mohammed, Walli Farrad, and F. Mohammed Ali. Blacks, he argued, were descendants of an honorable race who had been stolen from their homes and brought to America by the "white devils." These devils also had stripped blacks of their own religion, Islam, and had forced Christianity upon them in order to have them accept their inferior status. Fard had been sent to America to awaken blacks to the real nature of the world and to free them from white domination.

Fard's talk of white devils and black superiority was heady stuff for poor, southern blacks who had migrated north in search of work during the Great Depression, and he soon gained a considerable following in Detroit. During this time, many followers of the late Noble Drew Ali (see DREW, TIMOTHY; MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE) also joined Fard's movement. Organizationally astute, Fard developed a strict procedure for admission into the temple as well as a hierarchy of command. By 1933, he had developed a ritual for the Nation of Islam, organized a school for boys and a training class for girls, and founded a security organization, the Fruit of Islam, designed to protect the NOI from outsiders and enforce the strict code of behavior demanded of all Muslims.

Even in these early years, the Nation of Islam was rent by external problems and internal conflicts. One group rebelled against Fard's teaching that blacks owed no allegiance to an America that denied them their rights. Led by a former lieutenant of Fard's, Abdul Muhammad, they formed a counter temple, with loyalty to the U.S. Constitution and the American flag as a guiding principle.

With the organization increasingly run by a group of his handpicked ministers, Fard began to withdraw from public appearances. In June 1934, he disappeared completely and was never seen again. According to the accepted history of the NOI, Fard had picked ELIJAH MUHAMMAD to be minister of Islam, second only to Fard himself. After Fard's disappearance, Muhammad was the logical successor, but internal conflicts prevented a smooth transition of leadership. In fact, death threats forced Elijah Muhammad and his closest followers to flee Detroit in 1936. They went to Chicago, establishing Temple Number 2 as the NOI headquarters.

In Chicago, Elijah Muhammad rebuilt the organizational infrastructure Fard had established. He also slowly gained control of the movement itself, including Temple Number 1 in Detroit. Muhammad stressed black economic independence. Under his direction,

104 BRIT
OPEN 7 DAYS
LAUN
ern Barber Salon
MALCOLM SHABAZZ MASJID
Sister CLARA MUHAMMAD ELEMENTARY & SECONDARY SCHOOL
102

Founded in Detroit during the Great Depression, the Nation of Islam preached separation from whites and economic independence for blacks. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)* the Nation of Islam purchased farms in several states, from which they ran a food distribution company. The NOI also established stores, restaurants, and other businesses.

The Nation of Islam grew slowly during the 1930s and 1940s. Elijah Muhammad's imprisonment in 1942 for subversion—he had written that blacks had no obligation to fight for America against another colored man (the Japanese)—weakened the movement for several years. After his release in 1946, he was welcomed as a martyr, and the fact of his imprisonment (as well as that of several of his sons during both WORLD WAR II and the Korean conflict) aided the NOI's remarkably successful recruitment in prisons.

Representative of this success was the conversion of Malcolm Little from criminal to Muslim minister and international celebrity as MALCOLM X. With the encouragement of Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X initiated an active recruitment campaign for the NOI. Intelligent, articulate, and committed, Malcolm helped to bring about a period of phenomenal growth. He organized temples in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Atlanta. Capable of speaking to any audience, he was in great demand on the college lecture circuit and recruited successfully among the poorest inner-city blacks. Much more militant and vocal about white abuses and black separatism than Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm also attracted many followers who never became members.

As minister of Boston's Temple Number 11 and later of Harlem's Temple Number 7, Malcolm became for many Americans the face of the Nation of Islam. This role that was thrust upon Malcolm was acknowledged by Elijah Muhammad himself when he appointed Malcolm national messenger of the NOI.

In 1959, a television documentary by Mike Wallace and Louis Lomax, "The Hate That Hate Produced," brought the Nation of Islam to the attention of the wider American public. Americans both black and white were dumbfounded by the existence of such a movement. Most Americans simply could not believe that there existed a group of blacks who not only refused to be a part of white American society, but actively detested it.

By 1963, the Nation of Islam had reached the height of its expansion, with perhaps half a million members. There were, however, internal conflicts hidden from view. The first public sign of these tensions was Elijah Muhammad's silencing of Malcolm X in November 1963, ostensibly because of remarks Malcolm X made following President John F. Kennedy's assassination. Asked to comment on the killing, Malcolm responded that the chickens were coming home to roost—explaining that the violence in American society, directed primarily at blacks, had expanded until it consumed the country's own leader. Malcolm X was merely stating what many other commentators had said, but uttered by a leader of what many viewed as a "hate" group, it brought public condemnation down upon the NOI. The resulting negative publicity seemed to be the cause of his silencing by Elijah Muhammad.

More trouble was to come for the NOI. In 1963, Elijah Muhammad was named in paternity suits filed by two former secretaries. Although rumors of sexual indiscretions on the part of the leader had circulated since the mid-1950s, they had been ignored. By the time the suits were filed, the Chicago temple had been experiencing a loss of members, although the rumors were barely noticed in Boston and New York. Malcolm confronted Elijah Muhammad and, according to Malcolm's autobiography, obtained an admission of guilt. With the aid of Elijah Muhammad's son, Wallace D. Muhammad (see MUHAMMAD, WARITH DEEN), Malcolm worked out a strategy to respond to the potential problems. Unbeknownst to Malcolm, however, Elijah Muhammad was working to remove him from positions of power.

During his period of enforced silence, Malcolm and his family joined the young boxer

Cassius Clay at his training camp. Following his defeat of Sonny Liston, Clay announced his conversion to the NOI and the adoption of a new name, Muhammad Ali. This conversion, along with conversions of several other leading sports celebrities, gave the Nation of Islam heightened visibility in the press.

Malcolm, no longer welcome in the movement, announced his resignation in March 1964, as well as his formation of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., along the lines of orthodox Sunni ISLAM. He was replaced as minister of Temple Number 7 and as national representative by Louis X (see FARRAKHAN, LOUIS). Distraught, Malcolm left the country, making the hajj to Mecca and visiting several Middle Eastern and African countries before returning to the United States. Upon his return, he shook the world by announcing that he had given up racial separatism and the belief that all whites were devils, although he remained a vocal critic of American racism and American foreign policy. Assassinated in February 1965 by three members of the Nation of Islam, he became more famous in death. The posthumous publication of his autobiography did much to enhance his popularity, but within the NOI he was regarded as a traitor.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were periods of continued internal dissension and conflicts. Revelations of movement-directed assassinations also led to defections and public condemnation. Despite decreasing membership during this time, the Nation of Islam retained a certain aura, since it was associated vaguely in the public mind with the emergence of the "Black Power" movement and with Malcolm, who was understood as a harbinger of that movement.

Between 1965 and 1975, the Nation of Islam, despite declining membership, solidified its financial and economic holdings. The leadership transition following Elijah Muhammad's death seemed to be smooth when he was succeeded by his son, Wallace Deen Muhammad. In April of 1975, however, Wallace Muhammad shocked his followers by announcing that whites were no longer to be considered devils and that they now could join the NOI. He then took a series of steps designed to move the NOI toward orthodox Sunni Islam, culminating in 1980 with the movement's reorganization as the American Muslim Mission.

This resulted in a schism within the movement led by Louis Farrakhan, who reorganized the old NOI along separatist lines in 1978. Numbering only about 20,000 members in 1994, the Nation of Islam had become a shell of its former self, although the speaking abilities and militancy of Minister Farrakhan served to give it a level of visibility and apparent political strength that it had not seen since the early 1960s. Achieving prominence by his association with many leading black politicians, including JESSE JACKSON, Farrakhan and his outspokenness have created much public furor. While these involvements did not dramatically increase the membership, they created a fairly sympathetic group of listeners among urban blacks who found themselves victimized by racism, poverty, and crime—the same ills that gave the NOI its initial strength in the 1930s.

The year 2000 saw yet another shift in the NOI. In that year, at its annual Founder's Day celebration in Chicago, Farrakhan, with W. D. Muhammad sharing the stage, announced the movement of the Nation of Islam into orthodox Sunni Islam and publicly rejected its previous separatism and racially based dogma. The movement was warmly welcomed into the fold, and the ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA encouraged this step by sponsoring several NOI members for the hajj and their attendance at its meetings and training programs.

Despite this very public event, the NOI has continued to bounce back and forth between moving toward Sunni Islam and the Nation of Islam's heterodox and racialist doctrines. To some extent, this may reflect Farrakhan's realization that his prominence rested on his ability to stand out from other leaders. Within orthodox Islam, he would have to give way to those more learned. As the leader of the Nation of Islam, Farrakhan was the final arbiter and the dominant voice.

The beliefs of the Nation of Islam were set out in two works by W. D. Fard, the *Secret Ritual of the Nation of Islam* and *Teaching for the Lost Found Nation of Islam in a Mathematical Way*. The former work was generally transmitted orally, and few manuscript copies exist. The latter was written in a symbolic language that needed to be interpreted by one of the organization's leaders. With only minor changes, these works remain authoritative.

Central to the belief system of the NOI is the claim that blacks were the original human beings. Due to their divine origin, they are superior. The original black men were the tribe of Shabbazz, and they built the earliest cities and began the sciences and all forms of agriculture. More than 6,000 years ago, a leading "scientist" of this people, Mr. Yacub, rebelled against Allah, and his followers were exiled. To wreak his revenge, Yacub began an experiment in negative eugenics, producing a "bleached," blue-eyed race of moral and physical degenerates, the ancestors of today's white people. When these people began to cause trouble, the original black people exiled them to Europe. God later sent Moses to civilize them, and it was written that this race of "blue-eyed devils" would be allowed to dominate the world for 6,000 years. Allah would then send a messenger to free his people, especially the Lost-Found Nation of Islam living in the wilderness of North America, who of all the black people in the world had most suffered from the evil of the white devils.

According to NOI doctrine, this 6,000-year period ended in 1914. The appearance of W. D. Fard in 1930 signified the beginning of the restoration of the original people to their rightful status. He brought to blacks the knowledge that they were part of a great people whose history, heritage, and identity had been stolen from them. Fard had come to reveal their true identity.

Following Fard's disappearance and the stabilization of control in the hands of Elijah Muhammad, it was taught that Fard was Allah himself, who had brought this message to his "Uncle," the blacks of North America, who were divine in their origin. Elijah Muhammad had been left behind by Fard/Allah to be his messenger to his people.

The NOI had a rigid code of behavior and dress. Members were forbidden to eat foods—pork, cornbread, catfish, possum—that symbolized their slavery and that were themselves sources of their enslavement. Ingesting these foods was believed to cause moral degeneracy. Alcohol, tobacco, and drugs were forbidden, as were extra- and premarital sexual relations. Social intercourse between the sexes was regulated strictly, and adult men were forbidden to be alone with unrelated women. Women were to dress modestly; makeup was forbidden. The men usually were notable by their dark suits, white shirts, and ties. Frugality, modesty, and self-discipline were central elements of the Black Muslim lifestyle.

Given the degeneracy of whites, it was necessary that blacks remove themselves as much as possible from contact with them. The ultimate goal was the establishment of an independent country for black Americans. The location of this country was vague and changing. Sometimes NOI spoke of emigration, of a return to their true homeland. Most often Elijah Muhammad spoke of the establishment of a country carved from the United States itself in compensation for nearly 400 years of unrewarded toil in the United States.

Perhaps no other element in NOI thought enraged whites more than this demand for territory. Along with the existence of the NOI security force—the Fruit of Islam—this demand conjured up in the minds of many whites images of secessionist warfare.

The result was a failure to understand the NOI as a religious movement. When blacks ceased to be a major item on the national agenda, the NOI dropped from the public mind. The reemergence of Louis Farrakhan in the 1980s as a public figure and companion to leading black politicians brought the movement back to public awareness. Additionally, his anti-Semitic and inflammatory remarks as well as those of several of his lieutenants generated a great deal of public scrutiny and condemnation. This scrutiny was notable because, despite its relative smallness as a denomination, the Nation of Islam has served as a barometer of black frustration, signaling changes before they arrived.

During the last two decades of the 20th century, the NOI increasingly became identified solely with Louis Farrakhan, who was much bigger than the NOI itself. Given this fact, the return of Louis Farrakhan's cancer in early 2006 placed the future of the NOI in doubt. While few suspected that it would cease to exist in some form following his death, the absence of an obvious successor with Farrakhan's stature suggested that the NOI would not continue with the level of visibility and attention it had known under charismatic spokesmen such as Elijah Muhammad, Malcom X, and Farrakhan.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.)

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Native American Church Although ritual use of peyote has a long history among Native Americans, it took on a new, institutionalized form in the early 20th century, particularly with the formation of the Native American Church in 1918. In spite of widespread efforts to prohibit the religious use of peyote, the Native American Church grew throughout the 20th century. In many places, peyote religion became the dominant form of "Indian" religion, often replacing more traditional tribal religions and frequently synthesizing Christian symbolism with older native rituals.

Peyote, *Lophophora williamsii*, grows in the United States in a small region of southern Texas near the Rio Grande and in scattered locations southward into Mexico. The hallucinogenic properties of the cactus "buttons" commonly induce sensations of well-being or exhilaration and enhance the perception of color, although consumption of larger quantities may lead to extreme forms of behavior. Peyote's properties have been known among various native cultures since at least A.D. 1000, with some evidence suggesting a much earlier date. In historic times, its ceremonial use was widespread among the Huichol and a number of other northern Mexican tribes. Huichol pilgrims continue to harvest it, bringing it back to the village for a tribal ceremony held in January in order to renew the corn and deer. Peyote use also spread southward to the Aztecs well before the Spanish conquest of Mexico (see NEW SPAIN).

Unlike its longstanding diffusion throughout northern Mexico, peyote did not spread into the United States until the second half of the 19th century, although Lipan Apache acquired it earlier. Mescalero Apache in Texas apparently began bringing peyote back from Mexico around 1870. The buttons were kept for the use of shamans, individuals having the knowledge and training necessary to intercede with spiritual powers. Mescalero shamans used peyote primarily in their efforts to heal the sick, recover lost objects, and foretell an event's outcome, thus incorporating peyote in a completely different ritual complex than that found in Mexico.

By 1880 or so, peyote had spread from the Lipan and Mescalero to the Kiowa and Comanche, located on reservations in Oklahoma, who began using it in the context of tribal dances. They developed a set of rites devoted exclusively to peyote, which form the basis of native peyote rituals today. In accordance with a common tendency among Native Americans to make creative adaptations to imported cultural or religious elements, peyote use took on a number of different symbolic associations and ritual practices as it spread among Plains tribes (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: PLAINS).

Peyote religion traveled along a number of routes but was effectively proselytized by "peyote men" such as John Wilson, a Delaware/Caddo, and Quanah Parker (1845?–1911). By 1875, Parker, a Comanche chief who had taken an active role in the southern Plains wars after the Treaty of Fallen Timbers (1867), became an active proponent of adaptation to reservation life. Successful as a farmer and rancher, Parker sought ways to combine Comanche and American values. Recovering from a serious illness in 1884, in spite of the failure of white medicine, he attributed his cure to peyote and became a devoted follower of the new "Peyote Way." Parker and other proponents often viewed peyote in terms combining tribal with Christian symbolism.

Peyote rituals remain distinctive among various groups; however, the two main forms, the "Half Moon Way" and the "Cross Fire Way" (more explicit in its use of Christian symbolism), developed in the 19th century, have several common features. A "meeting" is essentially an all-night prayer session led by a "road man" who erects a tipi and constructs an altar of sand in the shape of a crescent moon, on which the peyote is prepared for consumption.

Gathering at various times, and frequently in response to an individual's need for healing or other personal crisis, church members sit in a circle while the road man recites various peyote myths, leads songs, and offers prayers. Small portions of peyote are circulated and consumed, enabling congregational members to "see God." Peyote itself is often identified as the divine being and is consumed with great humility and often emotion. The meeting is broken into segments by breaks for water, since peyote induces great thirst, and concludes at dawn, followed by a ritual breakfast.

Peyotists have developed a religion that accomplishes a number of important symbolic tasks. Often characterized as a "Pan-Indian" movement, peyote religion focuses on the specific problems facing many American Indians in modern times. It promotes a life of self-discipline, attacking alcoholism and encouraging those who strive to participate in the white economy. At the same time, it emphasizes a number of continuities with tribal traditions. Its syncretism, the combining of symbols and ritual elements from other cultural contexts, is itself a traditional native practice. But in the modern context, it enables members of many different tribes to see themselves sharing a common Indian identity. Its spread in the 20th century has made it the most common religion practiced today by native people.

Concern over the effects of peyote spread almost as early as the new religion itself, although the history of suppression dates back to 1620, when Catholic inquisitors prohibited its use in Mexico. In 1888, E. E. White, agent in charge of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency, issued the first United States order prohibiting peyote use, threatening to cut off annuities and rations or even lease-money for those who violated the order. Urging federal legislation more comprehensive than available under the Court of Indian Offenses (see AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT), White and others pushed for elimination of peyote as an impediment to "civilizing" the Indian. Federal legislation never came, despite numerous efforts by western legislators, but peyotists faced a continual series of punitive efforts from individual states and agency administrators seeking to prosecute peyote cases under existing liquor and drug laws.

The Native American Church itself emerged in response to this policing of Indian life on the reservations of Oklahoma. In 1907, Parker and other Indian peyotists persuaded Oklahoma and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials that peyote was not harmful. Seeking to extract their new religion from the wave of antipeyote efforts led by individual BIA agents, Christian missionaries, and Indian opponents, the peyote leaders incorporated the Native American Church in 1918, modeled to some extent on earlier efforts of groups like the Oto Church of the First Born, to view peyote in Christian terms. Anthropologist James Mooney, who had studied both peyote and the GHOST DANCE, suggested the strategic need to make parallels between peyote and Christian traditions. Churches spread among various tribes across the Plains, farther west and east, leading to reincorporation in 1944 as the Native American Church of the United States. Upon spreading to Canada in 1955, the church became the Native American Church of North America.

In spite of peyote religion's growth and the inability of the federal government to successfully outlaw its use, opposition continued throughout the century. California, for instance, passed antipeyote legislation in 1959 and New York in 1967. Opposition arose from various quarters. In addition to state officials and Christian missionaries, various native groups sought to deter peyote use by regulation or legislation. Some Christian Indians, such as the proponents of assimilation who formed the Indian Rights Association in the late 19th century, saw peyote as a step backward. Native traditionalists, concerned to preserve tribal distinctiveness, objected to the corruption of tribal traditions. On the Navajo reservation, where nearly half of the adult population came to practice peyote religion, peyote remained illegal until 1967. An Oregon prosecution of two Native American substance-abuse counselors from the Warm Springs reservation in 1986 led to a landmark 1990 U.S. Supreme Court ruling (*Employment Division v. Smith*) that acknowledged states' right to prohibit religious use of peyote, although the Oregon statute itself was repealed the following year.

In 1994, supporters of the Native American Church were finally able to persuade Congress to pass legislation securing for Native Americans the right to the ceremonial use of peyote. Amendments to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act effectively reversed the 1990 Supreme Court ruling and forbade states from enacting restrictions on native ceremonial use, though reserving for states the right to regulate the plant's harvesting and transportation.

Although still faced with opposition from various quarters, the Native American Church and other groups of Indian peyotists continue to draw upon the power they find in this new religion to enable them to maintain contact with the past and face the future.

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Native American religions Native Americans developed rituals and sacred stories to order their personal and communal lives, to provide them with means of drawing on supernatural power, and to locate their lives within the specific landscapes of their history. Thus, Native American religions are typically oriented around environment, culture, economy, language, and kinship. Native American cultures embody a diversity of ideas and practices. Native American religions are intertwined with other elements of culture, making it difficult to generalize about characteristics of native religious experience. The history of interaction between indigenous peoples and the descendants of America's European colonizers often reflects the misunderstandings resulting from the tendency to obscure cultural differences. Consequently, to understand Native American religions, it is necessary to examine both the unity and diversity of native religions, as well as the images of the "Indian" in the dominant American culture.

The best conservative estimates suggest the wellsprings of human culture in the Americas run back between 20,000 and 30,000 years. In that period, a large number of cultures flourished and declined. Some, like the Adena and Hopewell in the Ohio Valley or the Anasazi in the Southwest, left impressive architectural evidence. Others left traces more on patterns of vegetation, which the Europeans mistook for an environment untouched by human hands.

The Native American population in the Americas at the time of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's landing in the fall of 1492 is the source of much disagreement and ideological dispute. Estimates vary from a low of 8.4 million to a high of 112 million, with 1 to 10 million being the estimates for the population north of Mexico. These peoples divided themselves into approximately 500 cultural groups speaking at least 250 languages, nearly 100 of which are still in use today. While certain patterns were shared among those who dwelt in particular regions of the country, indigenous North Americans developed an enormous variety of religious ceremonies, technologies, agricultural and hunting practices, and forms of social organization. Anthropologists typically group tribes together in "culture areas," although these groupings are sometimes more convenient than accurate, since within any particular area a wide variety of beliefs, institutions, and practices is present. A simplified form of culture areas appears in this volume (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: EASTERN WOODLANDS; NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: INTERMONTANE/CALIFORNIA; NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: NORTHWEST; NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: PLAINS; NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: SOUTHWEST).

Meredith Begay, Apache medicine woman. *(Iris Talamantz)*

Constants among tribal religions are perhaps more evident in terms of functions and formal features than specific beliefs or practices regarding the supernatural. Rituals have provided effective means of healing individual illness and the removal of ills affecting communal life. The use of natural resources, whether through intricate agricultural practice, foraging, hunting, or fishing, gave rise to rituals of petition, purification, and thanksgiving, which made possible the annual renewal of life and the harvest of crops and game. Whether in elaborate annual communal rites like the Plains Sun

Dance and the various forms of Green Corn Ceremony found in the Eastern Woodlands, or in the prayers and offerings of individual hunters, native peoples have acknowledged their dependence upon the beneficence of natural forces.

American Indian oral traditions passed on mythic stories to convey their understanding about the creation of the world, the dilemmas and pitfalls facing human beings, their own distinct group identities, and models for right living. Such stories emphasize the importance of upholding one's obligations to kin or social networks and detail the countless ways in which supernatural beings intersect with the natural world. In some traditions, transcendent beings may play a dominant role; in others, the supernatural powers are embodied within the animate and inanimate things of this world. This ability to locate the sacred within things that Europeans thought simply profane has led repeatedly to misunderstandings of native beliefs and practices.

While Europeans and Americans have been most inclined to see religious knowledge and authority handed down through institutions such as churches, native traditions exhibit a variety of approaches. Some traditions are highly decentralized, encouraging individuals to gain their own insight and guidance through personal acts of prayer, rituals of fasting and purification, and vision quests. Some stress the role of specialists—shamans, who attain personal acquaintance with spirits through self-discipline, visions, or other means that enable them to serve as intermediaries for the group. Some have developed elaborate bodies of sacred teachings controlled by groups of priestlike elders who administer public ritual life and assure the continuity of the oral tradition.

With the European arrival, the long history of conflict, adaptation, and borrowing by which native cultures influenced each other took on new dimensions, stemming in part from misconceptions that both Europeans and indigenous peoples held of each other (see New France; New Spain). While significant linguistic and cultural differences marked off one tribal group from another, Europeans, especially those with little first-hand knowledge of the new land, accepted the term Columbus used: *los indios*—"Indians"—as the name for the entire indigenous population and often played down their cultural differences. Rather than seeing hundreds of different cultures, Europeans saw varieties of the same. Gradually realizing Columbus had not found his Asian goal, Europeans grappled with the problem of who these people were, drawing upon the authority of the Bible, scholastic philosophy and theology, science, and European folk traditions to account for their absence from the European stock of knowledge. Debates loomed large in European capitals as to whether the indigenous Americans were descendants of Noah's sons, or perhaps, like the "Wild Man," or *l'homme sauvage,* of folklore, a kind of subhuman race, as many Spanish colonists suspected (a suspicion that made possible use of Indians as slaves in the gold mines of New Spain). Assuming all humans were descendants of Adam and themselves possessors of a common Christian culture, Europeans were inclined to see a universal human nature and to explain cultural differences in terms of derivation, or degeneracy, from a common Adamic source.

Due largely to this universalizing tendency in European thought of the day, the history of interaction between native cultures and Europeans is full of misunderstanding, frequent conflict, and tragedy (see assimilation and resistance, Native American). The questions of who is Indian and what is Indian not only perplexed European minds, but played an active role in shaping the political, religious, and military strategies Europeans and their American descendants used in dealing with native groups. In the years following the American Revolution, Congress claimed the power to regulate "trade and intercourse" and establish treaties with Indian tribes. As a consequence, the legislative and bureaucratic framework constructed to administer federal "Indian Affairs" depended for its success on viewing indigenous peoples as one distinct group, with common interests, problems, and lack of true religion.

This homogenizing of cultures has both created difficulties for tribes and, on occasion, served their needs to deflect the impact of government policy and cultural or religious pressure from the whites. Whereas Europeans and Americans used religion to link their personal identities and loyalty to large-scale nations and churches, native people most often saw their own personal identity tied to locales or small kinship groups. Thus, in dealing with whites, many groups found they had few common interests, making alliance against colonial or later federal power difficult. For instance, most tribes, and sometimes even the various kinship groups within tribes, such as the Hopi, had sacred accounts of their own origins as a people and of the process by which they came to dwell in a given area. In this way, indigenous cultures generally avoided conflicts for religious supremacy, since each tribe saw itself defined by its relationship to the spiritual powers of a particular place. But at the same time, because origin myths are local, members of one group might find little in common with another.

On many occasions, however, native people have creatively overcome the barriers of localism. New myths telling of a common origin among all "red" people enabled native groups in the East to unite in opposition to white encroachment on tribal territory during the early 19th century. HANDSOME LAKE and WOVOKA were only two of many prophetic leaders over the last four centuries who created NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS in which older tribal loyalties and animosities were recast in common resistance to white culture. Thus, while the European idea of "Indian" made bureaucratic administration of lives and lands efficient, it also helped forge common identity among tribal people seeking ways to accomodate influences from the larger society, and even to spur on religious, cultural, or political resistance to the dominant order.

In addition to the problem of unity and diversity among native cultures, there is the boundary problem of how to distinguish between Indian and white. What is Indian? And often even more vexing in times of cultural change, what is "really Indian"? Such questions appear in the discourse of both the dominant culture and among Indian people themselves.

Historically, tribal groups fixed the boundaries between themselves and others on the basis of sacred kinship obligations. Those who fulfilled obligations to each other were members of the group, regardless of their own original background. Thus, the boundaries were somewhat fluid, as the many white captives adopted into families often found. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, noticed in 1753 the tendency of many white captives/adoptees to return to the tribes after their ransom, as they were more comfortable with the way of life learned during their captivity.

In the 1870s, the government began to see Indianness as based on blood-quanta. Through intermarriage and religious conversion, government and church officials sought to "kill the Indian to save the man." Blood-quanta served to distinguish those with greater and lesser amounts of "Indian blood." Based on the assumption that as blood thinned, so would native culture and religion, government policies controlling land leasing or credit actually gave greater freedom and weight to those with less rather than more blood.

Increasingly in the later 20th century, Native Americans replaced the government's emphasis on blood with a new focus on culture as the key determinant of being Indian. Rather than disappearing, the Indian population climbed from a low point of 250,000 in 1890 to over 2 million in 2007. In recent decades, many have come to see a potential cultural revival arising out of the tension between those who strive to retain or creatively renew traditional cultural practices, languages, or religious ceremonies and those attracted or compelled to accept the values and practices of American culture.

Although Christian missions played a powerful role in the destruction of native cultures, many native Christians achieved a melding of their traditions with some form of Christian practice. With growing political power and cultural prestige, Native Americans also gained an opportunity to reconfigure both their own identities and the restrictive images often found in American culture.

At the same time, these developments, including the AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT and the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, have presented serious difficulties in undertaking research on the development and spread of Native American peoples. One example is the legal and scientific battle over "Kennewick Man," whose remains were discovered in Washington State in 1996. Preliminary research dated the skeleton to well before the ancestors of the local Indian peoples had migrated to the area. Despite that fact, the local native peoples asserted control over the skeleton. They claimed their religious traditions taught them that they always had inhabited the region, therefore any remains were of an ancestor. A similar conflict between Native American religion and science emerged in 2006, when many Indian peoples refused to participate in a National Geographic Society genetics study designed to learn more about human migration. Since many Indian peoples' religious creation stories explain how they came to inhabit a particular geographic area, scientific knowledge that demonstrated they came from elsewhere could be disruptive. Such concerns only demonstrate the extent to which every religious and cultural group in the United States must address similar issues, the relationship between SCIENCE AND RELIGION, identity, and eventually, their status as immigrants.

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Native American religions: Eastern Woodlands Eastern tribes bore the brunt of the original English and French advances into North America. Traditional Eastern Woodlands religions were often based on personal acquisition of sacred power. In some cultures, societies of shamans mediated access to the supernatural. In the Southeast, the religious life of several tribes centered around the yearly performance of the Green Corn Ceremony. However, more than three centuries of interaction with colonial powers and the expanding American society brought both the collapse and resurgence of tribal religions.

Anthropologists typically divide the Eastern Woodlands of the United States and Canada, running from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, into two separate regions, the Northeast and the Southeast, divided roughly along the Ohio River, although in the area as a whole a number of common cultural patterns and linguistic similarities appear. Settlement in the Eastern Woodlands extends from approximately 16,000 B.C.E. Some features of these archaic cultures remain among contemporary Cree and other Algonquian speakers north of the St. Lawrence River in Canada. Several early cultures developed elaborate urban centers after 1000 B.C.E. that stood at the center of great networks of trade, political, and religious influence, such as the Adena and Hopewell of the Ohio Valley. The Mexican-inspired Mississippians, builders of the great city of Cahokia (in Illinois), influenced the development of southeastern tribal ceremonial life into more recent centuries.

By the 16th century, the Eastern Woodlands archaic cultures had been replaced by a large number of tribes. While many left little evidence of vanished ways of life, at least 68 languages were spoken by the groups encountering the Europeans. Eastern tribes exhibited a range of economies, a range paralleled in forms of religious practice. Mixed agricultural economies had developed by 1000 B.C.E., although corn only appeared among the Iroquois and Algonquins around 1300. Many Algonquin speakers in northern New England were seminomadic hunters. The Iroquois, their southern Cherokee relatives, and the diverse group of southern Muskogean tribes dwelt in permanent towns. In either case, Woodlands tribes had successfully shaped many eastern microenvironments in order to increase their harvesting of game and crops, producing a landscape that early Europeans described as parklike. In all cases, religion enabled the people to interact with the surrounding environment.

While much of the available information on eastern tribes during the first centuries of contact with Europeans comes from the pens of colonizers, a fairly detailed portrayal of religious life has been pieced together by historians and anthropologists. Common to Native Americans in general are the assumptions that the world is full of a wide variety of spiritual powers and that human life is only possible when lived in recognition of these powers, called *manitou* by the seminomadic Algonquin of New England. The Massachusets and Wampanoag told large numbers of sacred stories detailing the ways in which power affected the world, but did little to develop these stories into systematic form or to answer theological questions regarding a supreme being. Other tribes had cosmologies accounting for the world's creation, such as the Earth-Diver stories common around the Great Lakes.

The acquisition of *manitou* often required the work of a shaman, or *powwow* in Algonquin, an individual capable of addressing and influencing the *manitou* directly, either by warding off malevolence or by insuring benevolence through the performance of rituals. Non-experts could also perform rituals such as those observances governing hunting or the acquiring of insight through dreams, fasting, or isolation. Communal rituals necessary for the replenishment of game and the planting cycle or for passage through the stages of life or warding off evil, however, were left to the *powwow.* Some Algonquian tribes, such as the Anishenabeg and Chippewa of the Great Lakes area, developed medicine societies, the *Midewiwin*.

Among those tribes dwelling in more permanent towns, such as the Iroquois and Huron of the North and the Cherokee, Muskogee, and Seminole in the South, community life often revolved around calendrical and periodic rituals. Some, such as the *Onanharoia* of the Huron and Iroquois, in which dreams were fulfilled, enabled a community to purge itself of antisocial tensions. Others, such as the diverse forms of the Green Corn Ceremony practiced throughout much of the southern region, addressed many needs. The Muskogee *poskita* brought together an annual thanksgiving for the power of corn, the purifying of the community, and the reinforcement of sex boundaries. Some tribes relied upon voluntary societies, like the Iroquois False Faces, to administer rituals and to cure disease or possession by witchcraft.

Native societies in the East existed in complex relations with each other, evident in extensive trade networks and the pull of political expansion, as among the Iroquois Confederacy. Competition, conflict, and cooperation were all crucial in creating a dynamic history prior to contact with Europeans. However, relations among the tribes, as well as social, economic, and religious life within tribal boundaries, altered under the impact of colonization in the 17th and 18th centuries. Confronted with missionaries, such as the French JESUITS in the North (see NEW FRANCE), tribal members found their unity destroyed as the new faith focused on personal salvation rather than upholding kinship networks. Many tribes took advantage of European desires for trade in furs, a crucial commodity in mercantile capitalism. Struggling for dominance in this network, many hunters found themselves overharvesting game, eventually sinking into dependence upon the new European-controlled economic order.

While adopting elements of the new order's religion and economy aided some tribes, such as the Cherokee, in coping with change, many tribes suffered dramatic declines in population and land base. The Huron, having accepted the Jesuits' ROMAN CATHOLICISM, collapsed under an Iroquois onslaught in 1648. Puritans (see PURITANISM) eliminated the Pequot and other New England tribes, or gave thanks when disease accomplished the same end. Some tribes were able to forestall colonial expansion; the Iroquois were defeated only by the failure of their British ally during the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Others, under leaders like the Shawnee TECUMSEH (see ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE, NATIVE AMERICAN), forged great alliances among tribes. Others developed new religions (see HANDSOME LAKE) that provided enduring means of retaining distinctive cultural identity in the midst of the expansive American society.

However, during the first decades of the 19th century, many remaining tribes were removed west of the Mississippi River, and as the American population continued to stretch its own desires for land, numerous eastern tribes were eventually confined within Oklahoma's "Indian Territory," where many Muskogee, Cherokee, Seminole, Yuchi, and others continue to live. At the same time, while the national mythology of MANIFEST DESTINY often depicts an eastern region wiped clean of Indian people, reservations, often quite small except around the Great Lakes, remain in eastern states. Some peoples, notably the Iroquois, but also including smaller tribes like the Passamoquoddy and Penobscott, who first encountered Puritan colonization in the early 17th century, successfully sued for return of lands or compensation in recent years, in the process gaining renewed sovereignty and control over their lives.

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Native American religions: Intermontane/California Native Americans in the far western United States, an area of great diversity in terms of landform and climate, developed a correspondingly wide range of religious practices. Responding to the strains placed on traditional religions by encroaching Spanish, Mexican, and American colonists, Native Americans also created new, millennial religions to restore balance to the world, some of which remain in practice today.

Anthropologists typically discuss Native American cultures in the far West in terms of three cultural areas: the Great Basin of Nevada and western Utah, the Plateau area west of the Rocky Mountains (which extends north to the Canadian border), and California. The wide variety of cultural and linguistic groupings found in these regions reflects significant religious differences as well.

Great Basin tribes include the Mono, several groups of Paiute, numerous Shoshone, Ute, and others. All adapted to an arid climate, living in small family groups near water sources and relying upon sophisticated methods (including irrigation) to promote and harvest a wide range of plants, animals, and other natural resources. Perhaps because of the rigors of life in the Basin, religion tended to focus on the personal acquisition of spiritual power, *puha* in Numic, which enabled one to lead hunts or cure illness or the evils associated with dreams or malevolent spirits. Basin people found *puha* present in many things—landforms, water sources, animals, plants, and people. The human task was to maintain connections with the sources of power found in the environment and to use them in ways that benefited the group. While a tribe might hold occasional communal dances, which eventually provided the ritual basis for the GHOST DANCE, religious ceremonialism focused largely on either healings by shamanic leaders (both male and female), personal or group acts of petition and thanksgiving used in harvesting pine nuts, game, or other resources, and rites associated with transitions in life.

Plateau religion provided villagers with means to draw upon spiritual beings for guidance. Fasting, purification, and all-night vision quests were encouraged among adults and children of both sexes, although after puberty a girl's source of power shifted from an external guardian spirit to one emanating from her own body. Shamans, most adept at maintaining personal contact with spiritual beings, were the primary religious authorities, able to cure disease and ward off the powers of witches, ghosts, and other evil beings. Both men and women could receive visions, as well as the personal instruction necessary from those more experienced, in order to specialize in specific shamanic cures.

Depending upon their particular economy, people living in the Plateau had reason to thank spiritual powers for providing them with the resources necessary for life. Midwinter, when family groups returned to their permanent villages, provided the opportunity to perform a number of ceremonies inside large wooden lodges led by various individuals possessing spiritual powers. Prayers, songs, and dances were offered up during ceremonies, which often concluded with large feasts. While rituals helped to put the world right, myths often explained why human life was difficult. Coyote or mink stories tell of forces gone awry during ancient times. The Thompson River tribe, for instance, in eastern Oregon, speaks of Coyote's misguided efforts to ensure human immortality. Crossing a series of mountains on his way back from the land of the dead, bringing back a bag full of departed souls, he encounters a steep trail, opens the bag to lighten the load, and loses all the souls.

While shamanism provided all California tribes with religious specialists, the traditional religions of California took on a multitude of forms, far more than in other American regions. Tribes were very territorial and developed mythical stories of the world's creation with a pronounced local emphasis. Mythologies thus differed dramatically from tribe to tribe, as did beliefs. In the Northwest, cultures resembled those of tribes farther north (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: NORTHWEST); an abundant salmon economy allowed for the growth of great material wealth. Religious ceremonies often centered around a feast held by a wealthy tribal leader, emphasizing the wealthy person's generosity. Other ceremonies insured the renewal of game and crops, such as the Jumping Dance or the White Deerskin Dance. The Patwin of the Central Valley, much like the Hopi (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: SOUTHWEST), held a series of performances in which the village was visited by powerful spiritual beings who came to bless the community.

Southern Californians practiced initiation rites, focusing particularly on puberty and death. Boys among the Chumash and "Mission Indians" such as the Gabrielino, were given a hallucinogenic drug made from jimson weed (*Datura stramonium*—also used by southwestern tribes) to assist them in obtaining visions during puberty rites. Among the Liuseno and Diegueno, an elaborate ritual invoking the spirit Chinigchinich developed around the drug's use.

The diversity of far western tribes exceeds the capacity of generalization about common traditional characteristics. One commonality, however, were the crises, at once religious and social, stemming from the pressure of European and American colonialism (see NEW SPAIN; FRONTIER). Beginning with the Spanish advance into California in 1769, the Far West became a scene of intense missionary efforts by both Catholics and Protestants. The rapid influx of American settlers during the California gold rush of 1849 created enormous strain on tribal life. The native population in California declined from 300,000 prior to Spanish settlement in the 18th century, to 150,000 by the American conquest of 1846, to 30,000 by 1870. Although reflecting increased Native American mobility, the 2000 census put California's Native population at about 400,000.

Native people in California and throughout the West responded to the disruption of traditional lifeways in the second half of the 19th century by creating new prophetic movements, such as the Ghost Dance, or that begun by the Wanapum chief Smoholla in 1885, who preached that Indians should avoid contact with white ways of life. Movements such as the northern California Bole Maru (Patwin for "dreamers") and Earth Lodge religions often combined native traditions and rituals with Christian symbolism. The frequent use of millennial ideas gave the followers of these religions a means to interpret the drastic social and environmental changes brought by the Americans by portraying an afterlife restored to precontact circumstances.

In spite of continuing impact from colonization and government intervention, which resulted in a reduction of traditional land bases, extensive population loss, dissolution of tribal status, and prohibition of native religions, the Indian people endured into the 21st century in California and the Intermontane region. The religions begun by dreamers and prophets in the 19th century continue in the present. Urban California gained a large Native American population during the 1950s and 1960s. With the state's numerous educational institutions, it became a focal point of the political and religious renewal sweeping the national Indian population during recent decades (see ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE, NATIVE AMERICAN).

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Native American religions: Northwest

The native people living on the northwest coast of the United States share a number of common cultural and religious practices. Permanent settlements and a largely marine economy provided the opportunity to develop an elaborate social structure undergirded by a calendar of ceremonial festivals. Northwestern religion also depended heavily upon the powers of shamans to perform healings and ensure success. While ceremonial practices such as the potlatch were outlawed by the government in the late 19th century, many communities have held on to or revived traditional rituals.

In contrast to their linguistic diversity, northwestern peoples developed fairly similar economies, cultures, and religions. The outlines of historic cultures were evident by 1000 B.C.E.: the practices of intricate woodworking, construction of elaborate, permanent cedar housing, a marine economy based on salmon harvesting and hunting sea mammals (including whales in the north), and a widespread trade network. The abundance of natural resources allowed for stratified social structures in which the acquisition of wealth (and its distribution) played a prominent role. People took their lineage from long lines of ancestors, traceable back to the mythical beings whose exploits are often depicted on the totem poles common across the region. Thus, social rank reflected a degree of inherited spiritual power, and chiefs, called *gyigame* among the Kwakiutl—"being in front"—were ancestors incarnate. Residence and property were based on birth, and the great cedar houses, some recorded as being several hundred feet long, were filled with relatives sharing resources in common, dependent upon wealthy leaders. Potlatches, elaborate ceremonial feasts, were held to commemorate changes of social status and death, in the process also honoring those whose generosity made the feast possible.

Like many other Native Americans, people of the northwest coast attached religious significance to activities seen by Europeans or Americans as secular. Success for whalers hunting on the violent northern ocean could only come to those who were protected by a spirit helper. The harvesting of food and resources was accompanied by personal rituals. Fundamentally, the world was a dangerous place, full of powers that could easily wreak havoc on human life. Accordingly, such powers had to be pacified, avoided, or overcome. The Kwakiutl, for instance, dwelt in a symbolic world full of faces. Totem poles and ceremonial masks depicting the open mouths of bears, ravens, eagles, killer whales, and other spiritually powerful animals created a world of symbols suggesting that everything eats. Humans were related to both animals and spirits in a mutual relation of eating. Thus, humans were dependent upon those they ate and recognized that they, too, could become prey.

Northwestern tribes relied upon shamans to cure illness and evil. While shamans, often under the patronage of village chiefs, acted for individuals, they also formed societies responsible for performing the great winter ceremonies, which might take place over an entire season. In the north, communities put great effort into various ritual efforts to push away the forces of darkness and death that seemed to descend during the long winters. Among some tribes, elaborate mythic accounts tell of the creation of the world; among others, humans confront a preexisting world populated by powerful spiritual beings. The Kwakiutl winter ceremonial, the *tsetega,* led by a secret society of shamans called the *hamatsa,* presented in dramatic form the effort to kill the Man-Eater spirit, who personified the insatiable hunger governing relationships among living beings. The elaborate ritual, spread over several days, enabled the community to overcome death and to maintain balance between humans/animals and summer/winter. The ceremony also reinforced the relationship between nobles and commoners by underscoring the ritual role of community leaders in staving off hunger.

Northwestern coastal tribes retained autonomy in the years after they first encountered European explorers Juan Perez in 1774 and James Cook in 1778. Trading begun by the Hudson's Bay Company eventually created rivalries among villages that contributed to severe internal stress and increased competition among tribes. The influx into the region in the 1850s of whites, including Protestant and Catholic missionaries, resulted in a series of treaties between Vancouver Island tribes and the Canadian government, and between the Americans and the more southern tribes. Having ceded nearly all of their land base, tribes were generally left with village sites and fishing rights, though these also came under pressure, and in late 1855, war broke out both on the coast and farther inland involving a number of tribes over the next three years.

In spite of the loss of land base, many northwestern tribes have been able to hold on to their fishing economy, although dependency has also grown. In the second half of the 20th century, a number of factors enabled Indians in the Northwest to endure and in some cases prosper. Increased ability to tackle government policy enabled tribes to fight successfully for the restoration of fishing rights and for restitution for seized lands. Religious and cultural renewal, while tenuous in some communities, has grown. While both Canadian and United States tribes were forced to abandon many ceremonies, including the potlatch, performances have revived in many communities. Some have been able to provide needed means of economic development from the performance of public ceremonies and the growing interest in native art.

In the spring of 1999, the Makah tribe of Washington State staged a successful and court-sanctioned whale hunt, the first since whale stocks were depleted by commercial whalers in the 1920s. Protected from the interference of animal rights activists by the U.S. Coast Guard, Makah whalers hauled a 33-foot gray whale onto the village beach, where they were greeted with songs and prayers. However, the tribe's renewal of an important cultural and ceremonial practice spurred strong opposition nationwide among environmental groups committed to saving the whales. Still, tribal council members vowed to return to the waters and harvest the 20 whales allowed by the International Whaling Commission.

Another controversial event involving Northwest Indian peoples surrounded the remains of "Kennewick Man." Discovered by two boaters in the Columbia River basin in July 1996 and dated to roughly 7200 B.C.E., the bones of Kennewick Man almost immediately generated controversy when one of the first scientists to examine them declared him to have "Caucasoidlike" features. Several Washington State Indian tribes, the Yakama, Umatilla, Nez Perce, Colville, and Wanapum, requested that the Army Corps of Engineers return the bones to them for burial as allowed under the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, to which the corps readily agreed. The corps rapid decision angered many scientists who argued that the bones, among the oldest then found in North America, deserved careful study before they were reburied. The result was a long-drawn-out legal battle.

The conflict had significant religious implications. Many scientists argued that the tribes had no legitimate claim to the skeleton. The preliminary dating placed it in the region well before the ancestors of those tribes had arrived there. The Indian peoples asserted the connection based upon their traditions of always having inhabited the land and claimed the right to ensure that the skeleton was treated with appropriate respect and received the appropriate religious rites. The debate was made even more complex by the fact that the statement "Caucasoid features" often was translated as Caucasian. This led the Ásatrú Folk Assembly (see ÁSATRÚ; NEOPAGANISM) to demand further study of the remains in order to determine whether they were those of a northern European. The Ásatrú Folk Assembly also requested (and received) permission to hold religious ceremonies in proximity to where the bones were stored, as had the five Indian tribes.

Although the courts finally ruled in 2006 to allow further studies of the remains, the conflict illustrates the complex relationship between religion and identity, as well as the problems presented by allowing group claims of connection and origins to drive decisions. What happens when there are competing claims, whether between Ásatrú followers and Native Americans or between different native peoples, as has occurred in Hawai'i? Finally, how important are knowledge, science, and the free transmission of knowledge? All of these questions are pressing ones, reflecting one more part of the ongoing debate in the United States over religion, public policy, and the law.

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Native American religions: Plains The distinctive patterns of Plains culture and religion arose relatively recently. Many elements of Plains religion, such as the pipe, vision quests, and more recently the Sun Dance, were shared by the various tribes that came to occupy the region. Following years of widespread warfare, Native Americans were confined to reservations, where federal officials enacted laws and policies prohibiting the practice of traditional religions. Many traditional religious practices became covert, resurfacing only in the later decades of the 20th century.

Although archeological evidence indicates that the grasslands in the center of North America were inhabited sporadically since at least 10,000 B.C.E., permanent settlement occurred only around 500 B.C.E. The presence of historic tribes associated with the region is quite recent compared with other patterns of settlement, beginning around 1400 C.E. when the Blackfeet began entering the grasslands for periodic hunts. The Missouri River country became the permanent home of Hidatsa, Arikara, and Mandan in the north and Pawnee and Wichita farther south. Other groups, including Shoshone, Apache, and Kiowa, entered from surrounding areas.

It was not until the early to mid-1600s, however, that Plains culture took on many of its distinctive characteristics. With the displacement of large numbers of peoples as a result of conflicts with encroaching European colonizers to the east, the Plains became a vast haven. Numerous tribes migrated into the area, increasing competition for resources with existing tribes, but also promoting an interchange of religious ritual and fostering the domestication of the horse, upon which Plains people came to depend.

Plains tribes embraced common subsistence patterns, including more nomadic bison hunting and more permanent, generally riverine, agriculture. Most tribes practiced forms of both. In social organization, Plains tribes were loosely structured. Tribes, based on shared dialects and culture, were often composed of fairly independent bands based more on kinship. Bands themselves tended to be fairly small and mobile among the hunters. Within each social unit, voluntary societies were responsible for common enterprises. Since Plains people prized individual autonomy as well as social solidarity, the authority of leaders was never absolute.

Religious life for Plains cultures centered around the acquisition of supernatural power, which was seen to fill the world and upon which fragile humans were dependent. Individuals, particularly men among the bison hunters, sought power as a guide to life, relying upon vision quests to provide an independent spiritual source upon which to base life choices and engage in hunting and warfare. Power also came to individuals through various rituals marking passage from one phase of life to the next, as in the Lakota *tatanka lowanpi*, a girl's puberty rite that ensured young women the ability to be industrious, fertile, and hospitable.

While agricultural tribes such as the Mandan often held a series of calendar-based rituals in conjunction with the planting cycle (which also served to reinforce communal spirit), those whose subsistence economy depended on the vast migrating herds of bison had less opportunity for regular gatherings. The Sun Dance (a Lakota name), widely practiced though not universal among tribes by the late 18th to early 19th century, was the only calendrical ceremony in many tribes. Held in mid-summer in conjunction with the annual communal bison hunt, the Sun Dance, with its theme of sacrifice for the common good, enabled its Plains practitioners to purify themselves in order to beseech the sacred powers to renew the bison in the coming year—in essence, renewing the world. The complexity of tribal symbolism, interweaving the people's history, the powers of the universe itself, and the natural processes of growth, provided many Plains rituals with a richness of function. Thus, personal, social, and natural renewal could all be engendered through the performance of a vast, interlocking ritual framework, as in the Crow Tobacco ceremony.

Plains cultures developed elaborate mythological accounts of their origins as distinctive peoples and the disposition of the sacred powers, some beneficent, some malevolent, affecting their lives. Many drew on tales of a "trickster" figure, a supernatural being both comic and malevolent, and often shortsighted. Through trickster stories, the people learned appropriate conduct and the limitations of self-aggrandizement.

Plains tribes often embedded their search for supernatural power or their mythic self-understanding in particular places. Seeing human life in this world as transitory, or "as driftwood" in the words of a Crow saying, Plains people generally avoided construction of permanent sacred sites. Ritual structures such as those built for the Sun Dance or the Cheyenne Medicine Lodge fell apart, buffeted by wind, snow, and thunderstorms. But the land itself often revealed the sacred. Prominent features like buttes, mountains, lakes, or rivers were seen as sources of power. But there were also many sites unnoticeable to those not raised on the stories handed down from elders.

Given that Plains culture is itself a creative adaptation to the presence of European colonizers, it is interesting that the image of the Plains warrior is the most prominent example of "Indianness" in American culture. Plains tribes early on dealt with the presence of Europeans and Americans, from Coronado's trip through Kansas in the 1540s to French and American trappers, traders, and missionaries near the beginning of the 18th century. The federal government began making treaties with Plains tribes in 1825 and forcibly removing many eastern tribes onto the Plains, encroaching upon territory and resources already claimed by western groups.

Although occasional hostilities broke out over the massive influx of westering Americans during the late 1840s gold rush, it was not until after the CIVIL WAR that European Americans turned their eyes to the Plains themselves as a region for settlement. A series of wars fought with both southern and northern tribes in the 1860s and 1870s ended with the creation of a vast reservation system overseen by the Office of Indian Affairs and an unofficial group of Christian missionaries. During this period of enormous stress, new religions, such as the GHOST DANCE and the "Peyote Way," spread widely among Plains tribes.

During the years from 1883 to 1934, those confined to reservations were subject to government penalizing of traditional religious practices. Various important Plains rituals, such as the Sun Dance, were prohibited by the Court of Indian Offenses (see AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT). Ritual performance became covert. Government intervention in the Lakota Ghost Dance culminated in the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre.

In subsequent years, land bases continued to erode, and economic conditions often grew precarious. Nevertheless, many Plains cultures have endured. Despite the difficulties of federal administration of native life, members of many tribes experienced the cultural and political rebirth associated with the new emphasis on sovereignty and religious traditionalism during the 1960s and beyond (see ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE, NATIVE AMERICAN).

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Native American religions: Southwest

The American Southwest, an arid land of low and high deserts, rugged mountains, and high plateaus, has been home to a wide variety of indigenous cultures for thousands of years. Patterns of religious life range from the institutionalized performance of communal rituals among the Pueblo to the more shamanic focus on personal healing or power among Apache and the related "sing" among the Navajo. Influences from several ancient cultures have carried down through the centuries to many of the native tribes dwelling there today. While notable for the longevity of existing cultures, the area also has seen catastrophes of drought, population dislocation, war, and colonization. Through it all, native people have struggled to adapt creatively to changing circumstances.

The earliest inhabitants of the Southwest are known through stone tools, such as the Clovis and Folsom points discovered by archaeologists along the Rio Grande in southern New Mexico dating from approximately 15,000 B.C.E. Many historic southwestern tribes were agricultural, continuing practices of corn planting that date back at least 3,000 years. In that time, cultures like the Hohokam (ancestors of the Pima in the south) and Anasazi (ancestors of the Pueblo in the north) developed agricultural technologies, distinctive aesthetic styles, and religious understandings, particularly visible in the care with which they treated their dead. The Anasazi, the last of these older peoples, built adobe and stone towns, such as Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde. Prominent between 300 and 1300, the Anasazi passed on many features of their way of life to the Pueblo—Spanish for "village dwellers."

Speaking six different languages—Tewa, Tiwa, Towa (all varieties of Tanoan), Hopi, Zuni, and Keresan—the Pueblo peoples developed a complex, interwoven culture over many centuries. While diverse in terms of family and social organization, the Pueblo worldview has a number of common features. Living in compact towns—each of which is an autonomous social as well as religious unit relying upon an intricate form of agriculture—Pueblo attribute a high value to communal solidarity.

Pueblo religious life centers around maintaining a sense of place in the world. The specific contours vary from group to group, but in general, Pueblo have drawn upon ceremony, art, mythology, and moral action to underscore the importance of retaining balance between humans and the life-bestowing powers of the natural world. The Pueblo worldview divides everything into pairs such as male/female, summer/winter, wet/dry, day/night—dichotomies that also often form the symbolic basis of social division. Drought or misfortune was typically seen as the result of the people's failure to maintain balance or harmony within their groups or with the powers of the world. Kivas, circular underground rooms symbolic of the power-filled world beneath the Earth's surface from which the people originally emerged, housed the voluntary societies active within each village. Within the kivas, members prepared for the performance of public ceremonies above, often directed by priests who inherited their office. Ceremonies enabled Pueblo groups to thank the ancestral katsina, or kachina, spirits who brought rain and fertility, such as the Hopi *Powamu* ("bean-planting"), and to perform dramatic reenactments of mythical events that helped promote communal solidarity. During the half-year period in which people dressed as these katsinas came down from their mountain homes, they performed numerous dances in village squares, some humorous, some serious, all instructing the people in their duties to the group.

Young drummers being trained in the rituals of their ancestors at a Cheyenne and Arapaho powwow, Conch, Oklahoma, August 1992. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)*

Other southwestern tribes developed lifestyles more nomadic than those of the Pueblo, although horticulture became central to nearly all southwestern tribes except such eastern Apache as the Jicarilla, Mescalero, Chiricahua. Pima (Pima and Papago), Quechan, Mojave, and others in southern Arizona, inheriting elements of the old Hohokam culture, dwelt in loosely scattered *rancherias*, often along the Gila and Salt Rivers, developing extensive irrigation networks for corn and other crop. Papago and various groups of Pais adapted to the rigors of desert or mountain life. Ute, living primarily in the plateau country north of the Grand Canyon, drew on some aspects of the horse culture of the Plains (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS: PLAINS), adopting the annual Sun Dance. The Apache and Navajo, both speaking Athabascan dialects from the subarctic region, arrived late in the Southwest, clashing with more settled groups but often adopting features of Pueblo life, such as the story of origins from beneath the earth and the acknowledgment of various desert peaks as the home of supernatural beings.

In contrast to the Pueblo, these other tribes developed religious practices often based on shamanism: individual acquisition of secret knowledge and spiritual power used for healing. Originally, in both Apache and Navajo cultures, a shaman, having gained power through dreams or an encounter with a powerful animal or mountain spirit, would be engaged by those sick, despondent, or suffering evil. Shamanic cures were discovered through individual inspiration. In the centuries since coming into the Southwest, however, the Navajo have developed a third religious form based on the ritual chant, or "sing." Like shamanism, Navajo curing is performed by trained individuals; however, their training comes from years of study with an accomplished singer, or *hataalii*. The symbolically rich Navajo chants are detailed, prescribed sets of ritual observances that incorporate ceremonial sand paintings and mythic recountings of the actions of supernatural beings, drawn from a vast body of sacred stories arising out of Navajo reflection on the landforms of the Southwest.

Under the impact of colonization, southwestern tribes experienced severe strain, leading at times to collapse, to revolt, to adaptation, and to creative rebirth. Since the 1530s, southwestern tribes developed a variety of responses to Spanish ROMAN CATHOLICISM. The Franciscan Marcos de Ninza reached the Zuni in 1539. The Yaqui resisted Spanish forces from 1533 to 1609, when they concluded Jesuit missionary influence was desirable. However, in 1740, another bloody revolt forced a temporary Spanish withdrawal from Yaqui territory. Taos Pueblo and others whose villages were forcefully occupied by the Spanish, who named their colonial capital Santa Fe in 1610, revolted in 1680 and 1696. The harsh conditions created by the colonizers turned the Tanoan Pueblos inward. Forcibly converted to Catholicism, they retained their traditions and languages in secret.

Between the conclusion of the Mexican War, in 1848, and 1886, many native tribes resisted the movement of Americans into the Southwest. Apache spiritual leaders like Geronimo fought guerrilla wars with the army for many years. The Yaqui, south of the border, maintained a standing army until 1927. The Navajo, although resistant to United States designs to turn them into settled agriculturists, were relocated in 1864. Their forced march and four years of captivity at Fort Sumner in eastern New Mexico, during which they were expected, but refused, to adopt Anglo values and agricultural practices, resulted in the creation of a large, mineral-rich reservation. In the years since 1868, the Navajo have expanded both their population and land base, resulting in increased and unresolved tensions with the Hopi and the federal government.

The history of contact and conflict among tribal groups and between those groups and encroaching European Americans has produced a complicated cultural landscape. Cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity remain strong among many tribes and threatened among others. Within the region as a whole, while American institutions have come to play a dominant role in the lives of native people, they have failed to produce the originally intended outcome of complete assimilation.

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nativism *Nativism* is a collective term applied to hostility manifested toward foreigners and immigrants. Nativism has ebbed and flowed during the course of American history, often linked to periods of economic dislocation and national insecurity. While nativism in the United States traditionally has been associated with Protestants of English descent, this has not always been the case. David Levin was one of the most outspoken anti-Catholic and anti-Irish nativists in the 19th century, and the Louisiana branch of the

Know-Nothing Party, which reached the peak of its strength in 1855, split between those who were anti-immigrant but not anti-Catholic (led by Charles Gayarre) and those who combined the two (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM). Indeed, Catholicism, the major foe of 19th-century nativists, was not the target of the first American nativists. They directed their attacks against "atheism" and "infidelity."

The French Revolution exacerbated the political divisions in the young United States. The Federalist Party saw in the Democratic-Republican Party an American version of the French Jacobins, who had led the French Revolution into the period of terror. During the spring of 1798, when it seemed that France and the United States might go to war, the ruling Federalists passed the Alien & Sedition Acts. These were directed against immigrants (primarily French) who were seen as hostile aliens and the Democratic-Republicans whose support for the French Revolution made them appear seditious.

In the same year, some claimed to have discovered a more sinister and insidious threat to the nation. On May 9, 1798, Jedidiah Morse announced to his congregation at New North Church, Boston, that he had in his possession documents proving the existence of an international conspiracy to overthrow the United States. This conspiracy of the "Bavarian Illuminati," who wished to destroy Christianity, morality, and private property, already had brought about the French Revolution. Morse's allegations were picked up by Congregationalist and Presbyterian clergy of New England. Staunch Federalists, their worst fears were confirmed by this report. Among those who spoke out against the "malice of atheism and the sin of the enemies of Christ" was the future president of Yale, TIMOTHY DWIGHT. With the Jeffersonian newspapers leading the attack, the conspiracy theory collapsed under scrutiny. Morse was forced into silence. The triumph of the Jeffersonians in the election of 1800 ended this period of nativism. This would not be the last time people would raise the specter of conspiratorial forces so immense that extreme measures would be necessary to meet them.

The next period of nativism was virulently anti-Catholic. Many Americans doubted that European Catholics, who they believed had been raised in ignorance and servitude among princes and prelates, could adapt to a republican society. They feared that an increase of Catholic immigrants would damage American society and politics. Some even suggested that these immigrants were part of a papal plot to subvert the United States.

During the 19th century, numerous nativist organizations were established, including the Organization of United Americans (1844), Organization of United American Mechanics (1845), Order of the Star Spangled Banner—better known as the Know-Nothing Party—(1850), American Protective Association (1887), and National League for the Protection of American Independence (1889). All these organizations shared a hostility to foreigners, whom they viewed as a threat to the nation. Despite virulent propaganda and occasional violence, these organizations met with little long-term success. Even the Know-Nothing Party's political successes owed more to the political confusion of the 1850s than to any general acceptance of its nativist views.

None of these organizations were capable of changing American immigration laws. The late 19th and early 20th century, however, saw major changes in those laws, leading to the eventual closing of immigration in the 1920s. The first of these acts was directed against the allegedly most "unassimilable" groups—the Chinese and Japanese. Not only were these groups not European, not "white," and not Protestant, they were not even Christians. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act drastically cut the number of Chinese allowed into the United States. In the same year, Congress placed the first limits on European immigration, forbidding the arrival of criminals, paupers, and the insane. In 1908, Theodore Roosevelt's "Gentleman's Agreement" with Japan limited the number of Japanese allowed into the country. Not until 1917 did any law pass that severely curtailed European immigration. In that year, Congress overrode President Woodrow Wilson's veto and required that all immigrants be literate in some language. Congress also created a "barred zone" that cut off immigration from most of Asia. Within 10 years, a series of laws would turn the flood of European immigration, more than 1 million a year at its height between 1904 and 1907, into a trickle of 150,000 annually. New legislation in 1924 added Japan to the "barred zone," effectively preventing immigration from all of Asia.

Two factors played a major role in accomplishing this. The first was the development of "scientific racism." Following the ideas of certain popularizers of Charles Darwin (see EVOLUTION), biologists and amateur scientists argued that the peoples of the world were inherently different. The races had different characteristics, and some races were superior to others. In the English-speaking world, the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon peoples—the Germans and the English—were discovered to be the superior species. These people, it was asserted, had given to the world democracy, science, and pure religion. Other peoples were lower, although in varying degrees. The consensus was that the Latins (Italians, Spaniards), the Greeks, the Slavs, and the Jews (see ANTI-SEMITISM) definitely were inferior to the descendants of the English who had founded the United States. Because they were inferior, they endangered the nation as a whole.

The second factor was the fear of radicalism. Many felt that every immigrant was either an anarchist or a Bolshevik (see COMMUNISM). From the roundup of political radicals during the Palmer raids in 1917, through the revival of the KU KLUX KLAN and the "return to normalcy" of the postwar period, the equation of radical and immigrant was a given. These immigrants were viewed as a threat to American society, and there was a strong movement to exclude them from the United States.

The door to massive immigration finally closed in 1927. In that year, Congress passed and Calvin Coolidge signed the National Origins Act, cutting annual immigration to 150,000. By a carefully crafted percentage system, 60 percent of that was allotted to England and Germany, only 4 percent to Italy.

WORLD WAR II transformed American nativism. The most outspoken and virulent American nativists were viewed as treasonous and seditious because their anti-Semitism, hatred of communism, and racial views drew them toward Hitler and the Nazis. During the war, they were suspect and harassed. Nevertheless, the war did not end nativism. Hysteria allowed the Japanese to be rounded up and interned in 1942 out of fear that they were disloyal. Before the war's end, nearly 120,000 (many of them Buddhists) would be detained in internment camps.

Despite this, the war did make hostility toward other peoples a questionable activity. The struggle against Nazi racism made it impolitic to express nativist views directly. Nativism did not die, however. It took on characteristics similar to the conspiracy of the "Bavarian Illuminati." In the postwar era, the threat was from worldwide communism—a sinister alien movement, foreign but aided by American citizens. Anticommunism was a nativist position amenable to Catholics. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States was vocal in its opposition to communism, and Senator Joseph McCarthy from Wisconsin, while extreme, epitomized much lay Catholic anticommunism (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM).

From the 1960s on, nativism diminished in intensity. Beginning in 1965, a series of immigration reform bills progressively removed discrimination against Asian immigrants and the legal preference for western Europeans. Sporadic outbreaks against immigrants continued. The economic problems of the late 1970s and early 1990s saw occasional outbursts of hostility against the Japanese. The growing numbers of immigrants, many illegal, from Mexico and Central America gave rise to fears that American culture would be drowned in the flood. Some Americans have argued for a crackdown on illegal immigrants. Others have responded to increasing immigration by pushing for the adoption of English as the nation's official language. The 1990s saw increasing opposition to immigration, and, although most politicians were careful to couch their desire to limit immigration in circumspect terms, it increasingly became a significant political issue. This was especially true in states like California, which in 1994 passed, by referendum, a strict law forbidding the expenditure of any governmental monies for services to illegal immigrants, including educational and most health services.

During the late 1990s and early 2000s, the conflicts over the globalization of the world economy and international intervention occasionally took on a nativist tinge. Many saw the opening of the U.S. economy and the increasing internationalization of military actions as a threat to U.S. sovereignty. They feared that these trends would lead to a complete corruption of the country, its values, and its culture. Patrick Buchanan, a conservative Republican and former speechwriter for President Richard Nixon, was this perspective's most visible proponent. In Buchanan's view, the world was filled with hostile forces led by multinational corporations, Jews, and international organizations conspiring to destroy the United States and its institutions. Interestingly, Buchanan was a conservative Catholic, and his views had none of the anti-Catholicism that marked many earlier versions of nativism.

While the transformation of the world economy made many people concerned about alien forces controlling their lives, it also increasingly opened up the world. Ideas, fashions, and religions moved readily across cultures.

While many continued to be suspicious of the unknown as represented by the other, nativism in its traditional garb, despite its strength among many fringe elements, had diminished greatly by the start of the third millennium.

During the first decade of the 21st century, immigration became an increasingly contentious issue particularly as concerns about security escalated following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon. The nature of the debate also became increasingly difficult to analyze. Some focused solely on illegal immigrants, since the ease with which they could enter the United States demonstrated the weakness of its border and security. Others articulated serious objections to immigration more generally, particularly immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries. Many of these objections, including those of the scholar Samuel Huntington in his book *Who Are We?: The Challenges to America's National Identity,* reflected some of the language of traditional nativism, arguing that this new immigration threatened the core bases of U.S. identity.

Several organizations were formed to combat illegal immigration and to push for public policies that would severely curtail immigration and punish those who hired illegal immigrants. These included the vigilante-style Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, which patrols the border, and the more public policy–oriented Americans for Legal Immigration and the Federation for American Immigration Reform. Unlike previous periods in American history, many immigrants and their descendants responded publicly, organizing massive demonstrations in 2006 to demonstrate their numbers and their centrality to the economy.

The question remained as to whether such organizations and their supporters would realize political gains or would fizzle into obscurity, as have other movements in the past. If the results of the 2006 congressional elections prove at all representative, it looks like the latter soon will be the case.

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nature religion *Nature religion* refers to religious traditions that revere nature as sacred. Since the early 1970s, this understanding has been common among practitioners of NEOPAGANISM and in some scholarly circles. From this perspective, the term *nature religion* embraces a host of religious traditions: Norse, Celtic, and Germanic myths and folkways; polytheistic, pantheistic, and animistic religions; fertility-oriented and goddess-worshipping traditions; Native American and other indigenous religions; and environmental spiritualities such as DEEP ECOLOGY. Practitioners of these nature religions often see themselves as resisting the centralized authority and global expansion of the world's monotheistic religions, which they believe desacralize nature and thus foster its destruction. Nature religion, in their view, offers a path toward harmony and connection with a sacred world.

Scholars do not always tether the idea of nature religion to the belief that nature is sacred. For some, nature religion refers to religions in which nature is a key symbol that influences spiritual perceptions, rituals, and ethical activity. Some scholars also argue that certain forms of nature religion are dangerous and destructive.

In *Nature Religion in America* (1989), Catherine Albanese argued that nature religionists often seek not harmony with nature or other people, but control and mastery over it and them. Albanese argued that the natural rights and republican philosophies of America's founding fathers were rooted in FREEMASONRY and DEISM, both of which claim to ground religion, through reason, in nature. Those two influential wellsprings of nature religion in America, she argued, perceived nature as sacred and articulated the universalistic ideals of the ENLIGHTENMENT. Yet they also masked republican nationalism—an impulse toward the mastery of nature and other humans that obscured and justified American expansionism.

Albanese provided additional examples of nature religions that have not escaped the mastery impulse, noting that even in religions that consider nature to be sacred and worthy of reverence, mastery over nature may be pursued through magical or mystical means. TRANSCENDENTALISM, for example, promoted an ethic of preserving nature and living in harmony with it. But it also included a more metaphysical vision, suggesting that one can transcend nature by plumbing its spiritual secrets with the human mind. So for transcendentalists such as RALPH WALDO EMERSON and HENRY DAVID THOREAU, the central priority in human life remained confused. Should one preserve and live in harmony with nature or seek a higher spiritual world beyond it?

Whether nature is the ultimate reality or merely a pathway to it is also confused in some nature religions that champion the healing arts. In the history of American religion, homeopaths, hydropaths, osteopaths, chiropractors, and other sectarian medical providers have claimed to prevent and cure diseases by manipulating nature. Others, such as CHRISTIAN SCIENCE founder MARY BAKER EDDY, sought not only to master nature spiritually but also denied the existence of the material world itself.

There also exists a dangerous, shadow side in nature religion. Nicholas Goodrich-Clarke discovered close connections between nature religions and Nazism. Others have found similar connections between contemporary racist groups and right-wing ecology movements in Europe and North America. Odinism, which is often explicitly racist, is a form of Norse paganism that is currently undergoing a modest revival in Europe and America (see ÁSATRÚ).

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that all nature religions support racist ideologies. More often, nature religion promotes a metaphysics of interrelatedness and a sense of connection to the diverse human and nonhuman forms of life on Earth. Many participants in these movements tend to be politically liberal and concerned with social justice.

Modern scientists also contribute to some forms of contemporary nature religion. Those who champion a natural religion that eschews supernaturalism and any mastery impulse can appropriate evolutionary narratives as central religious myths. Groups such as the Epic of Evolution Society and the Society for Scientific Pantheism, both products of the 1990s, provide examples of new forms of nature religion that endeavor to escape the temptation to rule the natural world. These groups instead celebrate the universe and its living systems as replete not only with scientific truths but also with sacred stories.

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Neo-Conservatism Neo-Conservatism is a complex political movement that played a noticeable, although not determinative, role in much of America's approach to foreign affairs (see INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, RELIGION AND) since the early 1970s. While the variety of approaches of the individuals described as being Neo-Conservatives ranges widely, there are certain shared understandings that mark it as a coherent movement.

In terms of its religious connections, Neo-Conservatism institutionally can be said to cluster around two publications. These are *Commentary,* which until 2007 had been published by the American Jewish Committee and is now independent, and *First Things,* founded by Richard John Neuhaus, a Lutheran pastor become Catholic priest and housed in the Institute for Religion and Democracy. The *Commentary* group was composed, particularly in its early years, of fairly secular Jews. The *First Things* group was somewhat more ecumenical in its composition, although with a noticeable Catholic tinge. Despite these differences, there has been much mixing between the two journals' writers and readers.

While much separates these two groups, the similarities in their views are notable. First, both are marked by a moralist and universalist approach to foreign affairs. They argue unreservedly that democracy, human rights, and open societies are positive goods and deserved by everyone. They are committed to the view that some regimes are better than others and that the failure to recognize this fact results in policy decisions that are actively harmful.

Combined with this moralism, however, is a deep sense of human limits and failings, what some, although definitely not all, would call sin. Most Neo-Conservatives began as political liberals, social democrats, and even socialists. In terms of domestic policy, they often remain strongly committed to the welfare state.

They are, however, in the words of one of the intellectual founders of the movement, Irving Kristol, "liberals who have been mugged by reality." As a result, they have a sense of the tenuousness of human society and express a much greater concern about the ability of societies to absorb significant challenges to the social order. Additionally, they were appalled by the tendency of some liberals and many progressives to condemn the failings and inequalities of democratic states such as the United States while ignoring the oppression and violence of communist regimes and many third world governments. This element led them to gather politically around Ronald Reagan. While they often disagreed with his administration on social issues, they firmly supported his approach to dealing with the Soviet Union. The rapid demise of the communist regimes shortly after his presidency's end demonstrated, to Neo-Conservatives, the correctness of their views and approach.

The biggest difference between the two poles of Neo-Conservatism has to do with their approaches to social issues in the United States. The *First Things* group, as a rule, tended to be much more socially conservative. Additionally, they were much more overtly religious and offered serious intellectual arguments in favor of a positive role for religion in American public life (see CIVIL RELIGION; CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN)

In fact, Neuhaus wrote a major book, *The Naked Public Square,* in which he criticized what he saw as a growing exclusion of religiously informed arguments from American public discourse. This exclusion constituted both a danger to society and, as it grew as a norm in public discourse, increasingly marginalized the role that religious believers could play in the public life of the nation.

The *Commentary* Neo-Conservatives, while often (although not universally) respectful of traditional religion, had less interest in religion and, while concerned about social chaos, had less interest in social issues such as abortion. These individuals played a significant role in the foreign policy of the Reagan White House and after September 11, 2001, seemed to have had significant influence in the administration of President George W. Bush. Many considered them to be central in the decision to invade Iraq.

Given the fact that several of the leading figures were Jewish, attacks on Neo-Conservatism often became a coded way of manifesting ANTI-SEMITISM. The claim that Neo-Conservatives had too much influence in the administration often was understood to imply that it was the Jews who controlled everything.

The difficulties following the Iraqi invasion led to significant criticism of the Neo-Conservative position. It also led to a series of internal arguments about the extent to which political actions can shift culture, as well as about how this can be done. These criticisms also reopened the long-standing conflict in American foreign policy between the activist-moralists, the isolationists, and the realists. The difficulties of dealing with postinvasion Iraq greatly weakened the interventionist movement in American policy and increased calls for a return to isolationism

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neo-evangelicalism See EVANGELICALISM; HENRY, CARL FERDINAND HOWARD.

neoorthodoxy *Neoorthodoxy* is a term used mainly in the United States and England to designate a theological movement that emerged in the post–WORLD WAR I era in reaction to the simplistic optimism of liberal theology (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL). Called *dialectical theology,* or *crisis theology* on the European continent, neoorthodoxy is one of the few theological movements that has a definite beginning: the 1919 publication of the Swiss theologian Karl Barth's book on Paul's epistle to the Romans, *Der Römerbrief.* This book, as one commentator put it, "fell like a bomb in the playground of the theologians."

World War I and German intellectuals' and churches' uncritical support for it troubled Barth greatly. (Similarly, most American liberal theologians uncritically supported American involvement in the war.) The devastation and horror of the war negated the easy optimism of liberal theology. The eruption of evil in the midst of civilization severely challenged liberalism's view of progress. Equally, the war undermined liberalism's emphasis on the immanence of God. As demonstrated by the unquestioning support that religious thinkers gave the war, liberalism tended to identify human activity with God's activity. This made it difficult to judge and to criticize the world.

Barth's "bomb" was the claim that God was the central point of the Christian message. Rather than center the study of religion on human religious experience, Barth returned to the Christian Scriptures. There he found, in Paul's epistle to the Romans, for example, that the emphasis was on God's sovereignty, God's glory. God is not a god who validates and approves human activity, but a God who judges all human activity. God is a god who says "No!" to all human pretensions. God is a judge who rejects all claims of human society to absoluteness.

The neoorthodox theologians, by returning to the Bible and the Reformation, rediscovered evil and sin. Evil and sin were not, as the liberal theologians thought, mere mistakes, error, or ignorance. They were ingrained within the human condition and could not be overcome by education, reflection, or human action. Only God, who is judge, makes it possible to overcome sin. This is the message of the Gospel. God has come to human beings in the Christ, demonstrating that God is not only judge but also the source of mercy and forgiveness. This is the source of the dialectic. God not only says "No," God also says "Yes," not in response to anything humans do, but because God is God.

In the United States, neoorthodoxy emerged during the postwar era as well. The United States had been spared the horrors of World War I, but the magnitude of the Great Depression and the realization that the appeal to Christian love would not end social injustice undermined liberal optimism. The appearance of REINHOLD NIEBUHR's *Does Civilization Need Religion?* (1927) was the first step in a domestic critique of liberal theology. In this book, Niebuhr criticized the liberal tendency to associate the existing world with God's will. Others echoed Niebuhr's criticisms, including Walter Marshall Horton at Oberlin Seminary, Edwin Lewis of Drew University, and Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary. The depth of the challenge to liberalism was demonstrated in 1935, when the country's most popular liberal preacher, HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK of Riverside Church in New York, published his sermon "Beyond Modernism." His plea that Christianity go beyond modernism, that it realize that Christ does not harmonize with modern culture but challenges it, signaled the death of liberalism's dominance. The most damning dismissal of liberal theology came two years later in H. RICHARD NIEBUHR's book *The Kingdom of God in America.* In that book, Niebuhr, the younger brother of Reinhold Niebuhr, described liberalism as a theology in which "A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross."

While U.S. neoorthodoxy began as a self-critical reflection on the failings of American liberal theology, it also adopted many themes from European theology. Barth certainly played a role, although the first English edition of Barth's work did not appear until 1928 with Douglas Horton's translation of *The Word of God and the Word of Man.* An English edition of *The Epistle to the Romans* was not published until 1933. Other sources for American neoorthodoxy included the work of Søren Kierkegaard, which first appeared in English translation in 1939. Kierkegaard's insistence on the distinction between the human and the divine along with his demand that faith was a leap across the abyss greatly influenced American neoorthodoxy, as did his insistence upon the importance of paradox.

The work of both G. W. F. Hegel and Karl Marx influenced American neoorthodoxy as well. This was most obvious in the dialectical approach of neoorthodoxy. Dialectics, the understanding that contrary ideas can be true simultaneously, played a major role in the development of neoorthodox thought.

While neoorthodoxy influenced many American thinkers, it is most often associated with the names of Reinhold Niebuhr, H. Richard Niebuhr, and the German emigré theologian PAUL TILLICH. None of these men were ever comfortable with the designation of neoorthodox. All had serious theological disagreements with Barth and each other. What held them together was their rejection of liberal theology. Despite this rejection, none of them, including Barth, rejected the liberal worldview. Modern scientific methods and the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation were accepted by all the leading neoorthodox theologians.

What separated the Americans, especially Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr, from Barth was their resistance to his claim that apart from God's action, humanity has no knowledge of God. For Barth, God is known only in the revelatory event—for Christianity, in the coming of the Christ. This seemed to suggest the complete impotence of human activity. Humans must wait for God to act. But, as Tillich is supposed to have uttered, "What if God doesn't come?" Both Tillich and the Niebuhrs suggested that human beings could have some knowledge of God apart from the revelatory event. They maintained a place for human activity. For Tillich, this comes about through his theory of correlation, for Reinhold Niebuhr from his position as a social ethicist and the realization (which he owed to his brother) that God is both in and out of history. Christians live in the world and must respond to it, with the constant awareness that their responses are conditional, imperfect, and tainted with sin.

Neoorthodoxy dominated American religious thought through the 1950s and into the 1960s. To a great extent, this was due to the public activity of Reinhold Niebuhr. There were deeper reasons. Most of the neoorthodox theologians had served as pastors and later taught in seminaries. Their ideas were diffused among younger ministers who combined a return to the language of sin and divine sovereignty with radical social criticism. Under the neoorthodox influence, several denominations restructured their approach to religious education. The neoorthodox emphasis on the church as the location for the transmission of the divine word, the proclamation of God's revelation, provided a reason for church renewal and was especially significant for the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT.

The significance of neoorthodoxy is even deeper. It dominated American religious thought into the 1980s. Just as liberal theology framed the debate for the neoorthodox theologians, neoorthodoxy framed it for its successors. It has given birth to them. Historical events seem to have proven neoorthodoxy's negative view of human nature, its bleak picture of human endeavor. Simultaneously, its radical critique of the existing human social order and its demand for human action helped to give birth to LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Its emphasis on divine transcendence and the God who says "No!" gave the impetus to radical theologies including the "DEATH OF GOD" THEOLOGY. More than anything, neoorthodoxy ended the naive belief in human goodness that dominated liberal thought. More precisely, it articulated the meaning of that end as it died on the fields of Flanders and in the ovens of Auschwitz.

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neopaganism Neopaganism is a new religious movement in which devotees appropriate one or more pre-Christian forms of NATURE RELIGION, usually from northern Europe but also from ancient Greece, Egypt, or a variety of indigenous cultures. The primary goal of neopagan practitioners is to reharmonize and reunite with the sacred, which is seen in pantheistic, polytheistic, and/or animistic terms. Most neopagans believe that the rejection and repression of pagan spiritualities in the Christian West has alienated humans from knowledge of their authentic selves as beings embedded in a sacred cosmos.

Persecution certainly played a major role in the decline of pagan spiritualities in Europe and America. The persecution of witches, beginning in the 11th century and escalating in brutality between the 15th and 18th centuries, was responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of suspected witches, who were mostly poor, single, older women. As the scientific worldview gained ascendancy, belief in magical worldviews declined, and fear of witches waned.

In the mid-19th century, interest in paganism was rekindled by writers who asserted that European witchcraft represented a heroic survival of pre-Christian religion. The modern revival of witchcraft began in earnest in the 1920s and 1930s with the publication of Margaret Murray's *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921) and *The God of the Witches* (1934). A small group of readers in England felt drawn to the pagan religion of pre-Christian Europe that she described and in 1939 began to revive witchcraft as they understood it. In the years after World War II, Gerald Gardner and Doreen Valiente were hailed as the major popularizers of this emerging tradition. They were also responsible for its export to America. Valiente's *Book of Shadows* became the central liturgical guide, and Gardner's magazine *Witchcraft Today* (started in 1954) was a key source of both guidance and inspiration. Robert Graves's *White Goddess* (1948) contributed theories about matriarchal, goddess-worshiping societies, now central to the beliefs of many neopagans, which were buttressed by archaeologist Marija Gimbutas's *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (1982).

Contemporary witchcraft, or Wicca, no doubt has some ancient roots, but it is also an invented tradition. Many (perhaps most) of the core practices in contemporary American witchcraft are derived from Gardner, although some claim to go back to colonial times and earlier. In early 21st-century America, however, Gardner's influence is waning as witches borrow freely from a variety of magi-

Starhawk is one of the leading teachers of Wiccan ritual and spirituality. *(Courtesy HarperSanFrancisco)*

cal or nature-based religions, often abetted by the comparative study of religions.

Most forms of neopaganism and particularly Wicca (one of its most prominent contemporary traditions) are antiauthoritarian and extremely pluralistic, so care must be taken in making generalizations. However, certain ideas and practices that are nearly universal within neopaganism can be identified. Neopagans generally view the universe as sacred and interrelated. (Other contemporary spiritualities based on a metaphysics of sacred relatedness include DEEP ECOLOGY and NEW AGE RELIGION.) This perspective provides the metaphysical basis for those neopagans who believe in and practice magic. Magic, however, is not typically thought by these practitioners to involve the supernatural. Interrelation is natural and explains how spells, psychic communication, mental powers, and ritual manipulation of nature can affect seemingly distant realities. Witches especially believe in the power of the mind and sometimes of spells, principally for personal improvement and healing. A small minority may also use spells against others. This "black magic," however, is rare since it violates the widespread neopagan ethic, "And ye harm none, do what ye will".

Most neopagans are polytheists, animists, and/or pantheists. They blame human maladies on estrangement from nature and see ritual as a means to restore human harmony with nature. Many believe in reincarnation and affirm human sexuality as a sacred process. When performed sacramentally, the sexual "Great Rite" can help one to experience the Divine, often referred to as "the Goddess."

The major difference between witches and other neopagans seems to be that neopagans place greater emphasis on nature and environmental concerns. This difference is declining in the wake of more political versions of witchcraft promoted by two witches influenced by the COUNTERCULTURE and 1960s activism: Margo Adler and Starhawk. Indeed, the most fertile ground for neopaganism is found in countercultural circles, where deep ecology is also strong. Many deep ecologists also describe themselves as pagans, neopagans, or witches.

On the other hand, certain versions of neopaganism are associated with forms of far right-wing racialist and neo-Nazi movements. This is particularly true of forms of neopaganism such as ÁSATRÚ, or Odinism, that focus on reviving the pagan religions of northern Europe. In doing so, many of these individuals and groups become attracted to the pagan elements within Nazism.

Fear of persecution, a consequent desire for anonymity, and a deep-seated antiauthoritarianism within the neopagan community make it seem unlikely that neopaganism will become a major religion in the United States. Fundamentalist Christians (see FUNDAMENTALISM) continue to fan the flames of fear, portraying neopagans and witches as servants of Satan, ignoring their rejoinder that Satan is an entity that preoccupies Christians far more than it does neopagans. Nevertheless, the secrecy cloaking neopaganism is gradually being drawn back, and the movement appears to be growing, particularly as a result of the invention of neopagan festivals, the diffusion of neopagan journals such as *Green Egg*, and the presence of academic pagans within the feminist movement (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY). In the 1990s, neopaganism (and especially Wicca) received increasingly favorable attention in print media and in television news and entertainment shows. In that decade, the right of neopagans to perform military service and worship freely withstood legal challenges and political opposition.

Estimates of the number of neopagans in the United States vary widely, from a high of 1 million to a low of around 100,000. While there is no good way of determining the exact number, in 2006, there probably were about 300,000 individuals in the United States who practiced some form of neopaganism.

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Nevin, John Williamson (1803–1886)

John W. Nevin was a theologian at the German Reformed seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, and, along with fellow professor PHILIP SCHAFF, the chief formulator of the movement known as the Mercersburg Theology. Nevin's focus on the institutional church and his critique of American REVIVALISM placed him in fundamental opposition to mainstream Protestant EVANGELICALISM.

Nevin was born on February 20, 1803, near Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. He was raised in the Presbyterian Church. After graduation from Union College (1821) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1826), he taught the Bible and Asian languages at Princeton for two years. He next served as a professor of biblical literature at Western Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian school in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, from 1828 to 1840.

Nevin was strongly influenced by the writings of German church historian Johannes A. W. Neander, who taught that the church was an organic community, not a collection of individuals. Under Neander's influence, Nevin gradually became disgruntled with the ecclesiastical beliefs of PRESBYTERIANISM. Attracted to the GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH, he left Western Seminary, changed denominations, and, in 1841, joined the faculty at Mercersburg.

Nevin taught that the church as an objective, historic institution was essential to the Christian life and provided men and women access to salvation. In *The Anxious Bench* (1843), he employed this idea to launch a full-scale assault on the popular revivalism of the day. He criticized the individualism, emotionalism, and devaluation of the church's sacramental life that the American revivals fostered. Nevin's most profound work, *The Mystical Presence: A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (1846), charged that the sacramental practices of nearly all the Protestant churches were faulty and had fallen away from the standards set by the great reformers of the 16th century.

Nevin edited the *Mercersburg Review* from 1849 to 1852. During that period, debates about his liturgical and theological views became so acrimonious that a schism within the German Reformed Church loomed. Many of the journal's readers believed that Nevin would convert to Roman Catholicism. Although Nevin remained loyal to the German Reformed Church, his positions were repudiated, and he withdrew from active teaching in 1853. However, after a lengthy period of recovery from the stress caused by the controversy, he returned to teaching. Nevin lectured at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between 1861 and 1866. He also served as president of the college from 1866 until his permanent retirement in 1876.

Nevin died at Lancaster on June 6, 1886. Not until the 20th century, when his catholic ecclesiastical ideals were less threatening to American Protestants, did Nevin's thinking about the nature of the church gain the respect he desired.

GHS, Jr.

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New Age religion The New Age is a millennial religious movement whose recent origins can be traced to the spiritual ferment, quest for personal fulfillment, and interest in altered states of consciousness of the 1960s. The New Age movement also has deeper roots in western esotericism, including FREEMASONRY, SPIRITUALISM, and THEOSOPHY. During the 1970s, New Age practitioners were especially drawn to Asian spiritual teachers. In the 1980s, "channeling" spiritual entities through mediums became popular. Shamanism as a means to altered states of consciousness and the appropriation of NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS assumed increasing importance during the 1990s.

Central characteristics of the New Age include millennialism and a hope for personal and planetary healing (both of which depend on the transformation of human consciousness). Like devotees of NEOPAGANISM and DEEP ECOLOGY, New Agers hope for a new consciousness that will replace dualistic and mechanistic views of the cosmos with an understanding of the universe as one interrelated and sacred whole. Two things distinguish the New Age from other forms of NATURE RELIGION, however. New Age spirituality tends to focus more on the self's relationship with the cosmos than on connections with Earth and its living systems. The New Age movement also embraces a more optimistic view of the end of times. Unlike more apocalyptic NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, New Age adherents usually believe that the challenges people face today can be overcome. A combination of new consciousness and new technology will, in their view, precipitate planetary healing.

The vehicles to this new consciousness are many. Transpersonal psychology (building upon humanistic psychology) and the related human potential movement have been especially important in connecting the spiritual development of individuals to New Age expectations of planetary healing and progressive social change. Humanistic psychology identified "peak experiences" as central to the healthy human personality. Gestalt psychology advocated living "in the moment" rather than fixating on the past. Both have been seen as important to the full development of the human person. Transpersonal psychology focused on how humans can transcend ego and thereby reveal their authentic natures as divine manifestations of the sacred universe. Such ego transcendence has been promoted by consciousness-altering techniques including biofeedback, meditation, hallucinogens (more recently labeled "entheogens" to underscore their capacity to reveal the gods), and meditative "breathwork" seminars.

A variety of other practices, including yoga, massage, shiatsu, astrology, and crystal healing (plus alternative healing arts) are also popular in New Age circles. Although the vehicles to New Age consciousness for devotees may differ and change, the emphasis on personal and planetary transformation provides a core that makes it possible to identify the New Age as a new religious tradition.

This variety became clear during the 1990s and early 2000s with the resurgence of an old form of "New Age" religion, namely Kabbalah. Kabbalah, in its purest form, is an esoteric, mystical teaching within JUDAISM, the study of which has been reserved to religiously observant, spiritually mature, and morally upright Jewish men. Since the Renaissance, however, Kabbalah has emerged as a form of religious thinking and practice that transcended religious difference, and historians actually speak of "Christian Kabbalists." To some extent, the interest in Kabbalah during the Renaissance linked "practical Kabbalah" and alchemical speculation, particularly attempts to control the material world, including turning base metals into gold and locating the "Philosopher's Stone," which granted immortality. In this sense, some forms of "practical Kabbalah" that use mystical powers to improve one's life share much with New Age religion.

In the United States, "pop" Kabbalah has become associated with the Kabbalah Centre in Los Angeles. Much of its visibility, as is also the case with SCIENTOLOGY, has come about because of its celebrity adherents, particularly the rock superstar Madonna, who is a most visible and vocal proponent of this "pop" Kabbalah, even adopting the Hebrew name Esther. Both the Kabbalah Centre and Madonna in particular have been opposed by traditional Kabbalists, and during her 2004 religious pilgrimage to Israel, she was prevented from visiting the tomb of one of Kabbalah's greatest practitioners, Rabbi Isaac Luria, and denied an audience with Israel's leading Kabbalist.

While New Age and harmonial religions seem to surge and recede in the United States, they remain underground currents, and various elements often find their way into more traditional religions. The New Age movement has played a significant role in reshaping religious belief in North America, helping to popularize religious ideas such as reincarnation and astrology. Nevertheless, it is difficult to foresee major political change resulting from New Age spirituality. Its magical worldview and the tendency of adherents to deny the reality of sin and evil can undercut passion for political activism. The first priority of New Age practitioners remains the individual and his or her spiritual transformation. Social and planetary change will, in their view, unfold naturally as individual human beings develop themselves.

BRT

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New Divinity The New Divinity (or Consistent CALVINISM as it is also known) was a theological system that developed within New England CONGREGATIONALISM in the mid-18th century. The New Divinity helped reconcile traditional Calvinist beliefs about human sinfulness and divine sovereignty with the egalitarianism of EVANGELICALISM. Originally used as a term of derision by its opponents, who believed an altogether novel system of theology had been devised by the disciples of JONATHAN EDWARDS, the New Divinity hinged on a combination of views Edwards had expressed: orthodox teaching about God and humanity blended with an openness to the heartfelt piety of American REVIVALISM.

After the waning of the GREAT AWAKENING, the series of revivals that swept through the churches of New England between 1735 and 1750, many theologians appropriated and reinterpreted Edwards's teachings. Closely tied by teacher-student relationships to Edwards, and often allied to one another by kinship and marriage, New Divinity theologians tended to be graduates of Yale College serving as church pastors both in Connecticut and along the Connecticut River. Congregational clergymen such as SAMUEL HOPKINS, JOSEPH BELLAMY, Jonathan Edwards, Jr., and Nathanael Emmons sought to develop many of their mentor's ideas and pass them along to the next generation of New England Protestants.

Three concerns were critical for exponents of the New Divinity. First, these theologians emphasized the standard Calvinist doctrines of predestination, divine election, and human depravity in extreme and unbending forms. Second, they believed that God could turn the hearts of sinners to repentance through the means of revivals. And third, they accepted the moral rigor and reformism exemplified by Hopkins's concept of "disinterested benevolence," the belief that selflessness lay at the core of Christian virtue. As a result, the New Divinity represented a creative compromise between the doctrinal rigidity of conservative Congregational orthodoxy, the theological liberalism of the emerging Unitarian movement, and the unfettered emotionalism of the most extreme revivalists. However, because of the moderating position it occupied, the New Divinity also offended far more people than it pleased and was consistently ridiculed by critics.

Despite the negative reception of their views, Hopkins and his colleagues produced an important intellectual system for their time. They constructed what is now regarded as an essential bridge between the still recognizably Puritan teachings of Edwards in the early 1700s and the evangelical religious ethos that arose in the United States at the end of the 18th century.

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New France As NEW SPAIN formed an arc across the southern United States stretching from Florida to California, it intersected another arc of European Roman Catholic settlement at the Mississippi River (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). Stretching from Maine to Michigan's upper peninsula, through northern Wisconsin, then down the Mississippi River to Louisiana, the French colonial empire was immense. With the exception of Louisiana, however, French Catholicism in the United States left little behind other than automobile names, Mardi Gras, and, in the words of the historian Sidney Ahlstrom, "a treasure of melodious but soon hopelessly mispronounced place-names."

Lasting from 1604 to 1803, New France has a heroic history. The priests and friars who directed missionary and religious activity in France's North American empire led harsh and solitary lives. Explorers as much as missionaries, these priests, primarily JESUITS, opened up the interior of the continent.

The Jesuits lived among the Indians, slowly learning their languages. Early active in southern Ontario among the Huron, they became, by association, enemies of the Iroquois, and many met harsh deaths at Iroquois hands. French America produced numerous martyrs and saints, including the first Native American considered for sainthood, KATERI TEKAKWITHA, whose piety and austerities led her to an early death in 1680.

The Huron and the French missionaries were, to some extent, victims of 17th- and 18th-century geopolitics. Catholic France and the Protestant Netherlands (see NEW NETHERLAND)—with the Huron and Iroquois their respective allies—fought each other for God, country, and furs. This conflict continued with different players after the British replaced the Dutch in 1664, and the Iroquois adopted the British as their new allies. This alliance helped to destroy France's American empire, as France was forced to cede Canada to England and Louisiana to Spain in 1763 following the French and Indian War.

In what is now the United States, French influence was strongest in Louisiana, especially so in the city of New Orleans. There, social stability and the city's relatively large population buttressed French culture. Religiously, however, French Louisiana had little of the evangelistic fervor that marked religious activity in the North.

Although France regained most of this land in the 1783 Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolution, it had little opportunity to develop the region before the French Revolution and the Napoleonic empire drew all of its energies. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the history of French Catholicism in the United States ended, save for small cultural outposts in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi.

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New Harmony See OWEN ROBERT DALE; RAPP, GEORGE.

New Haven Theology See DWIGHT, TIMOTHY; TAYLOR, NATHANIEL WILLIAM.

New Lights/Old Lights The terms *New Lights* and *Old Lights* refer to factions that appeared within New England CONGREGATIONALISM in the mid-18th century. The New Lights supported the GREAT AWAKENING and believed the revivals of the awakening to be genuine works of God that strengthened American Christianity. The Old Lights, on the other hand, viewed revivalism as an unnecessary and disruptive element within church life.

The New Light/Old Light dispute brought on the final dissolution of the Puritan social and theological system that had shaped New England religious culture for more than a century. While each side claimed to be the genuine heir of PURITANISM, each in its own way was responsible for the reshaping of American Protestant thought. The Old Lights emphasized rationalism, which was born out of the ENLIGHTENMENT and signified orderliness, common sense, and self-control. The New Lights were representatives of the emerging evangelical (see EVANGELICALISM) movement, which stressed the emotions and was both pietistic and Perfectionistic.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, a pastor and theologian in Northampton, Massachusetts, was the great exemplar of the New Light party. His preaching in 1734 and 1735 sparked the beginning of the New England phase of the Great Awakening. In his writings, Edwards not only defended the revivals themselves but also emphasized how the heart, not the head, was the true basis of religious faith. In contrast to what he saw as the overly intellectualized faith of the Old Lights, Edwards argued that true religious experience involved a new "sense of the heart," which transformed an individual's self-love into love of God.

Charles Chauncy, minister of the First Church in Boston, was Edwards's staunchest Old Light opponent. In his *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (1743), Chauncy denounced the revivals of the Great Awakening as a resurgence of the enthusiasm and Antinomianism that once threatened to destroy law and order in the early Puritan settlements. Identifying the New Lights with the heretical teachings of Anne Hutchinson, who in the 1630s had claimed to receive direct revelations of the Holy Spirit, Chauncy insisted that Christianity was a religion of "the Understanding and Judgment, and Will," not of the emotions.

Following the early wave of revivals in New England, moderate voices for a time held Congregationalism together. The deep theological rift between the New and Old Light camps, however, could never permanently be healed. After the American Revolution, theological debates were renewed with fervor, and in the end, this controversy helped divide the Congregational churches. Extreme evangelicals and rationalists eventually went their separate ways, forming, respectively, Baptist (see Baptists) and Unitarian (see Unitarian controversy) congregations out of many of the old Congregational parishes of New England.

(See also New Side/Old Side.)

GHS, Jr.

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New Netherland Part of the Dutch colonial and commercial expansion of the early 17th century, New Netherland, present-day New York State, was claimed for the Dutch in September 1609, when Henry Hudson entered the river that now bears his name. By 1613, the Dutch had established several trading houses in Manhattan and a fort on Castle Island. Engaged primarily in the fur trade, they moved into what is now upstate New York, establishing a fort at what is now Albany.

In 1621, administration of the colony was given to the Dutch West India Company, and in 1623, the first permanent settlers arrived, settling primarily in the town of New Amsterdam, present-day New York City. The company attempted to encourage settlement by making large grants of land to the colonists. These landed gentry, or patroons, as they were called, dominated the affairs of the colony, and the large land grants ironically hindered settlement.

Given the colony's status as a commercial venture, religion played only a small role in its life. The Dutch Reformed Church was established, but the Dutch West India Company sent no ministers until 1628. The first minister, Jonas Michaelius, served the fewer than 300 inhabitants of the colony for nearly five years until he returned home. His replacement, Everardus Bogardus, managed to stabilize the community's religious life and built a new stone church in New Amsterdam. Conflicts with the governor hampered his work, however. Both he and the governor sailed for home in 1647 to appeal their positions to the company's directors. Their ship was lost at sea.

The colony's next several years saw some growth in settlement. In May 1647, a new governor, Peter Stuyvesant, arrived. Stuyvesant struggled to impose order and uniformity on the colony. A professional soldier, he was an honest and efficient governor who also was quite religious, and during his tenure, the church grew to about 15 congregations served by 12 ministers.

His religious convictions led Stuyvesant to attempt to prevent the infiltration of

Lutherans, Quakers, and Jews into the colony. He worked closely with pastor Jan van Mecklenburg to convince the directors of the West India Company of the need for religious uniformity for the colony. More interested in encouraging settlement than religious truth, the directors overruled the pastor and the governor.

By 1664, the expansion of English power in North America made the small colony increasingly isolated, and on July 27 of that year, four British navy ships sailed into the harbor of New York and demanded the colony's surrender. Vastly outnumbered and outgunned, the Dutch did so. Although they temporarily regained control of the colony in 1673, Dutch colonial settlement in North America was effectively ended. The 2,000 colonists now became British subjects. The victors, recognizing the previous history of the colony, allowed the inhabitants to continue their forms of worship, and although only five ministers remained, the Dutch Reformed Church (see CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH; REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA) became integrated into the American religious scene.

EQ

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new religious movements The term *new religious movements* (NRMs) is a generic term used to describe religious movements, usually of recent vintage, that arise from time to time with beliefs and practices out of the "mainstream" of American religious thought and practice. In some instances, the movements may emerge from that mainstream but usually shift or change a part of that tradition in radical or novel ways.

In popular language, such movements often are described as *cults* or *sects,* terms that have pejorative connotations. These groups are burdened with such negative terms in the minds of many because of the unusual nature of their beliefs and practices or their rejection of the dominant culture. Movements do not necessarily remain in this category but often develop in ways that make them acceptable to the wider culture, as Mormonism (although developed long before the term was used) perhaps did. Others may never achieve respectability no matter how long they exist, as appears to be the case with SCIENTOLOGY.

Many movements never last sufficiently long to become part of the general religious landscape. Either they slowly disappear as members leave, are riven by schisms and conflicts, or rarely but tragically engage in self-immolation, as happened with HEAVEN'S GATE.

Although the term includes disparate movements from the occult, to those who see religious significance in UFOs, to white supremacist IDENTITY groups, there are common themes that make it sensible to speak of them under one umbrella term.

New religious movements tend to share certain broad characteristics. While not all movements show all of these, they do tend to share several. First, they tend to see themselves as part of a new divine revelation or a revivified tradition that had been lost. Second, their beliefs and practices usually diverge greatly from the religious norms of American society. Even where they emerge from a mainstream tradition, their doctrines move far beyond the parent group, usually based on some form of continuing revelation from a living prophet. Third, as the previous point suggests, they often are led by an individual who has tremendous influence, if not control, over the group. This individual tends to be followed exclusively, controls the beliefs and practices of the movement, and often is believed to have a special relationship with the divine, usually receiving revelations directly. Finally, the movements tend to be insular, showing little interest in the world outside the movement and an intense commitment to the leader.

There is almost no way to estimate the number of NRMs in the United States at any given time. It is reasonable to assume that it is in the thousands. Most are remarkably short-lived and leave little imprint on society. Others become large and well known and occasionally make the transition to become an established and settled religion. Still others exist for long periods of time, influencing generation after generation of believers, but with little outside notice. Yet others come to the attention of the American public as a result of some horror or tragedy, like the Branch Davidian incident at WACO, Texas.

Such tragedies are an aberration, however, given the numbers of NRMs in the country. The United States undoubtedly will continue to provide a fertile ground for the emergence of such movements. The open nature of its society and the plurality of religious expressions give people numerous options and opportunities for religious experimentation. As long as people act on those expressions, the number and novelty of new religious movements in America likely will continue to grow.

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New Religious Right See RELIGIOUS RIGHT.

New School/Old School The New School and the Old School were two opposing factions in a bitter dispute that divided American PRESBYTERIANISM in the mid-19th century. Following the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING of the 1820s and 1830s, the New School party was formed by Presbyterians open to revivalistic methods of worship and to the loose denominational structure and the social reform movements the revivals spawned. The Old School party, on the other hand, was composed of Presbyterian traditionalists who were uncomfortable with liberalizing tendencies in theology and politics that the New School group advocated.

The origins of the New School/Old School controversy lay in the 1801 PLAN OF UNION, which created an alliance between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, allowing them to work closely together in evangelizing the American frontier. The plan led many Presbyterians to see that their denomination's governing structure was simply too cumbersome to meet the religious and social challenges of the newly opened western territories. These men and women, who soon formed the core of the New School party, began to minister through interdenominational alliances and voluntary agencies, not through the Presbyterian hierarchy. The Old School faction, however, believed such institutional laxity posed a grave threat to the integrity of Presbyterian polity and doctrine.

The emergence of antislavery sentiment in the North in the 1830s also exacerbated internal differences within the Presbyterian denomination. While New School Presbyterians were attracted to ABOLITIONISM, the southern-oriented Old School was repelled by it. The Presbyterian controversy was brought to a head by two heresy trials (1831 and 1835) of Albert Barnes, a New School Philadelphia pastor who supported the campaign against slavery. Although the Old School party accused Barnes of contradicting several traditional Calvinist doctrines, the New School party was able to obtain his acquittal at the General Assembly, the Presbyterians' highest decision-making body.

Barnes's vindication, as well as further New School aggressiveness at the 1836 General Assembly, only inflamed Old School sentiment. When the next General Assembly met in 1837, it was solidly in Old School hands. The Plan of Union was rescinded, and all joint ventures undertaken by the Congregational-Presbyterian consolidation were retroactively annulled. As a consequence, the four western synods formed under the provisions of the Plan of Union (553 churches, 509 ministers, and nearly 100,000 members) were removed from the Presbyterian rolls. Determined to prove its loyalty to Presbyterianism, the New School published a confessional document, the Auburn Declaration, and sought to rejoin the church. But when the 1838 General Assembly refused to recognize the New School representatives from the deposed synods, a separate New School jurisdiction was organized. Led by Nathan Beman, a minister in Troy, New York, it constituted slightly less than half of the total American Presbyterian membership.

The action of 1837 was a short-lived victory for Old School principles, for the coming of the CIVIL WAR brought further confusion to an already divided denomination. In 1857, the northern-dominated New School church watched its small southern contingent secede, while the Old School church itself split on sectional lines after the 1861 attack on Fort Sumter. Wartime pressures forced Old and New School Presbyterians in the South to reunite in 1864, while the northern Presbyterian parties came back together in 1869. Although the labels themselves no longer had meaning, the northern branch of Presbyterianism after the Civil War reflected a continuing New School influence, and the southern Presbyterian church remained the strongest bastion of the Old School ethos well into the 20th century.

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New Side/Old Side The New Side and the Old Side were opposing factions that appeared within American PRESBYTERIANISM in the mid-18th century. While the Old Side Presbyterians favored a confessional church, that is, a body based on strict adherence to doctrinal statements, the New Side Presbyterians held a more experiential view of the Christian faith and were, as a consequence, more flexible in polity and theology. The revivals of the GREAT AWAKENING so severely aggravated this division that in 1741, the Old Side succeeded in ousting the New Side.

Early in the 18th century, Presbyterians in America began to raise questions concerning the standards for ordination and discipline in their church. While Scottish and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the middle colonies tended to view adherence to the Westminster Confession of 1643, the classic summary of English-speaking Calvinist belief, as the essence of orthodoxy, those of English descent in New England and New York generally argued that the Bible by itself provided a sufficient rule for the church's faith and practice. The Adopting Act of 1729, the first creedal statement of American Presbyterianism, temporarily settled this dispute by making the Westminster Confession normative. Although those responsible for examining ministerial candidates were allowed some discretion in distinguishing between essential and nonessential articles of faith, agreement with that doctrinal standard became a condition for ordination to the ministry.

The stability of the 1729 compromise was shaken, however, by the Great Awakening and the rising fame of three charismatic clergymen brothers, Gilbert, John, and William Tennent (see TENNENT, GILBERT) of New Jersey. The moderate revivalism, "experimental" piety, and nontraditional theological training (the so-called Log College) they favored heightened the fears of conservatives. Old Side Presbyterians in the Synod of Philadelphia, the official Presbyterian governing body in America, responded to the Tennents' challenge by requiring in 1738 that ministerial candidates without degrees from major universities submit their credentials to a reviewing committee before ordination. In 1739, they censured the presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey, for ordaining a Log College graduate without following those stated procedures.

When Gilbert Tennent attacked the opponents of the awakening in an acerbic sermon, "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry," in March 1740, he brought the controversy to a head. The Synod of Philadelphia officially rebuked Tennent at its 1741 meeting, concluding that both his followers and he had "no right to be acknowledged as members of this judicatory of Christ." Following that assertion, the Old Side party in the synod declared that it alone spoke for Presbyterianism, thereby effectively ejecting Tennent and the New Brunswick presbytery from the church. In response, the New Side party organized a separate organization, which in 1745 was joined by the sympathetic New York presbytery to form the New Side Synod of New York.

The two parties engaged in a pamphlet war about the meaning of revivalism for several years, but the New Side's greater zeal and the mobility of their itinerant preachers won the most popular support. While the New Side grew from 22 to 73 ministers between 1741 and 1758, the Old Side party shrank from 27 to 22 over the same period. The New Side carried the Great Awakening into Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the broad-based educational ministry the Log College symbolized led to the 1746 founding of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University).

Gilbert Tennent ultimately repented of his earlier militancy and helped open the way to ecclesiastical reunion. The schism was ended in 1758, when an entirely new Synod of New York and Philadelphia was formed along lines similar to the New Side's 1741 position. Although the reunion of 1758 in many ways marked a rebuff for the Old Side, that party's principles still remained vital over the decades ahead. The conservative faction eventually captured control of Presbyterian education, and Princeton evolved into a bastion of strict doctrinal orthodoxy.

The conflict between confessional and pietistic interpretations of Protestantism, moreover, became even more intense in the 19th century. This ongoing dispute was a significant factor in the NEW SCHOOL/OLD SCHOOL split of 1837, when revivalism, social reform, and antislavery agitation ruptured the Presbyterian ranks and kept Presbyterians separated along regional lines for nearly 150 years.

(See also NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS.)

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New South See DABNEY, ROBERT LEWIS; HAYGOOD, ATTICUS GREENE; LOST CAUSE MYTH; SOUTH.

New Spain With the arrival of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS in 1492, the North American continent was brought into the realm of ROMAN CATHOLICISM. The first explorers were Spanish, as were the first European churches in this hemisphere and on present-day United States territory—in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Made a diocese in 1511, San Juan received North America's first bishop in 1513. The Spanish colonial church had a long history in the United States, spanning more than three centuries. Although less successful than church work in Mexico and South America, it gave a distinctive cast to Catholicism in California, the Southwest, and Florida. Nearly moribund by 1800, it was reinvigorated in the 19th and 20th centuries by immigrants from Cuba, Mexico, and Central and South America.

Spanish settlement in the modern-day United States was meager, especially when viewed in light of Spanish efforts elsewhere. Early attempts to plant colonies along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts failed miserably. Bad weather, poor planning, and hostile inhabitants brought all attempts to naught. The settlement of a small group of French Protestants on the St. John's River near modern-day Jacksonville, Florida, in 1564, however, gave the Spanish compelling reasons to colonize La Florida. The colony, named Fort Caroline, was designed as a refuge for French Protestants. It also served French national interests as a location from which to raid Spanish shipping (see NEW FRANCE). In response, the Spanish government sent Captain-General Pedro Menendez de Aviles to neutralize this threat. Sailing up the east coast of Florida, he planted a settlement he named St. Augustine on September 8, 1565. He then turned north and destroyed

The mission of San Juan Bautista, one of the 21 missions organized by Junípero Serra and his Franciscan colleagues in California from San Diego to San Francisco. *(Library of Congress)* the French garrison at Fort Caroline and massacred the survivors. Menendez de Aviles returned to St. Augustine, which became the first permanent and most important settlement in the Spanish colony of La Florida.

Although the Spanish presence lasted until 1821 (with a 20-year interruption from 1763 to 1783, when it passed to British hands), Florida never became a major colony. Religious activity, however, was significant though fairly unsuccessful. Spanish priests and friars attempted to bring religion to the colony, and religious orders were especially active among the native inhabitants. The first Jesuit superior in Florida was killed by Indians in 1566, and a Jesuit mission begun in 1570 at Ajacan in modern-day Virginia ended with the deaths of the seven Jesuit missionaries (see JESUITS). In 1572, the order terminated its work in Florida, and the remaining members left for Mexico.

Franciscans replaced the Jesuits, but the problems remained. Spanish opposition to Indian traditions, notably polygamy, led to the Guale rebellion of 1597 that destroyed the Franciscan mission. Conflicts with the secular authorities also hindered the Franciscans' efforts. Obligated to protect the Indian converts, the Franciscans' opposition to enslavement and abuse resulted in decreased governmental support for their work. By 1708, the missions had declined dramatically. They, and Spanish Florida, never recovered. Caught up in the American versions of Europe's 18th-century wars, Florida became a political pawn more than a locus for religious activity. By the time Florida was ceded to the United States in 1821, religious life had ceased outside of Pensacola and St. Augustine.

Spanish colonial efforts in what is now the southwestern United States and California were slightly more successful. The missionary work in those areas produced great names, men whose efforts were heroic, although many now doubt the rightness of the goal and the morality of their means.

New Mexico well illustrates the problems. The Spanish movement into New Mexico, begun in 1598, met with armed resistance from the Native Americans that the Spanish bloodily suppressed. The Franciscans began successful work among the native inhabitants that continued until 1680, when a revolt by the Pueblo drove the Spanish from the region. Not until 1695 would the Spaniards regain control over Santa Fe. The brutality of the suppression alienated the people. The restored missions never regained their previous strength. Only 20 priests remained in 1776, too few to meet the population's needs. As a result, many returned to their traditional beliefs or devised a syncretistic version of Spanish Catholicism and traditional religion that lasted into the 21st century.

Although never heavily populated during Spanish rule, Texas was the back door to Mexico and had major strategic significance for that colony. It also contained the most famous of all the Spanish missions, San Antonio de Valero. Better known as the Alamo, this was the largest mission in Texas and the center of Spanish activity in the region. Settlement in Texas served a military function. In 1810, one-quarter of the 4,155 Europeans settled in the territory were soldiers. This tiny outpost of the Spanish Empire would soon be overwhelmed by land-hungry Anglos who swarmed into the region following Mexican independence from Spain in 1821. As in Florida, those who founded and built the colony would find themselves aliens.

The Spanish missions in Arizona and California are inextricably linked with the names of two men—EUSEBIO KINO and JUNÍPERO SERRA. Kino began his work in Arizona in 1687, and his tireless efforts established numerous missions throughout the region, including San Xavier Del Bac near present-day Tucson. Kino claimed 30,000 converts, more than 4,000 of whom he baptized personally. Although the missions declined following his death in 1711, they recovered in the next decade. Indian revolts in 1751 and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1768 ended their work, however. The Franciscans attempted to continue, but Indian hostility and political conflicts hampered their activities. They withdrew in 1828, ending organized Catholicism for nearly four decades.

California proved no better. Here Father Junípero Serra and his Franciscan colleagues organized 21 missions, extending from San Diego to San Francisco. Although successful at converting the relatively peaceful California Indians, the missions were less successful at keeping them alive. Forced to work on the mission farms, virtually enslaved and severely punished for the slightest infractions, California's Indians died in staggering numbers. By the time the missions were secularized in 1832, only 98,000 out of a precolonial population of nearly 1 million remained in all of California.

Within 40 years, the Anglos who swarmed into northern California in 1849 after the discovery of gold had decreased this number to fewer than 21,000. These new settlers also changed California's religious and cultural life. As in the rest of Spanish America, California was transformed by the new immigrants, many of whom looked upon ROMAN CATHOLICISM as a degenerate religion and the native Californios as degenerate beings.

The Mexican Revolution (1816–21) ended Spanish control in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California, severely weakening Spanish Catholicism in these areas. With the passing of these territories to United States control after the Texas Revolution (1835–36) and the Mexican-American War (1846–48), Spanish Catholicism became a mere vestige, lingering in the old missions and among the few remaining descendants of the Spanish settlers. This heritage, however, would be revived in the late 19th and 20th century as immigrants from Mexico and Central and South America brought back to the southwestern United States the Catholicism that had once dominated the region.

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New Thought The quintessential American expression of what philosopher WILLIAM JAMES called "the religion of healthy mindedness" and historian Sydney Ahlstrom named "harmonial religion," New Thought emerged out of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE in the 1880s.

New Thought received its first intellectual boost when Warren Felt Evans, a Swedenborgian (see SWEDENBORGIANISM) who had benefitted from the mesmeric cures (see MESMERISM) of PHINEAS P. QUIMBY, began to champion as early as the 1860s an idealistic and optimistic metaphysics for spiritual and mental well-being. After the term *New Thought* gained currency in the 1890s, a number of institutions and movements arose, including the Christian Science Theological Seminary of EMMA CURTIS HOPKINS, Malinda Cramer's Divine Science, the Unity School of Christianity of Charles and Myrtle Fillmore, and Ernest Holmes's United Church of Religious Science.

One thing that attracts Americans to this movement is its insistence that individuals shun dogma and find their own paths to religious truths. For this reason, New Thought advocates are traditionally wary of institutionalizing their religious lives. In 1915, however, a number of local New Thought groups gathered into a loose federation called the International New Thought Alliance (INTA). Two years later, this organization's "Affirmations" promulgated something akin to a creed:

> *We affirm the freedom of each soul as to choice and as to belief . . .*
> *The essence of the New Thought is Truth, and each individual must be loyal to the Truth as he sees it.*
> *We affirm the Good. . . . Man is made in the image of the Good, and evil and pain are but the*
> *tests and correctives that appear when his thought does not reflect the full glory of this image.*
> *We affirm health . . .*
> *We affirm the divine supply. . . . Within us are unused resources of energy and power. . . .*
> *We affirm the teaching of Christ and the Kingdom of Heaven is within us, that we are one with the Father, that we should judge not, that we should love one another. . . .*
> *We affirm the new thought of God as Universal Love, Life, Truth and Joy.*

This movement recruited many of its early healers and teachers from Christian Science, but New Thought advocates differentiated themselves from Christian Scientists by refusing to cede the status of exclusive revelation to the writings of Christian Science founder MARY BAKER EDDY. New Thought adherents typically respect and in many cases revere Eddy's work, but they do not accept her ideas as unerring doctrine. Moreover, they insist on the freedom to supplement her writings with other religious texts (including non-Christian scriptures) and with their own intuitions.

New Thought further differentiates itself from Christian Science by its unrelenting cosmic optimism. Although Eddy joined most New Thought teachers in affirming that evil and sin were illusions, in her view, human beings still needed to be redeemed by Jesus Christ. At least in their unregenerate state, humans were, according to Eddy, estranged from God; "mortal mind" and "divine Mind" were not to be confused. New Thought advocates generally view Eddy's positions on these matters as unduly pessimistic. They accept no essential division between God and humanity, since the human mind is, for them, "God within." They reject her argument that the mind can work not only for good but also for evil (through "malicious animal magnetism"). And to the extent that humans need saving, they can save themselves; no agent outside one's own powers of positive thinking is necessary.

New Thought cannot claim many members in its loosely affiliated organizations, but millions of Americans have no doubt embraced the movement's optimistic gospel, which in secularized versions is virtually indistinguishable from the popular American myth of individual success. The enduring popularity of Ralph Waldo Trine's *In Tune with the Infinite, or, Fullness of Peace, Power, and Plenty* (1897) and later the appearance on best-seller lists of inspirational books such as Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936), Norman Vincent Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952), and a host of contemporary self-help books attest to the broader influence of New Thought on American popular culture.

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Niebuhr, Helmut Richard (1894–1962)

Although overshadowed by his more outspoken and celebrated older brother REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Helmut Richard Niebuhr had a profound influence on 20th-century American religious thought. Unlike Reinhold, whose life was a constant attempt to bring the Christian witness to bear on particular historical issues, H. Richard plumbed the depths of what was enduring.

Born on September 3, 1894, in Wright City, Missouri, where his father was a minister in the German Evangelical Synod, H. Richard grew up in a German-speaking immigrant family. He studied at the synod's schools at Elmhurst College (1912) and Eden Seminary (1915). After leaving Eden, he undertook graduate work at Washington University in St. Louis (M.A., 1918) (during which time he also held a full-time pastorate), and Yale University (B.D., 1923; Ph.D., 1924). He later served on the faculties of both Eden—as professor of theology 1919–22, 1927–31—and Elmhurst, as president from 1924 to 1927. In 1931, Niebuhr was appointed to the faculty of Yale Divinity School, where he served as professor of theology and ethics until his death on July 5, 1962.

There are two significant strains in H. Richard Niebuhr's theology. The first is the awareness that religious thought and affirmation are historically conditioned. In this, he remained within the tradition of liberal theology and was indebted to the thought of the German theologian Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923). Niebuhr himself moved far beyond the historicism of liberal theology. As one considered to be within the camp of NEOORTHODOXY, Niebuhr rejected the liberal position that the truth of religion resided within human life and experience. Certainly individuals might have truth about God, but since God's position was absolute and the individual's position relative, no person, no creed, no faith could have complete knowledge of God.

Knowledge of God was always socially and historically conditioned. This insight allowed Niebuhr to produce significant studies of Christian thought and belief in particular historical periods. In his books *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929), *The Kingdom of God in America* (1937), and *Christ and Culture* (1951), Niebuhr developed typological analyses of Christian beliefs that illuminated the social and religious concerns of their times.

For Niebuhr, the contextual nature of human beings' understanding of God was not problematic. Problems and errors emerged when human beings attempted to raise their limited perspective to the absolute. Here Niebuhr showed himself to be neoorthodox. God, in Niebuhr's radically monotheistic view, destroys all pretensions to absolutism. Only the principle of Being itself has any claim to be absolute. The claims of God are unchanging, but the claims of religion are not.

The significance of Niebuhr's life and work is great. Most obvious is the impact on his students, many of whom went on to be leading ethicists in their own right. The impact of his books analyzing the sociological-historical elements of Christianity has been immense. Their typologies have entered into the vocabulary of the study of religion, especially of religion in America.

The significance of Niebuhr's theological work, however, is perhaps even more important. His *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture* helped bring about a resurgence of interest in and concern about the doctrine and nature of God that American theological discourse had lacked for decades. Niebuhr was unable, however, to finish his theological work. He died of a heart attack on July 5, 1962, with his final manuscript incomplete.

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Niebuhr, Reinhold (1892–1971) Reinhold Niebuhr, America's most famous 20th-century theologian, was born on June 21, 1892, to Gustav and Lydia Niebuhr in Wright City, Missouri. His father was a German immigrant, a pastor in the *Deutsche Evangelische Synode von Nord-Amerika* (German Evangelical Synod). German was his mother tongue, and his English remained accented throughout his life. His thinking on religion and society made him the most important religious thinker of his time, with an influence that extended far beyond the German Evangelical Synod and even Christianity. For more than three decades, he advised the politically powerful and numbered among his friends some of the most important people of his time.

Niebuhr's early life was that of a small-town boy. In 1902, his family moved to Lincoln, Illinois, where his father had accepted a pastorate. Here Niebuhr lived until 1907, when he was sent to Elmhurst College in Elmhurst, Illinois, to prepare for entry into Eden Seminary, where ministers in the German Evangelical Church were trained.

Following his graduation from Eden in 1913, Niebuhr moved on to Yale Divinity School, although the unexpected death of his father in that year had jeopardized these plans. Niebuhr's acceptance by Yale was the result of the school's attempt at rebuilding. No other major university accepted students from unaccredited colleges, and even Yale did not accept Eden's B.D. degree. When Niebuhr entered Yale, he did so as a third-year B.D. student. Despite the inferiority of his education and his weak English, Niebuhr did well at Yale and was allowed to continue in the M.A. program. He received his M.A. degree in June 1915.

After leaving Yale, Niebuhr began a 13-year tenure as minister at Bethel Church in Detroit. During his pastorate, Niebuhr, with the assistance of his mother and later his sister Hulda, turned the church from the smallest in the denomination into a thriving and dynamic congregation.

Among the many who were impressed by Niebuhr during his Detroit years was the president-general of the German Evangelical Church, who called upon Niebuhr to perform many denominational tasks, including service on the synod's war board during WORLD WAR I, liaison to the new Federal Council of Churches (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES), and speaking engagements for the synod. Niebuhr also was active in work for the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA) and a contributor to numerous journals and magazines, especially the *Christian Century.*

While in Detroit, Niebuhr became increasingly radical in his economic and political views. He spoke out against the speeding up of the automotive assembly line, layoffs during periods of retooling, and the auto companies' refusal to allow unionization. Already influenced by the SOCIAL GOSPEL, Niebuhr began to see the need for a deeper critique of capitalist society. The depth of these views is obvious in his book *Does Civilization Need Religion*? (1927).

In 1928, Niebuhr joined the faculty of Union Theological Seminary and began one of the most influential careers in American religious history. A man of constant action, Niebuhr's activities were many and varied. He was one of the most popular teachers at Union, and he and his wife, Ursula (née Keppel-Compton), frequently entertained groups of students and friends at their home. He traveled constantly, preaching and speaking throughout the country. He founded the Fellowship of Christian Socialists (1930) and edited its journal. He was a Socialist Party candidate for the New York Senate (1930) and the U.S. Congress (1932).

Niebuhr also served on the executive committee of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation but resigned in 1933 in response to the rise of Nazism and his increasing suspicion of the uncritical optimism of liberal theology. This change in Niebuhr's thought culminated in his resignation from the Socialist Party in 1940. The following year, he founded the journal *Christianity and Crisis.* In 1941, he was the leader in organizing the Union for Democratic Action, for which he served as national chairman.

An early and vocal opponent of the Nazis and advocate of American aid to the Allies, Niebuhr actively supported American policies in the war. He was a critic, however, of the massive bombings and wholesale destruction of German and Japanese cities. Niebuhr also signed the Federal Council of Churches' statement criticizing the use of the atomic bomb. Privately, however, he suspected that its use was necessary.

Following the war, he served as an adviser to the State Department's Policy and Planning staff and its chairman, George Kennan. In doing so, he helped to develop the United States' postwar understanding of the balance of power.

Although increasingly weakened following a stroke in 1952, he remained as active as his health allowed. Much was asked of him, for during the last two decades of his life, Niebuhr was an internationally acclaimed religious and political figure. He spoke throughout Europe and the United States. In 1964, in recognition of his work, he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom. During the 1960s, he continued to write in support of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and in opposition to the VIETNAM WAR. Increasing enfeeblement and pain marked Niebuhr's life until his death in 1971.

Reinhold Niebuhr constructed no complete theological system. His theology, like his life, was in constant motion, but there is one theme that connects all Niebuhr's thought. This is the question of how to apply Christianity to existing social and political conditions. In the search for an answer, Niebuhr moved from the pietism of his youth, through liberal theology (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL), to a position of NEOORTHODOXY (a term he hated), or Christian Realism.

As a Christian, Niebuhr understood history as linear. Events are distinctive and unique. For this reason, Christians were constantly called upon to reapply religious doctrines to new realities. Unlike thinkers of the Renaissance and the ENLIGHTENMENT and their liberal theologian descendants, Niebuhr rejected the conviction that this linear movement included progress. Certainly there is improvement in technology and material conditions, but this is not to be confused with improvement in the human moral condition.

That type of progress is precluded by the reality of human sin. Sin, to Niebuhr, is not merely error or misunderstanding, as the liberal theologians believed. It is inherent within the human condition and illustrated by the will to power of individuals, social groups, and nations. Sin most often manifests itself as pride, the belief of individuals, classes, and nations that they have all possible knowledge, that they are completely right.

Human knowledge and ability, however, are always incomplete. Given this fact, any belief that one has all the truth and the right to implement that truth within the world is dangerous. This attitude, which Niebuhr referred to as utopianism, must be combatted. Utopianism was the most visible manifestation of pride. Rejection of utopianism was not to be confused with political quiescence or inaction. That would be the sin of sloth and allow for the possibility of the emergence of even greater evils that might need to be combatted. This was the reason for Niebuhr's rejection of pacifism in the face of the rise of Nazism.

According to Niebuhr, the obligation of the Christian is to determine the concrete application of love within particular historical situations. This love finds concrete application within justice, but justice needs love to prevent it from becoming rigid, legalistic, and eventually unjust. Involvement with political affairs inevitably involves Christians with the messy and imperfect world. Simultaneously, Christians must remember that given the imperfections of the world and the political realm, no political system ever deserves or should receive divine sanction. At best, all we can hope to accomplish is the most appropriate application of Christian love to existing conditions.

Reinhold Niebuhr died on June 1, 1971. Those attending his funeral included Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., William Shirer, and Lionel and Diana Trilling. Among the officiants at the memorial service was Rabbi ABRAHAM HESCHEL Such was Reinhold Niebuhr's reach that those of other religions and no religion would come forward to honor him publicly.

(See also NIEBUHR, HELMUT RICHARD.)

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North American Baptist Conference See BAPTISTS.

Northern Baptist Convention See AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES IN THE U.S.A.

Noyes, John Humphrey (1811–1886)

Best known as the founder of the Oneida community in western New York, John Humphrey Noyes was also a writer, a preacher, and a social reformer. The son of wealthy, agnostic parents in Brattleboro, Vermont, Noyes attended Dartmouth College (1826–30) and after graduating determined to study law. Within a year, however, he was converted during an evangelical revival and decided to enter the ministry instead. After a brief stay at Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, Noyes studied at Yale Divinity School and received his license to preach from the Congregational Church in 1833.

During his time in New Haven, Noyes became dissatisfied with the evangelical faith that had ignited his piety. He struggled to find moral and spiritual perfection, and increasingly he looked to New Testament models, and particularly the paradigm of earthly holiness exemplified by the apostle Paul, for his guidance. Eventually, he concluded that Christ had returned in A.D. 70, thereby enabling human beings to achieve spiritual perfection during this life. The public espousal of this heretical conviction led to the revocation of his ministerial license in 1834, but it impelled Noyes to seek institutional means through which men and women could achieve a life of ordered holiness.

Noyes then moved to Putney, Vermont, to develop his ideas and gathered around him fellow spiritual seekers. Using the facilities of the Putney Bible School as well as finances from his father's estate, he gradually exerted

John Humphrey Noyes, Christian radical and founder of the most widely publicized 19th-century utopian experiment, the Oneida Community in upstate New York.

control over a community that by the early 1840s, counted some three dozen members. Noyes insisted on exercising complete authority over his flock, and he sought to provide followers with a combination of individual and environmental regeneration—including cultivation through work, leisure activities, and even diet—in order to facilitate their perfection. In 1846, he added the most controversial element of community life, a form of free cohabitation known as "complex marriage," in which monogamy was considered spiritual tyranny, emotional attachments between the sexes were frowned upon, and procreation was regulated by Noyes himself in a system called "stiripculture," which matched suitable partners for the conception of offspring.

The public uproar over Noyes's unorthodox sexual practices, including his indictment on charges of adultery, forced the community to relocate to Oneida, New York, in 1848. There the community thrived for nearly three decades, gaining economic security through the manufacturing of steel traps and silverplate. Noyes published a series of tracts explaining his views of scientific propagation and its spiritual rationale, including *Essay on Scientific Propagation* (1872) and *Male Continence* (1872). By 1876, outside pressure forced Noyes to remove to Canada, where he remained for the rest of his life, and to transfer leadership of Oneida to a ruling committee. He also advised the colony to end the practice of complex marriage. Although Noyes's utopia dissolved in 1881, it reformed as a joint-stock company and became known for the manufacture of fine flatware. In the 21st century, Oneida, Ltd., was trading on the New York Stock Exchange.

LMK

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occult movements See neopaganism; New Age religion; Rosicrucians; Santería; Satanism; Spiritualism; Vodou.

O'Connor, Flannery See literature and religion.

O'Connor, John (1920–2000) Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York from 1984 until his death in 2000, John Cardinal O'Connor was a man simultaneously admired by millions and reviled by those whose views and policies he opposed. O'Connor was born in a working-class neighborhood in Philadelphia on January 15, 1920. He was the fourth of five children and had a strong relationship to his parents, his father Thomas being his hero. Additionally, his mother's (Mary Gomble O'Connor) sudden blindness during his youth gave him a strong concern for the disabled that would remain with him throughout his life.

O'Connor attended public schools until his junior year in high school, when he entered West Catholic High School. Deeply moved by the Christian Brothers who ran the school, he committed himself to the priesthood, entering Philadelphia's St. Charles Borromeo Seminary at the age of 16. He was ordained on December 15, 1945.

After his ordination, O'Connor spent seven years as a diocesan priest while simultaneously teaching at a Catholic high school and an adult night school and ministering at two different psychiatric hospitals. Responding to an appeal by Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman for more chaplains, he entered the U.S. Navy in 1953.

O'Connor would spend 27 years as a naval chaplain, retiring with the rank of rear admiral and chief of the chaplains of the armed forces. His military experience would play a major role during his episcopacy. As a member of the Bishops' Commission on War and Peace, he urged a significant softening of the 1983 pastoral letter on U.S. nuclear policy.

After retiring from the military, he served four years as auxiliary bishop of the Military Vicariate, until in May 1983, he was appointed bishop of the Scranton, Pennsylvania, diocese. He served in this position for less than a year. With the death of Terrence Cardinal Cooke, Pope John Paul II appointed O'Connor archbishop of New York, the most important and influential post in American Catholicism. In choosing O'Connor, the pope is reported to have said, "I want a man just like me in New York." To a great extent, that is what he got. O'Connor was made a cardinal in the following year.

Like the pope, O'Connor was highly educated—O'Connor held advanced degrees in ethics, political science, and clinical psychology—while retaining the common touch. He followed the teachings of the church wherever they led and proclaimed them regardless of the consequences. Although often perceived as a conservative, he condemned the administration of President Ronald Reagan for its support of counterrevolutionary forces in South and Central America and opposed the building of a missile defense system. Strongly committed to the poor and downtrodden, he gave his time and money to those less fortunate and urged both his flock and politicians to spend more time and energy helping those in need. His commitment to the sanctity of human life extended from the unborn to those on death row, and he was a vocal opponent of capital punishment.

But O'Connor refused to soften the church's critiques of the world. He was staunchly pro-life and condemned HOMOSEXUALITY as a sin. Still, he often spent evenings working in AIDS wards, emptying bedpans, comforting the suffering, and listening to their stories. He also urged any woman contemplating abortion to come speak with him, asserting that he would allay her fears and that she would receive the services she needed during her pregnancy and delivery.

His forthrightness in speaking the church's views often led to conflicts with pro-choice and gay rights activists. Once, he openly stated that Catholic politicians who took pro-choice positions exposed themselves to the risk of excommunication. This unleashed a firestorm of controversy and raised suspicions about the independence of Catholic politicians not seen since 1960 (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM). Although O'Connor said he had been misinterpreted, stating that his claim was more about the rights of bishops, it served to make him a lightning rod for those who opposed the church's teachings on sexuality.

Despite these controversies, O'Connor retained the admiration and affection of the many Catholics of New York. His passion for individuals, his tirelessness, and his willingness to speak his mind endeared him to millions.

Upon reaching official retirement age at 75, O'Connor submitted his resignation to Pope John Paul II, who refused to accept it and asked O'Connor to remain as archbishop. This he did until his death from brain cancer on May 3, 2000. Perhaps no greater epitaph could be written for him than the words spoken by the pope on Cardinal O'Connor's death. He was "a deeply spiritual man, a warm and zealous pastor, an effective teacher of the faith and vigorous defender of human life."

(See also RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT; SEXUALITY.)

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O'Hair, Madalyn Murray (1919–1995)

Madalyn Murray O'Hair became the most famous atheist in the United States in the years following WORLD WAR II (see ATHEISM). Her notoriety stemmed from her outspoken opposition to prayer in public schools and from her general opposition to what she said was a concerted drive by government officials to make the country a Christian nation. Her successful challenge to the Baltimore school board in the 1963 case of *Murray v. Curlett*, which was consolidated with *Abington School District v. Schemp* (the name by which the Court's ruling is known), outlawed prayers in the school system and lent credibility to her campaign against government support for religion.

Madalyn Mays was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on April 13, 1919, the daughter of a Presbyterian father and a Lutheran mother. Her reading of the Bible from cover to cover at the age of 13 convinced her of its "impossibility." After high school, she attended several colleges, finally getting her baccalaureate degree in 1948 after serving as a cryptographer in the Women's Army Corps during World War II. In 1941, she had married John Henry Roths, but they separated when both entered the military. While stationed in Italy, she had an affair with William J. Murray, Jr., in 1945 and gave birth to her first son, William. Murray was a married Roman Catholic and refused to divorce his wife. Nevertheless, Madalyn divorced Roths and began calling herself Madalyn Murray. In 1954, she gave birth to another son, Jon Garth Murray, by a different father. She married Richard O'Hair in 1965. After obtaining a law degree from South Texas College of Law in 1953, she studied social work for two years at Howard University. Most of her career she spent as a psychiatric social worker and as an attorney for child welfare agencies, mental health clinics, and government agencies.

Madalyn Murray's coming to public attention resulted from her request that her older son, William, be exempted from daily prayers at Woodbourne Junior High School in Baltimore in 1960. An agreement to allow him to be excused during prayers fell through when students and adults taunted and harassed the family, and Murray brought suit to eliminate entirely "sectarian opening exercises" from the city's public schools. An 8-1 United States Supreme Court decision in 1963 upheld her position. Harassment of the family by irate neighbors and citizens continued in later months and years.

Following her victory, Murray expanded her campaign against organized religion, challenging the inclusion of the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance, attacking the Federal Communications Commission for not forcing stations to sell time on the airwaves to atheists, and challenging the tax-exempt status of religious organizations. In 1965, after marrying Richard O'Hair, she founded the American Atheist Center, serving as its director from 1965 to 1973.

In 1980, O'Hair received a major personal blow to her campaign to promote atheism when her older son, William (Bill) Murray, announced his conversion to Christianity. He soon became a powerful spokesman for evangelical Christianity, denouncing all that had been done by his mother to kick "God out of America." In his sermons, Bill accused his mother of using him as a tool in her crusade, claiming she had lied about her reasons for filing the lawsuit against Maryland and that he had never been the victim of any kind of violence at the hands of his Christian classmates. For her part, O'Hair responded in typical fashion by completely disowning him, declaring, "One could call this a postnatal abortion on the part of a mother, I guess; I repudiate him entirely and completely for now and all times. . . . He is beyond human forgiveness."

Despite this setback, O'Hair continued to promote her cause, hosting radio programs, giving public lectures, and writing tracts and books. These public activities ended abruptly in the summer of 1995, when O'Hair, her other son, and her granddaughter disappeared along with $500,000 in center funds. Phone calls from the three insisting that they were well led many to suspect that they had left the country and were living lavishly off the money. In 2000, however, a former employee of American Atheists was convicted of charges related to the thefts, but not murder, given the absence of bodies. As part of a plea agreement, however, he led FBI agents to a shallow grave near Camp Wood, Texas, where they found the dismembered and burned bodies of Madalyn Murray O'Hair, her son, and her granddaughter.

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Murray O'Hair, Anton LaVey, Will Campbell, Matthew Fox (New York: Knopf, 1993).

Olcott, Henry Steel (1832–1907) Henry Steel Olcott, the president and cofounder of the Theosophical Society (see THEOSOPHY) and a major contributor to the 19th-century Sinhalese Buddhist Revival in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), is probably the only American of the Victorian era who is remembered by his admirers as a bodhisattva ("enlightenment being") and a reincarnation of Gautama Buddha. He is undoubtedly the only such American who has also been denounced in the *New York Times* as "a man bereft of reason."

A descendent of the Puritans, Olcott was born to Presbyterian parents in Orange, New Jersey, in 1832. After dropping out of the University of the City of New York (now New York University), he marched west into Ohio. At the age of 20, he became a convert to SPIRITUALISM. In the two decades that followed this Spiritualist turn, he distinguished himself as an experimental agriculturalist, *New York Tribune* reporter, antislavery advocate, civil service reformer, government investigator of Lincoln's assassination, insurance lawyer, and chaste reviewer of raucous burlesque productions. It was not without reason that one of his contemporaries dubbed him "that most progressive of all the Americans."

Olcott's Theosophical career began when he met the Russian occultist HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY (1831–91). This fateful first meeting occurred in 1874 at a farmhouse in Chittenden, Vermont, that many Spiritualists believed housed talkative spirits of the dead. After an early and failed attempt to reform Spiritualism and cleanse it of what they saw as its moral and philosophical defects, Olcott and Blavatsky founded their own organization, the Theosophical Society, in New York in 1875. While Blavatsky was clearly the charismatic genius behind the Theosophical movement, Olcott was its organizational man. He oversaw the transplantation of the society from New York to Bombay to its present location in Adyar, a suburb of Madras, India, and he sustained it during its transition from a group devoted to investigating spiritual phenomena into the organization it is today: an eclectic body dedicated to preserving ancient wisdom and promoting interreligious harmony.

In Ceylon in 1880, Olcott formally converted to BUDDHISM. Over the next few decades, he earned the respect of many Sinhalese Buddhists by founding Buddhist schools and by lobbying a series of British colonial administrators for Buddhist civil rights. Though Olcott claimed to be preserving "pure, primitive Buddhism," he contributed mightily to the creole religious tradition scholars now describe as "Protestant Buddhism." Like the Gospel of the missionaries whose proselytizing he decried, Olcott's faith was activistic, optimistic, didactic, adaptationist, and progressive. And like the hated Christian missionaries, Olcott promoted his faith by founding voluntary associations, writing and distributing catechisms, promoting the translation of Buddhist scriptures into vernacular languages, establishing Sunday schools, preaching temperance, and conducting revivals.

Later in his career, Olcott attempted to gather all the world's Buddhists into one grand "International Buddhist League." He succeeded in garnering signatures of Mahayana ("Great Vehicle") and Theravada ("Way of the Elders") Buddhists from across Asia in support of an ecumenical Buddhist platform. He also promoted a new Buddhist flag as a symbol for all Buddhists and helped to found the Mahabodhi Society with the Sinhalese Buddhist reformer ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA in 1891. However, his broader hope for a "United Buddhist World" was never realized.

Olcott edited the *Theosophist* magazine (established in 1879) and wrote a six-volume history of the Theosophical Society entitled *Old Diary Leaves* (1895–1935), but he is best known for his *Buddhist Catechism* (1881), which has gone through more than 40 editions and been translated into 20 languages.

Olcott died in his adopted homeland of India in 1907. He is remembered today not only by Theosophists but also by Sinhalese who revere him as "the White Buddhist" who contributed in important ways to their nation's spiritual and political independence.

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Old Catholic movement A disparate movement divided by numerous schisms and conflicting claims, the Old Catholic movement's official organization was formed in the 1870s in response to the doctrine of papal infallibility proclaimed at the first Vatican Council (see VATICAN COUNCIL I). Its doctrinal origins lay in the 1700s, however, when the Bishop of Utrecht, Holland, Peter Codde, accepted into his diocese Jansenist refugees from the convent of Port Royal, France, following their expulsion from that country.

Developing from the thought of the Dutch theologian Cornelius Jansen, Jansenism held to the doctrines of predestination and limited salvation, believing salvation was not available to all. Jansenists' views were condemned by several popes, and the Jansenists were hounded by their leading opponents, the JESUITS. The positive reception given to the Jansenists by the bishop of Utrecht, therefore, led to his deposition by the pope. Codde retained much of his following, and with the arrival of Dominique Varlet, a French bishop with Jansenist leanings, there was a general confirmation of those who had followed Codde. Varlet returned to Utrecht in 1724 to consecrate a new bishop there and later consecrated bishops in Haarlem and Deventer, guaranteeing apostolic succession for the movement that would become the Old Catholics.

Following the promulgation of papal infallibility in 1879, a group of theologians and churchmen who opposed the doctrine met in Munich, Germany. These delegates, including representatives of the Church of Utrecht and the Church of England, organized the Old Catholic Church along national lines. The ritual is that of the Roman Catholic Church, although clergy are allowed to marry. The national churches retain their autonomy, with the bishop of Utrecht presiding over the episcopal conference. The Roman Catholic Church recognizes the validity of the ordination of Old Order Catholic (Utrecht) priests but rejects the church's right to consecrate bishops.

In the United States, the Old Catholic Church has become a jumble of schisms and irregular consecrations. To a great extent, the movement in the United States has been a history of bishops without dioceses. These churches include the American Catholic Church, the American Catholic Church (Syro-Antiochean), the Christ Orthodox Catholic Exarchate of the Americas and the Eastern Hemisphere, two bodies under the name of North American Old Roman Catholic Church, and numerous others.

A major exception to the general rule is the Polish National Catholic Church of America. It is the only one of the American Old Catholic bodies in communion with the see of Utrecht and is by far the largest in the United States. It was organized in 1904 by the merger of several independent Polish Roman Catholic parishes that had been formed in response to a perceived hostility by American bishops to Polish Catholic sensibilities. The Polish National Catholic Church of America retains the feel of pre-Vatican II Roman Catholicism (see VATICAN COUNCIL II) with the injection of strong Polish nationalism. Headquartered in Scranton, Pennsylvania, in 2008 it numbered nearly 30,000 members in 123 parishes in North America.

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Old Lights See NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS.

Old School See NEW SCHOOL/OLD SCHOOL.

Old Side See NEW SIDE/OLD SIDE.

Old South See PROSLAVERY THOUGHT; SLAVERY; SOUTH.

Oneida community See NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY.

ordination Within most religious traditions, ordination is the rite by which an individual officially becomes invested with the authority and power to perform the religious rites and rituals. It is what separates ministers, rabbis, priests, monks, and, occasionally, nuns from the lay members of the religion or the denomination.

The variety of ordination within religious traditions is immense. In the Christian traditions, the Roman Catholic (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM), Orthodox (see ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA), Anglican (see EPISCOPAL CHURCH), and ANCIENT EASTERN CHURCHES have the most elaborate processes of ordination as well as the most complex understandings of its meaning. In these traditions, through ordination one becomes empowered to perform the sacraments that are central to religious life. The Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Ancient Eastern Churches hold that ordination to the priesthood enables a person to act *in persona Christe,* "in the name of" or "on behalf of Christ." Within these traditions, ordination is considered valid only if it is administered by a bishop of the tradition. The bishop undertaking the ordination must have himself (or herself within the Anglican tradition) been consecrated in a line of bishops able to trace their succession to the apostles. Without the legitimacy of succession, ordination is considered invalid.

For most Protestant traditions within the United States, ordination is the ritual by which one is approved to the ministry of Word and Sacrament. In mainstream Protestant traditions, ordination follows a period of study and training by the candidate as well as an evaluation of the individual's knowledge and the depth of her or his call to the ministry. Historically, in the evangelical and Pentecostal (see EVANGELICALISM; PENTECOSTALISM) traditions, less emphasis has been given to the education and training of a minister and more to the legitimacy of the individual's call to the ministry by God. The legitimacy of the call was considered far more important than education.

In fact, in the history of American Protestantism, the conflict over an educated ministry has played a major role. Those opposed felt that requiring a seminary education denied divine power and placed the ministry in human hands. An educated ministry also was criticized as separating the preacher from the congregation and focusing more on status and "book learning" than preaching the true word of God. This latter was amply demonstrated by the tendency of educated ministers to use written sermons rather than preaching the word as the spirit of God directed. Some used the need for a written sermon as evidence for the absence of divine inspiration.

The issue of an educated ministry has not been the only conflict over ordination in American religious history. While ordination of women and gays and lesbians has been the most visible conflict, within Mormonism (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS), blacks were denied ordination to the full priesthood until the reception of a new revelation in 1978 (see WOMEN; HOMOSEXUALITY; AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION).

Ordination of women has, in varying degrees, been an issue within many religious traditions in the United States. Some traditions ordained women as early as the 19th century, and historically some local congregations and administrative bodies ordained women even when contrary to policy. The biggest push toward women's ordination was in the 20th century. By that century's end, most Protestant denominations in the United States as well as the Conservative and Reform movements in JUDAISM ordained women.

While none of the leading seminaries or *yeshivot* of ORTHODOX JUDAISM ordain (or even admit women), some women have studied privately with leading Orthodox rabbis, and three women have received letters of ordination (*semicha*). Out of deference to the norms of Orthodox Judaism, two have declined to adopt the title of rabbi. The most recently ordained woman (May 2006) has been denominated rabbi by her congregation, although the rabbi who ordained her remained reluctant to use the title.

Women continue to be denied ordination within the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. This has been a major source of conflict within ROMAN CATHOLICISM, and the church has a significant segment of its membership that vocally supports women's ordination. Additionally, the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION continues to oppose women's ordination. When the *Baptist Faith and Message* was amended in 1998, the following article was added: "Article VI, The Church. While both men and women are gifted for service in the church, *the office of pastor is limited to men* as qualified by Scripture." The radically congregational nature of the denomination, however, and the fact that local churches controlled the ordination process meant that some congregations continued to ordain women despite this opposition. In fact, the first woman to become a Southern Baptist minister was ordained in 1964.

The other ordination controversy faced by many religions and denominations in the late 20th and early 21st centuries has been the ordination of gays and lesbians. All the major historical religious traditions, with the possible exception of some variants within HINDUISM, have viewed homosexuality as a sin or an aberration. Additionally, with the exception of classical Greece, homosexuality generally has been viewed as a vice by most civilizations and polities and often has been criminalized. The growth in the understandings of human freedom and autonomy, along with a decline in the consequences for nonmarital sex, eased some of the social and legal opposition to homosexuality. This led it to becoming increasingly acknowledged and accepted in social and interpersonal affairs. With this move, gay men and lesbians began to demand greater acceptance in their religious communities. Many denominations moved toward an acceptance of openly gay and lesbian members. Some did so by diminishing the historical doctrines that viewed homosexuality as a sin, while others left it an open question.

Ordination presented an even more complicated challenge to religions. Not only did it force them to address the issue of homosexuality as a sin, it also forced a reconsideration of the sinfulness of sex outside a recognized marriage between a man and a woman. For some denominations, their open theological stance made the decision less difficult. The UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION and the Swedenborgian Church of North America both ordain noncelibate homosexuals. The METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY CHURCHES, as one might expect of a denomination created to be gay friendly, also ordains noncelibate homosexuals.

Other denominations have struggled with the issue for years. While few major denominations have expressly approved the ordination of practicing noncelibate homosexuals, the Episcopal Church has moved in that direction. In fact, the Episcopal Church ordained as bishop an openly gay man living in a long-term committed relationship. The consecration of Gene Robinson as bishop of New Hampshire had serious consequences for the church internationally. Its status within the worldwide Anglican community has been challenged, particularly by the churches in Africa and Asia. Several churches in the United States have removed themselves from the authority of the Episcopal Church and have placed themselves under the authority of the bishop of Nigeria.

Other denominations have failed to move institutionally, the conflict being too intense. Votes in the leading Presbyterian, Methodist, and Lutheran denominations have left in place the traditional understanding that a minister either must be in a monogamous heterosexual marriage or celibate. Some local congregations have acted in violation of these limits and have chosen to ordain practicing homosexuals despite formal church policy. Some denominations may have allowed such actions in order to avoid schisms, and a 2006 vote by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) appears to have established an authoritative interpretation of church rules that gives local presbyteries the authority to ordain individuals based on their reading of the rule on ordination.

For the Roman Catholic Church, the ordination of homosexuals presented numerous challenges. First, the church requires that all priests be celibate, so under church law one cannot be a practicing homosexual and a priest. Second, homosexuality is a sin within Catholic doctrine, and it would be a blatant affront to doctrine and church order to ordain openly and admittedly sinful priests. Finally, during the 1980s and 1990s, the church was buffeted by accounts of priests sexually abusing children. Much of this abuse involved young boys, and the church increasingly felt pressure to ensure that such practices were ended. The Vatican's formal response was issued in November 2005. This "Instruction" on the admission of homosexually inclined men to the seminary articulated the church's policy on this matter. Men with "transitory" homosexual leanings may be ordained deacons following three years of prayer and chastity. However, men with "deeply rooted homosexual tendencies" and those who are sexually active cannot be ordained.

Within the more conservative traditions, particularly within Protestantism, homosexuality remains a sin that is condemned. As a result, the issue of gay ordination is not seriously discussed. Despite this, the possibility of ordaining an openly gay or lesbian individual as a minister remains open within those denominations with radically congregational polities, such as Southern Baptists. Such actions may result in other Baptist congregations withdrawing from fellowship with it, as happened when the Glendale Baptist Church in Nashville, Tennessee, hired an admitted lesbian as a one of its ministers in 2003.

The conflict over ordination and its meaning shows little sign of diminishing. To a great extent, this should not be surprising, since the rite of ordination determines church and pastoral leadership. As such, outside of membership, it is the most important decision that religious traditions must make. Its centrality to religious identity and religious formation means that all religions in the United States must reexamine ordination's meaning as new cultural and social challenges present themselves.

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Orthodox Christianity Despite the activity of several million believers, Orthodox Christianity has attracted relatively little attention in North America. Obscured by what the historian Martin Marty has called the cocoon of ethnicity, the Orthodox in America have been perceived primarily as Slavs, Greeks, Aleuts, Romanians, and so on. Nevertheless, a family of Orthodox churches took root in North America during the 20th century. Large and stable communities emerged from immigrant chaos and poverty, and an ancient Christian tradition began to grapple with American culture.

The first contact took place in the islands off Alaska during the 18th century. Organized Russian missions carried the faith across the Bering Sea beginning in 1794, and many indigenous peoples embraced Orthodoxy. However, most Orthodox living in North America today trace their roots to the vast diaspora of the late 19th and early 20th century, when waves of immigrants arrived from eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. They carried with them a faith that, although the dominant form of Christianity in its homelands, was little known in the West.

The major historical legacy of the Byzantine Empire (324–1453), Orthodoxy prizes its unbroken continuity with the church established in Jerusalem on Pentecost. It claims to be the universal, unaltered, and normative expression of Christianity. And although composed of more than a dozen autonomous local or national churches, the Orthodox communion considers itself to be a single church bound together by a common doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and liturgical tradition.

Inextricably connected to the Byzantine state, Orthodoxy flourished throughout the medieval period. Its influence extended far beyond the empire's embattled borders as Byzantine missions converted the Serbs and the Bulgars and, after the 10th century, spread the faith into Ukraine and Russia.

Although contact with the church in western Europe dwindled after the sixth century, much of the shared dogmatic heritage of Trinitarian Christianity was articulated by Eastern theologians. Thus, although the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches still shared a great deal, significant theological differences developed, notably disagreements about the nature of papal authority and the role of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity.

The rise of Islam and centuries of conflict with the Roman Catholic West eroded the position of the Byzantine Church, especially after the 12th century. The conflict with the West was particularly sharp. The bitter estrangement between Rome and Constantinople is symbolized by the Great Schism of 1054, the sack of Constantinople by Western Christians in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade, and long centuries of tension along the European borders between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East, which stretch from Serbia to Lithuania.

However, the massive dispersion of migrants at the end of the 19th century shattered the geographical isolation of the Orthodox. More than 1 million Orthodox from roughly two dozen ethnic groups established themselves in North America, including Albanians, Arabs, Bulgarians, Greeks, Romanians, Serbs, Russians, and Ukrainians.

In addition, hundreds of thousands of closely related Eastern Rite Catholics, also called Greek Catholics or Uniates, arrived during this period. While Orthodox in tradition and practice, they came from groups that had broken with Orthodoxy to join the Roman Catholic Church between the 16th and 18th centuries. Most Uniate Catholics in America were Slav immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Their relations with American Catholic bishops, who were unfamiliar with their traditions, were often strained.

As American Catholic bishops pressed them to conform with Western norms, many Uniates considered rejoining the Orthodox Church. By 1890, the Russian Orthodox diocese in America was pursuing the Uniates eagerly (see BELAVIN, TIKHON). Eventually, several hundred Eastern Rite parishes rejoined Orthodox jurisdictions in several waves beginning in the 1890s.

The history of most Orthodox jurisdictions in America falls into three phases: a turbulent period of mass migration that ended soon after WORLD WAR I, a period of intense struggle for survival during the 1920s and 1930s, and a period of consolidation following WORLD WAR II.

Although diverse in language and ethnic identity, Orthodox immigrants shared two general challenges. The first was acculturation. Orthodox people typically held their religious and ethnic identities to be inseparable. As immigrants and their children lost touch with, for example, Greek or Syrian culture, they ran the risk of slipping away from Orthodoxy.

The second challenge was the continuing and often profoundly disruptive impact of events in the old homelands. Old World political struggles divided almost every Orthodox group in America at some point. The rise of communist regimes in eastern Europe proved to be devastatingly divisive.

During the period between 1880 and 1920, the Russian church took the lead. Supported from St. Petersburg, it oriented itself to serve immigrants pouring into the cities and industrial regions along the East Coast and around the Great Lakes. Russian bishops also attempted to build a single American Orthodox archdiocese with many ethnic subjurisdictions to serve the polyglot flock. And although most Greeks resisted this arrangement, the Russian plan achieved some success, as many Syrians, Serbs, and other Slavs cooperated.

Local lay groups often took the initiative in forming Orthodox communities in the new land. Typically, religious or ethnic brotherhoods formed as a prelude to the organization of a parish that could provide the religious and cultural support the immigrants sought. The adjustment from homelands where a state-sponsored Orthodox Church prevailed to the voluntaristic atmosphere of America proved often difficult.

The vigorous role of the laity in America gave parishes a loyal and active constituency, but clashes took place frequently among those from different regions of the homeland and among laity, priests, and bishops. In the fluid circumstances of the diaspora, the canonical validity of parishes, clergy, and jurisdictions was often questioned. The search for stability and canonical good order remained a major challenge well into the 20th century.

Nevertheless, by 1910, a large Orthodox community was taking shape. Unfortunately, World War I brought disaster. The Russian revolutions of 1917 virtually destroyed the Russian church in America. Subsidies ended abruptly, and the Russian church at home and abroad was splintered by disagreements over how to respond to Communist domination. The three rival Russian-descended jurisdictions still exist. Greeks and Syrians also suffered schisms reflecting homeland politics during the 1920s. To compound matters, immigration restrictions enacted during the early 1920s cut off immigration from most Orthodox homelands.

As a result, the Orthodox in America fragmented into separate ethnic jurisdictions. A Romanian diocese formed in 1921 and a Greek archdiocese in 1922. Others followed. These ethnic churches reflected the preferences of immigrants eager to maintain ties with their homelands and the reality that the Orthodox community was divided by language and ethnicity.

The situation began to stabilize in the 1930s, as the Greek archdiocese and the largest Russian jurisdiction moved beyond internal quarrels and began to build an institutional base, including the opening of the first permanent Orthodox theological seminaries in the United States. Three jurisdictions emerged during the 1940s and 1950s as the leading Orthodox groups: the GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA, the Russian-descended group now called the ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA (OCA), and the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America (whose main constituency was of Arab origin). At least 11 additional Orthodox jurisdictions (including some groups divided by home-country politics or by theological debate) also function. Most now collaborate, but a single, unified American Orthodox Church remains a distant goal.

For most Orthodox, the decades after World War II were marked by relative ecclesiastical peace. The American churches did not, however, live beyond the reach of events abroad. The rise of communist regimes in Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria produced the same schisms over relations with communist-controlled home churches that still crippled the Russians.

But despite these difficulties, Orthodox Americans began to move more comfortably in this culture. Their churches began to face important issues of acculturation, epitomized by the debate over how much English to use in worship. Across ethnic boundaries, several other "American" elements crept into Orthodox worship, including choral singing accompanied by organs, the use of fixed pews in churches, and the institutionalization of lay authority in parish councils.

The passage into American culture also sparked two distinct and occasionally conflicting movements within Orthodoxy. The first was the assertion of an Orthodox presence in American society, usually expressed though participation in the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. The second was the attempt to develop authentic Orthodox critiques of American and Western society.

Driven by the desire to present Orthodoxy outside its accustomed cultural settings, these efforts stimulated a powerful theological revival in the diaspora. Scholars also struggled to translate the vast corpus of foundational Orthodox theological, liturgical, and spiritual texts needed by English-speaking believers and others interested in the faith.

The reassertion of traditional Orthodox themes has been the hallmark of this revival. The tendency is visible in theology, in worship, and even in church architecture. In theology, it took the shape of what the Russian-American theologian George Florovsky called the patristic revival. First articulated in the 1930s, it called for the correction of "false developments" (mostly adaptations from the Protestant and Catholic West) that took place in the Greek church during the Ottoman period and in the Russian church after 1800.

Florovsky and other Orthodox thinkers in the West complained about the ecclesiastical ossification of the Orthodox world and of the tendency of Orthodox theologians to appropriate Catholic arguments to combat Protestants and Protestant arguments to oppose Catholics. Proponents of the movement argued that intensive study of theological and liturgical sources from the patristic and Byzantine periods would provide the most authentic guide for Orthodox renewal. An outpouring of groundbreaking historical studies, translations of source texts, and theological reflections followed.

Although most Orthodox leaders support cautious participation in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and other ecumenical activities, the Orthodox stance toward ecumenism is internally controversial. Conservatives, who harbor profound reservations about ecumenism, oppose concessions to modern scholarly methods and bitterly condemn modifications in longstanding Orthodox norms (such as the decision taken by some national churches during the 1920s to adopt the Gregorian calendar).

The tendency to reemphasize tradition is also evident in a broad movement to renew sacramental practices. Many jurisdictions now encourage members to receive the Eucharist frequently, rather than several times a year, as had gradually become customary. Liturgical reformers, most notably the Russian-American theologian ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN, have not advocated the alteration of the liturgy, but rather criticized the accretion of pious customs that distract attention from the main themes of the liturgy.

The revival of traditional forms has also influenced church architecture, iconography, and even the design of vestments. Pioneering American communities often purchased and renovated structures built by others. While some obtained magnificent churches, most took over buildings poorly suited for Orthodox use. So after World War II, it became increasingly common for parishes to construct new structures, often in styles that blended architectural modernism with elements of traditional Orthodox design, such as "onion domes." This trend reached its pinnacle in Frank Lloyd Wright's Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church in Milwaukee, a circular structure built in the early 1960s.

However, a countertrend surfaced during the same period. Across jurisdictional lines, communities re-created, often scrupulously, traditional Orthodox architecture. Two churches built in the early 1960s proved to be powerful models: the OCA's St. Nicholas Cathedral in Washington, D.C., which replicates a church in the Russian city of Vladimir, and the chapel at the Greek Orthodox seminary outside Boston, which is modeled on surviving Byzantine churches in Greece.

Traditionalism is even more strongly marked in recent iconography, where there has been a decisive turn away from the Italianate style of the 19th and early 20th century. The neo-Byzantine style of the Greek iconographer Photios Kontoglou has been particularly influential. Among the Slavs, the style of Andrei Rublev and other pre-17th-century Russian iconographers has been revived.

Several important trends emerged during the 1980s, most notably a sharp drop in membership in the Orthodox Church in America, which saw some gains in converts but serious losses among its "ethnic membership" and a striking rise in the prominence of converts in most jurisdictions.

The Antiochian Christian Orthodox Archdiocese in America, under the leadership of Metropolitan Anthony Saliba, was particularly open to converts and conversion. In 1987, it accepted into membership 2,000 members of the Evangelical Orthodox Church, an evangelical Protestant group that had gradually adopted Orthodox theology and ritual. Renamed the Antiochian Evangelical Orthodox Mission, that group brought to the Antiochian archdiocese a strong evangelistic impulse to win American converts. In most other Orthodox jurisdictions, convert clergy and laypeople became increasingly influential. Many came from Episcopal or evangelical Protestant backgrounds and carried with them negative views of American religion and culture that caused discomfort among "cradle" Orthodox.

In the late 1990s, a struggle over succession in the Greek Archdiocese revealed a growing division between Greek Orthodox who pushed for American autonomy and self-styled "traditionalists" who insisted on maintaining a strong emphasis on Greek identity. Archbishop Spyridon Papageorgiou, who served a tempestuous term between 1990 and

1996, when he was forced to resign in the face of unanimous opposition from other bishops in the archdiocese and widespread lay and clerical criticism, became a notable critic of "Protestantization" in the American church. One of the factors spurring divisiveness was growth in monasticism, hitherto not a major force in Greek Orthodox life in America. Several monasteries were founded by Father Ephraim, the charismatic former abbot of one of the prestigious monasteries on Mt. Athos in Greece and a staunch opponent of what he saw as liberalizing tendencies in American religion.

Current membership estimates are not highly reliable, but the major Orthodox jurisdictions claimed about 5 million members in 2008. The overwhelming majority are concentrated in three jurisdictions: the Greek archdiocese with about 2.5 million members; the OCA with more than 1 million; and the Antiochian archdiocese with nearly 400,000. About a dozen smaller jurisdictions claim nearly 1 million members. There are nearly 2,000 Orthodox parishes in North America.

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Orthodox Church in America The Orthodox Church in America (OCA) traces its origins to a mission established on Kodiak Island in Alaska in 1793 by eight Russian monks. The mission flourished during the early 19th century, especially under the charismatic priest John Veniaminov, who in 1840, became the first Orthodox bishop to serve in the Americas.

The Russian church neglected the mission after the sale of Alaska in 1866, but its interest was rekindled in the 1880s, when Orthodox and Eastern Rite Catholic immigrants began flooding into North America. To serve this booming population, the diocese shifted its seat from Sitka, Alaska, to San Francisco in 1872, and then to New York in 1905.

Under a series of vigorous bishops, including TIKHON BELAVIN, the diocese sought to persuade Eastern Rite Catholics to return to Orthodoxy, and eventually more than 200 parishes did so.

Incorporated in 1897 as the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America, the diocese remained a part of the church of Russia. It aimed, however, to embrace members of all Orthodox churches. By 1910, it included groups of Arabs, Serbs, and Bulgarians, as well as its chief constituency of Slavs and Native Americans.

This pan-Orthodox structure disintegrated after the Russian revolutions of 1917, when subsidies were terminated and the chief source of clergy cut off. Extreme privation, compounded by intense political conflict, racked the Russian church during the 1920s and 1930s.

During this period, the Russian Orthodox split into three factions whose relations were extremely complex. A small group preserved ties with the church in the Soviet Union. Others leaned toward the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, based in Yugoslavia. Most, however, steered a middle course, joining together in the so-called Russian Metropolia. For much of the period, the Metropolia was affiliated with the synod in exile but tended to assert its ecclesiastical autonomy despite questions about the canonical validity of that arrangement.

After World War II, the Metropolia broke with both other groups and entered a long period of growth in which it moved away from its Slav and immigrant roots. The church spent much of the 1950s and 1960s evaluating its role in American society and in world Orthodoxy.

Spurred by the work of a talented generation of theologians, including George Florovsky, Alexander Schmemann, and John Meyendorff, the Metropolia played an active role in the ecumenical movement and simultaneously campaigned for the creation of a single, independent Orthodox church in America. Turning initially to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and then to the church of Russia, the Metropolia won its independence on April 10, 1970, when the Moscow patriarchate granted autocephally, or ecclesiastical independence, to the newly renamed Orthodox Church in America.

The OCA achieved a multiethnic character during the 1960s and 1970s, as smaller jurisdictions of Romanians, Albanians, and Bulgarians affiliated with its synod of bishops. It also collaborated closely with the Serb and Syrian Orthodox jurisdictions, particularly in the education of clergy at St. Vladimir's Seminary in New York.

The OCA sought to embody a new and indigenous American form of Orthodoxy, chiefly by promoting the use of English in worship and openly seeking converts. It established missions in areas of the United States with small populations of Orthodox ethnic groups, and by the 1980s, a large portion of its clergy and membership was composed of converts.

The OCA also renewed its Alaskan roots, where nearly half of the indigenous population still profess Orthodoxy. St. Herman's Pastoral School opened there in 1973 to train indigenous clergy and lay leaders and to coordinate translations.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the OCA continued to emphasize "American Orthodoxy," stressing the establishment of new mission parishes, rebuilding the faculty of St. Vladimir's after its founding generation of faculty retired, and proceeding with the canonization of 11 American saints. The church struggled, however, with persistent financial problems linked to shrinking membership roles in many parishes. The decline of long-established "ethnic" parishes, particularly those in poor, urban locations, was especially sharp.

The church claims 1 million members in about 800 parishes in the United States and Canada. It also supervises parishes in Mexico, South America, and Australia.

AHW

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Orthodox Judaism It is symptomatic of the state of American religion that what is simply Judaism in the rest of the world is in the United States Orthodox Judaism, one of three Jewish denominations, or branches. Orthodoxy, the oldest form of Judaism in the country by 200 years, has been the least studied. Scholars often have pronounced its death, but it has repeatedly sprung back to life with renewed vigor and strength.

Simply put, Orthodox Judaism is the branch of Judaism that maintains the Jewish laws, *Halachah*, and the traditional forms of religious expression. These laws are drawn from the Torah, the commentaries on the Torah, the Mishna, and commentaries on the commentaries, the Gemara. Together these comprise the Talmud, the authoritative text for Judaism. The very complexity and length of the Talmud led to attempts during the Middle Ages to codify these laws. One of the most important of these was Rabbi Moses ben Maimon's (Maimonides, 1135–1204) *Code,* formally known as the *Mishneh Torah* and popularly as the *Yad Ha-Hazaka* ("The Mighty Hand"). Designed as a definitive statement of the Jewish religion, it also includes a list of the 613 *mitzvot* (commandments or directives) imposed upon the observant Jew.

This book, steeped in the philosophical concerns of 12th-century Sephardic (Spanish) Jewry, was inaccessible to the majority of the Jewish people. In order to make the law more easily understood, Rabbi Joseph Caro (1488–1575) undertook a more direct outline of the laws in the 16th century. This codification, the *Shulhan Aruch* (1564–65), became the basis for determining the life of an observant Jew. Its importance cannot be overestimated. Orthodoxy is inherently a religion of practice, of behaviors. The religious laws guide every element of a Jew's life from awaking in the morning to going to bed at night. In fact, even sleeping is regulated. For example, it is forbidden for a man to sleep with his wife during menstruation.

The arrival of several families of Dutch Jews in New Amsterdam in 1654 marks the beginning of Orthodoxy in North America. The religion of these Jews, descendants of Jews expelled from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496), was different from that of the Ashkenazic (central and eastern European) Jews who arrived two centuries later. These Sephardic Jews followed different rituals from those of eastern European Jews, maintained a decorousness in worship, and came from a region where, until the 1490s, they had known (relative) comfort and security under both Muslim and Christian rulers. They were more outward looking and more willing to integrate into the wider society and did so with evident ease. During the time of the American Revolution, a Hessian soldier serving in Newport, Rhode Island (the second Jewish community in the United States), could write, the Jews "are not distinguishable by their beards and attire . . . while their women wear the same French finery as the other faiths. . . ."

While these first settlers and their descendants would dominate America's Jewish community until the 1820s, there were early conflicts between them and Ashkenazic Jews. As early as 1738, a minister in Savannah, Georgia, remarked on the conflict between the Spanish and German Jews there. "[T]hey want to build a synagogue, but cannot come to terms. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews are not so strict as far as eating is concerned. They eat, for instance, the beef that comes from the warehouse. The German Jews, on the other hand, would rather starve than eat any meat they do not slaughter themselves."

The arrival of increasing numbers of these Ashkenazic Jews altered the character of American Judaism. Although many were drawn into the orbit of Reform Judaism, itself a German product, large numbers were strictly Orthodox in behavior. This was especially true of those Jews from Poland, Romania, Lithuania, and Russia who arrived by the hundreds of thousands between 1880 and 1924. These new arrivals, whose entire existence had been structured by the tight-knit Jewish communities of the region, the shtetls, overwhelmed the older communities. While certain congregations retained their ancient Sephardic rites, for example Shearith Israel in New York, Orthodox Judaism in the United States became synonymous with eastern European Jewry.

Organization is both unnecessary and imperative within Orthodox Judaism. Although contradictory, this statement is nonetheless true. For worship to occur, all that is required is a minyan—the presence of 10 adult Jewish males. No minister, no building, no externals are needed. But the requirement of 10 members means that a community must exist, a community that can create all the necessary elements of Orthodox life. These elements include: a *shehitah*, a ritual slaughterer (before the days of refrigeration), a *mikveh*, a pool for ritual purification, and a cemetery. Some form of religious education is also required, so that children can be raised in the knowledge of the faith. Theoretically, it is possible for such a community to be self-contained, with no organizational connections with other communities. In reality, this is quite difficult. The complexities that emerge in ritual and dietary laws often require outside sources of adjudication and some manner of determining authority. Patterns of religious training link individuals and communities with particular schools of thought and practice. Additionally, in the Old World, Jews, despite their persecuted and minority position, were a distinctive community, and most countries recognized an individual or group of individuals as authoritative for the community. Faith, practice, and authority served to link Jewish communities together.

This was not the case in the United States. The government was forbidden to dictate to any religious community, and the social makeup of the country imposed weak penalties on deviance. To maintain the structures of Orthodoxy meant that the Orthodox had to choose to do so; the community ceased to be a given and became a creation.

The organizations necessary for Orthodox religious life were formed early. Several congregations following the Sephardic rite emerged in the colonial towns. The first Ashkenazic rite synagogue was formed in Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1761, followed in 1802 by Rodeph Shalom in Philadelphia, and in 1825 by B'nai Jeshurun in New York. As early as 1731, Shearith Israel formed the first religious school. All this activity took place without benefit of officially sanctioned rabbis. Not until 1840 did the first Orthodox rabbi come to serve a congregation in the United States, when Abraham Rice arrived from Germany to take a pulpit in Baltimore. There he locked horns with the radical reformer DAVID EINHORN and his own less-than-observant flock. Their violations of the religious laws grieved Rice greatly, and he despaired of "whether a Jew may live in a land such as this."

There was much reason for that despair. The period between 1840 and 1880 was a time of change. Jews who rejected the *halachic* prescriptions as outdated, unnecessary, and superstitious had the upper hand. These years saw the rise and dominance of REFORM JUDAISM in America, and the more traditional found themselves in retreat.

The wave of Jewish immigration that swept the United States from 1880 to 1924 changed this. During that time, 2.5 million Jews came to America, nearly all of them from eastern Europe. Although the majority did not continue the religious traditions of Europe upon arriving, large numbers did, breathing new life into a weakened Orthodoxy. Most of these immigrants organized their religious life around small shuls, as the Yiddish speaking Jews called their synagogues. Shuls generally were organized on patterns of similarity, a

The interior of a synagogue in Colchester, Connecticut, in 1940 after a small weekly service. *(Library of Congress)* shared region of birth—the *Rumanische* (Romanian) shul—or occupation—the India rubber shul, so-called because most of its members peddled suspenders.

This rapid growth caused tremendous chaos, and attempts were made to impose some order. As early as 1845, Isaac Leeser, cantor of Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, had urged the appointment of a chief rabbi, but to no avail. By the mid-1880s, a central authority seemed so necessary in New York, with its nearly 120,000 Orthodox families, 130 synagogues, and only three or four rabbis, that 15 congregations banded together into the Association of American Orthodox Hebrew Congregations. Their goal was to bring the distinguished Vilna (Lithuania) rabbi Jacob Joseph to the United States as chief rabbi by offering a salary of $2,500 a year that would be raised from certificates on kosher food, licensing of slaughterers, and *gittim* (the certificates of divorce). The effort was a fiasco. Other congregations appointed their own chief rabbi; housewives and butchers complained about rises in prices; secular and Reform Jews mocked the undertaking. Rabbi Joseph attempted to ignore the controversy and proceed with his work, with little success. Ruined in spirit and health, he died penniless in 1902.

Similar attempts were made in other communities, including Baltimore (1908–10), Los Angeles (1919–20), and Albany, New York (1918–21), but with few positive results. There was no way to impose order on such a diverse community.

There were some achievements, however, notably the creation of a school to train rabbis for Orthodox congregations—Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS). Founded in 1897, the school struggled along for two decades. Even its recognition by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis (Augudat ha-Rabbanim) as the only acceptable school of higher learning in America helped little. A merger with Etz Chaim Academy in 1915 and the appointment of a new president who saw the school as both Orthodox and American led to a period of phenomenal growth. Problems remained, however. The addition of secular education in 1928 alienated the ultra-Orthodox. Their antagonism to secular education led to the creation of another rabbinical union, which supported it, the Rabbinical Council of America (RCA) in 1935, an outgrowth of the RIETS Alumni Association. Joined in 1942 by graduates of Hebrew Theological College (founded 1921), the RCA became the dominant rabbinical organization in America, representing what is known as "modern Orthodoxy."

The Orthodox synagogues found their voice in the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, now the Orthodox Union. Founded in 1898, the union originally included men like Henry Pereira Mendes and Cyrus Adler. Too much separated these men and their congregations from the eastern Europeans, and following the death of Mendes, many left to found what is known as Conservative Judaism.

The Orthodox Union affirmed its belief in the divine revelation of the Bible and the Jewish law and its commitment to them. It took a swipe at the Reform by declaring that the Jews were a people as well as a religion and that they looked forward to the restoration of their homeland. Although the union grew slowly and suffered a major setback with the founding of the United Synagogue of America, by 1980 the union included 1,000 congregations and represented most of America's 1 million Orthodox Jews.

While commitment to the totality of Jewish law would seem to insure unity among the Orthodox, such has not been the case. Divisions that existed in Europe persisted in the United States. New divisions emerged as well. Despite the numerous divisions, Orthodox in the United States can be grouped into three broad categories: "modern Orthodox," "traditionalists," and "sectarians," or "ultratraditionalists."

The modern Orthodox are by far the largest group and are predominant within the Orthodox Union and the RCA. These Orthodox Jews follow Jewish law but are neither hostile to secular education nor indifferent to the wider social world. Traditions not specifically *halachic* have been jettisoned, and certain *halachic* demands have been modified. Their rabbis use English in their sermons, women often do not wear head coverings outside the synagogue, and a few even dispense with sex-segregated seating in the synagogue. These modern Orthodox Jews are acculturated, predominantly middle-class Americans who have made peace both with their tradition and with their society. Additionally, Modern Orthodox are distinguished by their acceptance of and express support for the "State of Israel." This separates them from the traditionalists and ultratraditionalists, whose focus is on the "land of Israel."

The traditionalists, on the other hand, maintain a rigid commitment to religious ritual and law. They also embrace secular education and are significantly represented in the natural and physical sciences. In fact, the most truly "traditionalist" organization is the Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists. This group is interesting in that embracing secular education has made their traditionalism possible. While the socioeconomic cost of a rigid Orthodoxy was too high for earlier generations, the economic stability of this group makes their uncompromising attendance to religious law feasible.

The "ultratraditionalists," or "sectarians," show a different face of Orthodoxy. Many did not arrive in the United States until the Nazi era, and they are closest to the European scene, both in terms of heritage and lineage. Comprised of the various Hasidic (see HASIDISM) groups as well as non-Hasids affiliated with traditional yeshivas (religious schools), these Orthodox Jews try to retain traditional eastern European folkways, both religious and otherwise. They cluster together and look with suspicion on other Orthodox groups, especially the non-Orthodox and non-Jewish world. They eschew much of contemporary society, including television. The Hasids owe their allegiance to their various rebbes, the religiosocial leaders of the Hasidic movements. Similarly, the lives of the non-Hasidic "sectarians" center on traditional right-wing yeshivas and the *Gidolim*, the "Torah leaders," who head those institutions. Most characteristic of these ultratraditionalists is their refusal to exercise independent thought on religious, social, or political issues. On questions of importance, the final decision rests with the religious leaders. While it might be expected that these groups would follow the traditional pattern and make greater concessions to the wider world as they become more Americanized, developments in the United States since the 1960s suggest that this pattern may not hold. The ultratraditionalists show a vitality that suggests not only a maintenance of their position but also the possibility of expansion.

Since the 1960s, Orthodox Judaism in the United States has shown a remarkable vibrancy and growth, especially among the ultratraditionalist elements. This growth has come both from their relatively high birthrate and their appeal to many alienated secular Jewish youths. This vibrancy has brought about a level of self-confidence and aggressiveness traditionally lacking among Orthodox Jews in the United States. The result has been a greater willingness to criticize and attack the less observant members of the Reform and Conservative movements and to lay claim to being the only true form of Jewish religious expression. Whether this movement can sustain itself is unclear. Certain elements suggest it can. Pushed from the right, organizations such as the RCA and the Orthodox Union have become increasingly conservative in their views.

The institutional framework of Orthodoxy, especially the elementary schools, seems to be acculturating the younger generation into the movement, and, as the "traditionalists" illustrate, there seem to be fewer economic reasons for deserting Orthodox practice. Finally, there are growing connections with Orthodoxy around the world, especially in Israel. This universal connection, particularly the position of the chief rabbi of Israel, may serve to close the biggest gap in the Orthodox system—the absence of a final arbiter of Orthodoxy.

There are countervailing forces as well. The appeals of American society make it difficult to retain the loyalty of the second and third generations. As the ultratraditionalists move further from their European heritage and the leaders born in Europe are replaced by the American-born, adaptations to the American situation could take place. Finally, Orthodoxy, especially its ultratraditional forms, finds itself at a crossroads. It must decide whether to continue its more outward-looking, aggressive, proselytizing stance or its exclusive insularity designed to protect it from contamination. More important, it must confront the tensions it faces internally, especially the increasing tendency toward scrupulosity and conflicts over who is the most rigorous in observance.

Although membership in congregations affiliated with the Orthodox Union has been stagnant at around 1 million individuals, this does not reflect the total number of individuals who consider themselves Orthodox, or "Torah Jews." Other organizations such as the National Council of Young Israel, the various Hasidic movements, Sephardic Jews, and other groups add a couple of hundred thousand more individuals. Additionally, as many look to Orthodoxy as a bulwark against assimilation, one can expect Orthodox Judaism to play a greater role in American Judaism and American religion more generally than it has in the past.

EQ

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Orthodox Presbyterian Church See PRESBYTERIANISM.

Owen, Robert Dale (1801–1877) Often overshadowed by the larger reputation of his father, Robert Dale Owen was an enthusiastic antebellum reformer dedicated to a variety of causes including free thought, state-sponsored education, women's rights, and SPIRITUALISM. His father, Robert Owen (1771–1858), was a pioneer socialist and inspirer of communitarian experiments in both Britain and the United States. The elder Owen, born in Wales, became a cotton textile manufacturer in Manchester, England. As a young man, Robert Dale enjoyed the benefits of his father's prosperity. He was educated by private tutors and later completed his education at the elite and socially conscious Fellenberg School in Switzerland.

In 1825, Owen accompanied his father to New Harmony, Indiana, a property recently purchased from the Rappites, where they put into practice his father's perfectionist (see PERFECTIONISM) and socialist theories. Robert Dale edited the community's newspaper, the *New Harmony Gazette*. Increasingly, he saw inequality of education as the real cause of poverty, and his later work as a journalist, politician, and advocate of workers' rights reflected his sense that the poor needed a good state-supported school system. In 1827, he met Frances Wright, a female British socialist reformer, and the two embarked on a radical critique of traditional Christianity, the sectarian school system, and the oppression of women.

Greatly influenced by Perfectionist ideas of the antebellum era, but equally formed by his own upper-class background, Owen looked to proper education as the solution to the problems of the working classes. He called for state intervention in public schooling and recommended that all children, but particularly those in the poor areas of cities, be moved from their homes at age two into government-run boarding schools, where they could learn and develop unhindered by the debilitating effects of the urban environment. He also promoted the traditionally Protestant virtues of hard work, thrift, and temperance, although he deplored the religious self-righteousness of evangelical reformers who espoused the same causes. In 1830, he authored *Moral Physiology*, a text that at once advocated birth control and attacked the sexual license of the lower classes.

Although he condemned most of the religious institutions and authorities of his day, Owen also had an intense interest in spirituality. In 1856, while traveling in Italy, he witnessed his first demonstration of "animal magnetism," a popular form of hypnosis. In 1860, he published *Footfalls on the Boundary*, a defense of the Spiritualist movement then sweeping the country, and he followed with *The Debatable Land Between This World and the Next*, a further analysis of the Spiritualist inquiry into the afterlife. Like many antebellum "seekers," Owen yearned for religious certainty yet rejected the traditional forms that such certainty had taken. More moderate in his socialism than his father, Owen freely quoted from the Bible and showed a measured respect for religion. But he is perhaps best remembered as a tireless promoter of social reform who kept his distance from the most popular religious reform movements of his day, instead seeking his own path.

LMK

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Oxford Movement See ANGLO-CATHOLICISM.

P

pacifism See PEACE REFORM.

paganism See NEOPAGANISM.

Paine, Thomas (1737–1809) Of modest English origins, Thomas Paine gained an international audience as one of the strongest champions of revolution and the power of reason in the 18th century. He played a prominent role in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and wrote several widely read rationalist attacks on Christianity.

Paine was born at Thetford in Suffolk on January 29, 1737. His father, Joseph, was a farmer and corset-maker and came from a Quaker family (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF). His mother, Frances Cocke, was a member of the Church of England. The Quaker tradition had a lasting impact on Paine, making him a lifelong opponent of slavery and supporter of humane treatment of animals. While he lacked formal education, he later said the Quaker influence provided him "an exceeding good moral education and a tolerable stock of useful learning."

For many years, Paine struggled to make ends meet. Upon the recommendation of Benjamin Franklin, he immigrated, reaching Philadelphia in December 1774. Franklin found him employment as the editor of a small paper. He completed his first American work, *Common Sense,* in the fall of 1775. Influenced by English dissenters, he came to play a prominent role during the Revolution, serving in the army, as a secretary to Congress, and on a diplomatic mission to France in 1781. In addition, his reputation grew with the spread of his pamphlets, collectively entitled *The American Crisis,* 16 of which were written during the course of the war.

With the war's end, Paine again traveled to Europe, arriving in France at the outbreak of the revolution in 1789. Greeted as a hero, he was presented by Lafayette with the keys to the Bastille as a present for George Washington. For the next few years, he moved between France and England, at which time he wrote the first half of *The Rights of Man,* his famous defense of the French Revolution. With English publication of the second half of that work in 1792, the government sought his arrest for sedition, and he fled to Paris, where he held French citizenship and a position in the National Convention. However, Paine also made many enemies in France by denouncing plans to execute Louis XVI. He spent a year in French prison, which interrupted his writing of *The Age of Reason,* his great plea for religious rationalism. Returning to America in 1802, Paine spent his last years still plagued with controversy and financial difficulties. He was denied the vote in 1806 by enemies in the New York legislature. He died in New Rochelle, New York, on June 8, 1809.

Paine sought an end to the rule of oligarchs both domestic and foreign, and his writings appealed to a broad spectrum of Americans. He urged extending the franchise to all "freemen," far beyond the bounds set by colonial elites. Paine's witness of the Terror during the French Revolution had convinced him that modern democratic government depended upon a rational religious basis, which he found in deism (see ENLIGHTENMENT). In *The Age of Reason,* he attacked a number of Christian doctrines and the revelatory stature of the Bible, pointing out inconsistencies that indicated human authorship. Paine argued for global human benevolence, stemming from the conviction that nature itself was a sure guide to the divine intention. He looked forward to an age in which humanity would abandon superstition and conflict, forming a kind of international republic. Hostility greeted the book in England, where it was portrayed as destroying the foundations of government. In America, however, thousands of copies sold, contributing to the expansion of deism well beyond the confines of elite society. Even though the supernatural theology guiding the revivals that spread across America in the early 19th century eclipsed Paine's appeal to rational religion, his commitment to equality continued to influence popular revivalists. In subsequent years, Paine has become a hero of American free thinkers.

(See also ATHEISM.)

MG

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Palmer, Phoebe Worrall (1807–1874)

Phoebe Palmer was a mid–19th century lay Methodist evangelist and one of the early leaders of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT in America. She preached a religious doctrine known as "entire SANCTIFICATION" that was based upon the teachings of Methodist founder John Wesley. Palmer believed that Christians could attain spiritual perfection if they simply followed biblical commandments and consecrated themselves wholly to God.

Phoebe Worrall was born in New York City on December 18, 1807. At age 19, she married Walter C. Palmer, a New York physician. In 1835, her sister Sarah Worrall Lankford began a series of weekly prayer meetings for Methodist women in her home. These meetings, called the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness, soon became a center for the emerging Holiness movement. The gatherings featured Bible reading, prayer, and personal testimonies. Palmer took over the direction of this group after she experienced sanctification on July 26, 1837, a moment she later called "the day of days." Eventually, the Tuesday Meetings were opened to men as well as to women, and they attracted leaders from every Protestant denomination.

Palmer wrote 10 books. Between 1862 and 1874, she edited the *Guide to Holiness,* a magazine that had 30,000 subscribers at the height of its popularity. Palmer's first and most important book was *The Way of Holiness,* published in 1843. In her view, holiness was immediately available to the believer through faith in Jesus Christ. Conversion was the first blessing of God's grace. Complete consecration occurred next, when a believer surrendered everything to God and laid her soul upon the "altar" of Christ. Although some criticized the terminology Palmer employed, the simplicity of the process she described won many disciples. She stressed the importance of trusting in God's pledge to honor promises made in the Bible and awaken faith.

Palmer's commitment to spiritual perfection impelled her into social reform programs. While she always sought the promotion of holiness as her principal aim, Palmer also advanced the public role of women in American religious life. Her most impressive work was in the Five Points district of New York, the city's worst slum. She served on the board of the Ladies' Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Through that agency, she helped establish a mission house, which contained a chapel, school, baths, and rent-free apartments, in 1850. However, despite defending the right of women to participate fully in church work and despite demonstrating great individual compassion for the poor, Palmer remained neutral on the two most controversial social issues of her day: women's rights and slavery.

After 1850, both Palmers became increasing involved in CAMP MEETINGS and religious revivals. They were active participants in the so-called Prayer Meeting Revival, the great spiritual awakening that swept through northern cities in 1857 and 1858. Palmer's Tuesday Meetings also proved increasingly popular after the CIVIL WAR. Following Phoebe's death, her sister Sarah (who later married Walter Palmer) again assumed leadership of the gatherings, and by 1886, 200 were in operation across the United States.

In poor health when she composed *The Way of Holiness,* Palmer believed that her life had been spared to be of greater service to God. She died in New York City on November 2, 1874.

GHS, Jr.

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Paramananda, Swami (1884–1940)

Swami Paramananda was one of the most popular and influential Hindu leaders in the United States in the first half of the 20th century. Long before the MAHARISHI MAHESH YOGI was attracting countercultural seekers to TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION, Swami Paramananda was spreading the beliefs and practices of HINDUISM from coast to coast. Defying the stereotype of the world-denying renunciant, Paramananda drove fast cars and was a passionate tennis player. But he could preach and teach Hinduism with seriousness and conviction. Long before the DALAI LAMA was embraced by pop singers and movie stars, Paramananda was seen as both spiritual and hip. One observer dubbed him the "Hollywood star swami."

Born Suresh Chandra Guha Thakurta in 1884 in what is now Bangladesh, Paramananda left his home while still a teenager to join the Ramakrishna Order, a monastic organization founded in 1886 by the Hindu saint Ramakrishna. In 1902, he became a *sannyasin,* or renunciant, and took the name Paramananda ("he whose bliss is in the ultimate"). Like his teacher Ramakrishna, Paramananda preached the unity of the world's religions and the essential divinity of human nature.

In 1906, Paramananda came to the United States to work as an assistant to Swami Abhedananda, who then headed the New York VEDANTA SOCIETY. The two men clashed, however, and soon Paramananda was running his own societies. He established a Boston center in 1909 and began publishing a Vedantist journal, *The Message of the East,* in 1912. In 1923, he established Ananda Ashrama, a spiritual retreat in the Sierra Madre Mountains outside Los Angeles. In 1929, he founded a similar retreat in Cohasset, Massachusetts. Both retreats remain active today.

Paramananda wrote more than 40 books, among them *The Path of Devotion* (1907) and *Christ and Oriental Ideals* (1923). The latter book interpreted Jesus as one of many avatars, or divine descents. Paramananda also lectured before Buddhists, Unitarians, Theosophists, and free thinkers, stressing spiritual practice over abstract theology.

Paramananda was in some respects a conservative figure. Unlike some of his colleagues, he was not embarrassed by old-fashioned popular devotionalism or the use of deity images in worship. But Paramananda was also an eager Americanizer of Hinduism. In his writings and lectures, he substituted easy-to-understand English words for difficult Sanskrit terms. And he advocated vigorously not only for women's participation in American Hinduism but also for their leadership. For that advocacy, he received scorn from both Christian writers, who denounced him as a swarthy seducer of naive women, and fellow swamis, who rejected his efforts to elevate female colleagues to positions of leadership in the Vedantist movement. That rejection would lead Paramananda's three retreats to split off from the Ramakrishna Order and the Vedanta Society following his death in 1940.

SRP

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Parham, Charles Fox (1873–1929)

Charles F. Parham was the founder of modern American Pentecostalism, the spiritual phenomenon that one historian has called "the popular religious movement" of the 20th century. Following the outbreak of speaking in tongues at his Bible institute in Topeka, Kansas, on New Year's Day in 1901, Parham pronounced that charismatic gift to be the definitive evidence of a person's having been baptized in the Holy Spirit.

Parham was born at Muscatine, Iowa, a frontier farming community, on June 4, 1873. He experienced a religious conversion when he was 13 years old and soon afterward became active in the Methodist church. He entered Southwest Kansas College in 1890 to study for the Methodist ministry. Although poor health and financial difficulties forced Parham's withdrawal from the college before graduation, he was licensed as a Methodist preacher in 1893. Two years later, he resigned and became an independent Holiness (see Holiness movement) preacher instead. In poor health throughout much of his life, Parham believed he had been miraculously cured of illness, and his early teachings emphasized the possibility of divine healing.

In 1900, Parham founded the Bethel Bible School in Topeka in order to pursue his interest in Spirit baptism. Parham concluded that according to the New Testament book of Acts, baptism in the Holy Spirit, the work of divine grace that follows a person's conversion, was distinguished by the ability to speak in tongues. He also insisted that tongues were actual foreign languages bestowed on believers to evangelize people in foreign lands. This, however, became only a minority opinion among American Pentecostals. Most Pentecostals believed that speaking in tongues (or glossolalia) was an unintelligible form of speech, a divine language known only to God.

On January 1, 1901, Parham believed that the miracle for which he and his followers had prayed took place. "Fire fell" from heaven, he claimed, and a student, Agnes N. Ozman, began to speak in tongues. In the following months, his Bible school gained attention as others, including Parham himself, experienced that gift. The "Apostolic Faith Missions" he organized soon spread, and about 25,000 adherents espoused Pentecostalism. Parham opened a Bible institute in Houston, Texas, where itinerant preacher William J. Seymour attended for a few weeks in the fall of 1905. Seymour was to gain Pentecostalism further distinction by carrying the movement to an African-American Holiness mission in Los Angeles, the site of the famed Azusa Street revival of 1906.

Parham soon lost control over the movement he launched. Charges of sexual misconduct led in 1907 to the end of his influence. Accused of homosexuality, he was able to retain leadership over just a handful of Apostolic Faith churches. He served in relative obscurity for the next 20 years as a pastor in Baxter Springs, Kansas. After he toured the Holy Land in late 1927, Parham's health rapidly declined. He died at Baxter Springs on January 29, 1929.

GHS, Jr.

Bibliography: James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988).

Parker, Theodore (1810–1860) A Unitarian minister and social reformer, Theodore Parker was one of the most important figures in American TRANSCENDENTALISM. Parker's humanistic faith, while controversial among American Unitarians in his day, eventually won recognition as an essential characteristic of his denomination by the end of the century.

Parker was born in Lexington, Massachusetts, on August 24, 1810. Admitted to Harvard College, he was too poor to attend classes. He engaged in private study instead and passed the examinations for his degree in 1831. After teaching school for two years, he enrolled at Harvard Divinity School. Following his graduation in 1836, he accepted a pastorate at the Unitarian church in nearby West Roxbury.

Parker almost immediately became engaged in an acrimonious public debate with other Unitarian ministers over the nature of the Christian faith. He had been heavily influenced both by the German idealistic philosophy exemplified by Georg W. F. Hegel and by the emerging "higher criticism" of the Bible (see BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION). As he argued in May 1841, when he preached at the ordination of Charles Shackford at the South Boston Church, everything that is historically rooted within Christianity is imperfect. Parker's sermon, later published as *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity,* attempted to distill the great ethical truths of the Christian religion from its mere dross. Christianity, he said, was not grounded on miracles, on any special revelation, on the deity of Christ, or even on the actual existence of the historical Jesus. Rather, true and enduring faith came only from a person's innate intuition and perceptions of the divine.

The commotion that followed Parker's sermon led to ostracism by his fellow ministers and their refusal to exchange pulpits with him. Undeterred, he continued to argue his views, and in 1845, he accepted the invitation of a group of progressive Unitarians to preach in Boston's Melodeon Theatre. This position was soon regularized through the formation of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, and in 1852, Parker's congregation moved into the large Music Hall in Boston. Over the next decade, he produced a vast corpus of essays, lectures, and sermons. It became increasingly clear, however, that Parker and the "Christian" Unitarians were irrevocably at odds over the issue of biblical authority. In 1853, the executive committee of the American Unitarian Association officially condemned Parker's opinions and declared its own belief in "the Divine origin . . . of the religion of Jesus Christ."

Parker was a fervent theological innovator, but he was also passionately committed to social reform, especially the emerging antislavery movement. He thought slavery was a crime against nature. Calling resistance a religious duty sanctioned by a higher, divine law, he excoriated the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and later backed John Brown's insurrectionary activities in the South. Parker may well have worn himself out by his ceaseless reformist activities. He suffered a hemorrhage of the lungs in 1859 and was forced to seek recovery in Italy.

Despite a period of recuperation, Parker died in Florence, Italy, on May 10, 1860. He was so unpopular at the time of his death that the alumni of Harvard Divinity School, when learning of his impending demise, refused to pass a motion conveying their sympathy.

GHS, Jr.

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peace reform From the Puritan migrations to the present, Americans have seen themselves as a people of peace, committed to establishing a world in which nations need not resort to armed conflict in order to solve their differences. However, since government's main responsibility is the provision of security for its citizens, the challenge of how to realize this responsibility peacefully in the absence of similar commitments by other states means that pacifism rarely has received majority support. Despite this, a small but influential number of American citizens have pursued peace on their own, creating voluntary societies and professional organizations, forming informal networks, marshalling the resources of media, scholarship, and religious institutions, and organizing protest and resistance movements.

American peace activists have drawn on two general sources for their intellectual foundations: religious traditions and international law, sources that remain distinct in theory if not always in fact. While many religious groups in America have viewed peace as an important element of their religious vision, most Christian denominations have also found religious rationales for supporting war and thus have been able to accommodate their views to state use of violence. By contrast, some groups, as a matter of principle, have adopted pacifism, renouncing the use of violence in any form. Beginning in the COLONIAL PERIOD, several groups brought a pacifist ethic of nonresistance to violence into Pennsylvania.

Quaker dominance in this colony led to a formal policy against military action. The failure of the Quakers to respond aggressively to repeated military attacks by the French and Indian peoples in Pennsylvania and neighboring colonies led to a near rebellion in the colony, and, as a result, the Quakers increasingly withdrew from positions of political leadership (see RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS; WOOLMAN, JOHN; PENN, WILLIAM; MENNONITES; MORAVIANS; CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN).

While Friends, or Quakers, sought to create a social order based on pacifist principles, other sectarian groups, basing their nonviolence on a reading of the biblical ethic of Jesus, saw their own nonviolent commitment upheld best by voluntary isolation from the state, giving Penn little support in his efforts to create a peaceful social order. Sectarian pacifists have remained small in number, but their communities have continued to provide a witness to nonviolence throughout American history.

Other Americans have based their commitment to peace on ideas of international law developed during the ENLIGHTENMENT. Internationalists, reflecting the millennial faith in progress common in American culture, have expected a change in moral outlook to make war obsolete. While religious pacifists tend to make pacifism a consequence of faith, internationalists have seen pacifism following simply from the dictates of reason itself. This secular commitment to peace grew away from specifically "Christian" influences in the years since the CIVIL WAR.

Americans influenced by both intellectual traditions found it necessary to establish organizations in order to promote their peace concerns. Beginning with the American Peace Society (1828), American peace activists have struggled not simply with what they saw as a culture geared toward war, but among themselves—debating both the meaning of peace and the most appropriate strategies for obtaining it. Consequently, peace activists have forged alliances with reformers of various stripes: abolitionists and women's rights advocates in the years prior to the Civil War, leftists and environmentalists in the 20th century. Organizations have flourished and dissipated over lack of funds as well as ideological conflict. But in spite of the difficulties of agreeing on strategies for achieving their concerns, some American organizations, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation (established 1915) and the American Friends Service Committee (established 1917), have put in decades of work for the cause of peace.

The task of peace activism in America has developed in response to changing needs and social conditions. William Lloyd Garrison and others made common cause between peace and ABOLITIONISM as the question of SLAVERY came to dominate American political life between 1830 and 1860. But the linking of those causes had the drawback of turning concern for peace into support for the Union war effort, in effect destroying the movement.

The conflict over the role of violence in ending moral evils, reflected best by Frederick Douglass's call for the end of slavery "by ballots if possible, by bullets if necessary," emerged repeatedly throughout American history. As mentioned previously, it led to the collapse of Quaker dominance in Pennsylvania and later would emerge over how to respond to the rise of Hitler and to acts of genocide in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Sudan in the 1990s and 2000s.

In the following decades of industrial and territorial expansion, a new generation of peace workers came to identify their cause with the expansion of American civilization, promoting diplomatic cooperation among European powers, the codification of international law, and procedures for arbitration of disputes. In 1889, American activists such as FRANCES WILLARD, president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, attended the first Universal Peace Congress in Paris. Activists had regained their optimistic faith in America as the world's best hope for moral insight. Both supporters and opponents of America's military interventions in the Spanish-American War (1898) often spoke of the superiority of Anglo-Saxon values, as in the case of the Anti-Imperialist League, begun in Boston in 1898, which forged alliances among women's rights activists, populists such as WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, labor activists, and industrialists such as Andrew Carnegie (see GOSPEL OF WEALTH).

In history's most violent century, the 20th, peace workers increasingly came to rely upon both international organizations and a belief in the oneness of humanity in order to halt the spread of war. But American nationalism (see CIVIL RELIGION) fueled by the global context of war (see WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II) proved resistant to the concerns of peace activists. During both global wars, in spite of the general climate of isolationism that preceded American involvement, opposition to the war effort remained unpopular. In recent decades, peace concerns, whether focused on actual shooting wars or the COLD WAR climate, have met with resistance. Charges of communist conspiracy were levelled against antinuclear activists during the 1950s, and federal officials such as FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover and Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon sought to show that opposition to the VIETNAM WAR was inspired by communists. Nevertheless, peace activists had their victories, such as contributing to the end of the Vietnam War. In addition, during the 1980s, activists were able to spur public debate and influence policy on such issues as nuclear arms and U.S. intervention in Central America.

In the 1990s and in the first decade of the 21st century, the most pressing challenges to peace activists have been those involving instances of genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in places like

Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, East Timor, and Sudan. The ethical dilemma of watching innocents being slaughtered and abused by those against whom moral suasion had no effect seemed to undermine claims of peace's moral superiority. Additionally, the threats presented by international terrorism, including the September 11 attacks on the United States, also served to mute the voices of pacifism, although the war in Iraq may have reinvigorated them somewhat.

Despite periods of popularity in response to particular wars, the movement for peace reform in American culture has never established a lasting base. Though relying upon many of the same symbols and values that figure so prominently in the nation's civil religion (including individual liberty and dignity, justice, and divine law), peace activists have been less successful at tapping America's conscience than those who have argued that war may at times be the lesser evil in a fallen and morally ambiguous world.

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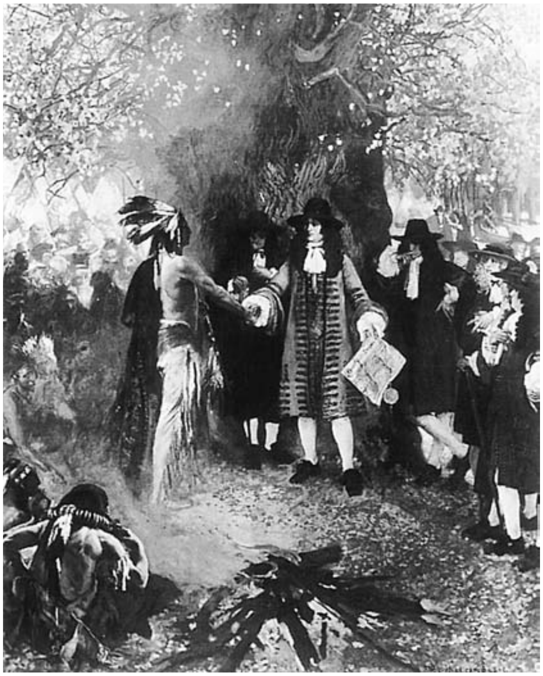
Peale, Norman Vincent See POSITIVE THINKING.

Penn, William (1644–1718) Quaker activist and founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, William Penn is one of the mythic figures of American history. Born in London, England, on October 14, 1644, Penn had all the advantages available to the son of a wealthy war hero. His father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had served with distinction under William Cromwell, Charles II, and James II.

After attending private school, he entered Oxford in 1660. While there, he was drawn toward PURITANISM and was expelled two years later for his unconventional religious views. He was then sent to school in France in order to become "more worldly." While there, he continued to develop his interest in religion. Sent to Ireland to oversee his father's estates, he encountered a group of Irish Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]) whose faith under persecution moved him greatly. He soon became one of the leading English Quakers and a major controversialist for the cause, writing numerous books and tracts defending Quaker beliefs as well as a minor devotional classic, *No Cross, No Crown* (1669). Jailed four times for his religious views, his 1670 trial became the occasion for a leading civil rights case. In that year, a jury repeatedly returned a verdict of "not guilty" despite the fact that the judge had directed them to return a guilty verdict and threatened them with punishment for failing to do so. The case enshrined in British common law the right of a jury to determine its verdict free from judicial interference.

Despite his unconventional religious beliefs, Penn was a favorite of both Charles II and James II, as well as of the radicals John Locke and Algernon Sydney. Charles II repaid a debt to the Penn family in 1681 by deeding a parcel of land in North America to Penn. Here Penn founded the colony of Pennsylvania in the light of Quaker theology. It soon became one of the most successful colonies in British North America.

Pennsylvania offered religious toleration to all its colonists, had no militia, and attempted to deal fairly and equitably with the local Delaware Indians. Penn hoped to make



One of England's leading Quakers, William Penn founded the colony of Pennsylvania to be a model of religious toleration, pacifism, and fair treatment of Native Americans. *(Library of Congress)*

this colony into the ideal form of a Christian society, which he set out in his *Frame of Government* (1682).

The colony began as an oligarchy, with most of the authority vested in the proprietor, but conflicts with the settlers forced Penn to make its government more democratic. He established an elected assembly in 1701. Although Penn had arrived with a group of colonists in 1682, disagreements over the boundaries of the colony caused him to return to England two years later. While he was there, the taxes owed him by the colonists nearly ceased, and he was thrown into debtors' prison. He returned to Pennsylvania for another two years in 1699, during which time he viewed a thriving colony, albeit one that was still lax in paying its taxes.

Back in England, he continued to agitate in support of both the Quakers and his colony until 1712, when a massive stroke left him nearly incapacitated. He lived for another six years, dying in London on July 30, 1718.

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Pennington, James William Charles (1807–1870) Born a slave on the eastern shore of Maryland in 1807, James William Charles Pennington led a brutal life as a slave. He was given to his master's son at the age of four and experienced the rage that a young master could vent. Trained as a stonemason and a blacksmith, he avoided some of this torment by being hired out. He escaped from slavery in either 1827 or 1828 and settled in Pennsylvania, where he was aided, as were so many other fugitive slaves, by a Quaker family (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]).

Another Quaker taught him the rudiments of reading and writing, and Pennington continued his education by attending night schools and reading. During the early 1830s, he taught school in New York and Connecticut while studying theology. Ordained as a Congregational minister, he pastored in Connecticut at Newtown (1838–40) and Hartford (1840–47), where he served as president of the ministerial association and of the Union Missionary Society.

Early active in antislavery activities, Pennington was a delegate to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention (1843) and the World's Peace Society (1843). While in London attending the latter, he was feted widely; one tea given in his honor attracted more than 500 guests. Leaving England for the Continent, he lectured and preached in Paris and Brussels. He returned to the states and became pastor of the First (Shiloh) Presbyterian Church in New York City (1847–55). He continued his antislavery work, organizing a conference of black leaders to condemn the American Colonization Society's plans to return freed slaves to Africa and to lobby the New York legislature against state support for black colonization.

In 1849, he published his memoir, *The Fugitive Blacksmith, or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States*. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law the following year endangered Pennington, who traveled to Europe to avoid capture as a fugitive slave. During this sojourn, he gave antislavery lectures in Scotland—his trip was sponsored by the Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society—England, and Germany. There he attended the World Peace Conference at Frankfurt-am-Main. While in Germany, he may have been awarded a doctor of divinity degree from Heidelberg.

Following the payment of $150 to the estate of his former master, Pennington returned home. From this time on, Pennington became increasingly militant in his demands for equal rights. In 1855, he helped organize the New York Legal Rights Association, which helped blacks obtain more equitable treatment on public transportation. He applauded John Brown's 1859 attack at Harpers Ferry and in an editorial in the *Anglo-African Magazine* urged blacks to pray for Brown.

After 1856, Pennington was increasingly debilitated by alcoholism and slipped from public view. The minutes of the Presbyterian General Assembly list his address during this period variously as Hartford, New York, and Maine. In an attempt to regain his health, Pennington traveled to Jacksonville, Florida, in 1869 or 1870. There he organized a Presbyterian congregation that he pastored until his death in October 1870.

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Pennsylvania (colony) Founded in 1681 by WILLIAM PENN as a haven for his sister and fellow Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]), Pennsylvania quickly became a model for both religious tolerance and commercial success. The colony had its start early in 1681, when Penn convinced the English king, Charles II, to discharge a debt owed to the Penn family by providing a grant of land in British North America. Penn hoped to make this land, located west of Delaware between 40°N and 43°N, into a holy commonwealth built on Quaker principles. These principles included religious tolerance, nonviolence, and democratic government, all under the watchful care of Penn as proprietary governor.

Following the grant of land, Penn quickly began planting his colony. The deputy governor arrived with a load of settlers in July 1681. Penn arrived in the autumn of 1682. By the close of that year, he had begun to lay out the city of Philadelphia, a colonial assembly had been brought into session, and the colony had adopted a formal plan of government. Although Penn returned to England, he continued to play an active role in the colony's management.

Although Quakers were the majority in the colony and dominated its political and economic systems, Pennsylvania soon contained within its borders the most diverse array of religion in the colonies. Penn desired that the colony's dealings with the Native Americans be equitable and tolerant, and the colony's early years were free from disruption by hostile natives. Neither did the Quakers attempt to force them to convert or punish them for failing to uphold "Christian" standards, as was the case in the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY. In Pennsylvania, European Christianity and the faiths of the Native Americans lived together in relative harmony.

Not only was this an unusual occurrence, but different types of Christians who were slaughtering each other in Europe lived peacefully alongside each other in the Quaker commonwealth. In fact, Pennsylvania saw many of the most exciting and significant events in American religious history. Early settlers to the colony included Scotch-Irish immigrants who brought with them their staunch PRESBYTERIANISM, and in Philadelphia, they would organize the first presbytery in what would become the United States. BAPTISTS also were strong in Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Association, organized in 1707, was a dominant force in American Baptist life until the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING weakened the Calvinist (see CALVINISM) hold on American Baptists. Equally significant was the presence of Roman Catholics (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) in the colony. Although small and operating under some political liabilities, Catholics in Philadelphia were well organized and by 1734 had one of the few resident priests in British America outside of Maryland.

As victims of religious persecution, the Quakers had a particular sensitivity to other persecuted groups, and Pennsylvania soon became a haven for many of the smaller religious groups of Europe. These included the MENNONITES and AMISH, the Schwenkfelders, and the Moravian Brethren (see MORAVIANS). All of these groups found a safe haven in Pennsylvania, and while some of them would move into other areas of the country, Pennsylvania remained the locus of their population.

Along with these primarily German-speaking sects, Pennsylvania also became an early center for both German LUTHERANISM and the GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH (see REFORMED TRADITION). By 1730, nearly 15,000 Germans of Reform background lived in Pennsylvania. For years, dedicated laymen and a few minsters had attempted to organize and maintain congregations, but this work was hampered by the lack of a central organization, the appeal of the pietist sects, and the work of Count NICHOLAS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF, who attempted to merge all of the German-speaking Protestants into a single "Congregation of God in the Spirit."

The collapse of that plan and the arrival of Michael Schlatter led to the creation of the first organization of the German Reformed Church in America. In September 1747 in Philadelphia, representatives of 12 German Reformed churches came together in an association, placing themselves under the control of the synod of Amsterdam.

They were followed shortly in this organizational development by the German Lutherans. LUTHERANISM had a long history in what became British North America, existing as the state church of New Sweden and as a barely tolerated church in NEW NETHERLAND. German Lutheranism had its early strength in New York, which had swallowed up both New Sweden and New Netherland. It was soon surpassed, however, by the German migration to the Quaker colony, beginning in the second decade of the 18th century.

Like most new settlers to British North America, German Lutherans suffered from a dearth of pastors and institutions. A request to Germany from one of these overworked pastors led to the arrival in America of HENRY MUHLENBERG in 1742. Muhlenberg, a man of numerous abilities and indefatigable strength, was the individual most responsible for the creation of American Lutheranism in the 18th century. Traveling across the vast wilderness of Pennsylvania and preaching before numerous small Lutheran congregations, he insisted upon appropriate church discipline, doctrine, and organization. It was under his auspices that the Pennsylvania Ministerium was created in 1748, an event that some view as the most important single event in American Lutheran history. With this creation, the colony with the largest Lutheran population now had the organization to help it to meet their religious needs.

As an experiment in religious tolerance, Pennsylvania was an overwhelming success. For Penn personally, and for the Quakers as well, Pennsylvania was a mixed blessing. The rents all settlers were required to pay to Penn were exceedingly difficult to collect, and he often found himself at odds with the colonists. Disgusted with governing the colony, he traveled to it in 1699, provided it with a constitution that made it self-governing, and returned to England.

As a whole, however, the colony was a commercial success. Business boomed, and the strict discipline of its Quaker commercial class led Quakers to great wealth. Simultaneously, it led them to a decreasing interest in the strict spiritual discipline of their early days. The reality of being the colony's commercial and political elite also raised problems for the Quakers. Committed as they were to nonviolence, they had eschewed force as a basis of maintaining social order, yet as the colony grew, the need for force appeared to increase. As the French and their Indian allies menaced the colony in the early 1750s, the issue of colonial defense also became troublesome. Although the Quaker majority managed to prevent the formation of a colonial militia until 1755, the establishment of the militia in that year and the refusal of several prominent Quakers to pay taxes for its support led to a spiritual crisis among the Friends. In response, they decided to give up their political and social power and return to the inward life in a way far more total than previously. Pennsylvania, which under the Quakers modeled what the United States would become religiously, would now be required to carry on under different leadership.

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Pentecostal Holiness Church, International See PENTECOSTALISM.

Pentecostalism Pentecostalism is a 20th-century Protestant religious movement distinguished by its emphasis on the experience of Spirit baptism. Baptism in the Holy Spirit is usually characterized by ecstatic speech in unknown languages, a phenomenon called speaking in tongues, or glossolalia.

The AZUSA STREET REVIVAL, which occurred in Los Angeles between 1906 and 1909, is now recognized as the starting point of modern Pentecostalism. Today there are more than 300 Pentecostal denominations in the United States. Although most are small, the two largest denominations, the African-American CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST and the mostly European-American ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, together claim more than 9 million members.

In its early history, Pentecostalism fused a number of diverse strands in American religion: the desire for spiritual transformation, the plausibility of faith healing, and the expectation that the second coming of Jesus Christ was near. Pentecostals commonly cited biblical passages to support these beliefs. They accepted, for example, that anyone who undergoes Spirit baptism will manifest the supernatural gifts to which St. Paul refers in 1 Corinthians, notably, healing, prophecy, and speaking in tongues. Pentecostals also quoted the Old Testament prophet Joel, who prophesied that a "former rain" and a "latter rain" (2:23) would fall upon God's people. They interpreted the "former rain" as the events described in Acts 2, when the Holy Spirit enabled Jesus' disciples to speak in tongues on the day of Pentecost. The "latter rain" was thought to be the glossolalia that had appeared in modern times.

The immediate antecedents of Pentecostalism are found in the HOLINESS MOVEMENT of the mid–19th century and in the efforts of American Protestants to attain Christian perfection. These ideals, which were expressed in the writings of Methodist founder John Wesley, spoke of the possibility of a person's achieving perfection in the present life and becoming (as Wesley said) "perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect." PHOEBE WORRALL PALMER, a lay Methodist evangelist, most effectively adapted Wesley's ideas to religious life in the United States.

In Palmer's view, holiness was available to the believer through faith in Jesus Christ. She spoke of "entire SANCTIFICATION," a moment when one surrendered everything and received God's blessing. By the time of the CIVIL WAR, the phrase "baptism in the Holy Spirit" was popular, used as a term synonymous with the blessing to which Palmer referred. In the optimistic moral climate of that day, the expectation that a Christian *could* overcome sin seemed completely reasonable, and the simplicity of the message Palmer preached won many disciples to the Holiness cause.

As the 19th century drew to a close, Americans associated with the Holiness movement were committed to experiencing baptism in the Spirit. The critical moment in the emergence of Pentecostalism occurred in 1900, when CHARLES FOX PARHAM began to identify speaking in tongues as the definitive sign of Spirit baptism. On January 1, 1901, according to Parham, the miracle for which many had prayed took place: "Fire fell" from heaven, and a student at Parham's Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, spoke in tongues. In the following months, Parham's school gained attention as others experienced the gift of tongues there. Parham founded a fellowship of churches called the "Apostolic Faith Movement," and several thousand adherents soon espoused Pentecostal doctrines.

Parham opened a Bible institute in Houston, Texas, that itinerant preacher WILLIAM JOSEPH SEYMOUR attended for a few weeks in 1905. In January 1906, Seymour accepted an invitation to lead a black Holiness mission in Los Angeles, where the Pentecostal movement burst out in full force. In April 1906 and for three years thereafter, crowds flocked every day to a rundown building on Azusa Street and were gripped by the religious enthusiasm at its services. At the height of the revival excitement, worship was held from midmorning until past midnight. According to Parham, miraculous healings and a spiritual delirium (which Parham described as "Holy Ghost Bedlam") marked the event. Jennie Moore, the first woman to speak in tongues and later Seymour's wife, gave this report: "The power of God fell and I was baptized in the Holy Ghost and fire. It seemed as if a vessel broke within me and water surged through my being, which when it reached my mouth came out in a torrent of speech."

The revival on Azusa Street finally began to wane in 1909. By then, many had visited the site, participated in worship, and brought the Pentecostal message back home with them. Among the visitors to Los Angeles was C. H. Mason, pastor of an African-American Holiness congregation in Memphis, Tennessee. Mason had been instrumental in forming a loose confederation of Holiness congregations named the Church of God in Christ. Mason traveled to Los Angeles in 1907, and there he experienced baptism in the Spirit and spoke in tongues. When he returned to Memphis, he began to hold all-night religious meetings. Soon even the city's white newspapers took notice of this activity, as people came to Mason's church to witness to their faith, to be healed of their illnesses, and to speak in tongues.

Despite a dispute over the use of the name "Church of God in Christ," the group Mason led was incorporated in the fall of 1907. Mason was elected general overseer of the church, a post he held until his death in 1961. Composed primarily of African Americans, this church is the oldest and largest Pentecostal denomination in the United States. Although it has never conducted a systematic census, and its statistics may not be wholly accurate, the Church of God in Christ claims to have nearly 6 million American members today.

The CHURCH OF GOD (CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE) is the second-oldest Pentecostal denomination. It originated in the mountainous region that covers eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina when a group of BAPTISTS joined together in 1886 and dedicated themselves to the ideal of restoring primitive Christianity. The Baptists later united with a similar group of believers who had spoken in tongues at a revival held near Camp Creek, North Carolina, in 1896. This organization might well have remained in obscurity if not for the leadership of A. J. TOMLINSON, an itinerant preacher who assumed control over it in 1907. He renamed the organization the Church of God to emphasize that it was the only true church, a community in continuity with New Testament Christianity.

The acceptance of faith healing and glossolalia quickly set the Church of God apart from other churches in the area. Tomlinson was convinced that God would not only help believers overcome sin in the present life, but also bring healing to their bodies. After Tomlinson experienced baptism in the Spirit and spoke in tongues in 1908, glossolalia became a regular feature of worship in the Church of God. Although Tomlinson was deposed by the church in 1923 and organized his own Church of God of Prophecy, the main denomination remained strong. Headquartered in Cleveland, Tennessee, and still heavily concentrated in Tennessee and North Carolina, the church now contains approximately 105,000 members.

The International Pentecostal Holiness Church is the third-oldest American Pentecostal denomination. It was formed in 1911 by a merger of two southern Holiness sects: the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, founded in South Carolina in 1898 by B. H. Irwin, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church, organized in North Carolina in 1900. The leading figure in the early history of this group was former Methodist minister Gaston B. Cashwell, who attended the Azusa Street revival. When Cashwell returned home to North Carolina, he conducted a fiery preaching tour of the South and numbered A. J. Tomlinson among his converts. Although Cashwell left the Pentecostal Holiness Church in 1909, the composition of the denomination was completed in 1915, when several Presbyterian congregations in South Carolina also joined it. The church moved its headquarters to Oklahoma City in 1973, and it had a membership of nearly 250,000 in 2005.

The ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, which is now the largest Pentecostal denomination in the world, was organized in April 1914 out of several Pentecostal groups in the Midwest and Southwest, including Charles Parham's Apostolic Faith movement in Texas. William Durham, who, like so many other early Pentecostal leaders, experienced Spirit baptism at Azusa Street, was undoubtedly the most significant figure in the shaping of the Assemblies of God. He rejected the then-common idea that human sin was eradicated when a believer experienced sanctification. Hoping to keep Pentecostalism from falling prey to charlatans and fanatics, the founders of the Assemblies of God realized that an organization was needed to provide discipline and guard against heterodox opinions. They adopted a Statement of Fundamental Truths in 1916 and ratified a formal constitution in 1927. The church expanded rapidly, reaching an American membership of 300,000 by 1950 and now reports more than 2.5 million members in the United States.

An early schism in the Assemblies of God over the church's baptismal rite suggests the broad range of beliefs that developed within American Pentecostalism. Denominational leaders debated whether believers should be baptized in the name of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), as the gospel of Matthew prescribed, or only in the name of Jesus, as the book of Acts suggested. The "Jesus only" faction (also known as the "Oneness Pentecostals") argued for their position by insisting that there is but one person in the Godhead—Jesus Christ. Since those who chose that formula explicitly denied the traditional Christian doctrine of the threefold nature of God, they were expelled from the Assemblies of God in 1916. They later organized themselves as the United Pentecostal Church, International.

Another important Pentecostal denomination is the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, which developed out of the ministry of flamboyant evangelist AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON. The most famous female preacher of her day, "Sister Aimee" knew how to make the most of her good looks, exciting oratory, and theatrical worship services. In 1923, she opened the 5,000-seat Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, which served as the headquarters of the denomination she organized. The "Foursquare Gospel" refers to a vision McPherson experienced, when she saw the four-faced figures described by the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel (1:4–14). She believed the faces symbolized the four facets of Christ's ministry: Savior, Healer, Baptizer, and King. McPherson died in 1944, but her son assumed leadership after her death.

Pentecostalism has always represented a broad, popular impulse within American Christianity, and it has enabled many to obtain a sense of spontaneity and spiritual excitement rarely found within the formal structures and worship of the mainline churches. While several religious currents coalesced in the formation of the Pentecostal denominations between roughly 1900 and 1925, Pentecostalism has also proved capable of adjusting to changing social and cultural circumstances in the second half of the 20th century.

After WORLD WAR II, evangelist ORAL ROBERTS expanded the appeal of faith healing beyond traditional Pentecostal religious communities. The founding of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International in 1953, moreover, helped Pentecostal beliefs gain acceptance among middle-class Americans in non-Pentecostal denominations. Beginning with Episcopal clergyman Dennis Bennett's experience of baptism in the Spirit with speaking in tongues in 1959, a CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT appeared within Episcopal and Roman Catholic parishes. And in recent years, membership in Pentecostal churches has increased most rapidly among the Hispanic population, an ethnic group once identified almost exclusively with Roman Catholicism.

An important recent development within the Pentecostal movement was the decision of the largest denominations to form an umbrella organization called the Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches of North America. This action was intended to heal the racial divisions that split Pentecostalism in the mid-1920s. Because the Pentecostal Fellowship, which was formed in 1948, excluded the predominantly black churches from its membership, leaders of the major Pentecostal churches voted in October 1994 to disband that association and organize a racially inclusive one instead. The new alliance includes members of the Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Holiness Church, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, and the Church of God in Christ.

Another important development in the 1990s was the emergence of a series of local revivals influenced by Pentecostalism and the Charismatic movement. The most publicized of those awakenings were the Brownsville

Revival of Pensacola, Florida, and the Toronto Blessing of Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Both events drew believers from around the world to witness and participate in emotional manifestations of the Spirit, including uncontrollable weeping, shaking, and laughing. The intensity and endurance of the Brownsville Revival and the Toronto Blessing, along with similar movements like the Vineyard Christian Fellowship and Calvary Chapel, have led some to speak of an emergent "third wave" of religious enthusiasm following the "first wave" of the Pentecostals and the "second wave" of the Charismatics.

GHS, Jr.

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Perfectionism The term *perfectionism* describes the Christian teaching that complete holiness is attainable by divine grace to every believer.

This doctrine grew out of the writings of Methodist founder John Wesley and took on its principal expression in the 19th-century HOLINESS MOVEMENT. Wesley had emphasized how Christians might reach a point in their lives when God sanctified (see SANCTIFICATION) them and released them from all *intentional* sin. At that moment, their motives would be perfected, and they would be filled with love so complete that they would become (as Wesley said in a 1733 sermon) "perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect."

Methodist lay evangelist PHOEBE WORRALL PALMER was one of the first Americans to stress Christian Perfectionism. She proclaimed that believers could attain perfect love if they would simply follow biblical commandments and consecrate themselves wholly to God. Palmer had undergone an experience of sanctification in 1837, following which she assumed leadership of prayer meetings for the "promotion of holiness" in New York City. These weekly meetings drew many who were attracted by the optimistic doctrine of "entire sanctification" she preached. Participants in Palmer's group, moreover, included not only Methodists but also BAPTISTS, Presbyterians, and Quakers.

As Palmer's success suggests, Perfectionism, while certainly a distinguishing characteristic of Methodist belief in the early 19th century, was never limited exclusively to Methodists. The growth of REVIVALISM during the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING inspired American Christians of all denominations to consider the possibility of being sanctified by the Holy Spirit. Congregationalist ASA MAHAN, who had participated in revivals led by Presbyterian minister CHARLES G. FINNEY, wrote a book on the *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection* (1839). In that book, Mahan described how believers might attain complete victory over sin through the presence of Jesus Christ within their hearts. Later in his life, Mahan published *The Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, which emphasized the sanctified Christian's release from the power of sin.

Belief in the spiritual perfectibility of humankind roused Protestants to consider how their society might also be improved by applying divine laws to political conduct. Wesley had consistently condemned the institution of slavery, calling it "the sum of all villainies." The antislavery campaign, therefore, became the most notable of the several reform movements into which American Christians threw their energies. Perfectionism also influenced other reform causes such as TEMPER-

ANCE, peace (see PEACE REFORM), and women's rights.

Perfectionism was such a powerful influence on 19th-century American religious life that the major Protestant denominations were eventually unable to contain every expression of it. Perfectionists often moved outside Christian orthodoxy altogether. JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES provides a prime example of the Antinomian potential of perfectionism. Converted at a revival in 1831, Noyes insisted that sinless perfection freed the individual from all conventional social mores. His view that perfection, once attained, could never be lost led him to found a communitarian society at Oneida, New York. There, Noyes instituted the practice of "complex marriage," freeing men and women from the sexual exclusivism of ordinary matrimony. More orthodox Perfectionists like Mahan and Finney took pains to distinguish their beliefs from Noyes's practices, especially following the indictment of Noyes on adultery charges.

Debates over perfection fostered a number of schisms within 19th-century Methodism. Both the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1843 and the organization of the Free Methodist Church in 1860 ostensibly concerned the refusal of the Methodist Episcopal Church to take a strong antislavery position prior to the CIVIL WAR. Declining interest in holiness and the alleged worldliness of the main denomination, however, were other factors in the departure of several thousand Methodists from their church. After the Civil War, further withdrawals occurred. Perfectionist Methodists insisted that sanctification was not a gradual and lifelong process but an instantaneous gift of holiness experienced at the time of conversion. Several new denominations, such as the SALVATION ARMY, which began in England in 1865, and the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, which was founded in 1908, adopted this doctrine as central to the Christian life.

A final stage in the development of American religious Perfectionism took place early in the 20th century. Just as the Holiness movement had underscored the possibility of eradicating sin in the present life, so emerging PENTECOSTALISM viewed speaking in tongues as concrete evidence that a believer had received the desired baptism of the Holy Spirit. The first Pentecostals were drawn from the ranks of the Holiness churches, and the message they preached expressed Perfectionist longings nurtured within the Holiness revival. The origins of Pentecostalism are generally linked to the ministry of CHARLES F. PARHAM in Topeka, Kansas, where on New Year's Day in 1901 one of his disciples spoke in tongues. The most publicized event of the early Pentecostal movement was the AZUSA STREET REVIVAL in Los Angeles in 1906.

GHS, Jr.

Bibliography: Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867–1936* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974).

Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart (Ward) (1844–1911) Elizabeth Stuart Phelps was a best-selling novelist and writer of fiction with religious themes in the post–CIVIL WAR era. Obsessed with questions relating to the afterlife, Phelps's most famous work, *The Gates Ajar*, challenged traditional Calvinist teachings (see CALVINISM) about sin, divine election, and heaven and hell. Her writings represented a popular expression of late 19th-century Protestant liberal theology.

Phelps was born in Boston on August 31, 1844. Daughter of Congregational minister Austin Phelps and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart (herself the daughter of Andover Seminary professor Moses Stuart), Phelps was originally named Mary Gray but took her mother's name after her premature death in 1852. She married Herbert Dickinson Ward in 1888, but their relationship quickly soured, and Ward moved to South Carolina. Phelps remained in Massachusetts, where she lived for the rest of her life.

As early as age 10, Phelps wrote stories for religious weeklies. She published numerous novels over her lifetime, but her fame today rests principally on her first novel, *The Gates Ajar* (1868). Prompted by the death of her sweetheart in the Civil War, Phelps's novel told the story of Mary Cabot, whose brother Royal was killed in battle before he could experience conversion. According to orthodox theological views, Royal ought to have been doomed to hellfire. The heroine, Mary, however, refused to accept that God was such a cruel tyrant. As the book's narrative reveals, Mary's intuition is correct, and Royal's soul is safe in heaven.

Although Phelps's father and other clergy denounced her for publishing heresy, thousands of Americans whose loved ones had died in the Civil War found *The Gates Ajar* provided immeasurable comfort. The book was reprinted more than 50 times between 1869 and 1884. Phelps also penned a sequel, *Beyond the Gates* (dedicated to her recently deceased brother Stuart), which discussed death and a busy, productive heaven that resembled a pleasant life on Earth. The response to all Phelps's writings reveals how much she captured the religious mood of Gilded Age America, a generation that wished faith to provide not ethical or theological rigor, but security in the midst of an insecure world.

Most of Phelps's books showed her discontent with traditional Protestant faith and practice. She demonstrated, furthermore, an early sensitivity to changing social conditions and compassion for people unable to prosper in an industrializing nation. Her 1871 novel, *The Silent Partner*, which exposed the poverty of workers in a Massachusetts factory town, proved to be a pioneering effort in the movement later known as the SOCIAL GOSPEL. Although few women held leadership positions in churches in her day, Phelps's success discloses how women did affect 19th-century American theology and religious thought through means such as religious literature.

Living in virtual seclusion for long periods of time, Phelps wrote and published prolifically. In 1910, she composed her last collection of stories, *The Empty House*. She died in Newton Center, Massachusetts, on January 28th of that year.

GHS, Jr.

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philanthropy Philanthropy, the act of giving time, treasure, or talent to others with no expectation of reward, is intimately linked with religion and is a dominant element of the U.S. religious landscape. As Henry Allen Moe said in his presidential address to the American Philosophical Society in 1961, "religion is the mother of philanthropy, both conceptually and procedurally."

The Western understanding of philanthropy owes much to its formation within JUDAISM and in the teachings of the three great monotheisms. Preeminent is the vision that responsibility to others is more than a mere social or familial obligation but a moral duty extending beyond kin and clan to the universe of unknown others.

The mostly Protestant settlers of British America brought with them a strong biblical ethos colored by the scriptural emphasis that the weak have a special and legitimate demand upon the goods of the community. The facts of life in the New World required them to take responsibility for establishing needed organizations and institutions. Doing these things themselves strengthened their sense of responsibility for and obligation to the community. Additionally, the weakness of central authorities meant that if one did not like what was or was not being done, one could often do something else. Strengthening this emphasis were powerful tendencies within CALVIN-

ISM itself, tendencies that received free play in British North America.

Major themes in REFORMATION thought stressed the individual's role as a powerful, independent being capable of making free moral choices. The reformers' insistence on individual Bible study and direct religious experience, and especially Calvin's rejection of any community or institutional role in effecting grace, meant that the individual stood alone before God, thus transforming the individual from a simple member of the community into a completely separate and responsible being.

The result, which Ernst Troeltsch documented in his book *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* and with which Max Weber struggled in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* was the creation of "a habit of personal reserve, positive restraint, aggressive initiative, and a reasoned logic of the aim of action." This habit had a powerful impact on the nature and form of philanthropy and on the entire idea of associationalism. Calvinism soon developed a level of religious separation from both the existing political and social order that made possible a defense of religious separatism and political rebellion. This development played an important role in the construction of both democracy and civil society. Arguably the most significant influence the Reformation had upon philanthropy was its promotion of social discipline and rationality. The long-term result was the emergence of professionalism, organization, and the transformation of philanthropy from the alleviation to the prevention of suffering.

This change came about primarily through the development of two aspects of Calvinism. The first is what Weber called "worldly asceticism." While the life of the saved individual (the saint, to use Weber's term) was directed toward a transcendental end, it was "thoroughly rationalized in this world and dominated entirely by the aim to add to the glory of God on earth." This was done by struggling to be the best at one's calling, through doing one's work on this earth well. Working hard became a way of serving God.

In whatever one did, one was literally to be about "the Father's business." Time and effort were not to be wasted since all goods belonged, in a very real sense, to the Lord. The failure to utilize one's resources appropriately could only be sinful. Just as one should not spend money on personal luxuries, neither should one give to others in a way that encouraged idleness and evil living. One also should not give randomly and without purpose. To act in such a manner violated both natural and divine law. As a result, the final victory of the Reformation was the professionalization of social work in the 19th and 20th centuries and the movement in philanthropy toward tackling the root causes of poverty and suffering.

When linked with the possibilities presented by American society, both before and after independence, this impulse found its full flowering. In the United States today, it is visible everywhere. The philanthropic spirit, especially in its religious motivation, has become so ubiquitous that it often goes unnoticed. Its manifestations appear unremarkable, yet it permeates American life. In the area of health care alone, the names Lutheran General Hospital, Presbyterian-St. Luke's, Jewish Children's Hospital, and St. Vincent's all attest to the role of religion in building the infrastructure of caring and concern to which American religious groups have committed themselves.

Other entities have become so ingrained in our psyche, so universalized, that many remain unaware of their religious core—the SALVATION ARMY, the YMCA/YWCA, the Damien centers. Such examples do not even touch on the innumerable food pantries, clothes closets, tutoring programs, family counseling centers, shelters, and drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs that find their homes, their volunteers, and their money in congregations of all faiths. In Buddhist temples in Chicago, synagogues in New York, mosques in Dearborn, Catholic parishes in San Francisco, and Baptist churches in Houston women and men struggle to aid, help, and redeem their sisters and brothers.

The latter point illustrates one of the most valuable elements of the philanthropic sector in the United States. Through philanthropic activities, all persons have the ability to strive to construct their vision of the good life. Minority and disenfranchised communities historically have used philanthropic activities to maintain their distinctive cultures, languages, and religious traditions. It has been the location for educational and cultural uplift. For many communities, especially among African Americans, the philanthropic or nonprofit sector, particularly religion, has been the locus for the creation of community elites and a source of community empowerment.

Although many individuals recognize the religious values of giving and serving others mostly in the breach and that religious visions of what ought to be do not correspond directly to what is, there are truths in those visions—truths that, if ignored, can result in a radically inadequate and false sense of the universe of service provision in the contemporary United States. The activities of religious organizations in the lives of people, in providing them with food and clothing, building homes, revitalizing neighborhoods, treating addictions, supplying health care, aiding abused women and children (the list could be easily extended), are immense. From an organization as ubiquitous as the Salvation Army to a small immigrant congregation, people and institutions are driven by their faiths to help and to serve others.

This religious motivation has been aided by the structure of U.S. political institutions. The constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion and free speech, assembly, and association have strongly aided the right and ability of individuals to join together in order to accomplish goals they value outside governmental and business realms. Unlike many countries, the United States does not have a law of association, limiting the right of individuals to meet and work together. In fact, the laws governing associations in the United States are simply administrative, almost solely concerned with matters pertaining to money, especially tax exemption and tax deductibility. Under the IRS Code, nonprofit organizations can structure themselves to be tax exempt and tax deductible by filing for 501(c)(3) status. This grants the group tax exemption and allows individual donors to deduct donations to these organizations from their federal taxes.

Religious organizations such as churches, mosques, synagogues, temples, and so on also have a series of exemptions from the rules that govern most nonprofit or philanthropic organizations. The nature of the constitutional demands are such that the government is not to stand in judgment of religious organizations. The presumption is that religions are what they purport to be. In the absence of compelling reasons to suspect otherwise, they automatically qualify as both religious organizations and nonprofits.

Religious organizations zealously guard these prerogatives and have been active in supporting entities whose tax exemptions have been challenged. When SCIENTOLOGY lost its tax exemption because the IRS felt that it was merely a front for a series of business enterprises, nearly all major denominations and religious leaders offered their support in their legal battles. Eventually, the exemption was returned.

Despite the privileges held by religious organizations in their associational and tax status, as the above suggests, there are limits. During the 1990s, another limit increasingly came to the fore. One of the limitations on the activities of 501(c)(3) organizations is that although they may have positions on political issues, they cannot endorse political candidates and cannot engage in political lobbying or other political activities. A church, therefore, can vocally oppose the death penalty, but it cannot expressly endorse a given candidate who opposes the death penalty. This line, however, is blurry, and some individuals and groups have challenged the tax status of religious organizations with whom they disagree on political issues. The most dramatic of these challenges was presented to the Roman Catholic Church by a coalition of homosexual rights groups. Although this challenge failed, it presented a new threat to religious organizations and required a serious rethinking of some activities. The challenge also highlighted the ongoing question of the relationship between religion and politics in the United States, especially in light of the increase in political activism among evangelicals during the late 20th century.

Such challenges have increased since that time. There has been a series of concerns about religiously based social services organizations, particularly those treating drug addicts and counseling prisoners, including explicit religious content in their governmentally funded service delivery, in direct violation of the law and the Constitution. Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, numerous Islamic charities found themselves under suspicion of being front organizations for terrorist activities. Six Muslim charities in the United States had their assets frozen, and several individuals associated with the Holy Land Foundation were convicted of transferring money to a designated terrorist organization.

Additionally, religious organizations have been investigated for violating laws against political activity. While congregations and other religious organizations can take stands on certain policies, they are prohibited from supporting or opposing specific candidates for political office. In 1992, the IRS revoked the tax-exempt status of the Church of Pierce Creek in Vestal, New York, after it took out a full-page advertisement in *USA Today* attacking Bill Clinton during his candidacy for president. Second Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, was investigated in 1994 for supporting overt political activity. All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena, California, underwent serious scrutiny in 2005 and 2006 after a former rector delivered a series of sermons attacking President George W. Bush. In 2004, the IRS investigated 47 churches for political activity. It deemed three cases to be without merit and issued warnings or assessed taxes in 37 cases. Seven cases required further investigation. Pierce Creek remains the only church to have had its tax-exempt status revoked for political activity.

Despite these issues, religious denominations, individual congregations, and religiously affiliated charities play a major role in the provision of and delivery of social, medical, and educational services. They also are among the most active in the delivery of emergency aid, particularly after natural disasters. This became quite evident after Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans in 2005. Religiously based emergency services were among the first on the scene and seemed, to many observers, the most successful in aiding those in need.

The philanthropic or nonprofit sector plays a major role in the U.S. economy as well. In 2005, Americans gave more than $265.28 billion to charitable, educational, medical, and other nonprofits. Of this amount, more than $93 billion went to religious organizations, which used nearly half of that amount not to run their local congregations or support their denominations but to provide social and humanitarian services, such as supporting emergency response teams for natural disasters. Additionally, the value of Americans' volunteer time in 2005 was estimated to be $280 billion. When added to the wages and salaries of the 10 percent of the workforce employed by nonprofits, the total equals 15 percent of all wages and salaries paid in the United States.

Philanthropy serves as a major driver in the provision of human services, education, recreation, and health care. Religion dominates much of that sector. While not a uniquely American phenomenon, the centrality and ubiquity of philanthropy are a major source of the United States' distinctiveness, both religiously and socially.

(See also CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN; SOCIAL GOSPEL.)

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pietism Pietism was a renewal movement that took shape primarily within German LUTHERANISM in the late 17th and early 18th century. Pietists protested against the cold intellectualism and formalism of the officially established churches. They stressed personal religious experience, including the admission of one's unworthiness before God and the desire to grow in holiness. Emphasizing a religion of the heart, Pietism soon transcended Lutheranism, influencing denominations such as the MORAVIANS and the METHODISTS in addition to American EVANGELICALISM.

Philipp Jakob Spener is considered the founder of pietism. Born in 1635, he studied at Geneva and Strasbourg before coming as a Lutheran pastor to Frankfurt-am-Main in 1666. He drew inspiration from Johann Arndt's 1606 devotional classic *Wahre Christentum* (*True Christianity*), which insisted that Christians should be instructed in a practical, living faith rather than in the sterile doctrinal controversies typical of Lutheranism at the time. Spener instituted religious meetings in his house, with devotional circles of prayer and Bible reading. In 1675, he published the first edition of his own famous work, *Pia Desideria* (*Pious Longings*), an event that marks the beginning of the pietist movement.

In 1691, Spener was called to a church in Berlin, a post he held until his death in 1705. While in Berlin, he helped found the University of Halle, which became not only the intellectual center of the Prussian state but also the international mecca of pietism. In 1692, August Hermann Franke, who was to become the great organizer of pietism, came to Halle to serve as both pastor and professor. Franke had experienced a religious conversion in 1687. One Sunday evening, he fell on his knees and, as he later wrote, felt himself "overwhelmed . . . with a stream of joy." Franke influenced pietism as a preacher and writer, stressing the so-called repentance struggle (*Busskampf*) leading up to the experience of new birth.

At the heart of the pietist movement was the question, "How do I know I am saved?" Since Protestant orthodoxy tended to be rationalistic, emphasizing God's remoteness and inscrutability, questions of religious assurance were naturally raised. Pietists proposed a form of religious life in which a direct, heartfelt encounter with God was central. They encouraged Bible study and formed small groups within parishes as a means to deepen devotion. Pietists sought to transform the pastor from merely the administrator of sacraments and the protector of pure doctrine into a shepherd of souls and a preacher of salvation.

The Moravian Church, led by NICOLAS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF, was the most important denomination to emerge out of the pietist movement. Zinzendorf was born into a Prussian noble family in 1700, baptized by Spener, and educated at Halle. Acquiring an estate he called Herrnhut (the "Lord's Protection") in 1722, he provided a refuge for members of the Moravian Unitas Fratrum ("Unity of the Bethren"), a religious party that extended back to the late Middle Ages. The Herrnhut community revived ancient Christian patterns of worship and placed stress on daily Scripture readings and hourly prayers. Eventually, Zinzendorf traveled to Pennsylvania in 1741, where a community had been founded through the work of Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg. Zinzendorf served as the pastor of a Lutheran church in Philadelphia. He also organized several meetings of German Protestants in Pennsylvania in 1742 and 1743 in an attempt to effect Christian unity in the New World.

Pietism ultimately helped revivify Protestantism both on the Continent and in England and America in the 18th century. It inspired Methodist founder John Wesley, who held religious conversations with Spangenberg and the Moravians. Wesley also traveled to the Salzburger settlement in Georgia, where he engaged in dialogue with Austrian refugees whose pastor had been trained at Halle. When he returned to England, he made contact there with Moravians, who sought to know whether he had received the assurance of pardon they believed was at the heart of true Christianity. On his way to a Moravian service on Aldersgate Street in London on May 24, 1738, Wesley felt his "heart strangely warmed," and the experience transformed his life.

Pietism influenced American religion not only through the Moravians and other sectarian groups, but also through contact with several mainstream Protestant denominations. THEODORUS FRELINGHUYSEN of New Jersey, one of the early heralds of the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid–18th century, had been profoundly influenced by Dutch Reformed pietism. Frelinghuysen in his turn attracted Presbyterian ministers William and GILBERT TENNENT, who became revival leaders in their denomination. Links to the Methodists included both Wesley himself and Jacob Albright, an 18th-century German Lutheran whose Evangelical Association eventually merged with the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH in the 20th century.

Although pietism disappeared as a distinct movement in the 19th century, its particular emphases continue to have an impact on evangelicalism in the United States today. American Protestants who believe in the importance of spiritual rebirth and a "born again" experience certainly understand the religious concerns that motivated the early pietists. Like John Wesley, they are moved by the thought that Jesus Christ died to take away "*my* sins, even *mine,* and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

GHS, Jr.

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Pilgrim Holiness Church See HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

Pilgrims The Pilgrims were English separatists (see PURITANISM) who came to British North America in 1620 to escape religious persecution and who founded Plymouth Plantation. English separatists, like the Pilgrims, despaired of the possibility of reforming the Church of England (see ANGLICANISM) and broke with the state church to form their own congregations ordered according to their own readings of the Bible. The congregation from which the Pilgrims came was formed in

Scrooby, England, sometime in 1606. Richard Clifton was head minister, John Robinson and William Brewster his assistants. Among the early members of this church was William Bradford, who later served as the long-term governor of Plymouth colony.

From the beginning, the Scrooby congregation suffered persecution from civil and religious authorities. In response, they decided, in the fall of 1607, to immigrate to Holland. Unfortunately, the captain and crew of the ship they hired for the journey proved untrustworthy, robbing them and turning them over to the local authorities. Most of the congregation were released after a month's imprisonment, but seven, including Robinson and Bradford, were held until the spring.

The second attempt, in spring 1608, was only slightly more successful. For security reasons, the men and women separated while awaiting the ship hired to smuggle them out of England. The women, who were to join the group by water off the coast at Hull, were trapped by a storm and failed to arrive at the meeting place. The men, boarding from land, were surprised and arrested by a posse. The ship sailed away with the few who had already boarded. During the voyage, a storm drove them all the way to the coast of Norway. Thus, it took them 14 days to reach Holland, during which time many feared they were lost.

The women, children, and remaining men were imprisoned by the English authorities. Upon their release, they were driven from town to town as paupers since they had no possessions (having sold all their belongings). They soon become so tiresome to the authorities that they were allowed to leave, and eventually between 60 and 125 arrived in Amsterdam.

In 1609, the Pilgrims moved to Leiden (their petition for residency was approved February 12), where they worked in the cloth industry. By 1617, fear of renewed warfare between Spain and Holland, economic depression, and disgust with the "licentiousness" of the Dutch made them look with favor on moving to America. Plans were finalized, and in July 1620, those going to America returned to England. The Pilgrims and several other colonists left England in two boats, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*, on August 5, 1620, but were forced to return to port when the *Speedwell* began to leak. They finally decided to continue the voyage with just one ship, and on September 6, the *Mayflower* left England.

After a harrowing voyage, it arrived off Cape Cod on November 21. The Pilgrims spent the next three weeks searching for a suitable place for settlement, which they found near modern-day Plymouth, Massachusetts. They then joined themselves together in a social contract (see MAYFLOWER COMPACT) and demonstrated their complete independence from all "popish" festivals by beginning construction of a common house on Christmas Day.

The winter of 1620–21 was particularly cruel to the new settlers: 50 of the 102 colonists died during that time. Fortunately, they happened upon an Indian who knew English, having been kidnapped by English fishermen and taken to England earlier in his life. The Indian, Squanto, acted as an emissary between the Pilgrims and the surrounding Indians, taught them about local agriculture, and helped to ease their difficulties.

For a people who believed themselves blessed by God, the Pilgrims had infinite problems. Food shortages were chronic. They were constantly cheated by their financial backers in England. New colonists were sent out with insufficient provisions, and many of the non-Pilgrims sent to increase the colony's number proved no end of trouble. These included Thomas Morton, who sold guns to the Indians, held orgies at his settlement of Merrymount several miles from Plymouth, and encouraged servants to leave their masters. Even the minister, John Lyford, sent by the company played them false. When it was discovered that he was not ordained, that he was an adulterer and fornicator, and that he had sent false letters about the colony to the stockholders in England, the Pilgrims ran him out of the colony.

Given these difficulties, the slow growth of the colony is not surprising. Not until 1622 were the losses of the first winter regained. By 1643, the colony still comprised only 2,500 people scattered throughout 10 towns. By this time, Plymouth was increasingly overshadowed by the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, of which it became a part in 1691.

Despite this, no group is more wrapped in American mythology than the Pilgrims. That such a small group of people should loom so large in the consciousness of a nation is surprising. Perhaps their appeal lies in the fact that they were simple people fleeing persecution and overcoming numerous difficulties. Their weakness gives them an air of innocence that allows people to cherish them unreservedly. Finally, the holiday of Thanksgiving associated with them is an all-encompassing holiday. Not bound to a particular religion, not attached to war or nationalism, Thanksgiving well mirrors the innocence and simplicity associated with the Pilgrims themselves.

EQ

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Pittsburgh Platform Adopted by a conference of Reform rabbis meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in November 1885, the Pittsburgh Platform became the theological basis of REFORM JUDAISM for half a century. This was a surprising achievement, since only 15 rabbis attended the conference and none of the major Reform institutions—Hebrew Union College (HUC), the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), or the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC)—ever officially adopted the statement.

The Pittsburgh meeting, ostensibly designed to unify America's rabbis, served the opposite purpose. Dominated by radical reformers, it irrevocably divided Reform Judaism from the more traditionally minded. Although ISAAC MAYER WISE served as chairman of the meeting, the framing of the statement was the work of others more radical than he, most notably KAUFMANN KOHLER. Kohler, rabbi at Temple Beth-El in New York, was the meeting's guiding spirit, and in his opening paper, he submitted a 10-point program for Reform Judaism. Some of his points were purely organizational, calling for improved religious education, greater religious observance at home, and wider dissemination of Jewish literature. Others, such as one calling for revised Scripture readings for Sabbath and holy day services and "omitting all passages that might, when translated, give offense . . ." were more extreme. Most important, Kohler called for the adoption of a platform that would "declare to the world what Judaism is and what Reform means and aims at." Crafted under his leadership, the statement of principles expressed the rationalism and progressivism that distinguished "classical" Reform Judaism.

While recognizing attempts to grasp the "infinite One" in every religious system, the statement declared that "Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea." The mission of the Jewish people was to serve as priests of the One God. The doctrines of Judaism were not incompatible with the discoveries of modern science. Judaism was declared a "progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason." The Bible, while a "most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction," was not to be considered authoritative for science or history, since it reflects "the primitive ideas of its own age . . . in miraculous narrative."

The Mosaic laws regulating dress, diet, and purity were deemed outmoded, as were all religious laws not "adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization." Also rejected were the resurrection of the body and the existence of Gehenna and Eden (hell and paradise), although the immortality of the soul was affirmed.

Most significantly, the statement rejected the idea of the Jewish nation. It declared that the Jews were a "religious community, and therefore expect[ed] neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."

The adoption of such a statement of principles had a significant impact on American Judaism. It signaled a complete break between the reformers and the more traditional members of American Judaism, leading to the latter's creation of the Jewish Theological Seminary the following year.

It even unsettled many of the reformers. Isaac Wise, who called it the "Declaration of Independence for American Jews," used his position as president of both HUC and (later) CCAR to prevent either institution from adopting it as their statement of principles.

The Pittsburgh Platform was eventually integrated into Reform Judaism, becoming part of its ritual and prayer book, and remained the basis of Reform Judaism until the 1930s, when parts of it, including its anti-ZIONISM, were repudiated in the Columbus Platform adopted by the CCAR in 1937. Although modified somewhat by the Columbus Platform and the "Centenary Perspective," a set of rabbinical guidelines adopted in 1976, the Pittsburgh Platform remained the predominant expression of Reform principles until 1999. In May of that year, a meeting of the CCAR adopted a new Pittsburgh Platform that called for a return to greater observance, increased religious study, and increased attention to traditional religious forms. Simultaneously, the platform reaffirmed Reform's commitment to bringing the traditions of Judaism into conversation with new developments in science and culture.

EQ

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Plan of Union The Plan of Union was an alliance instituted in 1801 between the Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM) and Congregational (see CONGREGATIONALISM) Churches of the United States. It effectively united the two denominations in a joint effort to evangelize the territories of what is now the Midwest. Although theological tensions within the Presbyterian Church curtailed the union in 1837, the plan helped transplant religious and political influences from New England to portions of upstate New York, Ohio, and Indiana in the early 19th century.

By the late 1700s, most American Presbyterians and Congregationalists considered themselves to be members of virtually the same denomination. They possessed a common Calvinist theological heritage and divided simply over matters of church organization. Fraternal ties, the formation of joint committees, and the exchange of delegates between the churches' respective decision-making bodies indicated a strong, albeit informal, connection. As a result of the Plan of Union, Congregational and Presbyterian settlers in frontier communities were officially allowed to join together in a single congregation. The majority of church members could decide to organize themselves as either a Congregational or a Presbyterian parish. Every church was also free to call a minister from either denomination as its pastor.

The plan functioned well for three decades, and there was but one "presbygational" denomination in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The plan tended to favor the establishment of Presbyterian parishes in the Midwest, since the greater organizational consciousness of that denomination usually won the upper hand among church members. Yet most clergy serving in the fluid social environment of the frontier preferred the theological openness and moral reform emphases of Congregationalism to the doctrinal conservatism of Presbyterians. The Accommodation Plan of 1808 further strengthened this arrangement. Congregationalists were given a free rein in proselytizing the New England states, while Presbyterianism established itself as the dominant religious force in the West. The decline of interdenominational rivalry also benefited higher education. Colleges such as Western Reserve, Knox, Grinnell, and Ripon were all founded in the Midwest during that period.

Theological disputes among the Presbyterians eventually led to the abolition of the plan. The southern-oriented Old School Presbyterians (see NEW SCHOOL/OLD SCHOOL) began to fear that the alliance not only prevented them from having control over western missionary ventures but also strengthened the New School party, whose liberal social and theological views were encouraged by close contact with New England Congregationalists. When the Old School faction gained control of the General Assembly in 1837, it severed all connections to the Congregationalists and expelled synods in New York and Ohio that had been formed under the plan. Although Congregationalists maintained an accord with the New School Presbyterian denomination that was formed in 1838, they, too, voided the Plan of Union in 1852 because they feared it had benefited Presbyterianism far more than their own church.

Despite its relatively short existence, one of the plan's most lasting contributions to American life was the settlement of numerous "little New Englands" in midwestern towns throughout the early 19th century. Working under the "presbygational" system, Congregational ministers helped carry the cultural values of the New England states to parts of the Midwest in the decades preceding the Civil War.

GHS, Jr.

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pluralism Pluralism is an idea with a variety of meanings. In its most basic form, pluralism is used to point to the fact that there are a wide variety of ways in which Americans orient themselves to the world. More specifically, religious pluralism refers to the fact that Americans adhere to many different religious traditions, faiths, and belief systems. Pluralism, however, also conveys an ideal about how America might be as a nation, one in which the distinctive religious differences that exist between people are understood and respected. American society is now more radically pluralistic than at any time in its history, but pluralism as an American ideal has a much longer history.

There has always been a degree of religious pluralism in America. Before the arrival of Europeans, Native Americans practiced a wide variety of religious traditions. In the New England colonies, Puritans (see PURITANISM) struggled among themselves over the question of orthodoxy. In the 19th century, Reform and Orthodox Jews differed as to how to interpret their traditions, and Catholic immigrants brought with them a wide array of distinct devotional traditions (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM and JUDAISM). Around the 1920s, the split between fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM) and liberals (see MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM) resulted in new ways to be both Protestant and religious. However, this older kind of religious pluralism was muted around the middle of the 20th century, when a COLD WAR consensus was built on a common set of Judeo-Christian values thought to be shared by those in the American mainstream.

Developments in the last five decades challenged that consensus. Despite moves toward cooperation and formal unity, American Protestants remain deeply divided along a variety of theological, doctrinal, and political lines. The decentralized Jewish community, which includes REFORM JUDAISM, CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM, ORTHODOX JUDAISM, HASIDISM, and a variety of secularist orientations, is well known for its diversity. Despite a centralized church, Catholics differ considerably, whether those differences point to tensions between progressives and traditionalists or to distinctive religious emphases related to ethnicity.

Three additional developments helped to push the idea of religious pluralism into the foreground. Pluralism became a byword during the 1960s, when African Americans and white ethnics alike shared in a revival of ETHNICITY. The current interest in pluralism is also related to mass IMMIGRATION after the liberalization of immigration laws in 1965 and the increase in Asian traditions on the American scene. A third development was related to a rise in the number of Christian sects and movements and New Age groups (see NEW AGE RELIGION) and to the ubiquity of free-wheeling spiritual sensibilities that have risen in recent decades.

The idea of a religiously plural America burst into mainstream consciousness only recently, but pluralism as a cultural and political ideal has a much longer pedigree. Cultural pluralism is an idea associated with HORACE KALLEN, who in 1915 argued that the promise of American democracy was to preserve the cultural integrity of its diverse peoples. Kallen's idea of cultural pluralism resonated with the values of some liberal Protestant reformers, cultural anthropologists, and social commentators in the early decades of the 20th century but only resurfaced as a powerful ideal in the 1960s. The idea of political pluralism is most closely associated with the name of Robert A. Dahl. In *Who Governs?* (1961), Dahl described how Americans can both subscribe to a universal creed of democracy and tolerate great inequities in wealth, power, and the capacity to influence political decision making. He concluded that American democracy has become politically pluralistic, that is, it has been restructured to address the needs of different constituencies through interest groups, some based on class and others on ethnicity. This idea gained a wider audience through such noted books as *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963) by Daniel Moynihan and Nathan Glazer, in which interest groups are portrayed as mediating the democratic process in New York City for many different constituencies.

These traditions of pluralistic thought paved the way for a consideration of America as a religiously pluralistic nation. But religious pluralism has been most rigorously explored by scholars involved in the interfaith movement such as Paul Knitter and Alan Race, whose insights have only recently begun to be applied to understanding American religious history. For instance, it may be meaningful to talk about a common Judeo-Christian tradition in the American mainstream, but this does not negate the facts that Judaism and Christianity are different religions with deeply contested understandings of scripture and theology and that these differences have in the past led to conflict and hostilities. Catholics and Protestants, however much they share a common Christian heritage, appeal to different theological traditions, scriptural interpretations, and models of religious authority. Religious differences become pronounced when Asian religions are introduced into the equation. Muslims (see ISLAM) share many sensibilities with Jews and Christians. In fact, in the 1990s, some Americans began to speak of a "Judeo-Christian-Islamic" or "Abrahamic" tradition shared by members of the three leading Western religions. However, Muslims understand their religion to be a revelation that, while it began in the ancient Hebrew Bible and continued in the Christian New Testament, finds its highest expression in the Qur'an.

On one hand, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States raised serious challenges as to whether Islam could fit within that pluralist model. On the other hand, President George W. Bush strove to reach out to the Islamic community, holding White House ceremonies to mark the end of Ramadan and even alienating much of his conservative, evangelical Christian base by declaring that Jews, Christians, and Muslims all worship the same God.

HINDUISM has its own unique scriptural sources and gains expression in ways that are largely incommensurate with Christian theism. Some forms of BUDDHISM are not, in any conventional sense of the term, theistic at all, even though their values rest upon profoundly spiritual foundations. These more nuanced insights into religious pluralism are likely to become important in the United States as Asian Americans begin to play a more prominent role in the nation's religious history.

Pluralism, therefore, is an idea with cultural, political, and religious implications that only recently came of age in America, although it has been a long time in the making. Religious pluralism is a heightened awareness of the fact that different ideas, practices, and sacred traditions motivate different peoples. Pluralism is also an American ideal, whose goal is to encourage understanding and respect for the religious traditions and values of different peoples. Much of the recent controversy about religious and cultural pluralism resulted from the collapse of an older sense of Judeo-Christian consensus that thinly masked perennial tensions. New and different elements are, moreover, constantly being added to the American scene. This will insure that the debate over pluralism in America is likely to continue.

RHS/EQ

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politics, religion and See RELIGIOUS RIGHT; CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN.

positive thinking The positive thinking movement preaches the power of mind over matter. Philosophically idealistic, theologically monistic, and temperamentally optimistic, positive thinking lacks many of the institutional trappings of other religious movements, but its inspirational gospel of health, wealth, and individual success has spread widely across the United States through the mass media.

Although many associate positive thinking with post–World War II best-sellers by Dale Carnegie and Norman Vincent Peale, the movement has its roots in 19th-century American movements such as TRANSCENDENTALISM, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, and NEW THOUGHT.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON would no doubt shrink from the slogans popularized in the sentimental novels and popular tracts of positive thinkers, but many transcendentalist notions—self-reliance, the essential oneness of the individual with the divine, the unity of all religions, and the fundamental goodness of both human beings and the cosmos—made their way into positive thinking.

The most influential early figure in the positive thinking tradition was Ralph Waldo Trine (1866–1958), a New Thought advocate who borrowed more than his first two names from Emerson. His *In Tune with the Infinite, or, Fullness of Peace, Power, and Plenty* (1897) argued for both the commonality of religious traditions and the unity of God and humans and established the precedent of placing the message of positive thinking on best-seller lists.

Of the 20th-century authors who spread this optimistic gospel, Dale Carnegie (1888–1955) and Norman Vincent Peale (1898–1993) were the most influential. Carnegie applied the principles of positive thinking to the business world in newspaper columns, radio programs, and his now-famous "Dale Carnegie Course," but he is best known for popular self-help books, such as *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936) and *How to Stop Worrying and Start Living* (1948).

Peale, a minister of the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, was equally eclectic in his reliance on the mass media. He used television and radio, the pulpit, and the phonograph to turn positive thinking into a postwar vogue. His *A Guide to Confident Living* (1948) and *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952) both became best sellers, and his *Guideposts* magazine still enjoys wide circulation. The simplicity of Peale's "You can win!" message was both its greatest strength and its greatest weakness. While many everyday folk in America found Peale's commands to "Have faith in yourself!" and "Believe in your abilities!" inspirational, critics called his gospel banal. To those who found troubling President Eisenhower's reported insistence that "Our government makes no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith—and I don't care what it is," Peale's slogans were, because of their runaway popularity, perhaps the most problematic example of the generic "faith-in-faith" of the 1950s.

Though for the most part positive thinking thrived inside the Protestant mainstream, it found an eager audience among other religious groups in the postwar period. Both Joshua Liebman, a Jewish rabbi, and Fulton J. Sheen, a Roman Catholic priest, championed their own versions of the cult of reassurance. The spirit of positive thinking also migrated into EVANGELICALISM, FUNDAMENTALISM, PENTECOSTALISM, and even BUDDHISM. The "possibility thinking" preached by Robert Schuller at his Crystal Cathedral in California is clearly based on Peale's positive thinking, and the gospels of health and wealth preached by ORAL ROBERTS and PAT ROBERTSON all are outgrowths of this diffuse movement.

The growth of positive thinking in the Pentecostal and charismatic churches was a major phenomenon of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. There it went by various names and various formulations: "Word of Faith," "the gospel of health and wealth," "name it and claim it," "prosperity gospel," and "positive confession." The underlying claim is that God desires health and prosperity for all believers. True Christians need only accept this and act accordingly. God wants one to be rich, for success demonstrates both God's power and the believer's faith. Many of these more extreme claims have been criticized vigorously by more orthodox Pentecostal thinkers, including some older versions of positive thinking. Despite the immense variations, positive thinking's continuing popularity testifies both to the power in American culture of the belief that human beings can control their destinies and the dominance of a therapeutic culture in contemporary America.

SRP/EQ

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postmillennialism Postmillennialism is the belief that the second coming of Jesus Christ will occur after the millennium, or thousand-year period of peace, described in the 20th chapter of the New Testament book of Revelation.

It was the most common ESCHATOLOGY in American Protestant thought between the GREAT AWAKENING of the 1730s and the CIVIL WAR. Christians holding postmillennial beliefs tended to be optimistic about human progress and committed to moral and social reforms they hoped would begin the era of peace on Earth. Postmillennialism is commonly contrasted with PREMILLENNIALISM, whose adherents generally have been dubious about human efforts to improve society prior to Christ's second coming.

The basic outlines of postmillennial thought were first formulated by Puritan theologians in the 17th century. JONATHAN EDWARDS, who argued that he saw signs of the coming millennium in the revivals of the Great Awakening, gave important intellectual shape to this tradition in the mid–18th century. The revivalist, missionary, and reform movements that followed the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING of the early 19th century carried postmillennial ideas to further prominence. The postponement of God's eventual judgment gave American Protestants the time they thought was needed to evangelize the world and fulfill America's providential mission. Postmillennialism assured believers that the golden age for which they longed would be a logical continuation of the best features of the present era. It gave those Christians energy to create their own future and became a critical force in the formation of the values of the American nation.

Until the last third of the 19th century, postmillennialism functioned as an effective compromise between opposing theological emphases, a view that harnessed ancient symbolism to a modern vision of secular progress. However, despite its onetime popularity, the postmillennial synthesis began to break apart during the period of widespread disillusionment that is now styled "the spiritual crisis of the Gilded Age." The emergence of the theological controversy between Protestant modernists and fundamentalists, moreover, effectively sounded the death knell of postmillennialism. Liberals, on one hand, questioned the value of interpreting the Bible literally and thus took an increasingly "amillennial" (no millennial beliefs) approach to eschatology. Conservatives, on the other hand, found the old postmillennial trust in progress an empty hope and considered premillennialism to be a more satisfying alternative in the modern era. As a result, postmillennialism proved neither sufficiently liberal to please modernists nor sufficiently biblical to capture the allegiance of fundamentalists.

GHS, Jr.

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Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr. (1908–1972)

One of the more flamboyant and controversial figures in American political life, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., was an important African-American religious and political leader from the 1930s to the 1960s. The son of Mattie (Fletcher) and ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, SR., Powell was born in 1908 and grew up in New York City, where his father was minister of Abyssinian Baptist Church. Like MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Andrew Young, and numerous other black leaders, Powell emerged from the black church to become a major national figure.

After graduating from high school, Powell attended Colgate University, where he experienced a major turning point. While at Colgate, Powell attempted to pass as white, until a check into his background by the fraternity he pledged uncovered the truth and kicked him out. This experience turned him into an activist for African-American rights.

After graduating from Colgate in 1930, he returned to New York City. There he served as assistant pastor at Abyssinian Baptist Church and manager of its numerous projects, including a free kitchen and a relief agency that distributed clothing, food, and fuel during the Great Depression. Powell early demonstrated his opposition to racial discrimination and was instrumental in convincing several companies in New York to hire blacks. He also helped persuade Harlem Hospital to hire its first black doctors and nurses.

Powell succeeded his father as minister of Abyssinian Baptist Church upon the latter's retirement in 1937. This position heightened his visibility as a civil rights activist. In 1939, he led a picket line against the executive office of the 1939 World's Fair in New York, forcing them to open employment to blacks. Convinced that he could accomplish more in politics and using his position as minister of one of the country's largest and most prestigious black churches as a power base, Powell ran for the New York City council in 1940. He won easily and in 1944 mounted a successful campaign for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

When he arrived in Washington, D.C., in 1945, Powell encountered numerous discriminatory practices, including in Congress itself. Technically barred from the congressional dining room, the barbershop, and the showers, he insisted on using these facilities and encouraged his staff to do likewise. Powell understood himself to be the voice of civil rights, and he fought for an end to racial discrimination. He sponsored the Powell Amendment to deny federal funds to any project where racial discrimination existed. Its successful adoption as part of the Flanagan School Lunch Bill made it the first piece of legislation proposed by an African American to be adopted since Reconstruction. In 1960, Powell became chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. In this position, he was instrumental in assisting Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in passing some of their most significant social legislation.

Powell's outspokenness on racial issues, his increasingly flamboyant lifestyle, and legal difficulties over his refusal to pay a damages claim led to his censure by the House and a refusal by the 90th Congress to seat him. He was, however, seated in 1968, and in 1969, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the House's action had been unconstitutional. But Powell increasingly neglected his congressional duties to relax on Bimini in the Bahama Islands. Photographs of him on his boat there during important legislative debates in Congress eroded his electoral support. In 1970, he was defeated by Charles Rangel in a close race. Powell retired to Bimini and died two years later in Miami.

EQ

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Powell, Adam Clayton, Sr. (1865–1953)

Though remembered today chiefly as the father of the U.S. representative from Harlem (see POWELL, ADAM CLAYTON, JR.), during his life, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., was not only the leading black clergyman in America, but also one of the most important clergymen in the United States.

Born in Soak Creek, Franklin County, Virginia, on May 5, 1865, this son of former slaves worked hard to educate himself. Rejected by Howard University Law School, he continued his education while working at a Washington, D.C., hotel as a janitor and waiter. He entered Wayland College and Seminary (Washington, D.C.) in 1888. Graduating in 1892, Powell entered the ministry, and, following a short pastorate at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Philadelphia (1893), he accepted the call to Immanuel Baptist Church in New Haven, Connecticut.

Powell had a very productive tenure at Immanuel and while there spent two years as a special student at Yale Divinity School. His success as a pastor was so great that Virginia Union University, which had merged with his alma mater, awarded him an honorary D.D. degree in 1904. Powell's next pastorate was at Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City. There, at the most venerable black Baptist pulpit in America, Powell would reach his true heights. When Powell took this job on December 31, 1908, the church was a shell of its former self. Membership had dwindled to 1,600, and it was $100,000 in debt. Powell's preaching and organizational activity rejuvenated the congregation. Realizing that the black population of New York was relocating to Harlem, he convinced the congregation in 1920 to purchase several lots at 138th Street for a new church building. Dedicated in the summer of 1923, the church cost more than $300,000, but it was the project of a now solvent congregation.

Powell firmly committed the church to social action, and Abyssinian became a social and political center for Harlem. During the Great Depression, the church operated soup kitchens and agitated for better jobs and services for Harlem residents. Despite the depression, the church continued to grow. By the mid-1930s, it had more than 14,000 members, making it the largest Protestant congregation in the United States.

During his tenure at Abyssinian, Powell taught at several colleges and universities, including Colgate University and Union Theological Seminary, where he lectured on race relations. As vice president of the NAACP, he was a major figure in the fight for black equality. An international figure, he traveled and wrote on social conditions in England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Central America.

Powell retired in 1937 and was succeeded by his son, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. He remained pastor emeritus at Abyssinian Baptist and a respected figure in American religion until his death on June 12, 1953.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami (1896–1977) Born Abhay Charan De to a Bengali family in Calcutta, India, in 1896, A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada is revered in the United States by Hare Krishna devotees as the founder of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS (ISKCON).

As a young man in India, Prabhupada took a guru and began a life of devotion to Krishna, the Hindu God who is typically represented as one of many avatars, or human incarnations, of the deity Vishnu (see HINDUISM). In 1932, during a pilgrimage to Vrindavan, a city of Vishnu worshipers, Prabhupada took the name of Abhay Charanaravinda ("one who fearlessly takes shelter at the feet of the Lord"). In 1956, he left behind his work in business, took the vows of a *sannyasin*, or world renunciant, and received the name of A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada.

Urged by his guru to take his love of Krishna to the West, Prabhupada arrived in New York City in 1965 at the age of 69. One year later, he began ISKCON out of a New York City storefront and started publishing a magazine called *Back to Godhead.* Prabhupada published numerous books and translations through the agency of the Bhaktivedanta Book Trust (established 1972). His best-known work is *Bhagavad-Gita As It Is* (1972), a commentary on the most revered Hindu scripture of Krishna devotees.

Prabhupada's devotional Hinduism has proven to be more easily assimilated in America than the philosophical Hinduism preached by the VEDANTA SOCIETY of SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. While Vivekananda urged his students to realize their fundamental unity with an impersonal and ultimately nontheistic Brahman, Prabhupada instructed his readers and listeners to devote their lives to worshiping Krishna as "the Supreme Lord."

Following Prabhupada's death in 1977, ISKCON leadership passed to the Governing Body Commission. The movement was hurt when critics branded it a "cult" and accused its leaders of "brainwashing" in the 1970s and 1980s. In 2006, there were 5,000 to 10,000 active Hare Krishnas in the United States.

SRP

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preachers, Protestant Preaching is the action by which teachings of the Bible are communicated to men and women in the present day.

While not every American preacher has been ordained, preaching has generally been considered the principal public function of clergy in the Protestant tradition. Clergy have tended to be some of the best-educated and most thoughtful members of their communities. As a result, many of them (e.g., JONATHAN EDWARDS, CHARLES G. FINNEY, and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) have assumed important roles in the development of American culture.

JOHN WINTHROP, governor of the Puritan settlement of Massachusetts Bay, delivered the first important sermon in American history. Preached aboard the ship *Arbella* on the way to New England in 1630, Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charity" introduced the idea of America's unique national calling. Winthrop declared that God's providence had led the Puritans to the New World. He envisioned that the settlers of New England had made a covenant, or agreement, with God. If they maintained their side of the bargain, God would reward them with prosperity. Citing the New Testament, Winthrop proclaimed that the Puritan colony would be "a city upon a hill" with the eyes of the world fixed upon it.

Two generations later, at the end of the 17th century, COTTON MATHER, pastor of the Second Church of Boston, preached to as many as 1,500 people each Sunday morning. A prolific author, Mather wrote the monumental *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), in which he reviewed the early history of Puritan New England. Mather feared that New Englanders had abandoned the piety of the founders of their colony and were straying from the covenant the original settlers had made with God. In numerous sermons of lamentation called *Jeremiads* (named for the biblical prophet Jeremiah), Mather called upon his people to seek spiritual renewal. He urged them to abandon their growing worldliness and dedicate themselves to honoring God's laws.

The outbreak of the GREAT AWAKENING, the revivals that stirred the churches of America in the early 18th century, helped fulfill Mather's hopes for New England. Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Massachusetts, the most learned preacher of his day, reasserted Puritan values and spoke to his congregation about the need for their religious conversion. The sermon he delivered at Enfield, Connecticut, in 1740, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," contains one of the most memorable images ever employed by an American preacher. He described the soul of a sinner held by God over the pit of hell as a person holds a spider over a roaring fire. Only divine grace ("a slender thread") prevented the sinner from falling headlong into hell and being consumed by its flames. As Edwards intended, his sermon's graphic illustration evoked powerful emotions that impelled many in his congregation to confess their sins and seek God's forgiveness.

Another prominent preacher of the Great Awakening, Anglican priest GEORGE WHITEFIELD, had gained renown by speaking in fields and other open spaces in England. In America during his seven evangelistic tours of the colonies, Whitefield's extemporaneous preaching excited thousands of hearers wherever he went. He estimated that 20,000 people came to hear him on Boston Common in October 1740. At Philadelphia in November of the same year, he spoke to thousands in an auditorium specially built for his visit. His eloquence even made Jonathan Edwards weep when Whitefield preached at his church in Northampton.

Whitefield's Anglican colleague John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, developed an organization of lay preachers to aid him in the evangelization of England and America. Having created what he called "circuits," geographic districts that contained a number of Methodist societies, Wesley commissioned itinerant preachers, or circuit riders, to visit every local society on a monthly basis. FRANCIS ASBURY, the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was the prototype of many later American circuit riders. Asbury was an aggressive evangelist and itinerant minister who traveled almost incessantly, preaching the Gospel and building up his denomination. It is estimated that he covered more than 300,000 miles and delivered more than 16,500 sermons in his career.

Asbury was also an early advocate of CAMP MEETINGS, which became the most important institution of Protestant outreach on the FRONTIER in the early 19th century. Camp meetings were open-air revivals where participants settled for several days at a site and heard almost continuous preaching. A large gathering congregated at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801 and took part in an event some observers likened to the biblical day of Pentecost. Wooden preaching platforms were constructed in a clearing near a small Presbyterian church. There, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian ministers all preached for a week and converted hundreds of souls.

Presbyterian Charles G. Finney was the most celebrated preacher of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, the extended period of revivals spanning the first few decades of the 19th century. After undergoing a religious conversion in 1821, Finney abandoned a law career and set to work instead as an itinerant missionary in upstate New York. He had remarkable physical characteristics that he put to good use as a preacher. A commanding figure in the pulpit, he spoke in plain language to everyone, pleading with them to change their hearts and surrender to God. He called people forward to the "anxious bench," a front-row pew where they struggled publicly to acknowledge their sins. Finney made enemies who opposed his revivals on a number of counts, especially his abandonment of traditional Calvinist teachings about predestination and his willingness to allow women to preach and pray.

Preaching has always been tremendously important in AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION. Francis Asbury, for instance, traveled with a black preacher named Harry Hosier, who would preach to blacks at settlements where both slaveholders and their slaves were gathered. In 1785, Asbury also asked the young RICHARD ALLEN to accompany him. Since Allen would have been assigned to slave quarters when he accompanied Asbury on preaching tours of the South, he refused the request. Allen instead settled in Philadelphia and in 1787 organized an independent black church, the beginning of the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. Beginning in 1819, a friend of Allen named JARENA LEE became one of the first women to preach in the United States. She recorded her experiences in a spiritual autobiography called *The Life and Religious Experience of Jarena Lee, A Coloured Lady, Giving an Account of Her Call to Preach the Gospel* (1836).

Among African Americans in the South, slave preachers helped keep hope alive for many who were held in bondage. The slaveholders' fear that Christianity might encourage rebellion was confirmed when two charismatic preachers, DENMARK VESEY in 1822 and NAT TURNER, in 1831 organized slave revolts. Some of Turner's religious ideas are recorded in the "confession" he made to the court that tried him for insurrection and murder. Despite his claim that God had inspired the revolt, Turner's white interrogators asked what seemed to them an obvious question: Didn't capture and impending execution confirm that he was wrong? Turner knew the Bible well and understood how God's prophets had suffered at the hands of the wicked. He did not reply directly but asked his captors his own question: "Was not Christ crucified?"

Among white clergy in the same period, no preacher was better known for applying biblical teachings to the abolition of slavery than Congregationalist HENRY WARD BEECHER. Beecher believed above all else that religious thought should be adapted to the culture and times in which Christians lived. Beecher preached openly on issues relating to social reform, including rights for women and an end to slavery. During the controversy in the 1850s over the admission of the Kansas territory to the Union, he also raised money from his pulpit to provide rifles (called "Beecher's Bibles") for the protection of antislavery settlers in Kansas. Throughout the CIVIL WAR, he was an outspoken supporter of the Northern war effort. In February 1865, Beecher was asked to deliver an address at the flag-raising in Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, the event that symbolized the end of the Southern slaveholders' rebellion.

Along with Beecher, the most notable preacher in the middle years of the 19th century was the Episcopalian PHILLIPS BROOKS, rector of Trinity Church in Boston from 1869 to 1891. Brooks's thinking suited his parish well, for it blended optimism about the human condition with conservative social views. He believed in the goodness and nobility of humankind, and faith in progress kept him untroubled by the obvious social inequalities in America during the Gilded Age. Brooks wrote *Lectures on Preaching,* which he had delivered at Yale University in 1877, plus a number of volumes of his popular sermons. He was also author of the beloved Christmas carol "O Little Town of Bethlehem."

Other preachers analyzed American society at the turn of the century in ways far different from Brooks's benign trust in human progress. Evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY, whose preaching served as a harbinger of the fundamentalist movement emerging in American Protestantism, was convinced that the salvation of individual souls was the only effective means of reforming America. Eschewing the discussion of all other topics, he described his ministry as essentially an otherworldly rescue mission: "I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.'" The message Moody preached was relatively unemotional, for he believed that people could, with God's help, attain salvation. He would hold up a Bible and assure people that eternal life was available for the asking, if they would merely "come forward and t-a-k-e, TAKE!"

Preachers of the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement attributed poverty to the sinfulness of the wealthy and called on them to repent. SOLOMON WASHINGTON GLADDEN, minister of a Congregational church in Columbus, Ohio, between 1882 and 1914, was one of the first to bring Christianity actively to bear on all areas of life, political and economic as well as spiritual. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH served for 11 years as pastor of a German Baptist church in the Hell's Kitchen neighborhood of New York City. He preached about the need for Christians to take seriously their responsibilities in establishing God's kingdom on Earth. Although he left the parish ministry to become a professor at Rochester Seminary, Rauschenbusch provided a systematic defense of the Christian social position he espoused in *A Theology of the Social Gospel*, published in 1917.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK was another early 20th-century preacher whose sermons contained liberal social and theological emphases. Beginning his career as pastor of a Baptist church in Montclair, New Jersey, Fosdick was involved in a labor union dispute shortly before WORLD WAR I. While serving at the First Presbyterian Church in New York City, he became embroiled in the controversy over FUNDAMENTALISM that divided the Presbyterian denomination in the 1920s. His sermon on May 21, 1922, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?", won national attention. Although Fosdick intended his sermon to be a plea for tolerance, his challenge to the fundamentalists' belief in an infallible Bible only exacerbated the dispute and forced his resignation from the Presbyterian pulpit. He eventually won even greater fame as minister at New York's interdenominational Riverside Church, a magnificent gothic structure built with the financial assistance of philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

After WORLD WAR II, BILLY GRAHAM gained recognition as America's most influential preacher. He first gained national attention in 1949, when he undertook an evangelistic campaign in Los Angeles. In the early 1950s, he became an increasingly popular figure in Protestant circles. *The Hour of Decision*, his radio program, went on the air in 1950, and he emerged as the unofficial spiritual adviser to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and many subsequent presidents. In the summer of 1957, Graham led a series of religious gatherings in New York City, one of the earliest evangelistic crusades to be broadcast on television. Graham's theologically conservative approach fit the mood of the time. He believed that the first step in improving the world was for individuals to accept Jesus Christ as their savior. When enough individuals had repented, he thought, social betterment would inevitably follow.

Still a respected preacher, Graham delivered a prayer at the 2001 inaugural of President George W. Bush. But he has been eclipsed in recent years by the flashier televangelists of the so-called ELECTRONIC CHURCH. Using media from radio and television to the internet, these preachers have reached vast audiences. Robert Schuller, a minister of the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, for example, broadcasts his weekly *Hour of Power* from the spectacular Crystal

Cathedral in Garden Grove, California. Fashioning an optimistic theology he calls "possibility thinking," Schuller has reshaped the Christian Gospel around the age-old quest for self-esteem and success. By contrast, JERRY FALWELL, pastor of a Baptist church in Lynchburg, Virginia, used his television preaching ministry, *The Old-Time Gospel Hour,* as a springboard for the creation of the MORAL MAJORITY. An educational and fund-raising organization dedicated to political lobbying, Falwell's Moral Majority blended fundamentalist religious beliefs with rigidly conservative views on a host of ethical issues troubling late 20th-century Americans.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., undoubtedly the most influential preacher of the 20th century, as well as one of the most important figures in all American history, emerged in the late 1950s as the acknowledged leader of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. King's sermons inspired millions of Americans, including many of his fellow clergy, to march and sit-in on behalf of black freedom. He was the embodiment of the black preaching tradition, combining appeals to social responsibility with classic theological themes.

No speech in recent memory has been as important as King's 1963 "I Have a Dream" address, virtually a sermon, delivered in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. King the preacher combined biblical imagery with an evocation of American democratic ideals reminiscent of John Winthrop's sermon on the *Arbella* in 1630. Concluding with a thrilling call to "let freedom ring" across the United States, King moved not only the hundreds of thousands who heard him in person that day, but also millions of others who have listened to recordings of his address since that time. Referring to the religious overtones of her late husband's speech, Coretta Scott King once commented: "At that moment it seemed as if the Kingdom of God appeared."

Like American religion itself, the preaching ranks are now astonishingly diverse. Preaching has become an art form not only in Protestant churches but also in ROMAN CATHOLICISM and JUDAISM. Female preachers, unheard of when Jarena Lee began working as an itinerant evangelist in the early 18th century and rare when AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON took to the stage at her Angelus Temple in Los Angeles in the 1920s, are now accepted in most Protestant denominations. And while preachers no longer enjoy the sort of national reach that earned figures from Fosdick to King the cover of *Time* magazine, they continue to stir souls at the local level.

GHS, Jr.

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predestination See CALVINISM; ELECTION.

premillennialism Premillennialism is the belief that the second coming of Jesus Christ will occur before the beginning of the millennium, the thousand-year period of peace and righteousness depicted in the New Testament book of Revelation. It is the most popular form of ESCHATOLOGY taught among conservative Protestant groups in the United States today. Contrary to the socially progressive views encouraged by POSTMILLENNIALISM, once the dominant outlook in American Protestant thought, premillennialism tends to foster pessimism about human society by stressing the church's urgent need to save souls.

Premillennialists interpret biblical texts literally and expect the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecies that foretell the destruction of the present age, the overthrow of Satan, and the establishment of God's kingdom on Earth. They are subdivided into two major groups. Some think that many biblical prophecies about the end-times have already been fulfilled in the history of the Christian church. Others believe that none of these prophecies has yet come to pass, for the eschatological events predicted in the Old and New Testaments lie entirely outside history. This latter group teaches that the Antichrist will gain control of the world and begin a reign of terror, called the tribulation, that will be ended by the triumph of the forces of God. They also think that at some point before Christ's second coming the RAPTURE of the true church will occur, and the saints will ascend to heaven, a prophecy found in the New Testament (1 Thessalonians 4:15–17).

A theory known as DISPENSATIONALISM is the most common form of premillennial teaching in 21st-century America. Developed by Anglican clergyman John Nelson Darby in the mid-19th century, this belief separates history into eras, or dispensations. The American biblical scholar CYRUS I. SCOFIELD, whose *Reference Bible* provides premillennialists with a popular tool for studying the Scriptures, defined a dispensation as a period marked off by some change in God's dealing with humanity. In recent years, Hal Lindsey's best-selling *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970) helped popularize dispensationalism among a new generation of Americans concerned about prophecies in the Bible.

Perhaps nothing has made premillennial beliefs more visible than the "Left Behind" series of books and movies by Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins. In 12 novels (as of 2007), which together sold more than 60 million copies, the "Left Behind" series introduced millions of readers to premillennial views of the rapture, the fight with the Antichrist, and the eventual victory of Christ.

Premillennialists were once caricatured as representing the most disadvantaged segments of society and being less socially concerned than other Christians. While this characterization still fits a denomination like the JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, other groups who have espoused forms of premillennialism, including the Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS) and the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH, no longer are considered to be outside the mainstream of American life.

In fact, premillennialism currently dominates the religious views of most Protestant Christians. While not all would either accept or even be familiar with the dispensationalist components of Scofield's *Reference Bible*, there is a general acceptance of the ideas of the rapture, the tribulation, and the ultimate triumph of good with Christ's second coming. Additionally, following their leaders, the Protestant RELIGIOUS RIGHT has moved from the traditional disparagement of political action by premillennialists to emphasizing the importance of political activity by Christians.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is the largest and most theologically liberal of the diverse group of American denominations that adhere to the traditions of PRESBYTERIANISM. The church was formed in 1983 by the merger of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (the main Presbyterian body in the North after the Civil War) and the Presbyterian Church in the United States (often called the Southern Presbyterian Church).

Presbyterianism first took shape in the British Isles after 1558, when John Knox of Scotland adapted that system to the Scottish Church. An interest in presbyterian church government came to the forefront in England during the Puritan ascendancy in the mid–17th century. At the same time, Presbyterian sentiment also gained favor in America. Several Presbyterian churches were established when Puritan leaders migrated from Congregationalist-dominated New England to other colonies.

Under the leadership of Scotch-Irish missionary Francis Makemie, some of these early Presbyterian churches were brought together in 1706 to create the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Two additional presbyteries were organized over the next decade, and they formed the Synod of Philadelphia in 1717. Presbyterians then numbered approximately 3,000 members and 40 churches. A large influx of Presbyterian immigrants from northern Ireland began in 1720. Their movement into the middle colonies, then southward through the Shenandoah Valley to the Piedmont region of the South, not only increased the vitality of Presbyterianism generally but also assured the denomination's main strength would lie outside New England.

American Presbyterianism had no generally accepted doctrinal standard until 1729. In that year, the Adopting Act of the Synod of Philadelphia established the Westminster Confession of 1643, the classic expression of English CALVINISM, as the official creedal position of the church.

From its beginning, the Presbyterian Church in America embraced two conflicting traditions. The Scots and Scotch-Irish emphasized precise theology and church governance, while religious piety characterized the English and Welsh experience. The outbreak of revivals during the GREAT AWAKENING of the 1730s and 1740s split the new denomination along this fault line. Presbyterian minister GILBERT TENNENT became one of the chief spokesmen for the revivals, and his 1740 sermon on "The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry" is remembered for the vehemence with which he assailed his clerical opponents. Tennent's animosity greatly contributed to the NEW SIDE/OLD SIDE division of 1741, when Tennent and his presbytery were ejected from the church. Although the two Presbyterian factions reunited in 1758 and eventually established a General Assembly in 1788 (comprising more than 200 congregations and 16 presbyteries), institutional problems still plagued the denomination as the 18th century drew to a close.

Following the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, some Presbyterians established ties with the Congregationalist churches on the basis of a common Calvinist theological tradition. Although separated by matters of organization (Congregationalists believed in the absolute independence of the local congregation), many Presbyterians and Congregationalists still considered themselves part of the same denomination. As settlers moved westward in the early 19th century and the evangelization of the new territories began, technical distinctions about church government seemed pointless. A PLAN OF UNION, implemented in 1801 and reinforced in 1808, effectively united the two denominations in New York and the midwestern states. Never popular with doctrinal conservatives, however, the Plan of Union, coupled with divisiveness already aroused by the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, soon became a focus for renewed strife within Presbyterianism.

The Second Great Awakening, a diverse series of revivals that swept the United States from the 1790s through the 1830s, was especially costly for the Presbyterian Church. Despite the fact that Presbyterian minister CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY was the leading revivalist of the day, the church's leadership generally opposed the emotionalism and inattention to theology the awakening fostered. Alienated by their denomination's formality and intellectualism, some Presbyterians chose to leave their church and join the revival-oriented BAPTISTS and METHODISTS instead. An independent Cumberland Presbytery was also formed in 1810 to nurture Presbyterians engaged in revivals in Tennessee and Kentucky.

In 1837, conflicts regarding revivalism, relationships with other denominations, social reform, and antislavery activity led to the abrogation of the Plan of Union and the expulsion from the General Assembly of four synods formed under the agreement with the Congregationalists. This NEW SCHOOL/OLD SCHOOL split embodied deep divisions not simply over polity and theology but also over political and sectional tensions—a prelude to the CIVIL WAR. The Old School party demanded strict conformity to the theological and organizational standards of Presbyterianism. In expelling the New School faction, the southern-dominated Old School thought a double victory had been won: It both removed an internal opponent from the denomination and silenced northerners who were demanding the abolition of slavery.

Immediately before and during the Civil War, the New School and Old School churches each experienced further change. Political issues that rent the United States as a whole led in 1857 to the New School denomination's dividing South and North. The Old School denomination was split, too, following the beginning of the war in 1861. The Old School church in the South adopted the name Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America in 1861. It merged with congregations of the small southern New School Assembly in 1864 and, after the defeat of the Confederacy in 1865, renamed itself the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The Old School/New School schism was effectively healed in the North when Presbyterians there reunited in 1870 under the name Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

More than any other Protestant body at the end of the 19th century, Presbyterians in the North were shaken by passionate disputes over BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION. In 1870, Presbyterian pastor David Swing of Chicago challenged his denomination to rethink its doctrinal positions. He argued that religious creeds, like all human expressions, were imperfect and might contain errors. Tried for HERESY, Swing was acquitted but, nevertheless, chose to withdraw from his church. Swing's heresy trial was a prelude to the greater controversy that engulfed CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, a professor at the Presbyterians' Union Seminary in New York City. Although he never questioned the overall inspiration of the Scriptures, Briggs specifically denied the authenticity of a number of biblical passages. For this assertion, he was charged with heresy. His trial extended over three years, and in 1893, he was suspended from the ministry. Briggs soon entered the priesthood of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH, and he retained his position at Union when the seminary severed its relationship with the Presbyterians.

The fundamentalist controversy in the first quarter of the 20th century also profoundly divided the denomination. The Presbyterian seminary at Princeton (see PRINCETON THEOLOGY) had long expounded conservative interpretations of the Bible and Christian doctrine, but when J. GRESHAM MACHEN, a professor of New Testament studies, militantly objected to growing liberal tendencies in his denomination, a schism occurred. Machen left Princeton in 1929 and founded Westminister Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. There, theological students were instructed in his ultraconservative interpretation of the Presbyterian faith. Machen's followers also created a new denomination, the Presbyterian Church of America (later known as the Orthodox Presbyterian Church), in 1936.

Meanwhile, the Presbyterian Church in the southern states grew from approximately 80,000 to more than 1 million members between 1869 and 1962. This denomination's most distinctive theological statement, the doctrine of "the spirituality of the church," had received its classic formulation shortly before the Civil War by theologian James Henley Thornwell of South Carolina. In order to protect their church against the zeal of northern antislavery advocates, Thornwell and most southern Presbyterians argued that the Christian church should hold no corporate position on social or political matters. Thus, long after the Civil War had ended, the Presbyterian Church in the United States said little even about Sabbath observance or temperance, the great Protestant crusades of the 19th and early 20th century. Only in the 1930s, when the sectional hostility that had sparked Thornwell's teaching was virtually forgotten, was the church in the South able to direct attention away from its internal life toward wider social concerns.

Despite the defection of fundamentalists like Machen, northern Presbyterianism grew during the 20th century as it joined with other smaller Presbyterian bodies. In 1910, it reunited with the Cumberland Presbyterians following a long separation. The church merged in 1958 with the United Presbyterian Church of North America, a denomination of Scottish heritage founded in the mid–19th century. And although discussions between northern and southern Presbyterians in the 1970s led to the defection of a number of conservative congregations from the southern church (forming in turn the Presbyterian Church in America), the thinning of the conservatives' ranks actually helped speed the process of denominational reunification. The two major branches of Presbyterianism, North and South, were at last joined with the birth of the present united church in June 1983.

More recently, like many Protestant denominations in the United States, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has been wracked by conflicts over political and social issues. In 2006, the denomination's General Assembly adopted a resolution requiring candidates for ordination either be celibate or in a heterosexual marriage. A candidate failing to meet these standards, however, whether heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual, could be ordained if the local ordaining body was convinced an exception should be made. The compromise resolution pleased few. It did remove the specter of denominational schism that seemed to loom if such a compromise were not reached.

Other issues also threatened the denomination's unity and the public's view of it. In 2004, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the denomination's divestiture from companies doing business in Israel. This led to a marked outcry and much condemnation of the unfairness and incipient anti-Semitism in the resolution. Additionally, the resolution reflected, once again, the disconnect between the denomination's leadership and its members. The result was a local revolt against the resolution and a revisiting of the resolution. The 2006 General Assembly replaced the resolution with one calling for the "financial investments of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), as they pertain to Israel, Gaza, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank, to be invested in only peaceful pursuits."

Such disconnects have led to a steady decline in the denomination's membership since the 1950s. In 2008, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) had a total membership of 2.3 million (less than the number of Muslims in the United States). This still made it the seventh-largest Christian denomination in the country.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Presbyterian Church in America See PRESBYTERIANISM.

Presbyterian Church in the United States See PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.); PRESBYTERIANISM.

presbyterianism Presbyterianism is a type of church government that arose out of the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century. The word itself derives from the Greek term for "elder" (*presbuteros*). It is based on the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, that is, the belief that every Christian shares in the leadership of the church. Presbyterianism was the prevailing form of organization among churches of the REFORMED TRADITION in the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Scotland in the 16th century. The immigration of Presbyterians from the British Isles to the New World helped establish this tradition in America by the mid-17th century. A 1990 survey found 5 million Presbyterians in the United States. By 2005, this number had declined by nearly 20 percent.

In contrast to both the localism of CONGREGATIONALISM and the authoritarian tendencies implicit in the episcopal (see EPISCOPACY) system, presbyterianism stresses uniformity, universality, and democracy. Ministers and elected laity (elders and deacons) together govern at all levels, maintaining theological orthodoxy and discipline within the church. Presbyterian church government begins with the local congregation, then extends upward to the presbytery (a geographical district composed of many local congregations), the synod (composed of clergy and laity elected by the presbytery), and the General Assembly, where all synods unite on the national level.

Presbyterianism first took shape in the British Isles after 1558, when John Knox of Scotland adapted the system he had observed in Calvin's (see CALVINISM) Geneva to the Scottish Church. Presbyterianism, which had always been present among segments of the Church of England, came to the forefront during the Puritan ascendancy after the Long Parliament in 1640.

Unlike the Congregational establishment in New England and the Anglican establishment in the southern colonies, the Presbyterian presence in 17th-century America was relatively weak. However, the influx of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian immigrants after 1714 began swinging the ethnic and ecclesiastical balance in the English-speaking colonies. A group of Presbyterian ministers under the leadership of Francis Makemie, who had been ordained in northern Ireland as a missionary to America, organized the first American presbytery in Philadelphia in 1706. By 1716, two other presbyteries were established (at New Castle and Long Island), and a synod was formed.

The formulation of the SAYBROOK PLATFORM in New England in 1708 was a further symbol of Presbyterianism's expansion in America. Although this agreement was the handiwork of a convention of Connecticut Congregationalists, it eliminated the longstanding practice of absolute independence for the churches adopting it and opened the way for connections between local congregations—a system akin, therefore, to Presbyterian government. As a result of the Saybrook Platform, many Congregationalists linked themselves with other churches and ministers. This action helped them recognize how the Calvinist theological heritage they shared with Presbyterians outweighed technical differences between their respective church governments. Presbyterians and Congregationalists later institutionalized this relationship in the 1801 PLAN OF UNION, a missionary alliance that helped establish a Presbyterian presence in upstate New York and the Midwest.

Beginning with the GREAT AWAKENING of the 18th century, the history and development of Presbyterianism in America has been marked by a series of divisions along both theological and ethnic lines. The outbreak of revivals in the 1730s split American Presbyterianism between those who desired theological precision and those who valued simple piety. Presbyterian minister Gilbert Tennent, for example, became one of the most prominent leaders of the awakening. His animosity toward allegedly "unconverted" fellow church members contributed to the New Side/Old Side split of 1741. Although the two factions reunited in 1758, ecclesiastical tensions were never fully resolved.

The Second Great Awakening of the early 19th century proved even more challenging for Presbyterians. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church emerged out of disputes over the importance of revivalism, when Presbyterians converted in the revivals in Tennessee and Kentucky chose to form a new denomination. Organized in February 1810 in Dickson County, Tennessee, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church established its first synod in 1813. The church grew rapidly between 1835 and 1860. While two-thirds of the church's members eventually rejoined the main body of American Presbyterians early in the 20th century, a sizable minority continued a separate denominational identity. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church still teaches a liberalized version of Calvinism. Its membership traditionally has been strongest in the upper South.

In 1837, further conflicts led to another split in the Presbyterian ranks when the conservative, antirevivalist Old School (see New School/Old School) faction expelled the theologically and politically progressive New School faction from the church. When the Civil War came in 1861, the Old School Presbyterian Church also broke apart, and a new church, the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, was formed in the South. After the war, this denomination renamed itself the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Although the major portion of that church reunited with Presbyterians in the North in 1983, a minority adamantly opposed the social and doctrinal liberalism they perceived in the northern church. As a result, they withdrew from their denomination while the discussions of reunion were still in progress and formed a new church, the Presbyterian Church in America. Conservative theologically, the Presbyterian Church in America is now the second-largest Presbyterian denomination in the United States but operates mostly in the South.

More than any other Protestant body at the end of the 19th century, northern Presbyterians (then known as the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America) were shaken by theological disputes between modernists and fundamentalists over the meaning of religious doctrines and the interpretation of the Bible. As a result of this multifaceted controversy, the denomination divided once again in the 20th century.

In 1936, J. Gresham Machen, a professor at Princeton Seminary, formed a new, doctrinally rigorist denomination called the Presbyterian Church of America. Despite an almost immediate schism, when archconservative Carl McIntire and his followers withdrew to form the Bible Presbyterian Church, Machen's denomination was able to maintain its institutional integrity. A court action forced the Presbyterian Church of America to change its name in 1939. Now known as the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, this small denomination is concentrated mainly in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. McIntire's church, on the other hand, underwent several metamorphoses and eventually joined the Presbyterian Church in America in 1982.

Another small but vital Presbyterian denomination is the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. This body derives its identity from protests and political divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism in the 17th and 18th centuries. When separatist Scots settled in America, they continued to hold themselves aloof from other Presbyterians. Although some parts of this church eventually merged into the United Presbyterian Church of North America in 1858, the synod of the Carolinas retained the denomination's original name and heritage. The church's strength is still highly localized. Most members of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church live in the western, mountainous regions of North and South Carolina.

The most theologically liberal of the Presbyterian denominations is the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.). Despite the defection of fundamentalists like Machen, Presbyterianism in the North grew in the 20th century by absorbing several smaller Presbyterian bodies. First, it reunited in 1910 with the majority of the Cumberland Presbyterians. Next, it merged in 1958 with the Presbyterians of Scottish lineage who composed the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Then, despite the defection of a number of conservative southern congregations, the two major branches of Presbyterianism, North and South, joined in June 1983 and healed the breach caused by the Civil War. With approximately 3.5 million members, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is by far the largest Presbyterian denomination and one of the leading churches in American Protestantism today.

GHS, Jr.

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Primitive Baptists

See BAPTISTS.

primitivism

Primitivism is the impulse within American Protestantism that seeks the restoration (see RESTORATION MOVEMENT) of the original Christian church described in the New Testament.

Primitivists believe it is possible to remove the accretions of history and return Christianity to the pristine state of ancient times. Although the terms *primitivism* and *restorationism* have sometimes been used interchangeably, restorationism usually refers only to the 19th-century movement of which the present-day CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST) and CHURCHES OF CHRIST are a continuation. Primitivism, on the other hand, is a broad tradition linked to a number of denominational families.

Religious primitivist themes appear throughout American history. From the days of its earliest settlement, America promised a land of new opportunities reminiscent of the biblical garden of Eden. As British philosopher John Locke said, "In the beginning, all the world was America." New England PURITANISM, which sought to reestablish ancient ideals of political life and Christian order and worship, epitomizes this phenomenon. In the 18th century, primitivism also appeared within both the Methodist and the Baptist Churches, notably in their emphasis on lay leadership and the democratization of church life.

The most significant example of the American primitivist impulse emerged in the restorationism promoted by ALEXANDER CAMPBELL and BARTON STONE early in the 19th century. Campbell had great confidence in the human ability to understand Scripture and restore the purity of the apostolic age. Stone's stress was somewhat different, for he was more interested in God's rule over human affairs than in actual church order. Still, these men shared many common concerns. They both desired church unity based not on doctrinal grounds but on the essential truths expressed in the New Testament. Campbell's and Stone's movements joined forces in 1832 in order to pursue a primitive Christian harmony.

The reappearance of primitivism in the 20th century can be linked to disillusionment both with contemporary religious life and with American culture generally. As a consequence of these modern trends, some Christians became increasingly interested in discovering the lost purity of the early church. The JESUS MOVEMENT of the 1960s, for instance, desired to return to the simple lifestyles of the first-century Christian community. PENTECOSTALISM, moreover, invokes primitivism when it claims to have restored the original gospel of healing, speaking in tongues, and baptism in the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals affirm that the manifestations of divine power they experience are irrefutable demonstrations of the restored faith of apostolic times.

Primitivism is a tradition that finds expression within a wide spectrum of denominations and theological positions. This impulse is so strong that some American religious historians believe it is the single most important intellectual presupposition underlying the development of Protestantism in the United States.

GHS, Jr.

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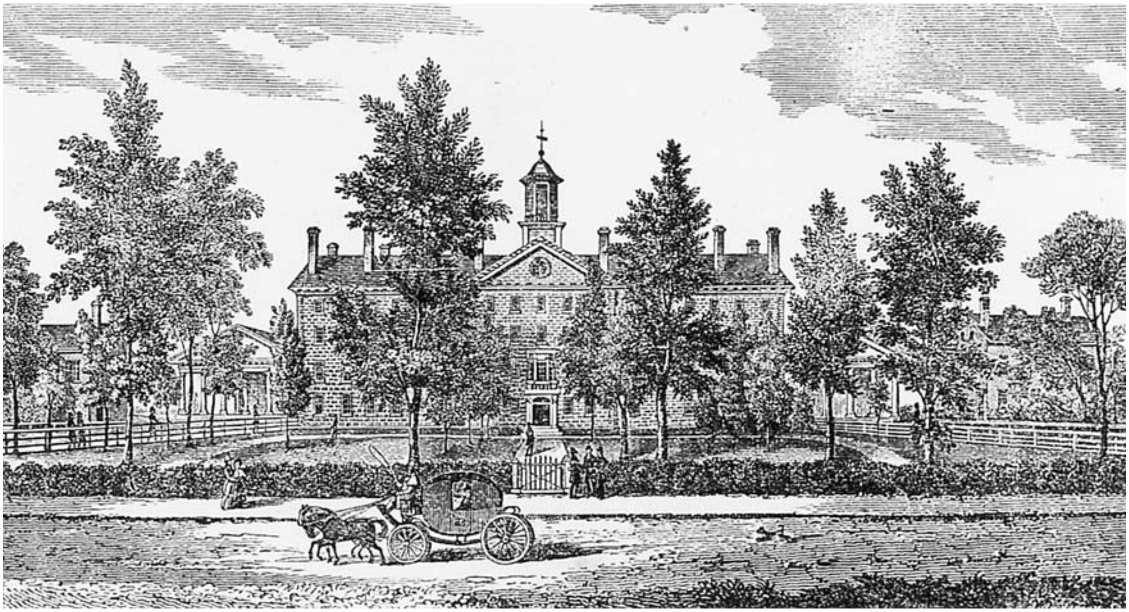
Princeton Theology In 1812, the Presbyterian Church established a denominational seminary at its college in Princeton, New Jersey. A unique theological tradition was cultivated at Princeton Seminary over the course of the 19th and early 20th century. Archibald Alexander, CHARLES HODGE, his son A. A. Hodge, BENJAMIN WARFIELD, and J. GRESHAM MACHEN were key figures in the formation of the so-called Princeton Theology. Their theological system was based upon SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM. This philosophy proved crucial to the development of conservative attitudes toward the Bible, especially in arguments for the INERRANCY of Scripture, an essential belief of 20th-century FUNDAMENTALISM.

The Princeton Theology emerged out of the debate between Old and New School Presbyterians in the first half of the 19th century. While New School advocates sought a flexible version of Calvinism more in accord with their emphasis on revivalism and religious emotions, the Old School party stressed stable, objective theological standards. Old School Presbyterians tended to view truth as precisely stated propositions, expressed in written language, that conveyed the same message at all times and in all places. As Old School leader Charles Hodge proudly remarked about Princeton, "A new idea never originated in this Seminary."

Common Sense Realism, a philosophy that developed in the Presbyterian stronghold of Scotland, supported this concept of unchanging intellectual objectivity. Following the inductive methods of 17th-century scientist Francis Bacon, Common Sense philosophers asserted that the external world was just as it appeared to be.

This theory was also applied to the Bible. Princeton theologians accepted the statement of Reformed theologian Francois Turretin, who wrote: "The Scriptures are so perspicuous in things pertaining to salvation that they can be understood by believers without the external help of . . . ecclesiastical authority." Turretin's works, which were used extensively at Princeton, reinforced the idea that everyday perceptions were reliable in reading and interpreting the Bible. This view of the infallible correctness of the biblical text was given its classic expression in 1881, when A. A. Hodge and Benjamin Warfield published their defense of the "inerrancy" of Scripture.

The theological militancy of the Princetonians, coupled with a general conservative reaction in the late 19th-century churches to new forms of thought, led to heated debates in Pres-



Princeton Seminary. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

byterian denominational circles. The Princeton theologians vehemently defended the errorless nature of the Bible against attacks by liberal biblical critics who pointed out errors and historical discrepancies within it. Although the Protestant liberals wanted to bolster, not undermine, the Christian faith by appealing to lofty religious ideas not necessarily found in the Bible, conservatives insisted simply upon the objective truth of both the Bible and the traditional creeds. In 1910, the General Assembly, the Presbyterians' highest ranking judicial and legislative body, affirmed the Princeton position on inerrancy and declared it to be the church's official teaching on the Bible.

Over the next 10 years, however, significant changes occurred within the Presbyterian Church and American Protestantism generally, and liberalism was able to gain ground. In this period, Princeton professor J. Gresham Machen, who had assumed Warfield's mantle of leadership in 1906, responded to new threats to orthodoxy by suggesting that theological liberals had ceased to be true Christians and should leave their churches. But conservatives like Machen no longer had the voting power they once possessed in the denomination. Alienated from his church, Machen withdrew from the Princeton faculty in 1929 and found an alternative school, Westminister Theological Seminary, in Philadelphia. There, he intended to maintain the intellectual emphases of the Princeton Theology.

Machen's departure represented a watershed at Princeton. Princeton Seminary in the 21st century, while still relatively conservative among mainline Protestant theological schools, no longer endorses the theological methodologies it militantly espoused in the 19th century. However, the positions for which the school once stood, particularly the stress on scriptural inerrancy, have hardly died out in American religious thought. Inerrancy remains strong in many evangelical denominations and has been adopted as the official teaching of both the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION and the LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD.

GHS, Jr.

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Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. Organized in Cincinnati, Ohio, on November 15, 1961, the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., was created due to a schism within the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., INC. (NBC, USA). The rupture occurred when a group of younger ministers, notably MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Benjamin Mays, and RALPH ABERNATHY, attempted to replace longtime NBC, USA president Joseph H. Jackson with a candidate more receptive to the goals of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Stopped by a series of parliamentary and legal maneuvers and removed by Jackson from positions of leadership in the convention, they formed a new denomination.

This new denomination, the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. (PNBC), dedicated itself to the Civil Rights movement and, in order to prevent the conflicts over the presidency that had dominated the NBC, USA, limited convention presidents to two one-year terms. More politically active than the other two main black Baptist conventions, it was a vigorous opponent of apartheid in South Africa and vocal in its support for civil rights organizations, including the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change.

More urban-centered than the other two historically black Baptist conventions, the PNBC has 2.5 million members and 2,000 congregations, making it the third-largest black Baptist denomination. Although without affiliated seminaries, the convention provides financial support to several of the most prestigious historically black seminaries, including Howard University Divinity School and the Morehouse School of Religion.

(See also NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA, INC.; AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION.)

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Prohibition See TEMPERANCE.

proslavery thought "We who own slaves honor God's laws in the exercise of our authority," wrote James Furman, a Baptist in South Carolina, to a fellow slaveholder in 1848. Proslavery religious thought in the antebellum SOUTH rested on a threefold base of biblical teaching, moral philosophy, and natural law. Its ideas were expressed not only through arguments that God had blessed slaveholding but also in missionary efforts to convert slaves to the Christian faith of their masters.

Although many in the generation of Protestants who had been converted during the revivals of the GREAT AWAKENING of the 1760s had routinely attacked SLAVERY as contrary to the principles of both Christian morality and the American Revolution, by the 1830s, numerous factors led white southerners to reconsider that stance. The increasing economic dependence of the South on the slave system, the rising rhetoric of ABOLITIONISM in the North, and slave insurrections led by DENMARK VESEY (1822) and NAT TURNER (1831), both forceful and charismatic religious teachers, all forced ideological changes. As a consequence, a new argument for the sanctity of slavery emerged.

Southern Christians declared that God had sanctioned slavery in biblical times, first, among the Old Testament patriarchs and, later, in the society in which Jesus and the apostles lived. The apostle Paul himself had returned a runaway slave to his master, Philemon, and implicitly blessed slavery as an institution. Also, 19th-century moral teaching, furthermore, emphasized duties and rights, a useful philosophy for men and women concerned about the relationship between masters and their slaves. Finally, natural law demonstrated that slavery had been in existence throughout human history and that forms of submission were to be found in all societies.

In order to erect an even higher barrier against northern antislavery attacks, white southerners also formulated a doctrine advocating the strict noninterference of churches in political affairs. Referring to Jesus' words in the Gospels, southern Christians argued that the church should not involve itself in the "things which are Caesar's." The state alone had a God-given sanction to govern society, while the church possessed a similar calling to superintend the spiritual sphere. Presbyterian minister James Henley Thornwell of South Carolina gave this concept its classic formulation in his "doctrine of the spirituality of the church." The church was a spiritual body concerned exclusively with eternal salvation, Thornwell reasoned. It possessed no social or secular relevance at all. Churches had no authority to discuss the legitimacy of institutions such as slavery but must simply accept society as they found it.

Although proslavery religious thought was intended primarily to keep abolitionists in the North at bay and to relieve the troubled consciences of Christian slaveholders in the South, that was not its only focus. The evangelization of slaves, an outgrowth of the American Protestant home missionary enterprise, was another important facet of proslavery ideology. In bringing the Christian Gospel to African Americans, preachers sought both to save individual souls and to bring the religious beliefs of slaves into line with what their masters believed. Although some whites in the early 19th century feared that conversion to Christianity would cause slaves to become unruly, southerners generally assumed that evangelization improved the master-slave relationship. Methodist minister William Capers was one of the first to make successful missionary advances to slaves. Presbyterian clergyman Charles Colcock Jones, perhaps the best known of the evangelists to blacks, wrote a popular catechism for use in slave quarters.

At best, the slaveholding ethic helped ameliorate in small degrees an indefensible and degrading institution. Although racist ethnologists in the 19th century argued that African Americans were mere savages, most religious proslavery advocates at least conceded that blacks were human beings who possessed souls. Southern white Protestants often asserted that their region was more Christian than the North, for southern leaders, unlike the ruling class in the North, were genuinely concerned with the moral and religious state of their laborers. Southerners believed that if they continued to comply with their divinely sanctioned slaveholding duties, God would bless their region with prosperity—a hope eventually shattered, of course, by the outcome of the Civil War.

GHS, Jr.

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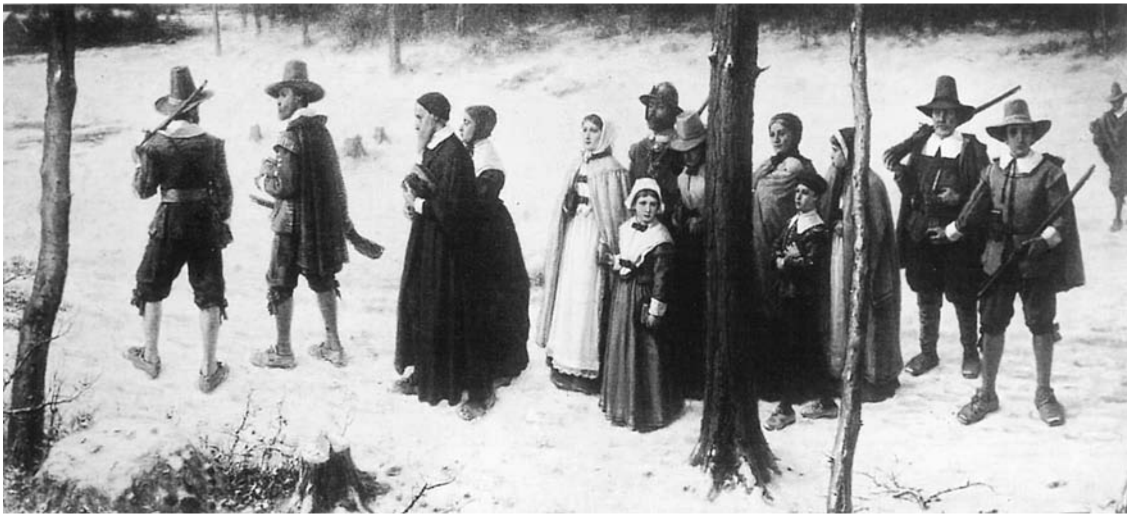
Protestantism See EVANGELICALISM; MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM; REFORMATION.

Puritanism Puritanism, a complex religious movement of the 16th through 18th centuries, played a major role in the development of American culture. Despite its significance, Puritanism is difficult to define. Indeed, the Puritans have been appraised differently by each American generation in light of its own views of society and religion. They have been seen as priggish, cold, and dry; as the harbingers of political democracy; and as the source of all the defects and virtues in the American character. There is, perhaps, no greater proof of their importance than the fact that they have been impossible to ignore.

At the simplest level, the Puritans were English Protestants, loyal in their own eyes to God, king, country, and the Church of England, who desired to continue the religious reforms begun during the reign of Henry VIII. The shape these efforts would take was a point of disagreement among the Puritans. Some, probably the majority, desired to retain the church as Elizabeth I had organized it, minus bishops. This was the view of the Presbyterians, who, basically satisfied with the Elizabethan church, desired only to replace bishops with a presbyterian structure such as existed in Scotland (see PRESBYTERIANISM).

The other two major forms of Puritanism—separatism and Congregationalism—sought greater changes. Like the Presbyterians, they opposed the EPISCOPACY, but they rejected any form of church organization superior to the individual congregation. They also opposed "human" accretions that had been introduced into the church, primarily the vestiges of Catholic ritual and inclusive church membership. They saw no biblical basis for these and wanted them removed from the established church.

For separatists, the church was composed of saved members only. It was not to include everyone within the parish or community. Congregationalists were unwilling to go that far, at least originally. Unable to judge who was saved, they were stricter than the established church in requiring members to assent



Early New England Puritans going to worship armed. *(Painting, 1867, by George Henry Boughton, courtesy Library of Congress)* to the rules of the congregation and to avoid scandalous living. After arriving in America, however, the Congregationalists would require evidence of a conversion experience as a criterion for church membership.

Separatists, of whom the PILGRIMS are the best known, were the most radical of the Puritans. Feeling that the existing English church was irredeemable, they separated from it completely, forming their own local congregations. Greatly persecuted during the reign of James I (1603–25), many separatists emigrated to the Netherlands, including the congregation that later became the basis for the historic Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth Plantation.

To remove bishops from the established Church of England and to base church practice on the Bible was not easily accomplished. The English monarchs understood the threats those changes posed for the hierarchical society of England. James I, who had experienced these challenges while King of Scotland, described their results succinctly: "No bishops, no king."

The destruction of an ordered and hierarchical society was far from the mind of the Puritans during the early 1600s. Although increasingly persecuted, they accepted that the civil authorities were ordained by God. This they explained in numerous pamphlets and petitions. The monarchs saw otherwise, realizing that once church polity and belief were removed from their hands, the church would become the superior power. God and the Bible would be above the monarch, and the Bible's interpreters—the ministers—would be the true masters.

Persecution of the Puritans increased under Elizabeth's successors, reaching its height during the reign of Charles I. Combined with economic decline, this led to the "Great Migration" of Puritans to the New World—the colonies of British North America (see MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY). In America, Puritanism—primarily in its Congregational form—reached its highest level of theological, political, and social expression.

In coming to America, the Puritans hoped to create the model of the godly society. Although Massachusetts Bay (established in 1630) was preeminent, the other Puritan colonies—New Haven, Connecticut, Plymouth Plantation—also attempted this, often with different results. What all the Puritan colonies managed to create were ordered communities with long traditions of self-governance and an educated laity. Their achievements would have longstanding and significant effects on the life and history of the United States.

While the Puritans considered themselves to be nothing less than orthodox in Christian doctrine, there were three distinctive elements of Puritan life that set them apart. The first, the emphasis on the individual congregation composed of regenerate members as the model of the New Testament church, already has been mentioned. The remaining elements were the centrality of the vernacular Bible and the sermon.

The Puritans were committed to the ancient doctrines of Christianity, the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, and especially the Bible, which had a central place in their religious understanding. The English Bible—originally in its Geneva version (1560) and then much later the King James version (first printing in 1611)—became the centerpiece of Puritan spirituality. Read and studied by individuals and groups (family Bible reading was central to Puritan culture), it also was the basis for determining religious and social truths.

This emphasis on the Bible inevitably led some people to interpret "inappropriately" (see ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY; BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION). Here the role of the minister as the expounder of the Bible in the sermon became central. Despite the popular understanding of New England as dominated by ministers, the clergy actually had less political power there than anywhere in Europe. They did have moral power, however, and through the sermon, delivered in a style comprehensible to the congregation, the Puritan minister spoke from the Bible. Drawing from Scripture, the minister expounded principles or doctrines directly applicable to the life of the congregation or the community as a whole. In this manner, the minister became an influential moral voice, speaking on topics ranging from the punishment that awaited the unconverted, to the sinfulness of frivolity, to the need for careful reflection in choosing political leaders (see PREACHERS, PROTESTANT). Religion for the Puritans was inherently a religion of the word, both written in the Bible and spoken in the sermon. This word was instrumental in the forming of human life in all its aspects and was fought and argued over by ministers and laity alike.

The result of the Puritan experiment was the creation of numerous colonies that encouraged reading, thought, and social involvement. These colonies also engaged their citizens in both religion and government. Such engagement would have a major impact on the future of British North America.

(See also CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM; COTTON, JOHN; COVENANT THEOLOGY; HALF-WAY COVENANT; HOOKER, THOMAS; MATHER, COTTON; MATHER, INCREASE; SAYBROOK PLATFORM; WINTHROP, JOHN.)

EQ

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Q

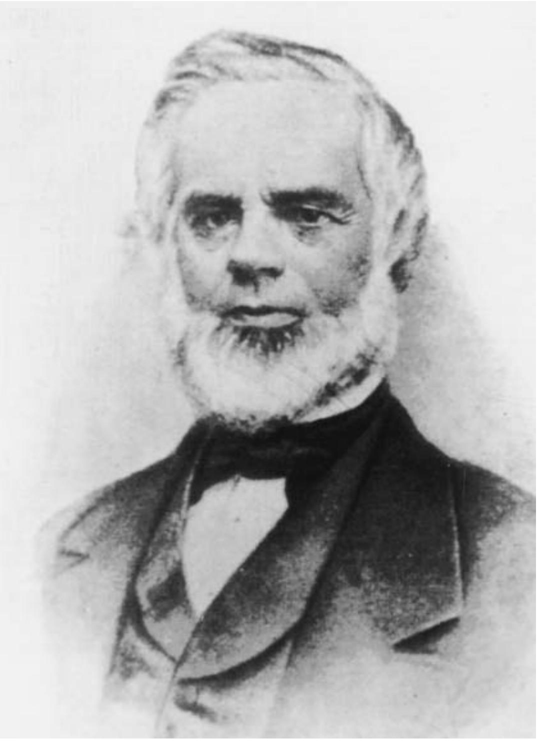
Quakers See Friends, Religious Society of (Quakers).

Quimby, Phineas Parkhurst (1802–1866) A self-taught mesmerist and hypnotist, Phineas Parkhurst Quimby inspired through his mind-cure techniques a host of new religious movements, including Christian Science and New Thought.

Born in Lebanon, New Hampshire, in 1802, Quimby was raised in Belfast, Maine. He received little formal education and earned his living as a clockmaker until falling ill with consumption in the early 1830s. After turning to a medical doctor whose prescription of calomel, a medicinal powder, did him more harm than good, Quimby healed himself. He was unable to explain his nascent powers, however, until attending a lecture on mesmerism. Based on the theory that humans could be healed through the manipulation of a subtle fluid called "animal magnetism," mesmerism originated with the Austrian physician Franz Anton Mesmer (1733–1815) and had been brought from France to New England by the author Charles Poyen.

In 1859, Quimby opened an office in Portland and became an accomplished nonmedical healer. At his lecture-demonstrations, Quimby would hypnotize an assistant named Lucius Burkmer, who would go into a trance and then diagnose diseases and suggest prescriptions.

As Quimby effected what to many were "miraculous" cures, he came to the conclusion that disease was psychological rather than physiological. His patients, he now believed, were actually healing themselves through the powers of their own minds. His only contribution was to use his considerable powers of suggestion to prompt in his patients



Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, an early explorer of the science of mental healing that influenced Mary Baker Eddy

a belief in their fundamental well-being. After this breakthrough, Quimby continued to use magnetic passes and other mesmeric techniques in his healing practice, but he now utilized them to enhance his patients' faith in his talents and, consequently, their suggestibility to healing.

Quimby confined himself to therapy rather than theology, so he is best remembered among historians of American religion as the healer and teacher of three thinkers who creatively adapted his theories and practices: Horatio and Anetta Dresser, the founders of the first New Thought organization, The Church of the Higher Life, and MARY BAKER EDDY, the founder of Christian Science.

During the 1880s, Dresser accused Eddy of pilfering Quimby's theories and marketing them as Christian Science. Though the Dressers were undoubtedly correct in finding important intellectual links between Eddy and her mentor (it was Quimby who coined the term *Christian Science*), Christian Science cannot be so easily reduced to Quimbyism. Eddy was first and foremost a theologian who devoted much of her time to biblical interpretation, while Quimby taught a largely secular healing technique and demonstrated an almost complete indifference to the Bible.

One reason why Christian Scientists and their critics continue to fight about Eddy's intellectual debts is that Quimby never systematized or published his theories. Some of the notes that he shared with his students have survived in *The Quimby Manuscripts*, which were published posthumously in 1921.

SRP

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R

Radhasoami Satsung See SIKHISM.

Ramakrishna movement See VEDANTA SOCIETY.

Ram Dass (Richard Alpert) (1931–) One of the leading countercultural gurus of the 1960s and 1970s, Richard Alpert was born on April 5, 1931. He grew up in an upper-class Jewish home in Newton, Massachusetts, with all the privileges afforded by the fact that his father, George, was one of the city's most prominent attorneys and president of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad. The youngest of three sons, Richard seems to have been particularly doted upon by his family.

His early life was relatively unremarkable, and Alpert had a fairly direct academic career. He received a B.A. from Tufts University in 1952, an M.A. from Wesleyan (1954), and his Ph.D. in psychology from Stanford University (1958). Alpert began his teaching career, while still a graduate student, at Stanford and the University of California, Berkeley. In 1958, he accepted an appointment at Harvard University, where he was in the Department of Social Relations and the Graduate School of Education.

Initially, Alpert's academic interests were fairly conventional, and with two coauthors he published a book on child rearing. This began to change in the early 1960s. Despite his seeming success, Alpert acknowledged that these years were very difficult for him. He struggled with his homosexuality and tremendous tension and anxiety, becoming physically ill prior to his lectures. At Harvard, Alpert met a new colleague, Timothy Leary, who would change his life and his work. Alpert claims that Leary, from whom he would later separate himself on ideological grounds (although they remained friends), provided him with the courage and encouragement to branch out into new areas of work and research.

The friendship with Leary and Alpert's growing interest in human consciousness led him to begin an examination of the role of hallucinogenic drugs, particularly hallucinogenic mushrooms (psilocybin) and LSD, in expanding human awareness. In collaboration with Leary, Aldous Huxley, and others, they began a series of studies of these drugs, leading eventually to the dismissal of both Leary and Alpert from the Harvard faculty in 1963.

The two continued their researches with the financial support of Billy Hitchcock, an heir to the Mellon fortune. The poet Allen Ginsberg, musicians such as Maynard Ferguson and the Grateful Dead, cultural critics such as Marshall McLuhan, the novelist Ken Kesey, and many others made the trek to Hitchcock's mansion in Millbrook, New York, where the two pursued their work. During this time, Leary and Alpert, along with Ralph Metzner, coauthored a book detailing their explorations of hallucinogens and human consciousness. This book, *The Psychedelic Experience: A*

Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead (1964), soon became one of the central texts of the 1960s COUNTERCULTURE.

If the encounter with hallucinogens marked the first turning point in Alpert's life and work, his encounter with India and Hinduism would move him from a countercultural intellectual to a leading voice in bringing Eastern religion to the United States. Alpert traveled to India in 1967, where he developed a strong connection to the Indian teacher Neem Karoli Baba, or Maharaji. Maharaji led Alpert on a series of pilgrimages to Hindu temples and other sacred places, teaching him about how HINDUISM, meditation, and other religious practices were ways both of expanding consciousness and of leading a truly authentic life in connection with and service to others. Maharaji also introduced Alpert to the Indian guru Hari Dass Baba, who taught in silence using only a chalkboard. Hari Dass Baba took Alpert into a deeper understanding of Hinduism and introduced him to both raja yoga and ahimsa, the principle of nonviolence and respect for all sentient beings. During this time, Alpert received the name Ram Dass, "the servant of Rama [God]." Only in his later years would he become a Baba, a learned teacher and guru himself.

Out of these experiences, Ram Dass published *Be Here Now* (1971). This book expressed his view of the unity of all people and religions. Initially printed as pamphlet and only later turned into a book, *Be Here Now* eventually became one of the leading spiritual texts of the 20th century. Beginning with his autobiography, in which Alpert details his journey to becoming Ram Dass, the book continues through an introduction to Hinduism and spiritual practices, eventually concluding with a list of the most important books on spirituality.

With his turn to Hinduism, Ram Dass also began to reconfigure his understanding of the role and responsibilities of human beings. While Leary continued to spread his message of "turn on, tune in, drop out," Ram Dass was moving from an examination of human consciousness for its own sake to a deeper understanding of how the connectedness of humanity (and eventually all life) made service to others a necessity. Meditation, yoga, and other spiritual practices, for Ram Dass, ceased to be ends in themselves. They provided the discipline necessary for one to engage in appropriate service to others. This would be the message of his 1985 book, *How Can I Help? Stories and Reflection on Service,* written with Paul Gorman.

The combination of spirituality and service has been central to Ram Dass's work since the 1970s. He created the Hanuman Foundation, which funds his work and research, as well as numerous service projects. These include the Prison Ashram Project. This focuses on helping prison inmates grow spiritually and, in the words of the project, "to inspire and encourage prisoners and prison staff to recognize their depth as human beings, and to behave accordingly." He also established, with Stephen Levine, the Living/Dying Project (1977) to provide spiritual support for those facing life-threatening illnesses and to help such individuals face their future with understanding and equanimity. In 1978, Ram Dass was one of the cofounders of the Seva Foundation, an international organization that works to end the suffering caused by poverty and disease by addressing "locally defined problems with culturally sustainable solutions." Additionally, he helped organize the Social Venture Network (1987), a combination of businesses and business leaders who strive to bring social consciousness to business practices by connecting business, community, and spirit for the common good.

A stroke in February 1997 left Ram Dass seriously weakened and suffering from expressive aphasia. He has turned this experience into part of his spiritual discipline, writing about it and the experiences of aging in his 2000 book, *Still Here: Embracing Aging, Changing, and Dying.*

Ram Dass's spiritual journey and public work not only played a major role in the development of the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s, it also deepened the understanding of Hinduism in the United States. Unlike many of his contemporaries for whom the initiation into Hinduism and Buddhism were simply flirtations and passing fancies, Ram Dass has spent his life deepening his individual practice and bringing about greater public awareness of the importance of spiritual practice for both the individual and the wider society. While many remain dismissive of his work because of his association with hallucinogens and with Timothy Leary, Ram Dass remains one of the leading voices for the importance of meditative practice and Eastern spirituality in contemporary life.

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Rapp, George (1757–1847) A pietist religious leader with mystical leanings, George Rapp founded the communitarian Harmony Society, a group that established three settlements in America during the antebellum period. Rapp, like most of his followers, was a German immigrant. He was born Johann Georg Rapp in Württemberg, one of five children of a farmer. As a young man, he apprenticed as a weaver, married in 1783, and had two children.

Rapp's deeply held religious convictions and his strong opinions quickly brought him into conflict with the local Lutheran authorities. Yearning for a "closer communion with Christ" and finding the established church cold and informal, Rapp withdrew from communion and began holding his own services. The group he gathered around himself beginning in 1785 practiced a mystical, devotional Protestant faith that centered on union with God. Religious authorities warned him to cease holding separate meetings, and his refusal led to years of increasing persecution and harassment: Several members were fined and jailed for their expressed hostility to the church. But suppression only increased Rapp's following; by 1802, it was said to number 10,000 to 12,000, and Rapp termed himself the chief and bishop of the Separatists of Lower Württemberg.

In 1803, Rapp led a scouting party to America to find a place where he and his flock could live and worship freely. They settled on a 5,000-acre site near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and named their colony Harmony, establishing the Harmony Society in 1805. Some 750 original members turned over all their possessions and pledged obedience and cooperation to the community. After 1807, celibacy was also required of all members. In 1814–15, the colony moved to southern Indiana in search of better land and there built New Harmony. Although this second community also prospered, the settlers sought out an even better location and moved back to western Pennsylvania in 1825 to found their third village, Economy.

Rapp lived to the age of 90, and his benevolent leadership style gained him the affection and confidence of his flock. Although a schism in 1832 reduced the population of Economy by one-third, to around 500 members, the colony thrived during his life and fell into a gradual decline only after his death. In 1905, George Rapp's community dissolved its formal ties.

LMK

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rapture The rapture of the church is a belief held by millions of American Christians who trace this idea to a passage in the New Testament (1 Thessalonians 4:15–17): "The Lord himself . . . will descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ will rise first. Then we who are alive . . . will be caught up in the clouds together with them to meet the Lord in the air." Members of the true church will be carried up to meet Christ at the time of his second coming.

American dispensationalists (see DISPENSATIONALISM), that is, theologically conservative Christians who believe all history is divided into seven eras, or "dispensations," predict that events prophesied in the Bible concerning the end of the world are about to take place. Human society has been declining gradually over the centuries, and a time is approaching when the personification of absolute evil (the Antichrist) will gain control of human society. He will throw the world into a reign of terror known as "the tribulation," but just before the tribulation begins, the rapture will occur. The saints will then be translated into heaven, where they will be safe from the catastrophes happening on Earth. At the end of the tribulation, the power of evil will at last be destroyed by the triumphant coming of Christ, who, accompanied by the church descending again to Earth, will establish his millennial (thousand-year) reign.

Belief in the rapture came to prominence at the end of the 19th century, when many of the traditional teachings of American Protestantism seemed under attack by an increasingly secular nation. The doctrine of the imminent return of Jesus gave preachers a powerful evangelistic tool, for the rapture of the church impelled the wavering to make a quick decision for the Christian faith. The impending arrival of Christ also filled those already converted with renewed hope to live holy lives and save themselves from the evils that might soon arrive. Dispensationalists, unlike Protestant liberals, refused to see themselves caught up in some long evolutionary stream leading inexorably (but distantly) to perfection. Rather, they believed themselves to be living on the edge of eternity, perhaps merely a second away from Christ's appearance in the clouds above their heads.

This tradition remains strong in fundamentalist circles in America today. It owes its acceptance mainly to two 20th-century sources: C. I. SCOFIELD's 1909 *Reference Bible* and Hal Lindsey's 1970 best-seller, *The Late Great Planet Earth.*

The cars of many conservative Protestants sport a bumper sticker declaring, "In case of rapture, this car will be unmanned." The "Left Behind" book series by Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins have sold millions of copies and have spun off into movies and a wildly popular computer game. These books—which follow individuals through the end times, from the beginning of the tribulation, through the rapture, the fight between the forces of good and evil, and the eventual return of Christ in triumph—not only introduced thousands of individuals to premillennial theology, they made the rapture a part of American popular culture instead of the preserve of a small group of evangelicals and fundamentalists.

(See also PREMILLENNIALISM.)

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Tyndale House, 1999); Tim LaHaye, Jerry Jenkins, and Sandi Swanson, *The Authorized Left Behind Handbook* (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House Publishers, 2005).

Rauschenbusch, Walter (1861–1918) A Baptist preacher turned seminary professor, Rauschenbusch became one of the most prominent Protestant voices of his day. His writing on the SOCIAL GOSPEL provided that movement with its most articulate expression.

Born to a family of German immigrants on October 4, 1861, Rauschenbusch descended from several generations of Lutheran pastors, although his father became a Baptist early in life and eventually a professor at New York's Rochester Theological Seminary. Significantly for his own theological development, Walter Rauschenbusch grew up in a home that maintained ties to German culture. His education included adolescent years in Germany, and an intense religious experience at this time inclined him toward the ministry and evangelism.

Completing both his undergraduate and seminary education at Rochester in 1886, he was sent to New York as pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Hell's Kitchen, a deeply impoverished neighborhood. Almost immediately, he began to question the assumptions that had guided his own seminary education, which had focused on providing rural parishioners with personal salvation. Confronted with stark urban poverty, he became involved in economic reformer Henry George's campaign for mayor in 1886. Becoming a committed socialist, he turned to authors such as Tolstoy and Edward Bellamy for insight. A sabbatical at the German universities of Marburg, Berlin, and Kiel enabled him to delve into such German intellectual resources as the historical-critical approach to the Bible, the theology of Albrecht Ritschl, and the work of various socialist thinkers. Leaving his congregation in 1897, he accepted a position in New Testament at Rochester Theological Seminary. In 1902, he became professor of church history, a position he retained until his death from cancer on July 25, 1918.

Confronted with the destructive side of the enormous social changes brought by the rise of industrial capitalism, Rauschenbusch found most Christians strangely quiet at a time when he thought religion needed to offer the nation humane guidance on social policy. In *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), he sought to provide his contemporaries with an understanding of why Christianity was silent on issues of wealth and poverty. He contrasted the original impetus of the biblical prophets and Jesus to establish a just "Kingdom of God" with a church that had become influenced by alien (bourgeois) social forces, "clogging" its "revolutionary moral power."

Walter Rauschenbusch, passionate preacher of the Social Gospel. *(American Baptist Historical Society)*

For Rauschenbusch, the history of the church reflected an unwise separation of religious and moral fervor.

Rauschenbusch saw the present historical moment as offering Christians an opportunity to reconnect with their biblical heritage and at the same time encourage those modern developments in science, politics, and economics that could lead to the "social redemption of humanity." His arguments reflected a form of millennial thinking in America that saw the kingdom of God as something human beings could help bring about. But his optimism was strained by the outbreak of WORLD WAR I. In his final book, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917), he sought to understand the continued presence of evil in modern life. In that book, the most systematic expression of the Social Gospel, he portrayed sin as a historical force corrupting institutions as well as individuals, consequently requiring social as well as personal salvation. He contrasted "prophetic" and "priestly" forms of religion, the first challenging unjust social orders and the other perpetuating them. Claiming the church too often had been the purveyor of the priestly form, he argued that the prophetic form could unite with modern democracy to overturn the spread of economic and political injustice. For his detractors, Rauschenbusch came to symbolize a kind of naive belief in human perfectibility. He saw himself as a translator of the core of Protestant faith into 20th-century terms.

MG

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reconstructionism, Christian See RELIGIOUS RIGHT.

Reconstructionist Judaism One of the four major branches of American JUDAISM, Reconstructionist Judaism is the extension of the work and ideas of one man, MORDECAI M. KAPLAN. Its goal is to make Judaism more meaningful to modern Jews by dispensing with all that is supernatural, retaining the traditions of Judaism, and furthering the continuation of the Jewish people. Although not a distinctive movement separate from CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM until the late 1960s, by 2008 Reconstructionist Judaism had over 100 congregations, 150,000 self-identified individuals, and 200 rabbis in the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association worldwide.

Kaplan never intended to form a separate movement within Judaism. For nearly 40 years, Kaplan did everything in his power to prevent the split from Conservative Judaism. From his position at Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was dean of the Teachers Training Institute and professor of homiletics, Kaplan attempted to reinvigorate Judaism, to make it more meaningful to Jews in the modern world.

Reconstructionist Judaism has a long history. The first institutional development in what became Reconstructionist Judaism was the Jewish Centers. The first of these was built in 1917 on West 86th Street in New York City. Kaplan, its first rabbi, viewed the Jewish Center as more than a synagogue. It was to serve the recreational, educational, and social needs of its members. Conflict over Kaplan's increasingly unorthodox views of religion and his criticism of the labor practices of some congregants led to conflicts within the center. Although supported by a majority of the congregation, Kaplan resigned. More than 20 families resigned with him and formed the Society for the Advancement of Judaism (SAJ), which became the nucleus of the Reconstructionist movement.

The SAJ was no typical synagogue, and Kaplan insisted on the title "leader" rather than rabbi. To disseminate Kaplan's views, it published a magazine, the *SAJ Review*, that soon had an influence well beyond the congregation. Forced to fold during the Great Depression, the *SAJ Review* was replaced in 1935 by a new magazine, *Reconstructionist*. The name came from an article Kaplan had written in 1928 in which he called for American Jewry to "reconstruct the Jewish civilization." For that reason, wrote Kaplan, "the SAJ prefers to be considered a branch of the Reconstructionist movement in Jewish life."

To maintain and support the magazine, the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation was organized in 1940. The next year, Kaplan published a new Haggadah (Passover service). In it, Kaplan shifted the center of the story of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt from miracles and plagues to freedom and liberation. In 1945, he authored a Sabbath prayer book. Orthodox rabbis viewed the new prayer book as blasphemous, primarily because it changed certain prayers dealing with miraculous and supernatural events. A meeting of Orthodox rabbis pronounced a ban of *herem* (excommunication) on Kaplan and burned a copy of the book.

The 1940s and 1950s were difficult times for the movement. The horror of WORLD WAR II and the Holocaust made many of Kaplan's ideas about progress and human development look naive. Also, the growing traditionalism of Reform Judaism made it look capable of fulfilling the goal of reconstruction. There were, however, Reconstructionists in both the Reform and Conservative movements. In 1950, the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Fellowship was organized, followed at the end of the decade by the Fellowship of Reconstructionist Congregations. Despite these developments, Reconstructionism lost ground. The percentage of students at the Jewish Theological Seminary who had Reconstructionist sympathies decreased between 1920 and 1967, and in 1961, a rabbi had to be brought from London to take over the SAJ.

After Kaplan's retirement from teaching in 1963, his followers convinced him that the Reconstructionists needed their own rabbinical school. Reconstructionist Rabbinical College opened in Philadelphia in 1968. Although its early years were tentative, the college has become a stable institution, producing new generations of Reconstructionist rabbis and thinkers.

The reconstruction of Jewish civilization was the goal Kaplan outlined in his book *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934). Considered by many to be the most significant book on Judaism and the Jewish people written in America, it articulated Kaplan's view of Judaism as "an evolving religious civilization." It is a civilization because it contains within itself a culture, Kaplan contended. It is religious because it has a transcendent element that enables Jews to actualize what is best within themselves. To accomplish its goals, however, Judaism must speak to existing situations. Judaism has always evolved. It must continue this evolution in order to revitalize Judaism and provide meaning and value to modern Jews.

Kaplan called for the replacement of outmoded concepts, especially supernatural understandings of God and the Torah, with new ideas, albeit in a "deliberate and planned fashion." He wanted to breathe new life into old forms, but believed that the old forms should be retained because they helped "to maintain the historic continuity of the Jewish people and to express, or symbolize, spiritual values or ideals which can enhance the inner life of Jews."

Kaplan's most controversial ideas were his naturalist understanding of God as the name for man's collective ethical ideal and his rejection of the chosenness of the Jewish people. To many, the abandonment of supernaturalism seemed to be a rejection of the very basis of Judaism, if not religion itself. While the debate over supernaturalism was primarily an intellectual, elite phenomenon, the rejection, or transvaluation, of the idea of chosenness struck deeper.

Kaplan felt that the traditional understanding of chosenness was pernicious and undemocratic, implying genetic superiority. Judaism's chosenness involved not the peoplehood of Jews through birth, but their striving to be a people in the image of God, their efforts to awaken in themselves and others a "sense of moral responsibility in action."

Reconstructionist ideas have had a major influence on American Judaism. One might say that the Reconstructionists have lost the war but won the peace. Reconstructionist views on God, Judaism as a civilization, and the unity of the Jewish people are shared by many American Jews. Kaplan's views on incorporating women into the religious services have been adopted by both the Conservative and Reform movements. The fact that Reconstructionist views predominate among many Jews accounts for its weakness as an institutional movement. There is no need to join, when one can achieve the same results where one is.

As Reconstructionist Judaism becomes more distinct from Kaplan's personality, it faces an uncertain future. Debates over naturalism versus supernaturalism, the idea of "chosen people," and Kaplan's version of the prayer book already have pushed the movement in new directions. Much depends on the newer generation of rabbis and leaders trained after Kaplan's death.

EQ

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Reformation The Reformation refers to a series of extraordinary religious and social changes that occurred in western Europe in the 16th century. During that period, Christian leaders who were attempting to reform the church led successful revolts against the authority of the pope. The term *Protestant* was first used in 1529, when a group of German princes protested against the activities of Roman Catholic rulers. Today, approximately half of the American religious population identifies itself as Protestant heirs of the Reformation.

The Reformation is generally considered to have begun in October 1517, when the German monk Martin Luther reportedly nailed a placard inscribed with 95 theological theses on a church door in Wittenberg. Four years later, when summoned before the Holy Roman Emperor at Worms, Luther refused to rescind his attacks on the papacy. Luther was forced to flee Worms under the threat of death but was given asylum in Saxony. There, under the protection of Frederick, his prince, he was able to continue the church reforms he had earlier proposed. Although Luther always denied that he intended to found a "Lutheran" (see LUTHERANISM) church, he inspired the religious tradition that later bore his name. News of Luther's accomplishments quickly spread beyond the borders of Saxony and aroused intellectual and spiritual ferment throughout northern and western Europe.

Luther's most important contribution to the Reformation was his teaching on JUSTIFICATION by grace through faith. He was obsessed with the question of how a person could earn God's love or find eternal salvation. Like all the original Protestant reformers, he believed that the Bible contained all Christians needed to know about their religion. After meditating on the New Testament epistle to the Romans, Luther decided that human beings could actually do nothing to save their souls. He concluded that God alone "justifies," that is, redeems human beings from sin. Faith, he said, was a divine gift by which God reveals his gracious character and leads a person to salvation. He rejected many of the religious customs and traditions of medieval Catholicism because he thought they obscured, rather than illuminated, God's true nature.

At the same time Lutheranism started to gather force in Germany, Swiss reformer Ulrich Zwingli took control of church affairs in Zurich. Lutheran influences clearly encouraged Zwingli's efforts at reform. Like Luther, Zwingli appealed to the Bible to support his work and envisioned a return to the primitive purity of early Christianity. His denunciations of the religious practices of the Middle Ages and of the hierarchy of the church, however, far surpassed anything that Luther had intended. Zwingli felt little respect for the immediate past or for traditional ways of worship and set out to transform completely the church in Zurich. He had statues and images of saints smashed, altars stripped bare, and worship conducted in German, not Latin. Only Zwingli's death in battle in 1531 brought an end to the radical reforms he envisioned.

After Zwingli's death, leadership of the Swiss Reformation fell upon exiled French Protestant John Calvin (see CALVINISM). Around 1534, Calvin underwent a conversion experience and renounced his institutional connections with Roman Catholicism. At the same time, he began composing his *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* an imposing work that soon became recognized as the most systematic statement of Protestant theology. Calvin completed the first edition of the *Institutes* in 1536, the same year he arrived in Geneva and began the reformation of the church in that city. Over the next three decades, until his death in 1564, he devoted himself to transforming Geneva into what Scottish reformer John Knox called "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles."

Calvin borrowed heavily from Augustine of Hippo, the fourth-century Christian theologian. He adopted Augustine's stress on the omnipotence of God and the passivity of humankind in the process of eternal salvation. The credit for salvation, Calvin said, belonged solely to God, who, from eternity, had predestined the fate of every soul. Only God knew who would be saved and who would be damned. Without divine grace, no person could repent and become a Christian, yet grace was a gift that only the predestined elect received. Although Calvin's teaching on predestination appeared to undercut participation in the church, he contended that the elect would inevitably lead pious, Christian lives. He counseled people not to dwell on their failings but simply to trust in the all-sufficient grace of God.

Calvin's theological emphases had an important influence on the next generation of Swiss reformers: Theodore Beza, who succeeded him in Geneva, and Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich. The so-called REFORMED TRADITION of Protestantism, dependent heavily on Calvin's theology, spread into France, Germany, Holland, Scotland, and England over the course of the 16th century. Calvinism shaped the formation of a number of Protestant traditions in those countries: Dutch Reformed, German Reformed, French Reformed (or Huguenot), and Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM).

A third manifestation of the Reformation appeared in England in the 1530s. The English, or Anglican (see ANGLICANISM), Reformation was originally more a political than a religious revolution. Following his dispute with the pope over the legitimacy of divorcing Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII repudiated the authority of the papacy over the Church of England. Although parliamentary action in 1534 declared Henry to be supreme head of the English church, little change in either theological doctrine or liturgical practice occurred at first, since Henry was intensely conservative in those matters.

After Henry's death, during the brief reign of his son, Edward VI, the pace of church reform accelerated in England. Upon Edward's death in 1553, however, Henry's daughter "Bloody Mary" Tudor assumed the throne and grimly set to work to restore Roman Catholicism. Between 1553 and 1558, hundreds of refugees fled for their lives to Protestant areas on the Continent. Attracted especially to Calvin's Geneva, they imbibed there Calvin's ideas on theology and church government, which they brought back to England after Mary's death. Thanks both to the horrors of Mary's persecution and to the instruction many exiles had received under Calvin, most English Christians were thoroughly committed to Protestantism by the mid-16th century.

With the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, Anglicanism began to develop into its present form. Much of the organization of medieval Christianity was retained, and uniformity was enforced through the use of a common English-language prayer book. Considerable theological flexibility was also allowed. In opposition to emerging PURITANISM, on one hand, which desired the Church of England to be more fully reformed, and to the continuing Catholic loyalist presence, on the other hand, Anglicans sought what they called a via media, a middle way, between the extremes of the papacy and the rigorous Protestants. Anglicans chose to find authority in the interaction between three religious sources: the Bible, ancient Christian traditions, and contemporary human reason.

The fourth branch of the Reformation was less organized than Lutheran, Reformed, or Anglican Protestantism. Even the name of this branch has been under debate for many years. Opponents in the 16th and 17th centuries called that group of reformers "enthusiasts," "spiritualists," or simply "fanatics." Today, scholars refer to them as the "Radical Reformation" or the "left wing" of the Reformation, because they tended to reject all established religious and political authority in their day. Many of the radicals also bear the label "Anabaptist," since they repudiated the practice of infant baptism and rebaptized adults who joined their movement. Finally, some who rejected traditional Christian belief in the Trinity are known as "Unitarians" or "Socinians" (named for reformer Faustus Socinus).

The radical reformers were almost universally persecuted, threatened with death by Catholics and Protestants alike, who feared the threat they posed to the social order. The most notorious of the radicals were those who briefly ruled the German city of Münster in 1534 and 1535. The city's inhabitants at first attempted to reinstitute church life according to descriptions contained in the New Testament book of Acts and other early Christian writings. All food and property were held in common, and the use of money was outlawed. Later, on reading the Old Testament, the people of Münster claimed to have found a mandate for practicing polygamy. Eventually, the city was attacked and nearly all of its inhabitants slaughtered. Although Münster was hardly typical of the Radical Reformation as a whole, it became a symbol for the movement and was used as justification for its suppression throughout Europe.

The four major branches of the Reformation were all transmitted to America in the 17th century. The English settlers who established colonies in Virginia in 1607 and Massachusetts in 1630 were Anglicans. Although the Puritan settlements in New England rapidly adopted a congregational form of church government, those in Virginia continued loyal to Anglican polity and liturgical forms. The earliest Lutherans in America came from Sweden and the Netherlands in the 1620s. By 1669, the two oldest Lutheran congregations in America, at present-day Albany, New York, and New York City, had been founded. The Dutch, then the principal trading power of Europe, established a post on Manhattan Island in 1626. Three years later, the Dutch Reformed Church was recognized as the official church of New Netherland. Pennsylvania was the great center of German immigration to America. Although Lutheran and Reformed emigrants did not come there until the early 18th century, a settlement of Mennonites, followers of Anabaptist leader Menno Simons, were the first Germans to establish a presence in that colony, arriving in 1683.

The denominations of 21st-century American Protestantism are heirs of the Reformation that began nearly 500 years ago. Although the Roman Catholic Church is now the largest Christian denomination in the United States, all the other major religious bodies in this country (among them, the Southern Baptist Convention, the United Methodist Church, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) trace their historical roots back to the Reformation.

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Reformed Church in America The denomination now known as the Reformed Church in America was formally organized in 1792 as the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. This church had its beginnings in migration from the Netherlands to New York in the early 17th century. The denomination nominally parted from its ethnic heritage in 1867 by choosing to drop "Dutch" from its name and no longer uses the Dutch language in its worship. It has resisted mergers with other Reformed tradition groups, however, and continues to be the largest body of American Christians adhering to Dutch Calvinism.

After winning independence from Spain in 1609, the Dutch people became the principal trading power of Europe, establishing a post at the site of present-day Albany, New York, in 1624, and two years later founding New Amsterdam on the tip of Manhattan Island. The first minister at these settlements, Jonas Michaelius, arrived in New Amsterdam in 1628 and there organized the "church in the fort" (the Collegiate Church today). Michaelius was followed by other pastors, who accompanied the movement of Dutch settlers north to Albany, east into Long Island, and west into New Jersey. In 1629, the Dutch Reformed Church was recognized as the officially established church of New Netherland.

When their colony surrendered to the English in 1664, Dutch Reformed congregations in New York lost their privileged status and strenuously resisted efforts by the Church of England to strengthen itself. Eventually, the Dutch Reformed influenced legislation tolerating non-Anglican churches in the colony and successfully earned legal recognition. Although few settlers came to America from the Netherlands after 1664, the Dutch population continued to grow by natural increase. At 11 in number in 1664, the Dutch Reformed churches in the New York area grew to 29 in 1700, the largest denominational body in that colony. By the mid-18th century, there were over a hundred Dutch Reformed churches along the eastern seaboard.

The relation of the denomination to its Dutch roots caused much discussion and internal conflict, first, with the coming of the English and later, during the period of the American Revolution. At issue was the authority of Americans to ordain their own ministers and conduct business independent of control by the church's headquarters in Amsterdam. In 1747, the colonists formed their own coetus (association of churches). Under the leadership of THEODORUS J. FRELINGHUYSEN, a minister who had come to America in 1720 and been a herald of the GREAT AWAKENING, the Americans declared themselves wholly free from Dutch control in 1755. In response, a small group of ministers formed the "Conferentie," a party of loyalists allied to the Netherlands.

During the War for Independence, the Dutch Reformed congregations by and large supported the American cause. Both their innate patriotism and a century-old distrust of the English and their church affected the position Dutch Americans assumed in the Revolution. Victory over England also helped assure their final release from ecclesiastical control in Amsterdam. A denominational college (Queen's College, now Rutgers University) had been founded at New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1766, and in 1784, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, the oldest Protestant seminary in the United States, was organized. John Henry Livingston, often called the "father of the Reformed church," was the last American to travel to Holland for ordination. He helped reunite the two warring factions in his denomination in 1772, shaped a new constitution and hymnal, and in 1810, became president of Rutgers.

The Dutch Reformed churches remained concentrated within their original strongholds in New York and New Jersey. The similarity of their theology to that of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, the resemblance of their governing structure to presbyterianism, and the inevitable ties to Dutch culture all made winning new church members difficult. Only the entrance at mid-century of two groups of Dutch immigrants into Michigan and Iowa, some of whom merged in 1850 with the Reformed Dutch in the East, helped the church grow again. Led by ministers of a separatist movement that had earlier seceded from the state church of the Netherlands, many of these settlers soon formed the staunchly conservative True Holland Reformed Church (now the CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH) at Zeeland, Michigan, in April 1857.

Without this migration from the Netherlands to the American Midwest, the Dutch Reformed denomination might well have merged with some other church and (like the German Reformed) entirely lost its ethnic distinctiveness. As it was, a proposed federation with the German Reformed Church failed in 1892, and three similar approaches to Presbyterian denominational bodies similarly collapsed in the 20th century. Still, the church's strong ethnic identity limited its appeal. The strength of the Reformed Church in America today is mainly restricted to descendants of the first Dutch settlers in three geographic areas: New York and New Jersey; Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa; and California.

In many ways, the Reformed Church in America is a study in contrasts. It has participated in liberal ecumenical ventures such as the Federal Council of Churches (1908) and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1950). Two of its most prominent ministers in the 20th century, Norman Vincent Peale and Robert Schuller, while otherwise conservative in political and social outlook, have popularized the "positive thinking" movement that has smoothed away much of the harshness of traditional Calvinist orthodoxy. Yet the denomination has also adhered strictly to the 16th- and 17th-century Calvinist confessions that shaped its life in colonial and early national times.

A relatively small denomination that maintains an identity replete with intellectual rigor, the Reformed Church in America has had a stable membership of approximately 300,000 in more than 900 congregations since the mid-1990s.

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Reformed Church in the United States See GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

Reformed Episcopal Church See EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Reformed tradition The Reformed tradition is one of the principal theological and denominational streams to emerge out of the Protestant REFORMATION of the 16th century. The Reformed ethos has shaped American intellectual and social attitudes more than any other European religious tradition. For nearly four centuries, denominations, churches, and leaders committed to Reformed theology have played prominent roles in the development of American religion and culture.

The beginnings of the Reformed tradition are found in Switzerland in the reforms initiated by Ulrich Zwingli of Zurich in 1523 and John Calvin of Geneva in 1536. These reformers believed they were restoring Christianity to the pure beliefs and practices found in New Testament times. Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536) articulated Reformed theology in its classic form, and over the next century CALVINISM spread into France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the British Isles. The Scottish reformer John Knox, who had lived in exile in Geneva, brought Calvin's ideas to Scotland when he returned home in 1558. PURITANISM in England also relied upon Reformed thought. Its beliefs were most fully expressed in the creed composed by the Westminister Assembly of Puritan leaders that met in London in 1643. This document, known as the Westminster Confession, soon became the normative theological statement of English-speaking Calvinism.

In matters of worship, Reformed Christians removed all statues, crosses, candles, and church decorations, which were reminders of the medieval Catholic past, from church buildings. Of the seven sacraments of medieval Catholicism, only baptism and Holy Communion were still accepted as truly authorized by Jesus Christ. Contrary to Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican teaching, the bread and wine of Communion were not considered the actual body and blood of Christ but simply symbols of Jesus' presence in the hearts of believers. While the physical elements of worship were being displaced, verbal expressions in the Bible and in the sermon became the appropriate focus of worship instead.

A number of prominent intellectual themes have run through Reformed teaching and given it a unique character both in Europe and in America.

First, Reformed theologians emphasized the absolute sovereignty, utter transcendence, and inscrutable power of God. God determined from eternity the fate of every creature, choosing some for salvation and others for damnation. Salvation comes by God's gracious decision alone, not through any effort or cooperation on the part of human beings.

Second, Reformed Christians believe in total human depravity, a doctrine that further illuminates the awesome chasm and radical discontinuity between God and humankind. Human beings by their sins willfully rebel against God's sovereignty and their own status as creatures, thus further cutting themselves off from divine love.

Third, Christians in their personal behavior must be obedient to the laws of God that are revealed in the Bible. The church, too, should conform itself to the mandates of Scripture and eradicate all ceremonies that lack a clear biblical precedent.

Fourth, the Reformed tradition consistently emphasized that religion is not merely a private affair, but demands an engagement with society. Church and culture function together in creative tension. Despite its fallen state, the world belongs to God, and Christians must help to transform it into the image of God's kingdom.

Fifth, Reformed theology always affirmed the importance of precise doctrinal formulations and creeds. Because of this concern for theological orthodoxy, denominations within the Reformed tradition often have been disrupted by schisms and doctrinal disagreements.

The Reformed tradition became well established in America in the century and a half between the arrival of the PILGRIMS in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620 and the outbreak of the War for Independence in 1775. During this period, thousands of Dutch Reformed (see REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA), German Reformed (see GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH), and French Reformed (HUGUENOTS) settlers streamed into the American colonies.

In America, the Reformed tradition adapted to new conditions. Since the Huguenots' identity, for example, was far more religious than ethnic or national, most quickly abandoned their French roots and joined other denominations such as the Dutch Reformed Church. The church in the Netherlands also provided important assistance to German Reformed emigrants who came to the New World in the colonial period. Puritans in America were eventually divided between those who chose a congregational (see CONGREGATIONALISM) form of church government and those who were presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM). The latter group gained strength with the arrival of Scottish and Scotch-Irish Presbyterian immigrants in the late 17th century. Finally, although the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century aroused violent controversies within several denominations, it also helped extend and intensify the hold of the Reformed faith over the American religious population as a whole.

The Reformed tradition today can be seen in four main denominational families. Most prominent is the Presbyterian household. The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.) is now the largest Presbyterian body in the United States, while a number of smaller denominations maintain distinctive interpretations of the essentials of this faith. Next in size and historical importance is the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, which is the historic continuation of the Congregational churches founded under the influence of New England Puritanism. The United Church of Christ also subsumed the third major Reformed group, the German Reformed, which (then known as the Evangelical and Reformed Church) merged with the Congregationalists in 1957. Fourth and finally, the Dutch Reformed school finds its major institutional expression in the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, as well as in the smaller and more conservative CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH.

American denominations upholding the Reformed tradition currently report a combined membership of approximately 6 million people. Since large numbers of BAPTISTS and Episcopalians and members of independent churches also believe many of the principles of Reformed theology, this tradition's influence actually extends far beyond mere denominational affiliation. And while many liberal Protestants have jettisoned what they view as the most objectionable doctrines of Calvinism, its emphasis on Christian engagement in political and social affairs is more strongly stressed today among theological liberals than among conservatives in American Protestantism.

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Reform Judaism Reform Judaism is one of the three main branches of American Judaism. Its roots lie in the attempt to reconcile Judaism to the modern world. From the 1840s until the turn of the 20th century, Reform was the predominant branch of American Judaism. Overwhelmed by the massive immigration of eastern European Jews between 1880 and 1920, it lost its dominance, giving way to CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. By the early 21st century, however, it was once again the largest Jewish denomination in the United States.

Reform Judaism emerged from the intellectual, social, and political changes that marked Europe in the late 18th and early 19th century. Intellectually, Reform Judaism originated in the ENLIGHTENMENT emphasis on the moral aspects of religion and its derogation of the supernatural, ritual, and religious distinctiveness. The European Enlightenment had a Jewish counterpart in the *Haskalah*, the so-called Jewish Enlightenment. In this movement, Jews who had received university educations, primarily in Germany, began to apply secular learning to their own tradition. Most significant in this regard was the Wissenschaft des Judentums (Science of Judaism) movement, an attempt to apply new forms of scholarship, especially historical scholarship, to the Jewish tradition. This movement supported reforming tendencies by demonstrating that certain "traditional" elements in Judaism were of recent origin and that apparently "radical" reforms had earlier roots within the tradition.

These intellectual elements converged with social and political concerns. Socially, some Jews, primarily upper-class German Jews, wanted to establish a Jewish worship service similar to that of their Protestant neighbors—more decorous, shorter, and less alien to the wider culture.

Politically, the issue was whether Jews, considering themselves a people apart and viewing themselves in exile from their true homeland, could be citizens of the country in which they resided. While France answered this question positively after the French Revolution (1789–94), emancipating the Jews from the legal limits imposed on them, and Napoleon reaffirmed this for the regions under his control, other countries were more hesitant. As part of the struggle for legal equality, the reformers minimized the idea of Jewish peoplehood, emphasizing Judaism as a religion. They were Germans (or French, or Italians) of the Jewish faith, just as their fellow citizens were Germans of the Catholic, Lutheran, or Reformed faith.

The Reform movement, however, did not predominate among German Jews. The nature of the Jewish community and the conservatism of the German states limited its ability to gain strength in synagogues there. In America, to which many German Jews immigrated between 1820 and 1860, Reform found fertile soil.

In 1824, several members of Charleston's Congregation Beth Elohim, seeking shorter services, increased use of English, and mixed seating of men and women, withdrew from their congregation, and formed the Reformed Society of Israelites—the first Reform organization in the United States. But this indigenous organization was the exception. The main catalyst for the growth of Reform in the United States was the immigration of German Jews.

As these reform-minded Germans arrived, they organized Reform Vereine (Reform Societies) that eventually became temples, as they called synagogues. In 1846, Temple Har Sinai in Baltimore became the first synagogue in the United States to be organized as Reform. It was followed by Temple Emanuel of New York (1845) and Temple Sinai in Chicago (1858).

Other Reform temples formed through internal conflict and secession. At Congregation Beth-El in Albany, New York, an attempt by a young rabbi from Bohemia, ISAAC MAYER WISE, to lead his congregation down the path of Reform led to dissension and conflict. Wise, along with several members of his congregation, withdrew to found Congregation Anshe Emeth along Reform lines. In 1854, Wise accepted the position of rabbi at B'nai Jeshurun in Cincinnati, Ohio. From this pulpit, he gave institutional form to American Reform Judaism. Although widely read and reflective, Wise was not a particularly deep thinker. His strengths lay in organization and publicity. DAVID EINHORN and KAUFMANN KOHLER would be more successful in articulating the meaning of Reform.

Wise's activities produced the three major institutional centers of Reform Judaism in the United States: the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC, 1875), Hebrew Union College (HUC, 1877), and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR, 1889). While the first two originally were created to serve the entire Jewish-American community, the tensions between the more traditionally minded and the reformers proved too great for cooperation. The more conservative elements withdrew, leaving the UAHC and HUC to the reformers.

Reform Judaism in the United States radically transformed Jewish practice, belief, and ritual. Wise contributed to this transformation with the publication of a revision of the Jewish prayer book, *Minhag America* (American Ritual), in 1857. The predominant Reform prayer book until the adoption of the *Uniform Prayer Book* by the UAHC in 1894, it had a competitor in the even more radical *Olat Tamid* (1858) of David Einhorn. Einhorn, rabbi of Har Sinai in Baltimore, was Wise's opponent on the left. Where Wise was a practical organizer and an Americanizer, Einhorn was an intellectual radical and a Germanizer who believed that Reform needed a rigid intellectual base and a clear enunciation of its principles. Meeting in Philadelphia in 1869, Einhorn and a like-minded group adopted a statement rejecting the hope for the restoration of Israel and the temple cult and declared that the "messianic aim" was the union of all the children of God. They downplayed dietary laws and rejected the requirement of circumcision for males.

Although viewed by Wise as unnecessarily antagonistic and with horror by the more traditional, this statement became the basis for the development of American Reform until it was superseded by the so-called PITTSBURGH PLATFORM in 1885. That document, which Wise called the "Jewish Declaration of Independence," was drafted primarily by Einhorn's son-in-law, Kaufmann Kohler, rabbi of Temple Beth-El in New York City. The platform rejected all parts of Jewish law not in keeping with "the views and habits of modern civilization." It declared that the Jews were not a nation, but a religious community that expected "neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state." Judaism was deemed "a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason."

The rationalism that underlay Reform was quite obvious in the Pittsburgh Platform. For many of the reformers, Judaism had become nothing more (or less) than an ethical monotheism. But if Judaism was not a distinctive religious form, why continue it as such? Some followed this thought to its logical conclusion. Among the most important was FELIX ADLER, who, finding no reason to continue Judaism as a distinctive religion, founded the Ethical Culture Society in 1876.

This rationalism was a major problem for the Reform movement. At the height of its organizational development, it was losing the people in the pews. Distilled down to ethical monotheism, Reform Judaism seemed to offer little comfort, support, or group identification. At just this time, however, Reform Judaism was saved from itself by a massive influx of Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe. Although this wave of immigration ended the dominance of the Reform movement in American Judaism, it eventually provided it with new sources of growth and passion.

The relationship between the more Americanized German reformers and the eastern European Orthodox immigrants (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM) could not have been more inauspicious. The two groups eyed each other with suspicion, the former viewing the latter as superstitious, vulgar rabble, while the immigrants looked upon Reform Jews as pagans. As the newer immigrants underwent the process of Americanization, however, many would abandon their orthodoxy, and some of them would enter the Reform movement, as would many of their children.

The results were a growing acceptance of ZIONISM within the Reform movement and an increasing return to traditional religious elements. Zionism, the movement for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, was antithetical to the Reform movement's claim that the Jews were no longer a people in exile. In 1897, the Reform movement had explicitly rejected Zionism. By the mid-1930s, it had changed to a position of neutrality, and in 1937, the CCAR adopted a new statement of Reform principles that included a call for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This statement also reversed the Pittsburgh Platform's rejection of the idea of Jewish peoplehood. "Judaism is the soul of which Israel [the Jewish people] is the body. Living in all parts of the world, Israel has been held together by the ties of a common history, and above all by the heritage of the faith. . . ." In that same year, the UAHC passed a resolution calling for the restoration of traditional Jewish symbols and customs into the synagogue service.

This shift toward more traditional worship demonstrated the impact that the immigrants and their children were having on Reform Judaism. Although anxiously embracing Reform's rejection of many of the religious laws governing diet and activities, these eastern European Jews were less willing to renounce their Jewish cultural and ethnic identity. The result was the return of many of the symbols of traditional Judaism and an increasing emphasis on Jewish culture and learning.

After WORLD WAR II, Jews joined the American exodus to the suburbs. Synagogue membership increased, and synagogues became centers for both religious and cultural expressions. They also became a locus for the political and social concerns of the Reform community. Having committed itself to social justice since the adoption of the Pittsburgh Platform in 1885, the Reform movement became involved in causes like the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and opposition to the VIETNAM WAR. From the 1940s on, polls showed a steady decrease in ANTI-SEMITISM, and life in the suburbs seemed calm and peaceful as most Reform Jews became integrated into American middle-class life.

This changed with the 1967 war between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The threat to Israel's existence made both Israel and the Holocaust significant for Reform Judaism and the Jewish-American community as a whole. From the late 1960s on, these two realities became predominant themes within Reform Judaism and accelerated its concern with maintaining Jewish traditions and the Jewish people. The result has been increased emphasis within the Reform movement on Jewish identity and Jewish survival—a survival that appeared linked to the survival of Israel as a Jewish state.

The relationship between Israel and the American Reform movement has not always been peaceful. Despite the fact that Israel is a secular state, issues of marriage and divorce are in the hands of religious institutions. Since Judaism in Israel is Orthodox Judaism, American Reform (and Conservative) rabbis are unable to perform marriages in Israel. Even more nettlesome is the debate over conversions performed by Reform and Conservative rabbis, the “Who is a Jew?” debate. The Orthodox in Israel have demanded that the state refuse to recognize such conversions, and, given the fragmented nature of Israeli politics, the small religious parties have nearly succeeded in bringing this about. Despite these conflicts, Reform Judaism has increasingly supported the Jewish state, both financially and politically, although following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, it also became increasingly willing to voice its criticism of Israeli government policies.

While this unmistakable concern for the survival of the Jewish people and Jewish traditions has resulted in greater cooperation among Jewish Americans, there have been growing religious conflicts rooted in the increased self-confidence of the Orthodox and disagreements over issues of Jewish law. These disagreements include the role of women within the tradition, the response to gays and lesbians, and the criteria for determining Jewishness. Decisions within the Reform movement to ordain women as rabbis (1972), to consider children with a Jewish father and a Gentile mother as Jewish (1983), to recognize congregations ministering to homosexuals (1977), and to consider ordaining homosexuals as rabbis (1990) increased tensions with the Orthodox and to some degree with the Conservative movement as well (although the latter also ordains women). Additionally, an aggressive policy of outreach rooted in its decision to consider children born of Jewish fathers but not Jewish mothers as Jews also separated Reform from the other denominations as well as from traditional Jewish law. These actions by the Reform movement illustrate that despite its recent return to more traditional religious forms, the movement continues its heritage of adapting Judaism to meet the changing concerns of its members and the shifting demands of society.

The UAHC formally changed its name in 2003 to the Union for Reform Judaism. In 2008, it claimed a membership of more than 1.5 million individuals in about 900 congregations.

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Regular Baptists See BAPTISTS.

religious education Religious education is a major concern of every religion or denomination that desires to continue itself. In the United States, it has played a critical role in the thinking, planning, and financing of religious organizations. As each new religion arrived in the United States (or was created here), it faced the fact that the means of religious education were lacking and had to be established. Not only that, but for most religions, new forms of delivering such education had to be created. The distinctive economic, social, political, and demographic realities of America forced religions to adapt and innovate in order to ensure that their members received the religious education and formation necessary to continue the tradition.

A preeminent challenge faced by every religious group that immigrated to America was that the ethos of religion and culture that predominated in their countries of origin did not exist in America. There was the lack of a governmentally sanctioned program of religious education. Additionally, there was not the unitary religious and social culture in which religious understandings constantly were reinforced. While some, like the Puritans, attempted to construct that model, far too many forces worked against its success. The availability of land on the frontier, the weakening of social bonds brought about by immigration itself, and the relative weakness of social and political institutions (not to mention the fact that institutional supports did not exist prior to the arrival of each new group) meant that religious education and formation had to be a much more intentional and considered undertaking. Religious continuity became a matter of choice and commitment. Everyone had to make it up. Additionally, the absence of formal governmental support for (or hostility to) religion was another distinctive reality to which religions had to accustom themselves. Interestingly, the demand that people both establish and support religious institutions, including sources of religious education, led to a stronger and deeper commitment to religion.

At a minimum, religious organizations had to ensure that members and potential members had a basic level of religious knowledge. For the Puritans and others for whom the ability to read the basic religious texts was essential, one of the basics was literacy. The need to establish schools where both literacy and religious knowledge were imparted was paramount (see EDUCATION, RELIGION AND). In areas lacking even rudimentary school systems, Christian denominations in the early 19th century turned to Sabbath or Sunday schools. In their earliest years, these schools provided students with both minimal literacy and religious instruction. As free public schools became more common, however, Sunday schools increasingly turned their attention solely to religious instruction, eventually becoming the dominant method of providing ongoing religious education to children, youths, and adults. This successful model eventually was adopted by other traditions, such as REFORM JUDAISM and CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM, which saw Sunday, a day when school was closed, as a perfect time to provide religious instruction without interfering in the regular worship on Saturday.

Another method of providing religious education came from the institutional demands of the religions themselves. Confirmation or bar mitzvah as well as other religious life-cycle events, when it was expected that one be able to demonstrate a basic level of religious knowledge, also provided opportunities for formal religious instruction. Such opportunities had to be carved out of schedules that included school, often public school, work, and the distractions of American life. Sunday schools provided one option for providing such instruction. Time was fairly limited, and the weekly meetings with a class comprised of students of varying levels of knowledge made intensive education difficult.

Such difficulties only increased when, for religious or religio-cultural reasons, students needed to develop familiarity with another language, whether Hebrew, Greek, or Arabic, to name a few. For religious groups with such a need, more comprehensive religious education often took place daily after school. Still other groups thought it necessary to create their own private, religious (parochial) schools, convinced that only in such a regularized and intensive environment could students gain the requisite religious knowledge while also receiving an adequate secular education. For many religious groups, an additional reason for such schools was to minimize the risk of being overly influenced by the wider society, whether religiously or culturally. Roman Catholics in the United States (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) were among the first to adopt this approach in order to protect their children from what they saw was the dominant Protestant ethos in the public schools. Other groups to a greater or lesser degree also have tended toward private education (at least when finances and population densities allowed)—Missouri and Wisconsin Synod Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM), Orthodox Jews (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM), and Muslims (see ISLAM). Since the 1980s, private religious schools have grown markedly among evangelical Protestants (see EVANGELICALISM), reflecting both their increasing alienation from contemporary secular culture and their rising socioeconomic status.

Religious education did not, however, stop with youth. Denominational strength also required an educated ministry that only higher education could provide. All the early universities in colonial America (with the exception of the University of Pennsylvania), beginning with Harvard University in 1636, were founded to train ministers for particular denominations. Additionally, many others had their origins in doctrinal controversies or concerns about theological laxness in existing schools. Yale University, for example, was founded in 1701 because of fear that Harvard had become too infected with liberal theological views.

As Americans moved westward and settled new areas of the country, many denominational colleges were created with the goal of creating an educated ministry and providing a bastion of civilization in the wilderness. These schools, from Wabash College in Indiana to St. Olaf in Minnesota to Spring Hill in Alabama, strove to ensure that Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Catholics were both well educated and religiously formed. Like their historical predecessors, however, denominational colleges throughout the 19th and 20th centuries were not immune to controversies and schisms, both social and theological. Slavery, evolution, and biblical interpretation were some of the controversies that bedeviled these colleges, leading to schisms, firings, and even church trials for heresy.

Seminaries and denominational colleges became such a norm in the United States that once they had the money and numbers, individuals who felt excluded from other schools, such as African Americans (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION) or whose religious thought and practice were ignored in existing schools, began to establish their own. The leading historically black colleges and universities such as Fisk, Morehouse, Wilberforce, and Spellman all had religious roots and viewed the religious, intellectual, and social formation of an African-American leadership as coextensive.

Within JUDAISM, the Reform movement established the first permanent Jewish school of higher education, Hebrew Union College, in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1875. This was followed by the establishment of a seminary serving members of the so-called historic school, Jewish Theological Seminary, in 1886. Orthodox Judaism followed suit in 1897, chartering the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in New York City. A college curriculum emphasizing both Jewish and secular studies, Yeshiva College (now University) was established in 1928, also in New York. Although not formally established to provide religious education, mention should be made of Brandeis University, established in 1948 as a coeducational and nondiscriminatory university "deeply conscious both of the Hebraic tradition of Torah . . . and of the American ideal of an educated democracy."

Other traditions such as the Mormons (Brigham Young University, 1875), Muslims (Cordoba University/Graduate School of Islamic Social Science, 1981), and Hindus (Hindu University of America, 1989) also have moved in this direction. Having recognized the success of other traditions in merging a specific religious ethos with formal education, groups adopt this model in order to form and train the next generation of religious leaders and practitioners in an environment that is supportive of the values and practices of their tradition. Calendars and classes are scheduled around religious holidays, and social interactions, at least formally, are guided by particular religious and cultural norms. These schools strive to construct models of learning that reinforce religious understandings while simultaneously educating their students for service to the religious community.

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Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (2000) The Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (RLUIPA) was passed by Congress and signed by President Bill Clinton in 2000. To a great extent, the law was occasioned by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the *City of Boerne v. Flores* (1997), which invalidated most of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). The latter itself was intended to limit the Supreme Court's decision in *Employment Division v. Smith* (1990) (see CHURCH AND STATE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN; FIRST AMENDMENT; FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT). The main purpose of the law is to strengthen the legal protections of religious practices among institutionalized persons and in the placement of religious buildings.

To understand the law requires an understanding of its history. When the Supreme Court decided *Smith* in 1990, it declared that under the Free Exercise clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, religious practices did not receive special protection from generally applicable laws. As long as a government had a rational basis for adopting a law and the government did not specifically target a religion or a religious practice (i.e., it was generally applicable), the fact that it might limit or prevent religious practice was irrelevant. People still were required to abide by it, regardless of its effect on religious practice.

This decision sent a shock wave through many. Drawing from a series of previous Supreme Court decisions, primarily *Sherbert v. Berner* (1963) and *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972), many individuals had concluded that religious practices would be understood as exempt from generally applicable laws unless the government could demonstrate a compelling governmental interest in enforcing the law against the religious practice. For example, one might claim that one's religion demanded human sacrifice. The courts would not exempt the practice from the generally applicable laws against murder, arguing that governments have a compelling interest in preventing the intentional and willful killing of individuals.

The outcry against the *Smith* decision was great, and in response the U.S. Congress passed the RFRA, the basic purpose of which was to require the courts to use a "compelling governmental interest" standard when reviewing Free Exercise cases. In the *City of Boerne v. Flores* case, however, the Supreme Court, in a fairly complicated decision, basically stated that while Congress had the power to determine the Court's jurisdiction, under the separation of powers doctrine it could not tell the Court how it ought to decide cases. In deciding this way, the Court invalidated much of the RFRA.

In response, Congress passed the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons

Act. In order correct the weaknesses of RFRA, Congress focused on those areas where it had authority, namely, actions involving interstate commerce and programs that received federal funds. This time, instead of addressing the court's decision-making processes, it focused on governmental obligations.

The Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act consists of three basic parts—religious land use, the religious practices of institutionalized persons, and an explicit statement that individuals have the right to assert legal claims based on the law. In terms of land use, the law states that in any action involving interstate commerce or federal funding, no government may impose a land use regulation that creates a substantial burden on the religious exercise of a person (including religious assemblies or institutions) unless it can demonstrate that the burden furthers a compelling governmental interest and is the least restrictive means of achieving that interest. This means that on issues related to zoning, governments have a fairly high standard to reach when limiting the placement of, for example, religious buildings, traffic, and parking.

The law also explicitly forbids practices that, in all probability, would be unconstitutional, even absent the law. The law expressly prohibits the unequal treatment of religious assemblies or institutions and discrimination against any particular religion or religious denomination. Governments may not adopt any rules that exclude religious assemblies from their jurisdiction or unreasonably limit religious assemblies, institutions, or structures within the jurisdiction.

For institutionalized persons, preeminently prisoners, the law is directed at those entities that receive federal funding or actions that affect interstate commerce. Here it also states that no government may impose a substantial burden on the religious exercise of institutionalized persons unless it can show that the burden is required by a compelling governmental interest and is the least restrictive means of achieving that interest.

The law has given many individuals and religious organizations a powerful weapon in their struggles to practice their religions. In terms of zoning, it gives religious organizations a lever they previously lacked in interactions with zoning boards, many of which exercise considerable power over the siting of buildings and often lack any accountability. For prisoners, the law also has provided significant access to the courts and the opportunity to force reasonable accommodations to their religious practices. Only one case involving RLUIPA has reached the Supreme Court. That case, *Cutter v. Wilkinson* (2005), involved five prisoners in Ohio. The prisoners—two followers of ÁSATRÚ, a Wiccan (see WICCA), a Satanist (see SATANISM), and a member of the Church of Jesus Christ, Christian (see IDENTITY MOVEMENT)—sued the state because it refused to accommodate their religious practices. In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the institutionalized persons section of RLUIPA (it made no rulings on the land use section). Not only was the law within the power of Congress to enact, but it was a permissible accommodation of religion justified by the fact that the state itself had burdened the individuals' religious practices by incarcerating them.

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Religious Right Composed of groups of theologically and socially conservative Americans, the Religious Right, which first emerged during the 1920s, is an influential force in politics in the United States today. The roots are found primarily within the most politically active segments of the American fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) movement. Some fundamentalists have fought not only against the theological liberalism of mainline Protestant churches, but also against evils they see threatening America's moral and spiritual heritage, most notably atheistic communism, secular humanism, and the sexual (see SEXUALITY) revolution of the 1960s.

Fundamentalist preacher Gerald B. Winrod was one of the earliest figures of the Religious Right. He founded the Defenders of the Christian Faith in 1925 to oppose the teaching of evolution and used his organization's journal, *The Defender Magazine*, to bring his political message to thousands of American Protestant households. A believer in the imminent return of Jesus Christ, Winrod studied prophetic themes in the Bible and pondered the place of the Jewish people in God's plans. Increasingly anti-Semitic (see ANTI-SEMITISM), he concluded that a Jewish conspiracy lay behind many world events, and he blamed the Jews for World War I, Bolshevism, and the Great Depression. Winrod became involved in American politics when he supported Prohibition and opposed the presidential candidacies of Alfred E. Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt. He later charged that Roosevelt's New Deal was part of the Jewish conspiracy.

Gerald L. K. Smith, a Disciples of Christ minister, was a major figure of the Religious Right in the 1940s and 1950s. As the pastor of a church in Shreveport, Louisiana, Smith

NOT A FAMILY VALUE
YOU'RE THE REASON
CHRIST DIED FOR US.
DOBSON TAKE YOUR BIGOTS BACK UNDER THEIR ROCK

Protestors and advocates rally at the venue of a speech given by James Dobson, an evangelical Christian who supports traditional marriage laws. *(Getty)* established a reputation for social reform and became one of the chief advisers of Louisiana's populist governor Huey Long. He delivered a memorable eulogy after Long's assassination in 1935. After World War II, Smith transferred his base to Michigan, where he organized the Christian Nationalist Crusade. Arguing that Christian character is the basis of all "real Americanism," Smith developed a political program that included segregationist (see SEGREGATION), anticommunist, and anti-Semitic ideas. His magazine *The Cross and the Flag* insisted that "the Jews, the pagans and the Communists realize that they cannot capture America . . . as long as we remain a Christian nation."

Not solely the preserve of Protestant fundamentalists, the so-called Old Christian Right also included Roman Catholic priest CHARLES E. COUGHLIN. One of the earliest preachers to exploit the potential of the electronic (see ELECTRONIC CHURCH) media, Coughlin began a highly effective radio ministry in 1926. By 1930, he had turned from discussing religious topics to promoting political causes. Credited with aiding the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as president in 1932, Coughlin turned against him as the 1930s progressed. His preaching became so pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic that he was eventually forced off the air by church authorities in 1942.

Carl McIntire, who had founded the Bible Presbyterian Church in 1939 and bitterly opposed liberal trends in American Protestant theology, emerged as a leading clerical opponent of communism in the 1950s. Through his daily radio broadcast, the *Twentieth-Century Reformation Hour,* and through the *Christian Beacon* newspaper, McIntire disseminated a combination of religious fundamentalism and political extremism. He urged Bible-believing American Christians to keep themselves free from entanglement with an increasingly godless society. However, never fearful himself of involvement in political affairs, McIntire passionately supported the United States war effort in Vietnam and organized several "Marches for Victory" in Washington, D.C., in the 1960s.

Billy James Hargis of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was another fundamentalist minister who led the anticommunist crusade in the 1950s and 1960s. Preaching over the radio and publishing a monthly journal entitled *The Christian Crusade Newspaper,* Hargis took the phrase "For Christ and Against Communism" as his motto. Still active today, Hargis has consistently advocated free enterprise, limited government, and the restoration of what he believes are American Christian principles. He also opposes the United Nations, which he condemns as a fundamentally anti-Christian institution.

Dominion theology, also known as Christian Reconstructionism, provides an intellectual foundation for the political activities of some members of the Religious Right today. Developed under the leadership of R. J. Rushdoony in the 1960s, dominion theology is based upon three fundamental presuppositions. First, truth is available only through God's revelation in the Bible. Second, Old Testament laws are fully applicable to contemporary American culture. And third, believers should work to Christianize the society in which they live. As a result, Reconstructionists lobby to make the death penalty in the United States applicable to the same offenses it covered in biblical times: homosexuality, Sabbath-breaking, and other violations of the Ten Commandments. Although a small minority within the American fundamentalist community, Reconstructionists in recent years have spread their ideas through the media and fielded candidates for political office.

A new conservative religious movement arose in the 1970s that, despite its sympathy with many positions of the Old Right, must be sharply distinguished from it. While the Old Right often focused narrowly on anticommunism and was not hesitant to advance blatantly anti-Semitic and racist views, the

New Religious Right has attempted to appeal to a broad range of social and ethnic groups. The New Religious Right closely mirrors the portion of the Republican Party that most enthusiastically supported Ronald Reagan's successful presidential campaigns in 1980 and 1984.

The New Religious Right surfaced in the 1970s in reaction to many of the social developments of the tumultuous 1960s. Three important events triggered the renewal of political activity by conservative Protestants in that period. First, many religious Americans viewed *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, as both an affront to the Judeo-Christian reverence for life and an explicit sanction of the sexual revolution. Second, the Bicentennial celebration in 1976 provided a public occasion in which conservatives could appeal for a return to their nation's allegedly Christian heritage. Third, the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 demonstrated the effectiveness of mobilizing conservative Christians of different denominational traditions in a common political cause.

Several religious figures, skillful in the use of the electronic media, emerged as key spokesmen for Reagan's political revolution. Baptist minister Jerry Falwell, who founded the political action group known as the Moral Majority in 1979, was one of the most prominent leaders of the New Religious Right. Pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, and televangelist on the *Old-Time Gospel Hour*, Falwell entered the American political arena in 1976, staging "I Love America" rallies during the Bicentennial. Falwell envisioned his Moral Majority as a coalition of God-fearing Americans dedicated to undertaking the moral reform of society. Committed to battling "amoral and secular humanists and other liberals . . . destroying the traditional family and moral values" on which their country was built, Moral Majority members opposed abortion, homosexuality, pornography, feminism, and a host of similar "evils."

Evangelist and Republican presidential candidate Pat Robertson heads the flourishing Christian Broadcasting Network in Virginia Beach, Virginia. Believing that Christians could be mobilized for political action, he obtained the signatures of 3 million Americans who promised to provide financial support and prayer for his run for the presidency in 1988. Although his campaign met with only limited success, he established a central place for the Religious Right in the Republican Party.

Robertson also helped found the Christian Coalition in 1989. This organization, which now has 350,000 members and more than 750 chapters nationwide, claims to have won more than 1,000 local elections since its inception. According to Ralph Reed, the coalition's one-time executive director, the switch to the grass roots was a key decision. "We tried to change Washington when we should have been focusing on the states," he said in 1992. "The real battles of concern to Christians are in the neighborhoods, school boards, city councils, and state legislatures."

Critics of Falwell, Robertson, and Reed have consistently argued that their mixture of religion and politics violates the separation of church and state guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Opponents of the Religious Right also believe that it attempts to undermine the cultural and religious pluralism on which American democracy is based. The conservative movement has been further criticized for being too simplistic in its ethical analyses, positions that are merely ideological and political, while ignoring such genuine social evils as racism and poverty. Finally, sociologists and scholars of American religion suggest that the Religious Right receives more attention than it deserves, representing as it does only a minority of theologically conservative Christians, who are themselves only a minority of the American population.

Conservative leaders succeeded in mobilizing a segment of the electorate that, until recently, had not been engaged in the American political process. Even as late as 1965, Jerry Falwell, when commenting on the Civil Rights movement, insisted that Christian churches should be concerned only with "the pure saving Gospel of Jesus Christ," and not with any worldly concern, "including fighting Communism." On the other hand, the wholehearted embrace of the Republican Party by the New Religious Right may have harmed rather than helped Republicans in the 1992 elections. Many Americans, even many conservatives, said they were repulsed by the Religious Right's militant support of candidates such as former president George H. W. Bush.

The election of George W. Bush as president brought into the White House a president who probably was comfortable with the rhetoric of the Religious Right and definitely far more at ease with it than his father. For George W. Bush, the connection was personal. As a youth, he had been known for his drinking and carousing and was transformed by becoming a Christian. The power of religion in an individual's life was experiential for him. He therefore was an ardent supporter of religiously based human and social services. Their ability to succeed in turning human lives around was something he knew personally (see charitable choice; faith-based initiatives; philanthropy)

For most of Bush's presidency, the political power of the Religious Right seemed to be ascendant. From the establishment of the White House Office of Faith-Based Initiatives to the ban on stem-cell research (see science and religion; medicine.) to his opposition to same-sex marriage (see sexuality), the administration of George W. Bush seemed more amenable to the demands of the Religious Right than previous administrations.

Bush, however, managed to antagonize his supporters in many ways, preeminently by his ongoing insistence that Muslims and Christians worshipped the same God. Additionally, like his predecessors, he steadfastly refused to expend much of his political capital in pushing their social positions.

During Bush's administration, the Religious Right experienced many setbacks and debacles. Ralph Reed was exposed as a lobbyist who had worked on behalf of gambling enterprises and was defeated in his campaign for Georgia's lieutenant governor. Several other political darlings of the Religious Right also had corrupt practices and secret lives revealed. These scandals helped to pave the way for the Republican Party's defeat in many of the House, Senate, and gubernatorial elections of 2006.

By the early 2000s, the Religious Right also began to suffer from internal conflicts and challenges. A growing number of evangelicals began to question its emphasis on social issues, neglect of economic concerns, and disparagement of environmental issues. Tensions also began to emerge between the more traditional nativist and exclusivist wings of the Religious Right and its more modern exponents.

While the epitaph of the Religious Right has been written repeatedly, often prematurely, it must be said that its strength and influence have been overstated. With the exception of certain policies, few administrations spent much effort meeting the demands of the Religious Right's constituency. They have been even less successful in sustaining political power. None of its leaders has been successful in running for major office, and almost none of its most supported candidates has proven moderately successful in presidential campaigns. Even at a local level, their efforts to sustain political power have been short-lived. To a great extent, the Religious Right's success has come from the failure of the moderate-liberal wing of the political spectrum to articulate a compelling vision of American society that takes people's religious concerns seriously.

(See also electronic church.)

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religious violence The United States has not been immune to the horrors of religious violence. To a great extent, the lands of the Western Hemisphere inherited the religious animosities of Europe, and the early settling of the hemisphere by the Europeans owed much to the fear that it might be colonized by those of another faith.

Such violence was not limited to these settlers. Several indigenous peoples were known for numerous wars designed to capture sacrificial victims. With the arrival of the Europeans, many indigenous peoples resisted their missionizing by violence, and at times the Europeans proselytized forcibly (see MARYLAND [COLONY]; NEW FRANCE; NEW SPAIN; ANTI-CATHOLICISM; ANTI-SEMITISM).

With the victory of the colonists in the Revolutionary War and the process of religious disestablishment in the various states, the European tradition of religious wars seemed to fade from the scene. One could, however, view the continued conflicts with the Indian peoples as partially religious, since to a great extent the violence was driven by radically different perceptions of the world. From the European perspective, the goal of converting the Indian peoples to Christianity was seen as part of the process of "civilizing" them. From the perspective of the indigenous peoples, the goal was to retain their ways of life, including their religions.

Despite this conflict, which followed European expansion across North America, violent conflict between peoples for religious reasons, and particularly governmental violence against "nonconforming" religions, mostly dropped from the American scene after the Revolution. There were many reasons, including changes in the law at both the federal and state levels, the shared experience of Americans of all faiths in fighting the Revolution together, and the support given to the fledgling nation by Catholic France. Together, these factors tended to diminish age-old hostilities. They also served to end (with perhaps one minor exception) the involvement of government in any manifestations of religious violence. Religiously motivated violence in the United States became the activity of individuals, both singular and organized, usually undertaken against the law. Rarely, local authorities conspired in such violence, but with the possible exception of the Mormon war, there have been no religious wars in the United States.

Although many factors have served to limit widespread religious violence in the United States, such violence has not been unknown, although mostly sporadic and localized. One can identify, however, five major moments of religious violence in U.S. history and a sixth religiously motivated terrorist act, which, although a worldwide movement, began to confront the United States in the late 20th century.

The five were

1. clashes between Protestants and Catholics in the 19th century,
2. the Mormon wars,
3. localized violence against new religious movements or against religious newcomers,
4. the emergence of violent neo-Nazi/Christian Identity groups in the late 20th century, and
5. the antiabortion movement.

Focusing on these five is not intended to suggest that no other virulent outbreaks of religious violence occurred. Certain Indian wars (for example, the Shawnee War involving Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet, and the massacre at Wounded Knee with its links to the Ghost Dance) have a religious component. It must also be acknowledged that some outbreaks of violence directed against Chinese immigrants in the 19th century undoubtedly were driven, at least in part, by religious as well as racial differences. That said, these five categories stand out as the greatest and most concerted examples of religious violence in the United States.

The rapid growth of immigration to the United States from Europe during the 19th century began to alter both the social and religious landscape of the United States. For the first time, the country experienced a massive influx of Catholics coinciding with the rise of an activist Protestantism and a renewed interest in religion by those Americans whose families had been nominally Protestant but inactive in the previous century.

This activist Protestantism, which focused on moral reform and conceptually linked democracy and Protestant values, began to look with suspicion upon these Catholic immigrants, who arrived from countries ruled by kings and despots, were unschooled in the ways of democracy, and belonged to a church that seemed to be the leading antidemocratic force in the world (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). Many were willing to believe that the immigration itself was part of a Catholic plot to take over America and impose Catholic religion and rule.

Lyman Beecher's 1835 book, *Plea for the West,* made just this argument. And it was Beecher's speaking tour through the Northeast in the 1830s that led to a major outbreak of anti-Catholic violence in Charlestown, Massachusetts, which in turn led to the burning of an Ursuline convent and school. Tragically, this outbreak was simply the first of many throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Strengthened by the emergence of anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant political parties, anti-Catholic agitation reached a point where pitched gun battles broke out between "native Americans" and (usually) Irish Catholics, requiring the calling out of the militia and, in some places, as in Philadelphia in 1844, the declaration of martial law.

The beginning of the CIVIL WAR led to a brief abeyance in anti-Catholic fervor, as Catholics fought bravely on both sides of the Civil War. Surprisingly, though, the war itself, along with developments in Europe, gave rise to a new anti-Catholic movement. This movement had its roots in the suspicion that Pius IX had aided the Confederate cause and in the generally antidemocratic tendencies of his papacy, including the issuance of the *Syllabus of Errors* and the declaration of the doctrine of papal infallibility at VATICAN COUNCIL I (1869–70) (see AMERICANISM). This version of anti-Catholicism did not reach the level of violence experienced in previous decades, undoubtedly because of the large numbers of Catholics in the United States by that time. The main sources of religious violence between Protestants and Catholics in the late 19th century had to do with Bible reading and the ethos of the public schools. Although the reformer Horace Mann ostensibly desired a secular public school system, to a great extent, he envisioned a secularized Protestantism. His views left little room for those who could not leave their religion outside the schoolhouse and even less for those who actively wanted to bring it in. When combined with the view that the Bible (in its Protestant version) held the key to morality and social good, this perspective was a prescription for inevitable conflict with those, especially Catholics, who held other views and who constituted a large percentage of the urban population.

By the end of the 19th century, as American Catholicism turned inward and parochial education became the norm for Catholic schoolchildren, violent conflicts decreased and indeed disappeared, at least on any large scale. Minor conflicts between gangs of youths in America's urban areas did continue, usually a reflection of the prejudices that many of the immigrants brought with them from Europe and the prejudices they found here. Polish Catholics fought Jews who inadvertently wandered into their turf, and Irish Catholics were chased home by "Americans" (Protestants) and chased them in turn if they came too close. Despite these small-scale instances of fistfights and rock-throwing, Catholic-Protestant violence decreased even in the 1920s with its reemergence of a virulent anti-Catholicicsm and the resurgence of the KU KLUX KLAN. While the Klan managed to inspire some anti-Catholic legislation (eventually struck down by the Supreme Court), it engendered little overt religious violence. During the 20th century, violent conflicts between Catholics and Protestants decreased markedly as anti-Catholicism diminished.

To a great extent, anti-Mormon violence could be included under the heading of violence against new or unusual religious movements, but given the ultimate success of Mormonism (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS) and the nature of the conflicts, it deserves special treatment. Founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith after his purported discovery of a lost holy book, the *Book of Mormon*, the church soon came into conflict with its neighbors. Not only did Smith's claims seem to argue for a supersession of traditional Christianity, his introduction of plural marriage (polygamy) brought the group into direct conflict with widely shared social mores and even the law.

These sources of hostility were exacerbated by both the economic success of the Mormons and their seeming clannishness, which made them a political force wherever they moved. And they moved often, as local hostility drove them from upstate New York to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, to various settlements in Missouri, and then to a large settlement in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839.

In Nauvoo, the Mormons built a thriving town, including a large temple. Their prosperity and numerical growth led Smith to announce publicly, for the first time, the doctrine of plural marriage and, in 1844, his candidacy for president of the United States.

The combination of envy, horror, and suspicion that these factors created led to a massive eruption of anti-Mormon agitation in the area, leading initially to the arrest of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum on morals charges. The arrest did not mollify the hatred of the locals, and on June 27, 1844, a mob attacked, destroying the jail and killing both Joseph and Hyrum Smith. The mob continued on its rampage, sacking Nauvoo and burning it to the ground.

Sensing the need for a more distant and safe location, Smith's successor, Brigham Young, announced the migration of the church and its followers to the West, where they founded the State of Deseret in modern-day Utah. The Mormons flourished there under Young's leadership—both religious as head of the church and political as territorial governor. Yet again their success and the close link between religion and political power made others suspicious. Rumors floated that the Mormons wanted to establish their own independent country.

This fear resulted in the calling out of the U.S. Army against the territorial government directed by Brigham Young in 1857. The reason for the introduction of federal troops was the resignation of the federal judges serving the territory, who claimed to fear for their lives in Utah, which they described as a lawless territory ruled by a religious autocrat. The troops were to enforce the appointment of new judges and a new territorial governor.

In response to the arrival of the U.S. military, Young called out the Mormon army, the Nauvoo Legion, and prepared to fight a guerrilla war. Salt Lake City was mostly abandoned, and the Mormon army planned to set fire to the city. Cooler heads eventually prevailed, and the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR drew Washington's attention elsewhere.

Until that time, violence and rumors of violence continued unabated, however. The eastern press reported that dissenters from Mormonism were regularly assassinated on orders from the church hierarchy and that the Mormons desired to create a separate kingdom or at least run the territory as a religious state.

Tensions were high. One result was the infamous Mountain Meadow Massacre in the autumn of 1857. While the Mormons prepared for the arrival of federal troops, a group of settlers passed through the territory on their way to California. Openly hostile to the Mormons, several members of the group bragged about having been involved in the murder of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. They also threatened to return from California with an armed band to destroy the Mormons. As tensions increased, local Indian peoples, sensing the Mormons' hostility toward the settlers and resenting the settlers' theft of some of their property, attacked the group with the aid of several Mormons. Local Mormons, fearing exposure of their involvement, decided to strike again. They agreed to kill every member of the party except the young children. Entering the settlers' camp under a flag of truce, they promised safe passage and induced the settlers to place the children in one wagon. The adults proceeded on foot guided by the Mormons. At a prearranged signal, the Mormons struck and, along with the local Indians, murdered the entire band.

Although news of the massacre was hushed up and attempts were made to blame the event entirely on the Indians, the facts slowly leaked out, and one Mormon eventually was executed for his involvement, although not until 1877. By that time, the attention of the federal government had turned back to the Mormons, especially during the presidency of Ulysses Grant.

Fear of Mormon political power and abhorrence of polygamy among both religious conservatives and progressives led Congress to pass several laws nominally directed against polygamy but actually against the leadership of the church. This was possible given Utah's status as a territory where ultimate legislative authority rested with Congress.

The first law outlawing polygamy in the territories had been passed in 1862. When this was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1879, Congress followed up by passing another law in 1882 that disfranchised and disqualified from public office anyone who was polygamous or who supported or advocated polygamy. An additional law in 1887 dissolved the Mormon church as a corporation and attached all of its funds. Almost the entire Mormon leadership was arrested or went into hiding as federal officials actively sought them out for prosecution. Utah's statehood also was held in abeyance.

The operations of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints came to a standstill. Although the discipline and belief that had been instilled in the membership held the church together during the 1880s, the political and legal persecution took a powerful toll. This finally came to an end in 1890, when the president of the church, William Woodruff, announced a new revelation ending plural marriage. He also disbanded the Mormon political party. These acts of conciliation were well received, and Utah finally achieved statehood in 1896.

With this, what might reasonably be considered the only official religious war in the history of the United States came to an end. Fueled by fear, envy, hatred of polygamy, and the suspicion that the Mormons ultimately desired to set up their own country, this period constitutes a black mark in the history of both the United States and Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. With the end of polygamy and their ultimate acquiescence to the power of the federal government, the

Mormons arguably became the epitome of middle-class America. While some non-Mormons may continue to view the church with suspicion, to many, they are no different than any other conservative, clean-cut, religious people.

As the case of the Mormons suggests, despite the wide range of religious views in the United States, there have been limits to what local communities would accept even grudgingly. When the differences became too great, especially when they violated strong cultural mores related to sex or race, violence often erupted. If race or sexual issues (or both) were linked with political doctrine, then violence was likely to erupt on a large scale.

That said, it must also be recognized that difference, no matter how extreme, is not itself the cause of conflict between a religious movement and its neighbors. AMISH and MENNONITES have for decades lived peacefully alongside their neighbors despite (or perhaps because of) their "peculiar" views. A group such as HEAVEN'S GATE could function for years unnoticed by its neighbors. Difference and inwardness alone are not enough to draw either the attention or the ire of one's neighbors.

Occasionally, some groups catch the imagination of the populace and find themselves the targets of hatred, abuse, and violence. Until the latter half of the 20th century and the strengthening of national institutions, many of these groups found themselves at the mercy of this violence given either the reluctance of the local authorities to support them in the face of local opposition or their active connivance in the violence.

The biggest catalysts for the outbreaks of violence have been challenges to local norms on sex and race, the locals' fear of a political "takeover" by the religious movement, and the fear that the new movement will corrupt the young. These charges have been leveled, with greater or lesser degrees of validity, at religious communities as diverse as the SHAKERS, the Mormons, the Oneida community (with its version of shared sexual partners), KOINONIA FARM, the Branch Davidians (see WACO), and the NATION OF ISLAM, among others. As a result, nearly all these religious communities suffered social ostracism and, at times, attacks from their neighbors. Significantly, not only did all of them manifest some challenge to the standing mores on race and sexuality, all also had either a communal structure or a sense of turning away from the world.

These factors not only made these groups appear individually threatening, they also appeared to threaten the existing social or communal structure. Their separateness gave rise to rumor and innuendo, as many suspected even greater evils. The results were not only overt manifestations of hostility and suspicion but acts of violence as well. The Mormons, the Oneida community, and Koinonia Farm all experienced harassment and attacks from their neighbors, some with fatal results. Arrests, often on trumped-up charges, were not unknown. Resistance to perceived persecution also could lead at times to violence, as was the case with the Branch Davidians. Movements that preached empowerment and superiority, like the Nation of Islam, brought members into tense and often violent contact with those who expected quiesence.

Additionally, when such religious movements are organized around a strong leader and have an authoritarian structure, they can use internal violence to insure obedience, as seems to have been the case with the Nation of Islam and perhaps even the Mormons in their early days. Even more disturbing is the ability of the leadership to force murder/suicide on their members, as happened with Heaven's Gate, Jamestown (see JONES, JAMES WARREN), and the Branch Davidians.

This leads us to violent acts perpetrated by individuals who believe violence to be sanctioned or compelled by their religion. Here, the violence inherent and manifest in the IDENTITY MOVEMENT (or Christian Identity) and its neo-Nazi tendencies deserves specific attention. For these movements, violence is an integral part of realizing their religious vision. The cry of "RaHoWa" (Racial Holy War) brings into stark relief the claim that race plays a major role in the level of violence directed at a religious movement; here, it plays a major role in the amount of violence it perpetrates.

The Christian Identity movement started in 19th-century England, where its views were promulgated by a few insignificant individuals and had no violent overtones. Its basic premise was that the biblical Israelites were, in fact, Anglo-Saxons and that Jesus himself was an Anglo-Saxon. This idea was picked up by early Ku Klux Klan rhetoric and also, to some extent, by Nazism, although the main Nazi religious doctrine was neopagan and had little room for Christianity, no matter what its source.

During the early 20th century, Christian Identity remained the view of a lunatic few in the United States. During the 1970s, however, the start of the farm crisis and a growing recruitment process in prisons resulted in both an expansion of the movement and an increase in violent activities. Some of the violence owed its sources to the actions of lone individuals with links to these movements, such as Timothy McVeigh's Oklahoma City bombing or the killing spree of Benjamin Smith over the July 4th weekend in 1999. Other less dramatic acts of violence include numerous assaults by individuals on Asians, African Americans, homosexuals, and opponents of their vision of racial purity and racial holy war.

The groups themselves also have organized and undertaken other violent activities, including numerous robberies committed by the Order and the murder of Denver radio personality Allen Berg. Additionally, violent conflicts with law enforcement officials have resulted in numerous deaths, including the siege at Ruby Ridge in 1992. The head of the Posse Comitatus, one of the violent antigovernment movements that emerged during the Midwest farm crisis of the 1970s, was guilty of murdering three law enforcement officers.

The Identity movement presents a particularly frightening manifestation of religious violence because it is driven by an unrelenting hatred for everything that is different and a commitment to radical social and political change. Additionally, the fact that members are enacting what they perceive to be the divine plan allows no room for compromise. These individuals feel completely justified in their actions. Because they view themselves as instruments of God's will, nothing can or should stand in their way.

This conviction that one completely knows the mind of God and God's will makes individuals such as these, those who undertook the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City (see ISLAM), and the extremist fringe of the antiabortion movement (see RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT) particularly inclined to violence. They have no doubts and no limits. Anything that serves the divine plan is good, and they will have their reward for serving God well.

In January 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in the case of *Roe v. Wade* transformed decades of law on abortion in the United States, making abortions—at least in the first three months of pregnancy—a matter of choice for a woman. The decision was overshadowed by other events of the same day, and few thought that it would become a galvanizing issue of politics and religion. None could have imagined that it would lead to years of peaceful protests as well as violent acts, including bombings and murder.

Initially, the antiabortion movement was a fairly mainstream political and lobbying movement dominated by Catholics. Most of its efforts were spent writing letters to state and federal lawmakers, drafting model laws, and campaigning for various reductions on access to abortion. These activities were soon expanded upon by activists who viewed their opposition to abortion as part of an overall commitment to peace, nonviolence, and human life.

But some drawn into demonstrations and protests did not necessarily share those views. Increasingly, the participants shared little with those leaders except a strong opposition to abortion. Antiabortion activism increasingly became dominated by fundamentalist Protestants (see FUNDAMENTALISM), although Catholics continued to have a strong presence.

Led by men such as Randall Terry of Operation Rescue, opponents of abortion began to focus on massive demonstrations ("rescues," as Terry called them) and attacks on abortion clinics and equipment. They acted against these clinics by trying to prevent entry or frighten away those contemplating abortion. Additionally, they targeted individual physicians' homes for protests and harassment. More important, the rhetoric of Terry and others increasingly escalated the nature and tone of the conflict. They used the language of divine justice and commandment. God commanded their opposition to abortion, and they were justified in using almost any act to save the lives of unborn children. Abortionists were labeled "murderers," and the goal of the protests was to rescue the unborn.

The end of these activities, saving what they viewed as thousands of children, drove some antiabortion activists to view any action that slowed or stopped abortion as being not only acceptable but even compelled. For many, this opposition was not simply a form of resistance to abortion but part of a wider conflict between a dangerous secular culture and God's will for the world. It was a war between the children of light and the children of darkness.

When viewed this way, success by any means necessary became acceptable. On the fringes of the antiabortion movement, there grew up an extremist element that admired any undertaking that stopped or slowed abortion. What began as acts of vandalism and arson spread to clinic bombings and eventually to the murder of physicians who performed abortions.

The breadth of the attacks led many law enforcement officials to view them as part of a wide-ranging conspiracy designed to put abortion clinics out of business. One result was the growing use of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) statute, which made it illegal to conspire with others to engage in unlawful activities designed to put an individual out of business. The success of these laws allowed the courts to impose long prison terms and award large financial damages against the individuals involved. This meant that nearly everyone holding leadership roles in the radical antiabortion movement risked losing assets and salaries. One result was that established individuals with large organizations, such as JERRY FALWELL, began to minimize their exposure by reducing their public involvement with the movement.

The passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act in 1993 also made serious inroads into the movement. Those who violated the law by blocking clinic entrances or engaging in attacks on clinics or physicians faced long prison sentences and massive fines. This led to the collapse of the "rescue" movement, since few of its members were willing to accept such risks.

Those willing to do so moved underground and continued their violent activities, filling the World Wide Web with numerous antiabortion sites that displayed wanted posters of abortion providers and advice on how to murder them. Although antiabortionists remain active (as the existence of organizations such as Missionaries to the Pre-Born well attests), their tenuous existence has led to a marked decrease in abortion-related violence.

The belief that one is under a religious obligation to fight evil in a physical manner spawned religiously motivated terrorism in the last decades of the 20th century. In fact, one could place Christian Identity and antiabortion violence within this category. As religiously motivated terrorism became an increasingly powerful international phenomenon, it also affected the United States. This was dramatically demonstrated by the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, by Muslim terrorists. With such individuals, one sees the complete and total belief that one is fighting on the side of God linked with the conviction that one will be rewarded for one's actions. This produces individuals with little reluctance to undertake the most dangerous and even suicidal actions. The belief that one's actions on behalf of God are divinely mandated makes religion a potential source of violence. Those against whom violence is directed are not only viewed as wrong but as enemies of God. Resistance by any means is, therefore, acceptable.

Fortunately, despite the periodic emergence of fringe groups committed to using any and all methods to achieve their ends, such violence has been rare in American history. To a great extent, this is due to the structure of American society, which does not lend itself to unitary relationships and unitary connections. Most individuals are in regular contact with others who do not share their understandings of the world. Such individuals often exert a positive effect, challenging the view that others are inherently evil, depraved, and deserving of destruction. Equally, despite the limitations and prejudices experienced by certain religious groups and individuals, most are relatively free to construct their personal and communal lives according to their desires. While certain social practices may be morally offensive or even abhorrent, they rarely touch on most individuals' daily existence. As a result, the reasons individuals have to engage the system violently are diminished radically, except for those who desire to transform the system completely. These, however, usually remain a minority, because for most individuals the system works fairly well. Or, to be more precise, it does not work too badly. The costs of attacking the system are too high weighed against the benefits. Even among the violent antiabortionists who framed the fight as being both a defense of innocent lives and an act of protecting society against itself and against divine judgment, they basically failed to gather many individuals to their cause. When faced with both the wrath of the state and of public opinion, the movement collapsed.

Despite the periodic emergence of fringe groups committed to using any weapon or method to attain their goals, religious violence has not been a major element in U.S. history.

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Religious Zionists of America Religious Zionists of America (RZA) is a national organization devoted to support of the state of Israel within the context of Jewish law. Formed in 1957, the RZA has its roots in ORTHODOX JUDAISM and older Orthodox organizations committed to ZIONISM.

The first of these was organized in 1901, when a group of Orthodox religious leaders seceded from the Federation of American Zionists to found the United Zionists of America. When representatives of the United Zionists traveled to the 1903 World Zionist Congress, they met members of Mizrachi, the Orthodox faction within the World Zionist Organization. Formed the previous year by Rabbi Isaac Reines, Mizrachi—an acronym from *merkaz ruhani* (spiritual center)—was designed to infuse political Zionism with a religious influence.

These delegates constituted themselves as the first American members of Mizrachi and upon their return to the United States organized chapters in New York, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh. By 1920, there were more than 100 chapters in the United States, and the movement established affiliates for youth (B'nei Akivah, Mizrachi Hatzhair), women (Mizrachi Women's Organization), and labor (Hapoel Hamizrachi). These affiliates merged with Mizrachi in 1957 to form the Religious Zionists of America.

In Israel, religious Zionists received strong support from the chief Ashkenazic rabbi of Palestine, Abraham Isaac Kook (1865–1935). Rav Kook believed in the power and importance of religious Zionism, and he willingly made common cause with secular Zionists whom he viewed as serving the Divine Will through their struggle to redeem the land of Israel. He viewed their commitment to that land as a religious statement, despite their often militant secularism.

Numbering about 55,000 members in 2006, the RZA has moved to enlarge its activities on behalf of Israel and to strengthen its ties to Israel's National Religious Party (NRP), formed by Mizrachi in 1956. An important swing vote in Israeli politics in the 1980s, the NRP was able to wring major religious concessions from the technically secular state.

Until his death in 1993, the spiritual leader of the RZA in the United States was RAV JOSEPH DOV SOLOVEITCHIK, who had been the organization's honorary president since its creation. On matters of religious law and the relationship between religion and politics, Soloveitchik's pronouncements were considered binding. His death left an intellectual and organizational void.

Today the RZA works to provide Orthodox schools with Zionist material and incorporate religious Zionism into the curriculum. To further this goal, it publishes *Jewish Horizon* and maintains educational and social facilities in Israel for American Orthodox Jews.

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Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints See COMMUNITY OF CHRIST.

Republican Methodist Church See METHODISTS.

Restoration movement The Restoration movement was the expression of diverse religious impulses arising in the early 19th century that sought to reestablish the primitive (see PRIMITIVISM) Christian church of New Testament times.

Restorationists relied on the absolute authority of the Bible as their handbook of faith and practice. Thomas Campbell, one of the first leaders of this movement, coined the phrase that best describes its intent: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." In 1831, the major Restorationist strands in the United States coalesced into the denominational body commonly called the CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST).

The idea of restoring the original purity of the New Testament paralleled secular understandings about the meaning of the new American nation. From the days of its earliest settlement, America had promised a land of new opportunities reminiscent of the biblical garden of Eden. Restorationism also fit well with the optimistic mood in the United States immediately after the Revolution. Political ideals of justice and equality encouraged the POSTMILLENNIALISM emerging within Protestant communities—the sense that American Christians might shortly establish God's kingdom on earth.

The beginnings of Restorationism are found among those who withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1792 and, under the leadership of James O'Kelly, briefly formed the Republican Methodist Church. In a conference in 1794, the new denomination chose the name "Christian Church" instead and announced that the Bible would be its only guiding principle. About 20,000 people had joined that group by 1810. Around the same time, a number of BAPTISTS in New England became dissatisfied with the theological emphases of their church. Led by Elias Smith and Abner Jones, they desired to follow only the Bible and work for Christian reunification. These Baptists joined with O'Kelly's Christians in 1811.

The most significant contributions to the early Restoration movement were made by two refugees from Presbyterianism: BARTON STONE and ALEXANDER CAMPBELL. Stone was a Presbyterian clergyman whose ministry was shaped by the frontier revivals of Kentucky and Tennessee. Despite the fame he won for organizing the great revival at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801, many of his fellow Presbyterians questioned both the theology that underlay the revivals and the emotional excesses the revivals encouraged. Stone and others chose to abandon the Presbyterian denominational label altogether, and in 1804, they began calling themselves simply "Christians." They eschewed all creeds except the Bible and practiced adult baptism by full immersion in water, as in New Testament times. Stone's group later united with elements of the Smith-Jones fellowship in 1826, and by 1830, Stone's Christians numbered about 10,000 members.

The final element in the formation of American Restorationism was provided by Presbyterian ministers Thomas and Alexander Campbell. Thomas Campbell had come to western Pennsylvania from Ireland in 1807. Disturbed by petty theological quarrels within Presbyterianism, however, he soon withdrew from his denomination and formed the Christian Association of Washington in 1809. The purpose of the association was to promote Christian union on biblical principles, and the name of its township (Washington County, Pennsylvania) was intended to be the group's sole distinguishing feature. After the arrival of his son Alexander in America, Thomas eventually handed leadership of the movement to him.

Alexander Campbell always emphasized a Christianity based upon the New Testament, a faith free from doctrinal hairsplitting and ecumenical in focus. He was noted as well for his detailed expositions of the structures and practices of primitive Christianity. He was convinced that human beings, when they read the Bible, could put its precepts into action and reconstruct the first-century church. Appealing especially to Baptists, he formed groups of believers called "Disciples of Christ." The Disciples became one of the fastest growing

American religious organizations during the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING.

Walter Scott, a Scottish Presbyterian minister who migrated to the United States in 1818, was another Presbyterian minister active in the Disciples of Christ movement in this period. He became Alexander Campbell's most distinguished assistant in 1821. Scott developed a "five-finger" summary of the Gospel that defined the Disciples' plan of salvation: (1) believing, (2) repenting, and (3) being baptized in order to receive the (4) forgiveness of sins and (5) eternal life. Scott was the movement's greatest early evangelist, attracting hundreds of new converts in Ohio in the late 1820s. By 1830, the Disciples numbered approximately 12,000 people.

Campbell encountered Barton Stone in 1830 and realized that common ground existed between his Disciples and Stone's Christians. As a result, the two groups were united in fellowship at a meeting held in Lexington, Kentucky, on January 1, 1832. While its internal organization was not completed until 1849, a new denomination emerged out of the self-consciously nondenominational movements Campbell and Stone launched. Expanding rapidly, the Disciples of Christ (also known as the Christian Church) numbered 118,000 members in 1850.

Problems immediately presented themselves, however, concerning the merger. While baptism by immersion was practiced by the Christians, it was not universally accepted among the Disciples. The Disciples, moreover, took a more rationalistic approach to Christianity than did the revival-oriented followers of Stone. They rejected the idea that the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit necessarily preceded baptism. Finally, the Campbellites celebrated Communion weekly, but the Stonites allowed each local church the freedom to decide its own policies. Because of these obstacles, about half of the original Stonite congregations refused to follow their leader into the union. Calling themselves the Christian Connection, this group remained an independent body for the rest of the century. The Christian Connection eventually merged in 1931 with the Congregational Church, a denomination that in turn helped form the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST in 1957.

Alexander Campbell's theological beliefs were to dominate the Disciples of Christ for several decades. By 1860, the Disciples had become the sixth-largest religious body in the United States with nearly 200,000 members. Although they had little strength in the East, they were highly successful recruiting members on the western FRONTIER and were numerically strongest in the Midwest and upper South. However, by the end of the 19th century, a number of other factors, including continued growth, sociological diversity, and doctrinal disputes, threatened the unity of the denomination.

The most outstanding figure of the late 19th and early 20th century was the Tennessee preacher DAVID LIPSCOMB. Lipscomb, like Alexander Campbell earlier in the century, advocated absolute trust in the teachings of the Bible. He thought loyalty to the plain teachings of Scripture required that believers take no active role in earthly affairs, and he prophesied a time when God would overthrow all human governments. Lipscomb also attacked the use of instrumental music in worship and the formation of church missionary societies. He considered church organs as worldly contrivances with no warrant in the Bible, and he believed that ecclesiastical agencies only routinized the sacred.

Although Lipscomb's positions revealed a clear division in the ranks of his denomination, the true issue was not so much the use of musical instruments or the importance of missionary work, but how biblical teachings were to be applied to present-day church life. Many conservative congregations in league with Lipscomb refused to follow what they believed were modern innovations. By the end of the 19th century, most of those churches had separated into a small sect. In 1906, after prodding from Lipscomb, the United States Census Bureau officially recognized the existence of two separate denominations within the Restorationist tradition: Lipscomb's militantly anti-modern CHURCHES OF CHRIST and the more theologically liberal Disciples of Christ.

As the 20th century progressed, the movement again divided, and a third Restorationist path became clearly established. Again the question pertained to the Bible. In the first decades of the 20th century, during the heyday of the fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) controversy, conservatives accused the leadership of the Disciples of undercutting the traditional authority of Scripture. Since the traditionalists did not think their concerns were given a fair hearing, they formed their own denominational body, the North American Christian Convention, in 1927. This third wing of American Restorationism is known today as the independent Christian Churches and Churches of Christ.

The noninstrumental (so called because they oppose the use of musical instruments in worship) Churches of Christ grew rapidly after 1906 and now compose the largest segment of the Restoration movement. More than 1.3 million members belonged to this denomination in 2006.

The independent Christian Churches are a heterogeneous collection of congregations, most of which resemble 21st-century American evangelical (see EVANGELICALISM) congregations. This denominational body has approximately 1 million members. Finally, the Disciples of Christ occupies a position among the denominations of MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM. Like other theologically liberal churches, the Disciples have experienced a membership decline over the past quarter-century. They currently report roughly 1 million members.

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revivalism Revivalism, a major American religious phenomenon, is a method, predominantly Christian and Protestant, whereby a speaker attempts to bring listeners to a CONVERSION experience—an acceptance of God's saving grace. While revivals have occurred throughout the history of Christianity and are common to many religions, the development of this particular method of religious awakening is distinctive to the United States.

A revival is a religious event that occurs separately from regular Sunday services and follows a set pattern. Generally held in the evening, it continues for several days and is led by a professional evangelist who travels from place to place leading revivals. During the course of the event, daily prayer meetings, workshops on evangelization, and community visits are organized to support the revival and distinguish it from regular religious services.

The revival must be promoted and advertised in order to insure a good crowd. Attendees must be brought to an emotional and spiritual state in which they reflect on their lives and things religious. Through prayer, music, and preaching, those attending a revival are led to a state of emotional and spiritual agitation over the status of their souls, leading finally to conversion.

Revivalism as a method dates only from the 1830s, when CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY introduced what LYMAN BEECHER, a defender of Protestant orthodoxy, referred to as "dangerous new measures." In fact, of the four major periods of American revivalism, the first GREAT AWAKENING (1730–60) was based on the completely opposite assumption, that a revival was an act of God. One could pray for a religious refreshening, but its appearance rested in God's hands. The first Great Awakening was a period of renewed emphasis on human inability to bring about spiritual renovation.

All the four major figures of the Great Awakening—Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, Gilbert Tennent, Jonathan Edwards, and George Whitefield—preached a stricter Calvinism than their peers. They rejected what Edwards would call "spiritual self-reliance," emphasizing instead human depravity and God's sovereignty. Their views are perhaps best expressed in the title of Edwards's 1737 book on the phenomenon, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton*. Not only was the event surprising, it was the work of God, not of people. None of these men believed that conversion rested on human activity. They could only preach the word, and the hearts of the hearers would be opened or hardened as God chose.

This view changed dramatically during the Second Great Awakening. Spanning a period from the 1801 revival at Cane Ridge, Kentucky (see Cane Ridge Revival), through the 1840s, the Second Great Awakening transformed American Protestantism and American society itself. During this time, revivalism became a method, something human activity could bring about. God offered salvation to all; people either accepted or rejected it. The purpose of a revival was to bring people to the point of acceptance. As Charles Finney, the man most responsible for this new attitude, wrote, "[A] revival is not a miracle; it consists entirely in the right exercise of the powers of nature. . . . The connection between the right use of means for a revival and a revival is as philosophically sure as between the right use of means to raise grain and a crop of wheat." This emphasis on human ability repudiated the Calvinism that had dominated American Protestantism until this time. Arminianism, in various forms, became the dominant thrust of American Protestantism. Its emphasis on human ability fit well the expanding and optimistic new nation.

During this period of revivalism, some, including Finney, took the emphasis on human ability to the point of Perfectionism. They argued that just as human beings could

RESTURANT
JULY 28th to AUG 11th
REVIVAL
Morning 10 A.M.
Evening 8 P.M.
"PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD" (AMOS 4:12)

A banner announcing a revival meeting in front of a church in Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, July–August 1940. *(Library of Congress)* choose to be saved, they could choose not to sin. Such a strong view of human activity gave rise to numerous reform movements. If human beings could choose to be saved, if they could choose to turn away from sin, then they could also choose to create a better society. ABOLITIONISM, women's rights, and prison and education reform were all linked to the Perfectionist impulse in the Second Great Awakening.

The third period of American revivalism, from roughly 1870 through 1920, was dominated by two men—DWIGHT L. MOODY and BILLY SUNDAY. Sunday's homespun delivery and fusion of religious and nationalistic sentiments made him popular but resulted in no long-term organizational legacy. Moody, on the other hand, initiated America's first great period of urban revivalism and left behind a significant institutional structure. To his revivals, Moody brought the organizational savvy and convincing eloquence that had made him a successful shoe salesman. Focusing on the industrial cities of the United States and Great Britain, Moody had one of the most successful evangelistic careers in American history. Moody and his peers, however, diverged from the revivalists of the 1830s. Gone was the optimism that had resulted in a profusion of reform movements. For Moody, the world was not getting better. As he once put it, "I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.'"

This stress on decline, on things falling apart, signalled a change in American revivalism. Although the emphasis on human ability had not changed, the expectation that society could experience a regeneration had declined among the theologically conservative Protestants most involved in revivalism. Individuals could be saved and reformed, and perhaps if enough were converted the world might improve. Even that, however, was unlikely.

This pessimism was the result of the increasing acceptance of PREMILLENNIALISM among conservative Protestants. The feeling that the world was nearing its end, a viewpoint created by premillennialism, gave a powerful sense of urgency to the evangelists. There was no time to save the ship; the passengers must be put aboard the lifeboats. Moral decay, political corruption, atheism, communism, and foreign ideas were clear evidence that the world was sliding away from God and would soon face God's wrath.

By the time of BILLY GRAHAM's rise to prominence during the 1950s, the fourth major period of American revivalism, evangelism had become a formulaic and ritualistic phenomenon. Better than anyone, Graham combined the ritual elements of revivalism with a decency and concern that made few enemies. In his "crusades," Graham talked about moral decay, the failings of individuals, and the imminent end of the world (although that topic receded during the 1980s), pointing out that the only way to change the world is to convert individuals, for everyone has fallen away from God and the path of righteousness. Graham told his audiences life could be better, more satisfying, more fulfilling—not with more money, flashier clothes, better sex, or more drugs, but by saying yes to God. The message of the revivalist is "Say yes to Jesus who died for you on the cross to remove your sins and save you from eternal damnation."

Today, revivals occur regularly throughout the United States—so regularly that some have referred to the contemporary period as a fifth Great Awakening. From Alaska to Florida, evangelists are winning souls through the time-honored techniques of revivalism. Revivals have become so ingrained in American religion that everyone seems to know his or her parts. The evangelists, the pianists, the choir, and the audiences all know how the system works. In fact, it works because all know their roles. This more than anything demonstrates the success of Finney's "new measures."

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Revolutionary War See AMERICAN REVOLUTION/REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Rhode Island (colony) See WILLIAMS, ROGER.

Right, Religious See RELIGIOUS RIGHT.

Right to Life movement The Right to Life (or pro-life or antiabortion) movement had its start in January 1973. In that month, a judicial opinion composed by Justice Harry A. Blackmun and agreed to by his six fellow justices transformed the lives of millions and markedly altered the contours of American society and politics. In the case of *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court transformed decades of law on abortion in the United States, making abortions—at least in the first three months of pregnancy—a matter of choice for women.

Overshadowed by other events of the same day, few thought that this ruling would become a galvanizing issue of politics and religion. And no one imagined that it would lead to years of protests ranging from peaceful to violent, even including bombings and murder.

Initially, the antiabortion movement was a fairly mainstream political and lobbying movement. Early efforts were focused on writing letters, drafting model bills, and campaigning for reduced access to abortion. These efforts were soon expanded upon by others who had been affected by 1960s-type political activism and who viewed their opposition to abortion as part of an overall commitment to peace, nonviolence, and human life.

Roman Catholics were the early leaders in the antiabortion movement. The theological and social positions of the Catholic Church were such that abortion as an issue was high on its agenda. Through both the United States Catholic Conference and the NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS, the Catholic Church took a strong position against the Supreme Court's decision and lobbied extensively for restrictive abortion laws and the overturning of *Roe v. Wade.* Among these activities was the creation in 1972 of the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC).

Composed primarily of middle-class Catholics, the NRLC spent most of its energies undertaking informational campaigns and encouraging abortion opponents to write letters and contact their elected officials. At the fringe of the movement was a small group

EVERY CHILD
IS A BLESSING FROM
GOD

Antiabortion sign along a highway in Kansas. *(Getty)*

of Catholics with roots in the antiwar and Civil Rights movements who viewed abortion as representing everything they opposed: violence, oppression, and a violation of God's will.

These activists were among the first to initiate a series of sit-ins and protests at abortion clinics with the goal of dissuading women from having abortions by framing abortion as evil. These individuals had little in common with those to whom they preached and soon were displaced by others who had little sympathy for a strict commitment to nonviolence.

These leaders did not believe in attacking people but saw clinic buildings and medical instruments as legitimate objects for attack and destruction. One result was that protests against abortion clinics began to involve arson and vandalism—including the destruction of medical equipment and gluing clinic doors shut. These tactics led law enforcement and judicial authorities to respond more harshly. Refusal by those convicted of crimes to cease their protests often led to severe prison sentences, such as that given to Joan Andrews for her 1985 attack on an abortion clinic in Florida. When the young Catholic woman refused to agree to stay away from the clinic, an angry judge sentenced her to five years in prison, shocking members of the antiabortion movement.

Real growth in the antiabortion movement—and with it the use of massive protests and even violence—did not emerge until a strong following developed among fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) Protestants. The rise of antiabortion activities among these Protestants owes its existence primarily to the writings of fundamentalist theologian Francis Schaeffer, whose books *A Christian Manifesto* (1981) and *Whatever Happened to the Human Race?* (1979) expressly opposed abortion and called on born-again Christians to combat it through civil disobedience.

Just as John Calvin's converts formed the shock troops of the Reformation, fundamentalist Christians soon became the leaders of the antiabortion movement in its most extreme forms. Preeminent among the leaders was Randall Terry, whose Operation Rescue developed some of the largest and most widespread campaigns designed to shut down clinics and prevent abortions.

Accompanied by shouting, jeering, gruesome pictures of aborted fetuses, as well as picketing the homes of physicians, these "rescues" drew hundreds of supporters. They also drew the attention of local law enforcement officers. Additionally, the massive attacks on clinics drew greater legal attention, including numerous lawsuits based on the Federal Racketeering and Corrupt Practices statute. These legal challenges presented serious threats to the finances of both the NRLC and Operation Rescue and of individual members. Randall Terry's January 1990 failure to live up to his commitment to stay in jail in Atlanta following the mass clinic blockades in that city further weakened the movement.

While the breakup of Operation Rescue and the increasing success of legal attacks, including the passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, led to a decline in mass clinic protests, there was a concomitant growth in underground activities. This violent underground, led by such shadowy entities as the Army of God and the more visible Missionaries to the Preborn, had its start amid the early mass demonstrations and the growing willingness of individuals to physically resist the police and to undertake attacks on clinics and equipment. For many who saw their preeminent duty as saving unborn children, the death of one physician seemed a small price to pay. To kill someone they viewed as guilty of murder to save an innocent child seemed not only just, but divinely mandated (see RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE). The result was a growing call for killing abortion providers as an act of third-party defense. Perhaps the most notorious of these was "The Nuremberg Files." This antiabortion Web site published the names, home addresses, and other personal information of abortion providers, many of whose pictures were framed in "Wanted: Dead or Alive" posters. Abortion providers who had been killed had their pictures X'ed out. Some claimed that the site was nothing less than a hit list intended to incite violence. After a lengthy series of court trials, the site was shut down in 2002.

The increasingly violent language of the antiabortion movement led physicians and clinic workers to fear for their lives, and justifiably so. In 1993 and 1994, two physicians and a retired military officer who was acting as an escort for a patient were shot and killed at abortion clinics in Pensacola, Florida. In 1994, two clinic receptionists were killed in separate attacks in Boston and Virginia. As of 2008, seven people had been murdered as a result of antiabortion violence and several others seriously injured. This included a police officer killed in the bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama, abortion clinic. This attack was perpetrated by Eric Rudolph, who had carried out the bombing at the 1996 summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. The last violent attack on an abortion provider was in 1998, when a physician in upstate New York was killed by a sniper. The perpetrator, arrested in France in 2001, was convicted of that murder along with several other attacks against physicians in Canada and upstate New York. Other attacks have led to numerous individuals being injured and millions of dollars worth of medical equipment being damaged.

Despite these activities, the status of abortion in the United States has changed little. Although the number of physicians performing abortions has greatly decreased along with the number of abortions performed, the opinions of the American people about abortion have changed little, if at all. Most Americans support a woman's right to choose an abortion. Most do not like abortion and are reluctant to support abortion on demand. Unlike the extremists on both sides, the majority of Americans see abortion as a complex and personal issue that lends itself to no easy answers. It remains a controversy with which Americans continue to struggle in their personal and political lives.

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Ripley, George (1802–1880) A Unitarian minister, transcendentalist, utopian visionary, and journalist, George Ripley was one of the best-known and foremost advocates of liberal Protestant reform in the 19th century. His life and work can be divided into four distinct phases, and the trajectory of his religious thought and action represents the transformation of American Protestantism as a whole during this period.

Ripley was born in Greenfield, Massachusetts, the child of a prosperous merchant. On his mother's side, the family had many ties to distinguished Anglo-Americans, including Benjamin Franklin and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was George's first cousin. Although the Ripleys were devout Congregationalists, they were sympathetic to the Unitarian theology then gaining ground in the eastern part of the state. Very serious and inclined toward religious reflection, George studied at Harvard College (1819–23) and then entered the divinity school to train for the Unitarian ministry (see Unitarian Universalist Association). He was ordained in 1826 and assumed the pulpit of the Purchase Street Church in Boston.

By the early 1830s, Ripley grew dissatisfied with the "impractical" nature of Unitarian theology, which he felt did not engage the emotions and could not address the many social ills of the urban environment. From 1833 to 1836, Ripley published *Discourses on the Philosophy of Religion*, a series of reflections that took issue with some of the central teachings of Unitarian thought. In 1836, along with his close friends Ralph Waldo Emerson, Bronson Alcott, and Theodore Parker, Ripley helped organize the Transcendentalist Club, a gathering of disaffected intellectuals who yearned to move beyond the narrow confines of Boston Unitarianism. As one of the group's main organizers, Ripley helped establish *The Dial* (1840–44), a short-lived journal dedicated to disseminating Transcendentalist principles.

But Ripley soon grew dissatisfied with the intense individualism of Emerson and his other colleagues. Seeking a community setting in which to actualize his religious theories, Ripley withdrew from the ministry in 1841 and established Brook Farm, a farming cooperative in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, near Boston. Basing the colony on a joint-stock model of ownership, Ripley's purpose was to unite the best qualities of the laborer and the intellectual, to educate both the human mind and the body. But Brook Farm sank heavily into debt within a few short years, and in 1844, its members voted to convert it to a Fourierist phalanx. By 1847, the community was dissolved.

After the demise of his utopian colony, Ripley returned to journalism as a vocation. He spent the remainder of his life writing articles and reviews for some of the most influential journals in the nation, including the *New York Tribune*, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, and *Putnam's Magazine*. He also coauthored the *New American Cyclopedia* with Charles Dana, a 16-volume work published between 1858 and 1863.

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Roberts, Granville Oral (1918–) Oral Roberts is a Protestant clergyman, faith healer, college president, and the one of most widely known religious figures of the 21st century. A pioneer in religious broadcasting, Roberts's use of sophisticated production methods helped popularize television evangelism and enabled his ministry to attain national exposure by the mid-1950s.

Roberts, the son of a Pentecostal minister, was born in Pontotoc County, Oklahoma, on January 24, 1918. Although he rebelled against his religious upbringing as a teenager, Roberts chose to become a minister like his father following what he regarded as a divine cure from tuberculosis in 1935. Roberts served faithfully as a pastor and itinerant evangelist in the Pentecostal Holiness Church for the next 12 years. Bothered, however, by the restraints placed upon him by his denomination, he chose in 1947 to start an independent healing ministry. His ability to help the sick and his reputation for honesty quickly brought him to the forefront of the faith-healing movement. Roberts offered a simple message, typical of American Pentecostalism: God can work miracles in anyone who is willing to trust and believe in him.

Roberts has demonstrated an uncanny ability to update his ministry to meet shifting American social and religious trends. His decision in 1954 to broadcast his healing services on television placed him in the forefront of popular evangelism in the United States. Sensing in the late 1950s that interest in his faith-healing was waning, Roberts turned his attention to education and founded Oral Roberts University, which opened in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1965. In 1968, he left the Pentecostal Holiness Church and was ordained a minister of the decidedly less flamboyant, but more respectable, United Methodist Church. Finally, Roberts acknowledged that modern medicine could assist Christian prayer in bringing healing to the sick. The addition of a medical school to Oral Roberts University and the construction of a hospital and medical center (known as the City of Faith) in 1978 declare his present commitment to the interrelationship of religion and healing.

While continuing to maintain his status as a celebrity, Roberts and his billion-dollar financial empire have come increasingly under criticism both in the secular press and among conventional religious leaders. Roberts's high-pressure fund-raising techniques and claims to direct divine guidance have undermined the esteem in which he was once held. The comment of an Oral Roberts University official epitomizes the image that Roberts has projected, and that some have questioned, in recent years: "You can't be much of a witness [for Christ] if you are a loser." Although Roberts's reputation is now diminished, his financial success and many contributions to American popular Christianity are undeniably impressive.

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Robertson, Pat (Marion Gordon) (1930–) Pat Robertson was born March 22, 1930, in Lexington, Virginia, to A. Willis Robertson, a longtime U.S. representative and senator, and Gladys Churchill Robertson. Robertson led a fairly privileged life, attending a private military preparatory school in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and then Washington and Lee University, from which he graduated in 1950. Following service in the United States Marine Corps in Korea, Robertson attended Yale Law School, graduating in 1955, and received an M.Div. degree from New York Theological Seminary in 1959.

In that year, Robertson made a decision that eventually would lead him to become one of the most influential leaders in religious broadcasting and of the Religious right. He left New York with his wife and three children to return to Virginia, where he bought a bankrupt television station in Portsmouth, Virginia. On October 1, 1961, the television station went on the air as CBN (the Christian Broadcasting Network), eventually becoming one of the largest religious broadcasting networks in the world, with programming in 50 languages and more than 90 countries.

The leading religious program on CBN has been *The 700 Club*, in which Robertson and his colleagues present their religious, political, and social views. *The 700 Club* includes numerous guests, often those who disagree vehemently with Robertson's views.

The broadcasting empire has provided Robertson with money to branch out into other areas. He has founded Regent University, the American Center for Law and Justice, and the Christian Coalition. Additionally, CBN launched the Family Channel, which is designed to present entertainment programming suitable for families and children without the overt religious programming of CBN.

In 1987, Robertson announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination. He resigned his ordination and turned the operations of CBN over to his son. Although Robertson finished a respectable second place in the Iowa caucuses, he fared miserably in the New Hampshire primary and proved incapable of running a competitive campaign, leaving the race before the major primaries.

His growing public presence led to increased scrutiny of many claims about his life and activities. Critics pointed out significant discrepancies in his academic record and the postdating of his marriage certificate to hide the fact that his first child was conceived out of wedlock. His claims of being a combat marine during the Korean War were greeted with derision by marines who had served with Robertson. They pointed out that he had never spent any time in combat and had spent most of the war serving as a liquor officer, ensuring that officers' clubs were supplied. In response to these allegations, Robertson sued former representative Pete McCloskey for libel over McCloskey's statements that Robertson's father had used his political influence to keep Robertson out of combat. When the trial date was set in the midst of the presidential primaries, Robertson dropped the suit, possibly out of fear of having the country view the parade of decorated marine officers scheduled to testify against him. As part of the dismissal, Robertson also agreed to pay McCloskey's legal costs.

Following his failed presidential campaign, Robertson founded the Christian Coalition. The Christian Coalition, which claimed more than 2 million members in 2000, aims to mobilize politically conservative Christians in public affairs at both the national and the local levels. Its major concerns have been strengthening what it sees as the traditional family and marriage, opposing abortion (see RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT), lowering taxes, and defending the religious practices of conservative Christians.

Robertson also has faced accusations of financial improprieties, with allegations that monies designated for humanitarian and relief operations, including Operation Blessing, have been used for other purposes. In 1994, he made strong appeals during broadcasts of *The 700 Club* for special donations to fund refugee airlifts from Rwanda to Zaire. A reporter from the *Virginia Pilot* later discovered that Operation Blessing had instead used its planes to transport diamond mining equipment for the Robertson-owned African Development Corporation, a venture Robertson had established in cooperation with Zaire's then-dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko.

In 1999, a subsequent investigation by Virginia's Office of Consumer Affairs determined that Robertson had "willfully induced contributions from the public through the use of misleading statements" and recommended criminal prosecution. Virginia's attorney general, Mark Earley, a Republican who previously had received large campaign contributions from Robertson, intervened. Although acknowledging that Robertson had made deceptive appeals, he overruled the recommendation for prosecution. No charges were ever brought against Robertson.

Although Robertson has been known for outrageous statements, during the 1990s and early 2000s, his comments became increasingly bizarre. His 1991 book, *The New World Order*, declared the existence of an international Jewish conspiracy to control the world. Along with JERRY FALWELL, he proclaimed that the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon were divine punishment for America's sins. Similarly, he declared that the assassination of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and the stroke that felled Prime Minister Ariel Sharon resulted from their willingness to give up parts of the "Holy Land."

Robertson regularly has stated that natural disasters were divine punishments and that his prayers led to hurricanes being diverted from Virginia Beach, Virginia, in 1985 and 1995, although his prayers proved less successful against Hurricane Isabel in 2003. Additionally, in 1998, he suggested that the city of Orlando and Disney World faced the possibility of hurricanes, earthquakes, tornadoes, terrorist bombings, and perhaps even a meteor strike for allowing "Gay Days" to be held at the tourist site. Additional comments called for the assassination of Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez, and he attacked Islam and Hinduism, including a call to stop Hindus from entering the United States.

While such comments have not affected those who revere Robertson, they have led to increasing tensions between him and other evangelicals and to numerous rebuffs by President George W. Bush's administration. Additionally, his claims about Sharon and Rabin led, despite a public apology by Robertson both to Sharon's son and to the Israeli people, to an estrangement between the Israeli government and Robertson, who had hoped to build a Christian resort on the Sea of Galilee.

(See also CHRISTIAN COALITION; ELECTRONIC CHURCH.)

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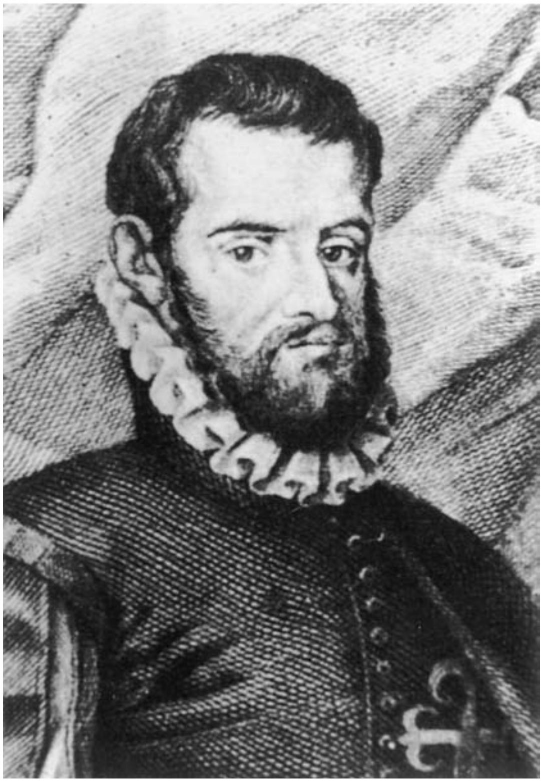
Roman Catholicism The story of Roman Catholicism in the United States has a complex and twisting plot. It arrived in North America as the only form of Western Christianity but was soon displaced by those it viewed as schismatics and heretics. Proscribed in most of the English colonies, it entered the new nation freed from legal liabilities, yet suspect. For 150 years of U.S. history, Roman Catholicism was viewed by many as an alien religion dominated by foreign rulers and opposed to American values. By the 1950s, however, it had become one of "America's three faiths," in the words of sociologist Will Herberg—an accepted participant in one great patriotic faith. With the election of the first Roman Catholic president, John F. Kennedy, in 1960, Roman Catholicism's integration into American culture was irreversible.

The arrival of Europeans brought the North American continent into the realm of Western Catholicism. The European invaders were Catholic, and the first European church in this hemisphere was Catholic. The first permanent settlements were the work of Spain, and the history of NEW SPAIN in what is now the United States spanned more than three centuries. Although less successful than church work in Mexico and South America, Spanish missions gave a distinctive cast to Catholicism in California, the Southwest, and Florida. Nearly moribund by 1800, Spanish Catholicism was invigorated in the 19th and 20th centuries by immigrants from Cuba, Mexico, and Central and South America.

As Spanish America formed an arc across the southern United States stretching from Florida to California, it intersected another arc of European Roman Catholic settlement at the Mississippi River. Stretching from Maine to Michigan's upper peninsula, then down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, the French colonial empire was immense (see NEW FRANCE). Like its Spanish counterpart, however, French Catholicism in the United States left little behind other than an impressive history.

The history of French missionary and religious activity in its North American empire is a heroic one, however. The priests and friars who directed it led harsh and solitary lives. Explorers as much as missionaries, these priests, primarily JESUITS, opened up the interior of the continent during the 17th century. The Jesuits lived among the Indians, slowly



The Spanish explorer Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established the first colony in what was to become the United States at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565.

learning their languages. Early active among the Huron, they became, by association, enemies of the Iroquois, and many met harsh deaths at Iroquois hands. French America produced numerous martyrs and saints who braved hardship and death to bring Christianity to NEW FRANCE.

If Roman Catholicism found itself linked with both French and Spanish America, just the opposite was the case in the British colonies. While the first British explorations in the Western Hemisphere occurred before the REFORMATION, not until after England joined the Protestant fold in the 1530s was the first permanent English colony (Jamestown, 1607) established in the present-day United States. For many Englishmen, there was divine providence in this. God had reserved the discovery of the New World until the dawn of the Protestant Reformation so that it might develop free from popish superstitions. To a great extent, the settling of British North America was an act of religious and nationalistic fervor designed to prevent England's Catholic enemies from controlling the region.

As a result, the British colonies originally held little or no promise for Roman Catholics. The law of MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY was the most direct, decreeing "perpetual imprisonment" for any priest entering the colony. But in 1625, George Calvert, friend of King James I and a member of his privy council, converted to Catholicism. This act, inexplicable given the social and political liabilities under which English Catholics labored, was followed by one even more inexplicable—Calvert retained the favor of both James I and his successor, Charles I.

George Calvert desired to found a colony in America but died before obtaining permission to do so. His son CECILIUS CALVERT, also a Catholic, did gain a charter for a colony that he named Maryland (see MARYLAND [COLONY]), after Charles I's Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria. Although there were more Protestants in Maryland than Catholics, the colony became the center of Roman Catholic life in British North America.

Small Roman Catholic communities existed in other colonies. Virginia's Catholics contained both Irish-Catholic indentured servants and the influential and wealthy Brent family, whose Catholicism did not limit their political significance in the colony. Unlike Virginia, whose Catholics were scattered and unorganized, Pennsylvania had a well-organized, albeit small, community. This was especially true in Philadelphia, which had its own resident priest and by 1734 its own permanent chapel, St. Joseph's, and a Catholic population of more than 1,300 by 1757. Smaller pockets of Catholics resided in New York and modern-day New Jersey, but political difficulties culminating with the 1689 rebellion led by Jacob Leisler, following William and Mary's accession to the throne of England, ended organized Catholic activity in New York until the American Revolution, with the exception of a colony of Scots Highlanders in the Mohawk Valley who arrived in 1773.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, the Catholic population in the 13 British colonies held a weak and suspect position. Numbering less than 25,000 (roughly 1 percent of the population) and served by 24 priests, it was a community struggling for its survival.

The suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 ended the corporate existence of the most influential missionary body in the Roman church. The blow fell particularly hard on the American clergy, all but one of whom were Jesuits. One young American Jesuit, Father John Carroll, returned to America following the suppression and soon wrote a new chapter in American Catholicism.

While Roman Catholicism in British America was weakened by internal conflicts, its external enemies were even greater. Few in the colonies had a kind word for the faith. Roman Catholicism was viewed with suspicion, if not hostility, by Puritans, Baptists, deists, and Quakers alike. Considered inimical to liberty and a breeding ground of tyranny, it had few supporters in the thirteen colonies.

The colonial rebellion did have supporters among Roman Catholics. Chief among these were the Marylanders Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the wealthiest man in America and the only Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence, and his cousin, Father John Carroll, who joined Benjamin Franklin on a diplomatic mission to Canada designed to convince the Canadians to join the rebel cause.

Numerous other Catholics rallied to the Continental Congress. Their actions, French aid, and the efforts of Catholic emigré volunteers, including Lafayette, Casimir Pulaski, and Tadeusz Kościuszko, changed many people's views of Catholicism. The congress itself attended four masses, giving many their first view of the rituals of the "arrant whore of Rome and all her blasphemies," as the *New England Primer* had it. Roman Catholics began to look less like servants of a foreign and tyrannical system and more like fellow citizens who helped to secure liberty for the new nation.

While the American Revolution changed the attitudes of many toward Catholics, it left the organizational life of American Catholics in disarray. The dissolution of the Jesuits, severed ties with England, and American hostility to foreign princes all argued for the establishment of a native hierarchy, an American bishop.

Rome was amenable to this, having already sent out feelers through the French government and Benjamin Franklin as to the opinion of the young government. Congress responded by stating that the appointment was a spiritual affair with which it had no concern. In response, the Vatican issued a decree in July 1788 authorizing the American clergy to nominate a candidate for bishop. Meeting at Whitemarch Plantation, a former Jesuit estate in Maryland, the American clergy chose John Carroll—who had been serving as vicar apostolic, or overseer, in the United States—by a vote of 24-2.

The nomination was accepted by Pope Pius VI, who issued the bull *Ex Hoc Apostolicae* on November 6, 1789, naming Carroll bishop of the See of Baltimore. Consecrated in England the following year, Carroll was installed in Baltimore on December 12, 1790. The United States had its first Roman Catholic bishop.

The choice of Carroll was fortuitous. Descended from a distinguished family, related to signers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, orthodox in doctrine, and committed to the American system of government, Carroll envisioned a distinctly American Roman Catholicism. While the realities of curial politics prevented its realization until the late 20th century, his work as bishop provided for the church's future growth and stability.

At the time of Carroll's installation, the Roman Catholic Church in the United States faced numerous difficulties, many of which would persist for the next 150 years. Carroll's greatest need as an administrator was to impose discipline and order, but many factors mitigated against this. First was the radically different social and political system in the United States. Bishop Carroll could not rely upon the civil authorities to aid him. Neither did he control the finances of the various parishes. Churches were built and run by members, and as a result many felt that they should have the right to choose their priests. Conflicts over TRUSTEEISM, the control of church property by lay trustees, intermittently troubled the church's hierarchy for decades.

This problem was exacerbated by an overwhelmingly Protestant culture. Protestant suspicions of Roman Catholicism as a despotic religion hostile to republican government persisted. Any heavy-handed display of authority might increase anti-Catholic hostility, while the failure to impose discipline could embarrass the church.

The ethnic mix in America also raised problems unknown in Europe. Although incipient during Carroll's tenure as bishop, tensions already existed between Irish and German Catholics, each of whom had their own religious culture with special saints and feast days. As Poles, Italians, Ruthenians, and others arrived later in the century, these tensions increased.

Finally, the inability of the church's Roman hierarchy to understand the political and cultural realities of the United States hindered the work of Carroll and his successors. Although more fortunate than later bishops in this regard, Carroll spent much time and effort explaining America to the curia, the papal bureaucracy.

By Carroll's death in 1815, the American church was on a much stronger footing. The United States, excluding the Louisiana Territory, had roughly 70,000 Roman Catholics served by 70 priests in 80 churches. Within three decades, however, it would be transformed by immigration from Europe and become the largest denomination in the country.

Carroll's successor as archbishop of Baltimore, Leonard Neale, survived him only by two years. He was succeeded by AMBROSE MARÉCHAL, one of the many French Sulpicians who had come to aid the American church. Pious, learned, and an able administrator, Maréchal provided the American church with a period of stability but failed to respond to the needs of numerous Irish immigrants, whom he referred to as "*la canaille irlandaise*"—the Irish rabble.

If their coreligionists manifested a distaste for the Irish, most other Americans loathed them. Fears that these immigrants were part of a plot to conquer America and turn it into a Catholic empire merged with stereotypes of Irish drunkenness, laziness, and depravity. *Irish* and *Catholic* became linked with all that threatened American liberty and purity, leading to an outbreak of ANTI-CATHOLICISM from the 1830s through the 1850s (see NATIVISM).

The most significant development in American Roman Catholicism during this period, however, was its growth. By 1865, there were 15 dioceses in the East, and as the population moved westward, dioceses were organized in Cincinnati (1821), St. Louis (1833), Detroit (1833), Vincennes (1834), Nashville (1837), Chicago and Milwaukee (1843), Oregon City (1846), and San Francisco (1853). Others followed as the population filled out the vast region between the seas.

In Louisiana, California, and New Mexico, the expanding nation (and church) contacted Roman Catholic cultures of long duration very different from the Anglo-Irish culture predominant in the American church. The Anglo-Irish who dominated the church were no more sympathetic to different traditions than had been the French. The result was conflict. The first American archbishop of New Orleans met with such resistance that he centered his rule in St. Louis. In New Mexico, a Catholic Indian culture of long standing that retained much of 16th-century Spanish Catholicism, including self-flagellation, was forced underground by ecclesiastical opposition. Similar conflicts emerged in California and left simmering tensions to reemerge in the late 20th century.

While the Roman Catholic Church added some adherents through the westward course of the American empire—15,000 in the Louisiana Purchase, 26,000 in the Mexican secession—immigration provided the greatest growth. Although the poverty of many immigrants helped to fuel anti-Catholic and nativist movements, their needs forced the church in the United States to greater organization.

Some organizations were created outside the United States; among these were the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (France, 1822), the Leopoldine Foundation (Austria, 1829), and King Ludwig's Mission Society (Bavaria, 1838). Others had American roots. Many of these societies were women's religious orders, beginning with Mother Ann Seton's (see SETON, ELIZABETH) Sisters of Charity and including the Sisters of Loretto as well as Third Order Dominicans and Sisters of the Sacred Heart, who, along with the Ursulines, provided most of the education for Catholic girls. In many areas, these orders were the locus of institutional Catholicism, and their labors maintained Catholic life and practice when there were too few priests.

Catholic colleges also grew during this time, including Georgetown Academy (now Georgetown University), Mount Saint James (Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts), and in 1842 in a log cabin in Indiana, Notre Dame du Lac (University of Notre Dame). Numerous other small colleges dotted the landscape from Alabama to Detroit and Massachusetts to Missouri. All helped maintain Roman Catholic life and practice.

The clergy were themselves subject to an institutional reorganization. Beginning in 1829, the U.S. Catholic hierarchy held the first of eight triennial provincial councils, supplemented by plenary councils in 1852 and 1866. Much of the work of these councils was mundane and repetitive, but the councils provided coherence and uniformity to a widely dispersed and disparate church. While attentive to the distinctiveness of the American political scene, the American hierarchy was attracted to the centralizing work of Pius IX and his successors, which they viewed as the only way to control their rapidly growing and diverse flock.

One issue about which the church did not speak with uniformity was SLAVERY. In Maryland and Louisiana, where Catholicism was most strongly rooted, slavery was a part of life among laity and clergy. In both states, there existed a significant number of black Catholics and two orders of black women religious. The Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Sisters of the Holy Family (founded in New Orleans in 1842) directed their missions to black education and care for black orphans and the elderly.

Nationally, however, geography determined Catholic attitudes, and Bishop John England of Charleston published a spirited defense of slavery, while Bishop John Purcell of Cincinnati opposed it. Officially, the hierarchy was silent. When the CIVIL WAR broke out, Catholics volunteered to serve their respective sides. At the First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), the predominantly Catholic "Montgomery Guards" of the First Virginia Infantry battled the Irish Catholic Sixty-ninth New York Regiment.

The American Catholic Church's commitment to a worldwide communion prevented a split of the kind that affected so many other denominations. Catholic service on both sides of the war also helped lessen latent hostilities. Catholics had proved their loyalties, at least among their coreligionists, and emerged from the war unified and secure.

In 1866, the Second Plenary Council of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States convened in Baltimore on October 4. When it ended two weeks later at a solemn assembly attended by President Andrew Johnson, it had defined a new agenda for American Catholicism. Concerned primarily with pastoral issues, it called for positive action to aid immigrants, improve the moral training of children, and advance religious education.

Interestingly, the council's documents made no mention of Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors,* which, by condemning a litany of errors of the modern world, including freedom of religion and speech, was plainly at odds with the American political system. The document represented the European-centered views of the Roman Catholic Church's hierarchy. Buffeted by events in Europe, from the French Revolution to the unification of Italy and the loss of the Papal States, European Catholicism began a withdrawal from and an attack upon the so-called modern world. Organizationally, the church turned inward. Authority was increasingly centralized in Rome, as the European governments that had once supported the church now were hostile.

Most of the American bishops supported this centralizing tendency, albeit with certain differences primarily related to the collegiality of the bishops. The relationship of Catholics and the church to the non-Catholic world was another matter. Here disagreements divided the American hierarchy and exacerbated another key conflict.

This conflict, often referred to as the "Americanist Crisis" (see AMERICANISM), resulted from numerous threads woven into the tapestry of U.S. Catholic history. Personal, theological, and practical differences within the American church hierarchy became heresy when viewed from the perspective of Rome, although never was heresy so ambiguously defined or heretics so difficult to locate.

One segment of the hierarchy, led by Archbishop JOHN IRELAND and supported by JAMES GIBBONS, felt that all Catholics in the United States should conform to a single Catholic culture, a culture open to the possibilities and promises of the United States. This group, known as Americanists, believed that the failure to create such a culture threatened episcopal authority, endangered morals, and embarrassed the church within the wider society. This singular culture would be both American and Catholic. It would create a unified church, no longer foreign and alien.

The opponents, primarily bishops Michael Corrigan of New York City (1885–1902) and Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, New York (1868–1909), while equally committed to episcopal authority, believed that any concession to the wider culture threatened Catholics and Catholicism. The world was hostile to everything Roman Catholics believed, and the greater the contact with it, the greater the threat of apostasy.

Although ascendant in the early years of Leo XIII's pontificate, the Americanists soon found themselves under suspicion, signaled unmistakably by the papal encyclical *LONGINQUA OCEANI* (January 6, 1895). Although formally a letter praising the strength and growth of the American church, it pointedly stated that the church would be stronger if it "enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of public authority." For Rome, obviously, the United States was not the model for nations or the church.

That encyclical was followed in January 1899 by the encyclical *Testem Benevolentiae,* which specifically condemned the existence of a religious heresy known as "Americanism" and which suggested that the church should change in essentials to accommodate the modern world and should make itself more democratic. Although no one was named as holding these views, and Cardinal Gibbons, writing for the American church, explained to the pope that none of its bishops held such views, the result of the condemnation was a half-century of cultural isolation and intellectual hibernation for American Catholicism.

If the condemnation of attempts to reconcile Roman Catholicism with the modern world served to isolate American Catholics from American culture, it could not prevent them from participating in that society. Catholics participated as equal citizens in American politics and in some cases came to dominate the political life of northeastern and midwestern cities.

Catholics saw themselves as loyal Americans who answered their nation's call to arms when necessary. Although both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War had proved this, WORLD WAR I was a watershed for Roman Catholicism and indeed the United States in this regard.

The effects of World War I on U.S. religious communities were immense. The war resulted in an unprecedented degree of interreligious cooperation and occasioned much intrareligious organization. Roman Catholics participated equally in both.

Catholic individuals and organizations quickly took up their share of Red Cross work, liberty bond sales, and Belgian relief. The need to organize work among Catholic soldiers after America's entry into the war led to the formation of the National Catholic War Council in August 1917. Destined to outlive the war as the NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE, it was the first national Catholic organization dedicated to social and political work. Responsible for organizing war work, among Catholics it provided chaplains, recruited volunteers, and raised money. Its head, John J. Burke, also served as permanent chairman of the "Committee of Six," a religious advisory board to the secretary of war. Its members included officials of the Federal Council of Churches (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES), the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, and the Jewish Welfare Board.

Many Catholics emerged from their wartime experiences strengthened in the view that their unified and ordered religion was destined to overtake divided Protestantism. The insularity of American Catholic culture, resulting from the condemnation of "Americanism," went far toward explaining this smugness, but it also served to protect the community from the attitude of defeat and despair permeating the United States after the failure of President Wilson's attempt to make the world safe for democracy. It also helped to protect the community during the 1920s, when the "return to normalcy" ushered in a new period of nativism and anti-Catholicism.

The 1920s were a confusing time for Roman Catholics in the United States. Their isolation from modern culture protected them from the malaise that seemed to beset the rest of America. They were secure from dangerous ideas and a hostile world in their self-contained culture with its Catholic schools, social clubs, magazines, and rules.

They would need such security to weather the storms that buffeted them in that decade. Three external events marked American Roman Catholicism in the 1920s: the resurgence of nativism, the end of immigration, and the presidential candidacy of Alfred E. Smith. The meanings of all three of these were mixed, and indeed one could argue that the outcomes were, in the long run, positive.

The end of World War I saw a resurgence of anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic agitation, centered on a rejuvenated KU KLUX KLAN. This new Klan made anti-Catholicism one of its main precepts and clamored for immigration restrictions. By 1923, the Ku Klux Klan had 3 million members. Despite its size, the Klan had little success in turning its anti-Catholicism into political successes. While Alabama passed a convent inspection law that was probably Klan-inspired, the only state law passed directly under Klan auspices (although its main sponsors were the state's Masons) was an Oregon law requiring all children between the ages of 8 and 16 to attend public schools. Passed by referendum in 1922, it was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court (*Pierce v. Society of Sisters*) in June 1925, before it even took effect.

By that time, the Klan had begun to disintegrate. Shaken by internal divisions and crippled by criminal indictments against its national leaders, by 1928, it was a shell of its former self. But during its resurgence it had demonstrated to many American Catholics that despite everything, many of their neighbors considered them suspect at best and dangerous to the American way of life at worst.

Such suspicion was not limited to the Klan, however. Many allegedly enlightened and liberal persons and institutions tended to look upon the Roman Catholic Church as "alien to American ideals." But it was not Catholics alone that were alien. The continued influx of immigrants, especially from eastern and southern Europe but also from Asia, seemed poised to overwhelm the "true Americans." These immigrants, it was assumed, brought with them dangerous ideas—anarchism and communism—and unenlightened superstitions, including Roman Catholicism and BUDDHISM. They were considered to be the failures of already degenerate peoples.

The call went out for a massive reduction in the number of people entering the United States, lest it be overrun. The result was a series of laws that progressively restricted immigration, culminating with the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924, which cut off immigration from Asia, and the National Origins Act of 1927, which effectively ended immigration from southern and eastern Europe.

The end of immigration profoundly affected the American Catholic Church. Although for many the intent of the law was to weaken Catholicism, the long-term effect was just the opposite. The end of immigration transformed American Catholicism from a church in flux, constantly forced to respond to the immediate needs of an immigrant population, into a stable institution secure within itself and increasingly rooted to American soil. This stability would enable the Roman Catholic Church to gain acceptance after WORLD WAR II.

Nothing better illustrates the ambiguous status of American Catholicism in the 1920s than the 1928 presidential candidacy of Alfred E. Smith. A New York Catholic associated with the Tammany Hall political machine and an outspoken opponent of Prohibition, Smith had been denied the 1924 Democratic Party nomination for just those reasons. In 1928, the nomination was his. As a Catholic who possibly would become the leader of the United States, Smith was forced to respond to Protestant fears of a Catholic takeover. These fears, while unfounded, had serious intellectual roots. Had not papal documents decried the separation of church and state as well as freedom of the press, speech, and religion? Had not the leading Roman Catholic liberal, Father JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, in his book *The State and the Church* reiterated Leo's teaching in *Immortale Dei* that "error had no rights" and that where feasible and expedient non-Catholics could be limited in their religious if not civil rights?

These questions were addressed to Smith in an open letter appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly* of April 1927. Responding in the next month's issue of the same magazine, Smith stated that as a devout Catholic all of his life, he had never heard of those documents until he had read the letter to him. He claimed that despite his Catholicism and his belief in the rightness of the Catholic faith, he was completely committed to the American ideal of the separation of church and state and rejected any claims by the church to "interfere with the operations of the Constitution." In his response, Smith spoke for most American Catholics, who saw no conflict between their commitment to American political structures and their Catholic faith. However, the church's official pronouncements remained, and Smith went down in defeat in 1928 (as had every Democrat since 1860 except Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson). While his religion definitely played a role in people's voting, whether it was decisive is doubtful. There were too many other things working against him, including America's seeming prosperity under Republican governance. Smith's opposition to Prohibition and his affiliation with a political machine widely viewed as corrupt likely played a greater role in his defeat than his religion. Campaign attacks on Smith's Catholicism lingered, however, in the minds of many Catholics.

While resentment remained, more threatening events distracted the attention of Catholics and the entire country. In October 1929, the stock market crashed, and the United States sank deeper into economic depression. By 1932, one-third of the workforce was unemployed, and thousands had lost their savings as banks collapsed. Foreclosures dispossessed thousands more. President Herbert Hoover, who had virtually worked miracles with European relief following World War I, seemed incapable of grasping the enormity of the crisis.

Alone among American denominations, the Roman Catholic Church had a well-articulated view of society and economy, as well as a national organization dedicated to social and political concerns. Enunciated in the social encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII, most notably *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and reiterated by Pius XI in *Quadregesimo Anno* (1931), the Roman Catholic Church understood society as a system of parts united for the social good. While condemning socialism and communism and affirming the right to private property, the church also affirmed that property was a limited right that society could control. Workers were owed a living wage, and the weaker segments of society deserved to have their needs met through forms of social welfare.

In the United States, the implications of these documents had been worked out in the positions of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and especially in the work of Father John Ryan. Ryan had been instrumental in formulating the social policies of the American church since World War I. He had drafted the bishops' statement on social reconstruction for the postwar period, to which President Roosevelt often referred in defense of New Deal policies.

Even more radical than the corporativist policies of the encyclicals were the economic and social views of the CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT. Guided and inspired by Peter Maurin and DOROTHY DAY, the Catholic Worker movement articulated a radical vision of Christianity rooted in the preaching of Jesus, personalism, and voluntary poverty. Living in a series of settlement houses, the Catholic Worker groups lived lives of what would later be called "solidarity with the poor." They also published a periodical, the *Catholic Worker*. Although numerically small, the movement exerted an influence far beyond Catholicism.

At the other end of the spectrum were those Catholics whose social views were grounded in the encyclicals but who took the corporate model of society much more seriously. For these Catholics, Mussolini's Italy and even Hitler's Germany provided attractive models for overcoming the economic chaos of the Great Depression.

The most visible of these was Father CHARLES COUGHLIN of the Shrine of the Little Flower outside of Detroit. A dynamic speaker, Father Coughlin attracted a following in the hundreds of thousands for his radio sermons. Originally a supporter of President Franklin Roosevelt, Coughlin called for massive government involvement to pull the nation out of its economic collapse. By 1936, however, Coughlin had turned against Roosevelt and begun to denounce him as a tool of an international banking conspiracy. Coughlin also became increasingly anti-Semitic in his radio programs, blaming the nation's problems on Jewish bankers and a worldwide Jewish conspiracy. Silenced by the archbishop of Detroit for his anti-Semitism and stridency, Coughlin receded into relative obscurity.

Father Coughlin, however, was only the most extreme example of the complexity of Roman Catholic economic and social thinking. While in the hands of a John Ryan these views could be construed as progressive, they were much more compatible with a medieval worldview that understood society as hierarchical, ordered, and uniformly Catholic. The messiness of democracy and pluralism presented problems for Roman Catholic thinking, problems that were most visible during the interwar years in the radical divergence of Roman Catholics from their fellow citizens on the issue of the Spanish Civil War.

What most Americans viewed as a war for democracy against tyranny was interpreted by most Roman Catholics as a struggle of religious and social truth against the forces of infidelity and anarchy. The suspicion many Americans had of Hitler and Mussolini was not quite as widespread among Catholics, some of whom still felt that the international enemy was atheistic communism, against which Hitler and Mussolini acted as bulwarks. These differences led to some political tensions. Roman Catholics generally opposed easing the arms embargo to Europe, lend-lease, and any policy that seemed to aid the Soviet Union. While these views antagonized many Americans who saw fascism as the problem of the moment and caused some to view Catholics as suspect on Nazism (especially given the papacy's rather tepid condemnation of Hitler and its modus vivendi with Mussolini), it would serve the American church well in the post–World War II era, when it parlayed its unremitting anticommunism into an asset.

The church was capable of doing this because, after hostilities began, its support for American entry into World War II was wholehearted. By then, illusions had receded, and Roman Catholics rallied to the flag just as they had done in World War I.

If World War I had helped the Roman Catholic community to gain entry into the American mainstream, World War II cemented this position. The Roman Catholic response to the American call-up was near universal. Among the Roman Catholic media, the sole dissenting voice was from the *Catholic Worker,* which continued its pacifist stance and set up work camps where Catholic conscientious objectors could perform their alternative service. Not that there were a great number of them—in fact, the percentage of Catholic conscientious objectors was far below their percentage of the population.

Nonetheless, the hierarchy did not lose sight of its teachings on war, nor did it ignore the church's universal mission. The bishops condemned obliteration bombing of German cities, of which the Dresden firebombing in February 1945 was the most horrible example, and opposed the unconditional surrender policy promulgated by the Allies. Such war practices and aims violated the just war doctrine of proportionality that had guided the church's thinking since the time of Thomas Aquinas. Protests, however, fell on deaf ears, and as the Allied advance increasingly uncovered the magnitude of the Nazi evil, fewer and fewer were willing to oppose the destruction of the Axis powers (and even the German nation) by any and all means. As a result, the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima met with little vocal condemnation, although many have argued that such bombings blatantly violated the rule of proportionality.

The bombings, however, led to peace with Japan and the end of the war. As American troops demobilized, they returned to a nation and a world radically different from the one that had existed before the war. This was especially true of Roman Catholics, who found themselves viewed with much less suspicion than earlier. Although significant conflicts would emerge in the future, Roman

Catholicism was well on its way toward full acceptance.

From the war's end until the early 1960s, two policy issues most concerned the American Catholic Church. On the domestic front, federal funding for education reopened a long-festering wound. Originally designed to enable returning servicemen to attend college or vocational school, these funds were made available to students attending both public and private colleges and universities. This was a boon to Catholic colleges. It increased the number of students and led to expansion of facilities and programs. The Catholics who attended college helped to transform the community itself. Higher levels of education moved many Catholics out of their traditional blue-collar jobs and into white-collar positions, helping to end much of their cultural isolation.

If aid to higher education was a boon, attempts to provide federal aid to elementary and secondary education resulted in conflict. Roman Catholics clamored for a share to aid their schoolchildren. Failure to provide money equally to private and public schools, they argued, would be unfair. Those who chose to send their children to private schools were taxed twice for doing so.

Although legislative and judicial action prevented the allocation of governmental funds to parochial schools, the issue was never settled definitively, and the fight continued into the 2000s. The debate highlighted CHURCH AND STATE and FIRST AMENDMENT questions that led to the emergence of what many have seen as a new form of anti-Catholicism. Represented by a group called Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, these organizations and individuals opposed not so much Catholics as Catholicism—the institution whose policies and views were at odds with church-state separation and religious liberty. Catholic demands for federal aid to parochial schools and attempts to appoint an ambassador to the

A Roman Catholic nun solicits donations at a shipyard gate in Baltimore, Maryland. *(Library of Congress)*

Vatican were obvious proof of Catholic mingling of church and government.

While some might warn against Catholic power, many felt that the real threat to the American way of life in the decades following World War II was communism and the Soviet Union, which, following Hitler's defeat, had overrun eastern Europe. The suppression of religion in that predominantly Catholic area and the maltreatment of religious leaders such as Josef Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary only inflamed Catholicism's anticommunist passion.

Catholicism had earned its anticommunist badge early, and while the junior senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy (a Catholic himself), and his ilk were warning of communist infiltration in the State Department and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, both bastions of the Protestant establishment, the American Catholic Church could proclaim that not one of its priests was a communist. This staunch anticommunism was reinforced by the public pronouncements of FRANCIS JOSEPH SPELLMAN of New York and most of the Catholic press, which, with the exceptions of the liberal *Commonweal, Catholic Worker,* and the often virulently anticommunist Jesuit weekly *America,* were supportive of McCarthy.

Ironically, McCarthy was brought down in part by that instrument that helped bring about greater integration of Roman Catholics into American society—television. While television exerted a homogenizing influence on Americans of all stripes, it brought certain clerical figures into great public prominence. Cardinal Spellman, an eloquent spokesman for the church, often appeared on television. Monsignor (later Archbishop) FULTON J. SHEEN's *Life Is Worth Living* attracted large audiences, including numerous Protestants. The appearance of Roman Catholic spokesmen in their living rooms helped to dissipate perceptions of Catholic strangeness and foreignness.

While suspicions of Catholics did not end, as evidenced by the uproar that greeted attempts to appoint a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican and the long-simmering conflict over federal aid to education, the 1950s saw a gradual dissipation of anti-Catholicism. In fact, the decade would end with the event that signified the death knell of anti-Catholicism as a social-political force in the United States: the election of John F. Kennedy as president.

It must be said that Kennedy's election did not prove that anti-Catholicism was dead. In fact, some scholars argue that Kennedy's Catholicism nearly cost him the election. The issue was muted, however, by Kennedy's straightforward responses to those suspicions and his opposition to federal aid to religious schools. The charm and vibrancy of the young president, along with his tragic assassination, served to stigmatize anti-Catholicism as bigotry.

The 1950s and 1960s also saw a series of events that transformed the church. This transformation was so great that its implications were still being worked out as the 20th century closed. They began with the election of Angelo Giuseppi Roncelli as Pope John XXIII in 1958. Originally viewed as a caretaker pope, the 77-year-old pontiff called for *aggiornamento* (opening) within the Roman church. The church was to open itself to the cleansing breezes of the modern world. In order to bring this about, he called a church council that convened in the Vatican in 1962 (see VATICAN COUNCIL II).

While theologically unsophisticated compared to many of their European counterparts, the American bishops played a major role in the formulation and adoption of several major statements at the council. These were the *Declaration on Religious Liberty* and the *Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions*—both statements that were rooted in the historical and political realities of the American experience.

While such documents affected American Catholics by bringing church policy into line with American practice, the radical liturgical and doctrinal formulations of the council more dramatically affected their religious lives. The use of English instead of Latin in the Mass, the ending of meatless Fridays, greater openness in religious forms and practice, as well as a decrease in authoritarianism threw many Catholics into confusion. Occurring at the beginning of the social and political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, the loss of old verities thrust much of the church into turmoil. Many priests and nuns left their offices.

The opening to the world that Vatican II encouraged led many to recognize the existence of troubling social and economic problems. These women and men, many influenced by Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker movement, entered into the struggles for racial equality, civil rights, and economic justice, and against the war in Vietnam. Such activities served to create greater turmoil in the church. Many saw their faith deepened by such social Catholicism, others saw it as anarchy engendered by changes in religious practice.

Into this maelstrom of change the successor to John XXIII, Paul VI, dropped yet another bombshell, a rejection by the Roman Catholic Church of all forms of artificial birth control. In the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (July 25, 1968) Paul VI rejected the suggestions of his appointed commission that questions of contraception be left to the consciences of Christian parents and reiterated the church's teaching that any artificial barrier to the generative act is a violation of natural and divine law. Coming amid the church's radical transformation, this decision caused dismay. Many American Catholic academics openly condemned it. Large numbers of priests, although bound to the church's position, continued to counsel couples to follow their consciences in this area. Most significantly, it was simply ignored by large numbers of the church membership. The opening of the church and its greater collegiality proclaimed by John XXIII and even Paul VI found its greatest statement in the refusal of church members to follow a teaching they viewed as inappropriate and wrongheaded.

Contraception was not the only issue of sexual morality that affected the church. In fact, questions of sexual morality lingered throughout the last half of the 20th century. The so-called sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s saw many attacks on the church's traditional opposition to sexual intercourse outside marriage. The church refused to budge on this teaching, although it became obvious that large numbers of its members ignored it just as they did its teaching on contraception. While troubling, it did not appear to have major consequences until the outbreak of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s. This illness combined numerous elements of human SEXUALITY—nonmarital intercourse, contraception (prophylaxis), and homosexuality—within the context of a fatal infectious disease. The American church hierarchy refused to reconsider its opposition on the use of condoms, in this case as a prophylactic measure, arguing that to do so would be tantamount to condoning nonmarital sex and homosexuality. This position brought the hierarchy into conflict with homosexuals and AIDS activists as well as many health officials. This was especially true of the archbishop of New York City, JOHN O'CONNOR, who, because of his outspokenness on this issue, became a target for condemnation and abuse.

Cardinal O'Connor was a major player in another issue of sexual morality that dominated the political arena: abortion. Following the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Roe v. Wade* (1972) overturning state laws outlawing abortion, the fight over abortion became an increasingly volatile issue in American political and religious life. Roman Catholic clergy and laity were early opponents of the decision, although as time passed they were joined by fundamentalist and evangelical Protestants. While some, among them Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, the archbishop of Chicago, attempted to place opposition to abortion within the context of opposition to war and capital punishment, others emphasized abortion alone.

Abortion became a complex issue for many Roman Catholics, especially Catholic politicians. Many, while convinced personally of the immorality of abortion, affirmed the right of women to make their own choices, arguing that the state had no compelling interest (and perhaps no right) to adopt laws limiting this choice. This view brought several politicians into public conflict with Cardinal O'Connor, most notably Geraldine Ferraro, the Democratic vice presidential candidate in 1984, and Mario Cuomo, then governor of New York, whom O'Connor threatened to excommunicate in 1991.

The church's positions on contraception and abortion were part of the debate over the role of women in the church, an issue of such volatility that the bishops were unable to complete a planned pastoral letter on women, despite the fact that they had been able to issue very controversial letters on nuclear weapons (1983) and economics (1986) (see NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE).

Many viewed the church's teachings on contraception as symptomatic of its denigration of women and a result of its domination by unmarried men. The church's continuing refusal to ordain women as priests was the most emotional issue in this regard, but subtler conflicts emerged as well. Could women and girls participate in conducting the Mass? Could girls be altar girls, could women read the Epistles and lectors? These arguments were of deep theological import, and how they were answered said much about the church. They also had immediate practical implications for parish life. A shortage of priests required many parishes to rely increasingly on lay members in the running of congregational affairs, including services. How could a priest refuse the assistance of half of his congregation, especially when to do so was to risk losing them?

This shortage of priests was a major difficulty, one the church had to face as it entered the 21st century. Since the Council of Trent, called to formulate the Roman Catholic response to the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church had been clerically centered. The functioning of the church has depended upon priests, and to a lesser extent on brothers and nuns. Lay involvement was to be subordinated to the priests, who supervised all parish activities. The priests also controlled the major functions of the church—the sacraments, especially the performance of the Mass. The loss of many priests during the 1960s and 1970s and the drastic decline in the numbers of men studying for the priesthood presented a major challenge. To continue to meet the needs of its members in the face of this shortage, the church needed to rethink its views on the centrality of priests, yet to do this was to challenge the very understanding of the nature of the church itself.

One response to the priest shortage was the importation of priests from other countries. While not unprecedented (an often overlooked fact), it traditionally was a response to the linguistic and cultural needs of certain parishioners. In late 20th-century America, priests from outside the United States rarely shared a patrimony with their parishioners. This created new sources of conflict, especially since many priests came from countries such as Poland, where the church had a much more conservative theological and social outlook.

Another major challenge to the U.S. Roman Catholic Church at the close of the 20th century was a change in the church's composition. Although throughout the 19th and early 20th century the Roman Catholic Church's makeup changed with immigration, it found no way to accommodate differing demands of the various ethnic groups. This failure led to new problems as the church was faced with a growing Hispanic population destined to became a majority of its members. The inability of the church to adjust to this new population threatened its hold on these members and the future of the church.

Nothing, however, affected the church and its hierarchy during the 1990s and early 2000s more than the subject of the sexual abuse of children by Catholic priests. Not only was the church slow in acknowledging the problem, for years bishops had responded to it mostly in terms of the weaknesses of the priests, failing to recognize the pain and torment experienced by the victims. Rather than being punished, priests were reassigned to another parish, sent for treatment, or transferred out of the diocese. Bishops often colluded in these responses. Some, like the bishop of Boston, John Cardinal Law, eventually were forced to resign due to their failures to address the problem. Many dioceses were sued by those who had been the victims of predatory priests, and some, such as Los Angeles, Boston, and Spokane, Washington, found themselves paying millions of dollars in settlements. Other dioceses declared bankruptcy due to the legal claims against them.

While slow to recognize and address this scandal, the American Catholic hierarchy finally responded at the 2002 bishop's conference, issuing two documents on the sexual abuse of children by priests. These documents, the *Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People and Norms for Diocesan/Eparchial Policies Dealing with Allegations of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Priests, Deacons, or Other Church Personnel*, established clear rules for dioceses to follow in dealing with the allegations of abuse.

The last decades of the 20th century also saw a return to political questions that seemed to have been exorcised a quarter-century earlier. One debate centered upon the perceived inability of the Roman Catholic Church to accommodate to the values of the American political system. This resurgence was due to two main issues: abortion (again) and academic freedom. The church's vocal opposition to abortion and the intrusion of that opposition into the political realm caused many to raise issues long thought moribund. First among these was, "Does the very nature of Roman Catholicism mean that the church is capable of exerting undue influence on its members who take political positions at odds with the teachings of the Church." Cardinal O'Connor's highly publicized conflicts with leading Democratic politicians were only the most visible hints that such might be the case.

Attacks on the church's religious teachings and their political implications also found their way to the courts. During the 1990s, several gay rights and prochoice organizations sued to have the Roman Catholic Church's status as a tax-exempt organization withdrawn by arguing that its teaching and activities on behalf of antiabortion (see RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT) campaigners and its opposition to homosexuality constituted political lobbying. Although these efforts failed, they demonstrated the level of hostility that the church's teachings in several arenas had generated and the tendency of some to turn political opposition into anti-Catholicism generally.

Along similar lines, a subtle anti-Catholicism ran through the debate over Clarence Thomas's nomination by President George H. W. Bush to the Supreme Court. A subtext of prochoice opposition to Thomas was his Catholic upbringing, which some feared would lead him to be biased when it came to court cases dealing with the question of abortion. By 2006, however, a majority of the justices on the U.S. Supreme Court would be Catholics.

Less politically volatile but no less significant was the debate over intellectual and academic freedom within the Roman Catholic Church. The most celebrated of these cases involved Father Charles Curran, professor of Roman Catholic moral theology at the Catholic University of America. Father Curran, who earlier had been in conflict with the hierarchy over his opposition to *Humanae Vitae*, was removed from his position as one entitled to teach Roman Catholic seminarians due to his disagreement with the *magisterium* (the church's teaching office) over what he considered its (potentially) fallible teachings. This raised issues of academic freedom that later spilled over into the secular academic world when the president of Auburn University, where Curran had been given an endowed position, refused to grant him the tenure that usually accompanied that appointment. Rumors that the church had "gotten to" the president abounded, and hints of insidious Catholic influence in political affairs were heard.

The debate over the nature and purpose of Roman Catholic higher education was reignited in August 1990, when Pope John Paul II issued an apostolic constitution on Catholic higher education entitled *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*. The purpose of this document was to state the norms for the identity and mission of Catholic colleges and universities. Some of the norms articulated in this document include faithfulness to the teachings of the Catholic Church; commitment to Catholic ideals, principles and attitudes in carrying out research, teaching, and other university activities (with due regard for academic freedom and the conscience of every individual); service to others, particularly the poor, underprivileged, and vulnerable members of society, as well as a commitment to the witness of the Catholic faith by Catholic administrators and teachers, especially those teaching the theological disciplines; and acknowledgment and respect on the part of non-Catholic teachers and administrators for the university's Catholic identity and mission.

The obligations imposed on Catholic theologians and historians have raised the fear that they will result in the imposition of a rigid orthodoxy. To some extent, the fear has proven to be unfounded except for those whose appointments place them expressly in a position of teaching "Catholic" doctrine or who are responsible for the education of priests and nuns. Implications for the wider college and university have been less obvious, with the exception of certain limits on medical and research procedures.

These fears were heightened in 2005 with the election of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger as Pope Benedict XVI. During much of John Paul II's papacy, Ratzinger had served as prefect of the Congregation of the Faith. In this role, he had developed a reputation as a theological conservative and defender of papal authority. Many feared his election would produce a more authoritarian model of church governance and retrench many of the post–Vatican II changes in the church. Most of these fears proved baseless. Benedict, however, has steadfastly proclaimed the reality of objective truth and opposed moral relativism. He also has expressed his fear that the world was "moving toward a dictatorship of relativism." Benedict also speaks of the reasonableness of Christianity and the importance of reason and rationality in engaged discourse. To a great extent, during the early years of his papacy, Benedict directed his concerns and comments mostly to "post-Christian" Europe, and, with the exception of taking a much firmer and aggressive line on the issue of clergy who violate their vows, including sexual predators, he directed little of his focus on the United States.

Although Father Andrew Greeley's claim that "anti-Catholicism is the anti-Semitism of the intellectuals" is an exaggeration, it appeared during the late 20th century that while negative attitudes toward Catholics themselves bordered on nonexistent, suspicion of Catholicism and its institutional forms was increasing, not only outside the church but within it as well. This is perhaps a significant illustration of how much the Roman Catholic Church had become an accepted part of the American scene. It had reached a point where internal debates could comfortably be made public and where external critics would not risk charges of bigotry by raising their criticisms. How the church would meet these new pressures remained unclear as it entered its third millennium.

EQ

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Rosicrucians Because Rosicrucians are members of a secret fraternity, their history is difficult to untangle. Some historians, in fact, contend that no Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross ever actually existed. Rosicrucianism typically refers, therefore, not to a set of institutions but to a cluster of ideas regarding magic, science, and religion that creatively combines elements from romanticism, the ENLIGHTENMENT, Christian PIETISM, and Renaissance occultism. At the core of this Rosicrucian synthesis is the individual's heroic quest for secret yet ostensibly scientific wisdom.

Legend traces the genesis of Rosicrucianism (from Latin *rosa* [rose] and *crux* [cross]) to Christian Rosenkreuz, who was supposedly born in Germany in 1378 and initiated into occult mysteries during travels in the Middle East. He then reputedly founded the Order of the Rose and the Cross in 1408. Although Rosenkreuz is said to have recruited monks into his order and constructed a sanctum called the House of the Holy Spirit, both his secret wisdom and his movement died with him in 1484.

Rosicrucianism was "revived" in the early 17th century. The faithful attribute this recovery to the discovery of the lost tomb of Rosenkreuz in 1604; historians generally trace the 17th-century Rosicrucian vogue to the writings of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), a Lutheran pastor and theologian from Württemberg, Germany. These works, which began with *The Fama Fraternitas of the Meritorious Order of the Rosy Cross* (1614), constituted a manifesto of sorts for the burgeoning Rosicrucian movement. In them, Andreae told the story of the legendary Rosenkreuz, articulated the rules of his secret order, promoted social and political reforms, and hinted at an occult synthesis of Christian pietism, Renaissance hermeticism, magic, and alchemy.

Rosicrucianism made its way to the New World when German settlers founded the Chapter of Perfection, a Rosicrucian association, in 17th-century Pennsylvania. But the movement foundered in the United States until its conflation with FREEMASONRY in the 19th century. Eliphas Levi (1810–75) was one key figure in this modern rediscovery of Rosicrucianism. His books, beginning with *The Doctrine of Transcendental Magic* (1855), emphasized links between Rosicrucianism and magic. Rosicrucian novelists such as the British-born Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton also contributed to the 19th-century Rosicrucian vogue. Bulwer-Lytton's *Zanoni* (1842) did much to popularize among the uninitiated such Rosicrucian ideals as the elixir of immortality and the philosopher's stone that turns iron into gold.

The writings of Levi and Bulwer-Lytton prompted R. Swinburne Clymer of Quakertown, Pennsylvania, to establish, in the first decade of the 20th century, the Fraternitas Rosae Crucis, the oldest Rosicrucian association in America. The largest Rosicrucian group, the Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis (AMORC), was founded in 1915 and is now centered in San Jose, California.

Rosicrucianism has never attracted many American adherents, but along with allied occult movements such as THEOSOPHY, it provides evidence of the strength and endurance of an alternative tradition of spirituality in the United States.

SRP

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Royce, Josiah (1855–1916) Josiah Royce became the leading proponent of idealist philosophy in America in the course of a prolific career as a teacher and writer. Royce summed up his life in a 1915 speech in Philadelphia by saying he was a "born non-conformist." While Royce has sometimes been seen by subsequent generations as an outdated popularizer, his own remark best describes his intellectual commitments and his influence on American culture.

Born on November 20, 1855, in the mining camp of Grass Valley, California, Royce inherited his father's restlessness and his mother's desire for education and culture. Josiah Royce, Sr., and Sarah Bayliss Royce, both originally from England, settled in upstate New York and were deeply affected by the moral and religious fervor coursing through that region in the first part of the 19th century (see SECOND GREAT AWAKENING). Emigrating to Grass Valley during the 1849 gold rush, Josiah, Sr., tried his hand first as a miner and then as a traveling salesman, while Sarah opened her own private school and headed up the Royce household. From his mother, whom biographers and relatives count as the dominant influence in his life, Josiah, Jr., gained a love of learning and a mystical conviction born from intense evangelical piety. For Royce himself, however, conviction of the divine presence was to lead away from organized Christianity and toward the writings of German idealist philosophers such as Immanuel Kant and G. W. F. Hegel.

When he was 11 years old, Royce's family moved to San Francisco. Graduating from the University of California in 1875, he studied abroad at the German universities of Leipzig, Heidelberg, and Göttingen. Returning to the United States in 1876, he enrolled in a new Ph.D. program at Johns Hopkins University, and after two years of study received, at the age of 22, one of the first degrees conferred there. He then accepted a position at the University of California, teaching literature and composition and offering an occasional lecture in philosophy. Correspondence with WILLIAM JAMES, with whom he had formed a friendship prior to leaving for Germany, resulted in a job offer from Harvard in 1882, where he taught for the rest of his life.

Royce wrote prodigiously, ranging over logic, epistemology, metaphysics, and philosophy of religion. He is best known for his defense of metaphysical idealism—the view that the mind can grasp the nature of reality—and his philosophy of loyalty. Royce argued that beneath the variety of experiences, yearnings, and impressions that characterize our perception of the world, there is an absolute that binds all life together. A systematic thinker, his own efforts to provide the foundations of certainty and hope to modern people disenchanted with orthodox Christianity were rapidly superseded by the popularity of the philosophies of pragmatism and positivism. However, a shift in American philosophical circles toward analytical philosophy since the time of his death has obscured both his importance as an original thinker and his similarities to his pragmatist contemporaries. William James once said to Royce, "The only thing we see differently is the absolute, and surely such a trifle as that is not a thing for two gentlemen to be parted by."

Late in life, he realized that his thinking had been primarily concerned with what he called "the Idea of the Community," that is, how individual fulfillment is only possible through commitment to something greater than the self. His crowning works, *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (1908) and *The Problem of Christianity* (1913), were sustained efforts to turn from metaphysics to the problems of community in the modern world. With the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, Royce's concerns became increasingly practical, especially following the German sinking of the British ocean liner *Lusitania* in May 1915. He made frequent addresses on behalf of what he called "the party of humanity," condemning an act that struck him quite personally since several of his students had been aboard. He died on September 14, 1916, in Cambridge.

MG

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Russell, Charles Taze (1852–1916) Charles Taze Russell was an evangelist and founder of the Zion's Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, the millennialist (see PREMILLENNIALISM) religious movement from which the JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES later emerged. Russell preached that Jesus Christ had returned in an invisible, spiritual manner in 1874 and that God's faithful followers should prepare for the world to end in 1914.

Russell was born on February 16, 1852, in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, now a suburb of Pittsburgh. Raised as a Presbyterian, he experienced a loss of faith during his teenage years and rebelled against many of the religious teachings of his youth, especially the Calvinist doctrine of eternal punishment. Influenced by Adventist beliefs, which predicted the imminent return of Jesus Christ, Russell began a lengthy period of independent Bible study. He began disseminating his own unique interpretations of the Scriptures in 1872 and, after rejecting some classic Christian doctrines such as the Trinity (Jesus was not God incarnate, he argued), attracted many like-minded followers.

In his 1886 book, *Millennial Dawn,* Russell described the ages over which the divine plan for humankind had evolved. He insisted not only that Christ's second coming had already occurred, but also that true Christians were to preach judgment and await the final defeat of the forces of evil at an approaching cosmic battle. Russell successfully spread these views through publications and frequent travels across the United States, Canada, and Europe. He edited a periodical, *The Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence* (sometimes called *Zion's Watch Tower*), between 1878 and 1916. More than 15 million copies of his writings, including the seven-volume *Studies in the Scriptures,* have been printed and distributed throughout the world, and more than 1,200 churches were founded under the influence of Russell's teachings.

Although the outbreak of WORLD WAR I in 1914 heralded a cataclysm of tremendous violence and destructiveness, the apocalyptic day of retribution Russell foretold never materialized. His unexpected death on October 31, 1916, during an evangelistic campaign in Pampa, Texas, moreover, prevented him from revising his predictions. However, Joseph

Franklin ("Judge") Rutherford, Russell's legal adviser and successor as leader of the Jehovah's Witnesses (the name the movement assumed in 1931), stepped forward to vindicate his position. Rutherford argued that Satan had been defeated in a war that began in heaven in 1914 and afterward had been banished by God to reign on Earth.

GHS, Jr.

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Russian Orthodox Church See ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA.

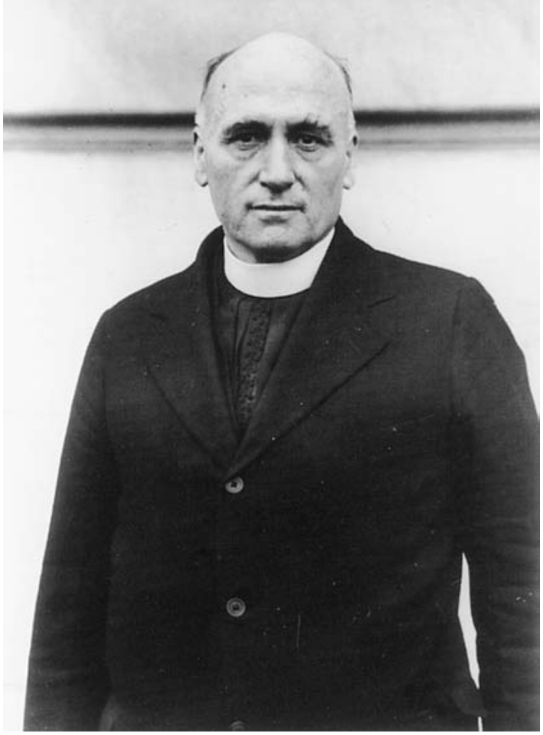
Rutherford, Joseph Franklin See JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES.

Ryan, John Augustine (1869–1945) Raised on a Minnesota farm, John Augustine Ryan early developed the deep Catholic faith and the concern for economic justice that were to be the hallmarks of his life. Between 1898 and his death in 1945, Ryan did more than anyone to create an interest in social issues among American Roman Catholics. His involvement with organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, American Indian Defense Association, and the Labor Defense Council helped to break down the stereotype of the conservative, ghettoized Catholic priest and to integrate Catholic social teachings into American political debate.

Born on May 25, 1869, in Vermillion, Minnesota, to Irish immigrants, John Ryan grew up on a farm in one of the rural colonies that were the pet projects of Bishop JOHN IRELAND. During the 1880s and 1890s, Ryan was influenced deeply by the principles of the populist movement and its concern for farmers, small shopkeepers, and laborers. He also was imbued with his family's deep religious faith. Of his parents' six children, three became priests and two nuns.

Ryan began his seminary training at St. Thomas Seminary in 1887, continuing his studies at St. Paul Seminary. During this time, he encountered the social encyclicals (pronouncements) of Leo XIII. Of these, *Rerum Novarum,* with its insistence on the dignity of human labor and the right to a living wage, would most influence Ryan's work.

After graduating from seminary and receiving ordination in 1898, Ryan continued his studies at the Catholic University of America. In 1906, he was granted his doctoral degree. His dissertation, published as *A Living Wage: Its Ethical and Economic Aspects,* not only made a name for the young priest, but also became the basis for his later views of the economy.



John Augustine Ryan, the foremost promoter of concern about social and economic issues among Roman Catholics in the first half of the 20th century. *(Library of Congress)*

From 1902 until 1939, Ryan served as a professor of moral theology, first at St. Paul Seminary (1902–15) and then at Catholic University (1915–39). Although deeply committed to teaching, Ryan had numerous other forces pulling on him. Most significantly, he served as director of the Social Action Department of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE from 1920 until his death in 1945. The Social Action Department was a direct outgrowth of a policy statement adopted by U.S. bishops in 1919. Drafted by Ryan, this was the first official statement by American Catholic bishops detailing specific policies to be enacted in order to create a more just society. Although often ignored by clerics and laity, it provided the ground for greater Roman Catholic involvement in political affairs. President Franklin Roosevelt often used this statement, along with the social encyclicals, to rally support for his policies, and, in fact, 11 of the 12 major recommendations of the bishops' program were enacted into law during Roosevelt's presidency.

Although often accused of socialism (or worse) by his enemies, Ryan was an orthodox Catholic who believed that his social views correctly expressed papal teaching on the economy. In his book *The State and the Church*, he argued the orthodox position on the state. As stated by Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical *Immortale Dei*, the state had an obligation to recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of society. Equally, in a Catholic society, there could be times when it would be "feasible and expedient" to proscribe "non-Catholic sects." Published in 1922, this book became part of the anti-Catholic furor that surrounded Al Smith's 1928 presidential nomination, despite the fact that Ryan did not believe the teaching applied to the situation in the United States, which was not a Catholic state and never would be.

Disgusted with President Herbert Hoover's failure to respond to the Great Depression and bitter about the 1928 campaign, Ryan was highly visible in his support of Roosevelt and the New Deal. He delivered the benediction at Roosevelt's second and fourth inaugurations, becoming the first Catholic priest to do so. A member of the National Recovery Administration's appeals board and an adviser to Roosevelt, Ryan, who had become a monsignor in 1933, was so close to the administration that he often was referred to as "the Right Reverend New Dealer."

Although active in projects to establish international peace, Ryan was convinced by the victories of the Axis powers in 1939 and 1940 of the need for military action. He joined the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and publicly supported the Lend-Lease Bill. After it became obvious that the Allies would be victorious, Ryan looked forward to a major transformation of the American economy and a more just society. Illness prevented him from taking an active part in the discussions about the postwar world. He died on September 16, 1945.

EQ

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S

Sabbatarianism Sabbatarianism refers generally to the scrupulous observance of the Sabbath as a divinely ordained day of rest and religious worship. Sabbatarians insist that people abstain from all unnecessary activity on the Sabbath, a position that is rooted in the fourth of the Ten Commandments, "Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is a Sabbath of the Lord your God: you shall not do any work—you, your son, your daughter, your male or female slave, or your cattle, or the stranger who is within your settlements. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth and sea, and all that is in them, and He rested on the seventh day: therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." (Exodus 20: 8–11, JPS translation). This commandment and its attendant obligations were and remain a hallmark of traditional Judaism. Christian Sabbatarianism drew from that tradition, emphasizing the Sabbath as a day of divine worship and human withdrawal from worldly activities, of rest (see JUDAISM; ORTHODOX JUDAISM).

Sabbatarianism in its Protestant form (it always was a minority position within Catholicism) came to America with the English Puritans and Scotch Presbyterians, both of whom had been deeply influenced by John Calvin and the REFORMATION in Geneva. In this form, it focused on Sunday as the Christian Sabbath. While the early Christians, following their traditional Jewish practice, had observed Saturday (the literal seventh day of creation) as the Sabbath, this was changed formally in 321, when the emperor Constantine decreed that the first day of the week (Sunday), the day Christians believe Jesus was resurrected from the dead, would be a day of rest and ordered the cessation of all public work on that day. Since that time, most Christians have considered Sunday to be their Sabbath day.

The strictness that eventually came to be associated with Christian Sabbath observance was a product of 16th-century English Puritanism. The beginning of modern Sabbatarianism is connected with the publication of Nicholas Bound's *True Doctrine of the Sabbath* in 1595, a work that advocated the rigorous enforcement of Sunday worship and prayer. Although the theologically moderate party within the 17th-century Church of England approved of recreation on Sundays, its position was vehemently opposed by the Puritans. During the Puritan ascendancy in England, Parliament passed successive acts in 1644, 1645, and 1655 prohibiting all recreation on Sunday. Only after the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 were those restrictions relaxed.

The Puritans who migrated to America in the early 17th century brought their concern for Sabbath observance with them. In New England, they enacted laws forbidding the desecration of the day. In 1656, the colony in New Haven, Connecticut, passed Sunday statutes. Printed on blue paper, those regulations became the basis of the so-called blue laws that continue to restrict activity on Sundays in many states today. Although strict observance of Sundays remained a feature of American life until the mid-19th century, the limited attention to Sabbath-keeping after the CIVIL WAR was symbolic of the general decline of the Protestant hegemony in American religion.

In recent years, opponents of the blue laws have argued that regulations restricting business on Sundays violate the FIRST AMENDMENT guarantees on religious freedom and the separation of church and state. A 1961 Supreme Court decision, however, allowed states to restrict business activities on the basis of secular considerations. The Court argued that closing businesses once a week was socially desirable and would improve family and community life. Despite this ruling, many state laws that closed stores on Sundays have been repealed in recent years, and Sunday as a consequence has become heavily commercialized. Even in districts where blue laws remain technically in force, authorities have tended to ignore them.

Despite the decline in legally enforced Sabbatarianism, several Christian denominations still expect fairly rigorous observance of the Sabbath from their members. This is particularly true of Pentecostal and Holiness denominations as well as of many evangelicals. Among major American businesses, Chick-Fil-A represents the continuing strength of Sabbatarianism, requiring all its 1,100 plus restaurants to close on Sunday as a way, in the words of its founder, S. Truett Cathy, of "honoring God and directing our attention to things more important than our business." Additionally, religiously observant Jews remain steadfast in their observance of Saturday as the Sabbath and refrain from all forms of work as well as from motorized travel and many other activities.

The observance of the first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath never was accepted universally. Despite the official policy of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, some pockets of Christians who worshipped on Saturday continued. Saturday worshippers still could be found in Wales in the 12th century, in Norway during the 15th, and among the Christians of Goa, India, in the 16th. Christians who worshipped on the seventh day existed in America as early as the 17th century. As early as 1671, a Seventh-day Baptist Church was founded in Newport, Rhode Island. Seventh-day Baptists differed from mainstream BAPTISTS because they chose to make the "seventh day" (i.e., Saturday) their day of rest. The EPHRATA COMMUNITY, founded by Johann Conrad Beissel in 1732, also observed a Saturday Sabbath. This practice was typical of several radical religious groups in the 17th and 18th centuries. Finally, in the 19th century, the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH was founded upon the principle of observing Saturday, rather than Sunday, as the Christian day of worship. ELLEN GOULD WHITE, the founder of the Seventh-day Adventists, reportedly received a vision in which an angel informed her that Christianity's failure to observe Saturday as the Sabbath had delayed the return of Jesus Christ to Earth.

GHS, Jr.

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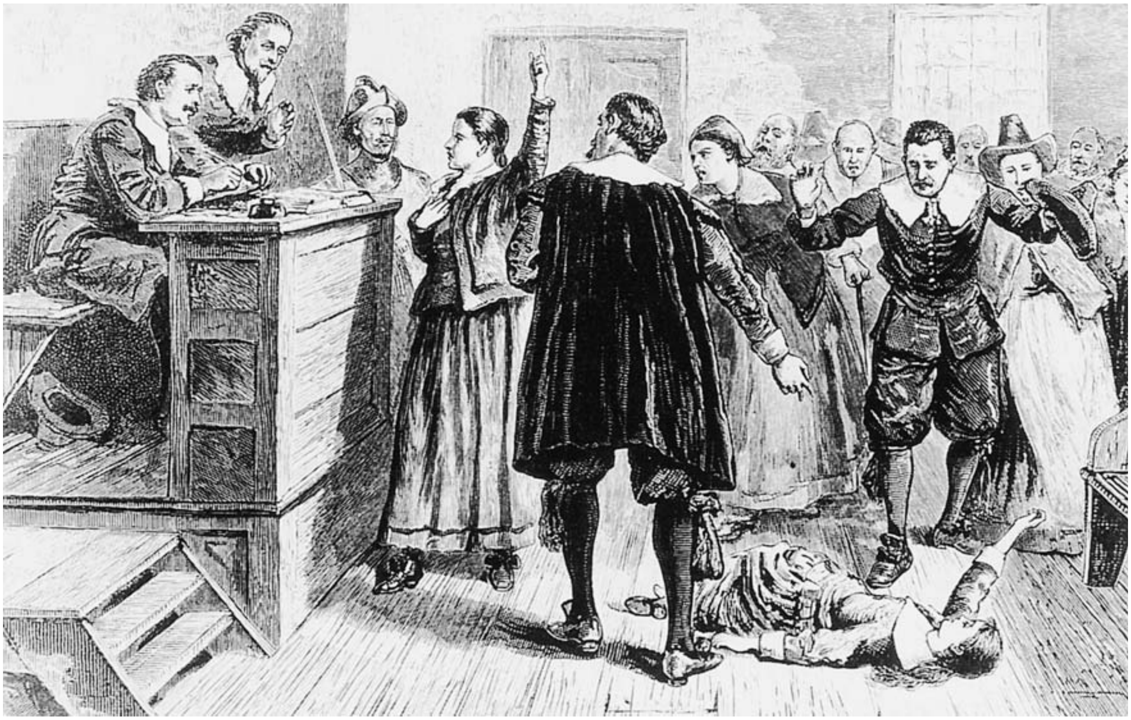
Salem witchcraft trials Few events in colonial American history have riveted the imagination as much as the Salem witchcraft trials. From a play by one of America's foremost playwrights—*The Crucible* by Arthur Miller—to several episodes of the 1960s situation comedy *Bewitched*, the events at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692 have provided material for both popular culture and serious reflection. Scholars of American religion also have struggled with these events and their meaning, finding in them ways in which both group hysteria and individual animosity can use religious values and understanding for evil ends.

The Salem witch hunt began when several young girls were discovered telling fortunes with a crystal ball. To avoid punishment, the girls claimed that they had been tormented by witches. The attempt by authorities to locate the witches responsible for the girls' suffering quickly accelerated. The community's elite did little to restrain the frenzy. Indeed, the town's new minister, Samuel Parris—whose West Indian slave Tituba was one of the first accused—did much to fuel the hysteria, warning his parishioners during one sermon that witches were everywhere, even in "this very church."

By the time the search for witches had run its course, more than 150 people had been imprisoned—50 of whom confessed to "having signed the Devil's book"—and 19 convicted witches were hanged and one was pressed to death. Most of the victims were people with little standing in the community or were members of families who had opposed Parris's ministry. A large number were middle-aged women with no male relatives to defend them or to take revenge on their accusers. Another favorite target were the cranky and irritable. In the midst of the hysteria, people accused their neighbors on the slightest pretext. Even more troublesome was the introduction of spectral evidence—in which witnesses were allowed to claim that a spirit or specter had appeared before them accusing someone of witchcraft.

The trials reached their apex in late summer of 1692, when several of the colony's leading citizens were accused of witchcraft. After an inquiry into the proceedings, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Sir William



The witchcraft hysteria that seized Salem in 1692 resulted in the death of 20 men and women. *(Library of Congress)*

Phipps, forbade the use of spectral evidence and dissolved the special court hearing the witchcraft cases. Following this action, the numbers of accusations soon dwindled to none.

The end of the trials and an increasing realization of the horror of the undertaking soon led to a major reappraisal. Many of the clergy and the general population came to recognize that the trials were a farce and that people guilty of nothing more than an occasional disagreement with their neighbors had been killed. Even COTTON MATHER, who had supported the trials and continued to defend the use of spectral evidence, admitted things had gone too far. Although witchcraft remained a capital offense in the colony, the Salem witches were the last to be executed in New England. Some 20 years later, the colony annulled all the convictions of the Salem "witches" and paid reparations to the survivors.

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Salvation Army The Salvation Army is a Protestant denomination widely known for its social and evangelistic work in American cities. It was founded in London in 1865 by British Methodists William and Catherine Mumford Booth. Brought to the United States in 1880, the Salvation Army emphasizes theological ideas typical of the 19th-century HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

William Booth (1829–1912) was licensed as a Methodist minister in 1852 but withdrew in 1861 to devote himself to the work of an independent evangelist. He and his wife, Catherine, organized the Christian Mission in London's rundown East End in 1865. They soon began bombarding the neighborhood with brass bands, preachers, and Hallelujah Lasses (as the Mission's controversial female evangelists were known). After the Booths changed the name of their organization, calling it "a Salvation Army" in 1878, the military trappings and a hierarchical organization were added that make the denomination distinctive today. William and Catherine Booth and their eight children all eventually held high rank in the army.

The Booths intended the elaborate charitable system they developed to supplement evangelism and speed the work of saving the souls of the downtrodden. Their primary focus was on converting individuals to belief in Jesus Christ and guiding them to experience SANCTIFICATION, the second work of divine grace emphasized by Methodist founder John Wesley. Acts of social relief were thought both to symbolize God's love for sinful, fallen humanity and to respond to the New Testament commandment to care for the poor in Jesus' name. Practical relief efforts demonstrated to the poor that the Salvationists took both the spiritual and the social aspects of Christianity seriously. William Booth's famous *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890) boldly proclaimed his goal: to save souls among a class of people often ignored by the more traditional Christian churches.

Evangeline Booth (1865–1950), the seventh child of William and Catherine, is the person most responsible for establishing the Salvation Army in America. After directing operations in Canada from 1896 to 1904, she was placed in charge of the army in the United States. She served as American field commissioner between 1904 and 1934. In that period, she first brought the army to prominence by caring for American soldiers in France during World War I. After the war, she helped homeless alcoholics, unwed mothers, and neglected children, and in the 1930s, the army provided widespread assistance to the destitute during the Great Depression. Evangeline Booth was elected in 1934 as the fourth general of the International Salvation Army, the last of the Booths to lead the denomination.

Despite an internal dispute that led Ballington and Maud Booth (son and daughter-in-law of William and Catherine) to withdraw in 1896 and form a new agency, the Volunteers of America, the Salvation Army in the United States is by far the largest and most active branch in the organization. The army's social welfare services are especially well developed and offer an effective collection agency of used clothing and furniture for poor Americans. During the Christmas season, the army's musicians and bell ringers are seen in many city squares, reminders of the movement's original, flamboyant street corner ministry. So successful, in fact, is the practical ministry of the Salvation Army that most Americans view that church as a charitable rather than a religious organization.

Salvationists today accept the army's statement of faith ("Articles of War") and pledge themselves to evangelistic efforts and a simple, disciplined style of life. Although the denomination does not observe the customary Christian sacraments of Communion and baptism, its worship services are analogous to those held in other evangelical Protestant churches. In recent years, leaders have considered modifying the militaristic imagery they use in order to make it clear that the Salvation Army is a church. The Salvation Army reported more than 550,000 members and more than 1,300 congregations in the United States in 2008.

GHS, Jr.

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sanctification The term *sanctification* is related to the Latin word *sanctus*, which means "holy." Sanctification is the process by which someone or something is made holy. There are numerous references to sanctification in the Christian Scriptures, where it is presented as a quality that true believers possess. Christian theologians have usually employed the word to refer to God's action in transforming a person's heart and soul. The ideal of the holy life, of course, is not solely the preserve of Protestants, since both Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox spiritualities stress attaining sanctity. However, among Christians in the United States, the doctrine of sanctification has had its greatest impact upon members of the denominations most affected by 19th-century EVANGELICALISM, especially American METHODISTS.

Protestants have customarily taught that there are two major stages through which Christians pass on the way to salvation: JUSTIFICATION and sanctification. At the first stage, God justifies the sinner, that is, sin is forgiven and the guilt that sin has caused is removed. A person is made righteous in God's eyes and thus is "saved." Lutherans and heirs of the Calvinist theological heritage in America have tended to stress this first stage of salvation. The second stage, known as sanctification, is the moment when God releases believers from the power of sin and enables them to live godly lives. According to Puritans in the early 17th century, sanctification was a lifelong process and involved a slowly developing awareness that divine grace was at work within an individual's soul.

Emphasis on sanctification has been the consistent hallmark of Methodism. As John Wesley, the founder of the denomination, said, justification is what "God does for us," while sanctification is what "God does in us." Wesley believed that sanctification would culminate in a dramatic experience, a "second blessing" after conversion in which the Christian would be filled with perfect love. Although Wesley did not think Christian perfection meant complete sinlessness in the present life, he did consider that freedom from all conscious or intentional sin was a possibility for the person who had been sanctified.

The SECOND GREAT AWAKENING in the early 19th century inspired Americans in every major Protestant denomination to give attention to the idea of sanctification. Methodist PHOEBE PALMER of New York City, for example, underwent an experience of sanctification in 1837. Her weekly prayer meetings for the "promotion of holiness" drew together many who were attracted by the optimistic doctrine of "entire sanctification" that she preached. Presbyterian revivalist CHARLES G. FINNEY thought human beings both could and should strive to seek divine blessing. ASA MAHAN, a Congregational minister and Finney's colleague at Oberlin College, wrote in his book *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection* that believers might attain complete sanctification when Christ was present within their hearts.

Debates about sanctification fostered a number of divisions in American Protestantism in the late 19th and early 20th century. Many Methodists committed to Perfectionist beliefs began to insist that sanctification did not have to be a gradual process, but could often be received as an instantaneous gift from God. Several new Holiness (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT) denominations, such as the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, which was founded in 1908, adopted this doctrine as central to their understanding of the Christian life. In the same period, beginning with the AZUSA STREET REVIVAL in Los Angeles in 1906, men and women involved in PENTECOSTALISM offered an even more radical interpretation of the experience of sanctification. Pentecostals described "baptism in the Holy Spirit," an event usually manifested by the phenomenon of speaking in tongues, as definitive evidence of the believer's sanctification.

Sanctification continues to be an important theme among American evangelicals. The idea certainly motivates much popular Christian spirituality and piety, inspiring people to strive for personal holiness. Disagreement over the meaning of sanctification, however, remains. Must sanctification be a sudden event, or can it be a gradual process? And can a person achieve perfection in his or her lifetime, or does that occur only after death?

GHS, Jr.

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Sanctuary movement The Sanctuary movement refers to a disparate and loosely organized group of roughly 400 religious congregations and numerous individuals aiming to aid and assist refugees from Central America, primarily El Salvador and Guatemala, who were fleeing the political violence that wracked these countries. The movement had its greatest strength between 1982 and 1992 and included a variety of religious congregations, including Presbyterian, Baptist, Catholic, Jewish, Methodist, Mennonite, and others.

If the Sanctuary movement may be said to have a beginning date, it was in 1981, when Jim Fife, the pastor of Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Arizona, and a Quaker meeting under the urging of Jim Corbett declared that their congregations would offer sanctuary to Central American refugees fleeing the violence in their countries. They were soon joined by many congregations. Fife, Corbett, and others declared that they were responding religiously to the needs of hurting people and meeting the demands placed upon all countries by human rights and humanitarian law. They grounded their work biblically, particularly from Leviticus 19:34, "But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God" (KJV). They also focused, however, on American obligations under international law, claiming that they were not violating any laws but simply realizing the legal obligations that the country had taken on.

The Sanctuary movement argued that President Ronald Reagan's foreign policy had created a situation of uncritical support for the authoritarian regimes in these countries. These regimes' repressiveness and civil wars took a tremendous toll on the civilian populations. As a result, many attempted to enter the United States illegally.

The Reagan administration refused to acknowledge the human rights abuses in those countries, particularly Guatemala. The government labeled these individuals "economic migrants" and made it exceedingly difficult to grant them asylum. At the height of the repression, only 3 percent of Guatemalan asylum requests were approved, at a time when roughly 100,000 people were being killed by death squads and violence between the military and the rebels.

The Sanctuary movement received tremendous publicity when several of its leading participants were indicted on federal charges related to smuggling illegal immigrants. At trial, the judge refused to allow the defendants to mention their religious motives, the situation in Central America, or American obligations under international law. Despite these limitations, the trial became a major source of publicity for the movement. It also created significant difficulties for the government when it was learned that there had been organized governmental infiltration of the churches. For nine months, agents involved in Operation Sojourner had joined congregations, worked in their sanctuary committees, and even participated in transporting refugees. The realization that the government was actively involved in infiltrating religious organizations generated sympathy for the movement, and, despite the convictions, the number of volunteers increased.

The publicity also meant that the individuals, including Fife, were not imprisoned but placed on probation. The discovery of the government surveillance program and its infiltration of religious organizations also led to a massive lawsuit against the government. This lawsuit, *American Baptist Churches v. Thornburgh* (1985), resulted in a negotiated settlement in 1990. The settlement, among other things, gave all Central American refugees living illegally in the United States before fall 1990 a chance to request a review of their asylum applications and prevented their detention while their applications were under review. Congress also entered the act, adopting revisions to the immigration and asylum laws that prohibited asylum determinations from being made on political bases.

With the settlement in the case, political shifts in Central America, and a new presidential administration, the need for the Sanctuary movement began to wane, although it never completely ceased to exist. It stands as yet another example of the reforming and political actions of religions in the United States, within the tradition of ABOLITIONISM, the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, and Prohibition, all of which were undertaken to ensure that the country realized its moral obligations, both religious and civil.

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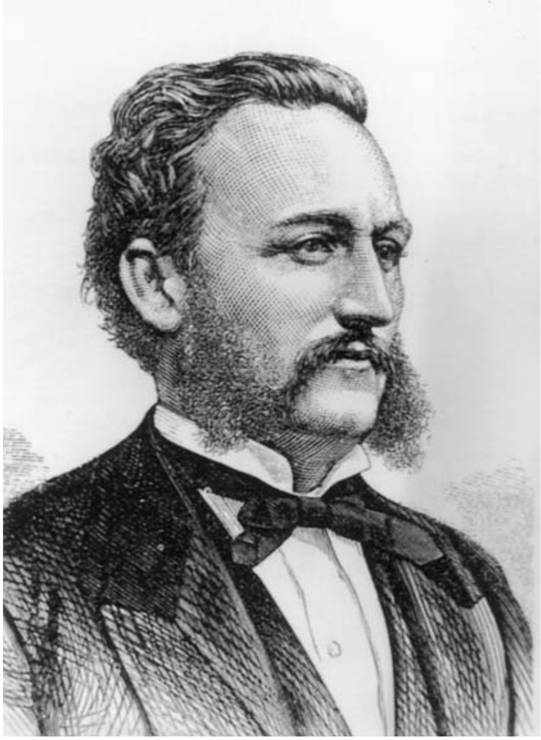
Sanitary Commission See CIVIL WAR.

Sankey, Ira David (1840–1908) Ira Sankey, an associate of late 19th-century revivalist DWIGHT L. MOODY, was the song-leader of the most celebrated American evangelistic team of his day. Using his clear baritone voice to sing moving lyrics with infectious melodies, Sankey added immensely to the sentimental appeal of Moody's famous preaching. A compiler of so-called gospel hymns, Sankey helped popularize this musical genre, making it an essential element in American REVIVALISM.

Sankey was born on August 28, 1840, in Edinburgh, Pennsylvania. After joining the Methodist church in Newcastle, Pennsylvania, in 1855, he became the leader of the church choir, superintendent of the Sunday school, and director of the YMCA. He served in the Union Army during the CIVIL WAR and, after returning home, worked as an assistant in the bank where his father was president. Sankey and Moody met in 1870, when Moody heard him sing at a YMCA convention in Indianapolis. He soon made Sankey his full-time music director and organist, and the two worked together for the next 25 years. Between 1873 and 1875, Moody and Sankey conducted a highly successful tour of Great Britain, during which 3 million people are estimated to have attended the revivals they led.



Ira David Sankey.

Although he only occasionally wrote lyrics, Sankey composed the music for some of the best-known hymns of his day. His first publication was *Sacred Songs and Solos*, released in 1873. Beginning in 1875, in collaboration with Phillip P. Bliss and other composers, he edited a work that proved to be the musical backbone of late 19th-century revivalism. Completed in 1895, Sankey's series of six song-books entitled *Gospel Hymns* contained more than 700 entries. A best-seller, Sankey's collection of musical favorites was noted for its simple but memorable lyrics and rousing refrains.

After Moody's death in 1899 and the onset of his own blindness in 1903, Sankey's active career came to an end. The influence of his music, however, remained strong in conservative Protestant circles for many years. Sankey died in Brooklyn, New York, on August 14, 1908.

GHS, Jr.

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Santería Santería ("the way of the saints") is a New World religion forged in Cuba but with roots in Roman Catholicism and the Yoruba religious traditions of West Africa. Following the revolution of 1959, many Cubans came to the United States and brought Santería with them. The tradition is now widely practiced among Cuban Americans and other Hispanics in cities such as New York, Chicago, and Miami.

Santería grew out of Cuban socioreligious clubs called *cabildos.* In those *cabildos,* Yoruba and Cuban beliefs and practices met and mingled, and the creole tradition of Santería emerged. The most distinctive element of this new tradition, which in Cuba is called Lucumi (from the greeting *oluku mi,* or "my friend"), consisted of devotion to Yoruba spiritual beings called *orishas.* These *orishas* were worshipped in the forms of Catholic saints. For example, Ogun (the Yoruba deity of iron and war) was revered as St. Peter, and Shango (the fierce god of thunder and lightning), as Saint Barbara. The theory that supported this practice, which also occurs in Haitian VODOU, was that the *orisha* and the saint were actually two manifestations of one spiritual entity.

The priests and priestesses of Santería, known as *santeros,* practice ancestor veneration, initiation, spirit possession, animal sacrifice, and divination. Each of those ritual practices is rooted in traditional religions of West Africa, and each has survived the passage to American cities. In rituals of initiation, the initiate's deity of choice is said to "take its seat" in that person's body. During this *asiento,* the initiate is possessed by the spirit of the deity. He or she then dances in a trancelike state to the favorite drumming and music of that deity. Spiritual beings (ancestors and deities alike) are venerated and sustained in Santería through the ritual sacrifice of animals, a practice that has earned American *santeros* the wrath of members of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. In Ifa, or divination, the *babalawo* ("father of the mystery") casts nuts or cowrie shells and offers readings of a client's future based on an elaborate numerology centering around the auspicious number of 16. One's destiny is thought by practitioners of Santería to be controlled by Olodumare ("owner of all destinies"), the Yoruba high god who is conflated with the God of Roman Catholics.

Santería shares much with Vodou, another New World religious creation that combines West African and Roman Catholic beliefs and practices. Like practitioners of Vodou, *santeros* maintain retail shops that support even as they promote their religious traditions. These *botanicas,* where consumers can purchase healing herbs and icons of orishas and saints, serve as the public face of Santería in the United States. Most rituals of Santería, however, take place behind closed doors, typically in the homes of priests and priestesses, who sustain their religious tradition in the Americas by preserving dances and prayers, leading worship services, and practicing the healing and divining arts.

As with Vodou, the secretiveness of Santería practitioners and the prevalence of animal sacrifice has led to *santeros* being viewed with suspicion. This suspicion has been compounded by the use of Santería by some members of organized crime in south Florida to scare off opponents and ward off police. The result has been a great deal of misinformation and rumors about the religion. These negative attitudes led the city of Hialeah, Florida, in 1987 to adopt an ordinance forbidding animal sacrifice within its city limits. This ordinance, while couched in the language of preventing animal cruelty and ensuring health and safety, was written in such a way that the only practices forbidden were animal sacrifices by Santería practitioners. Additionally, during the discussion of the ordinance by the city council, several members directly asserted their opposition to the animal sacrifice by *santeros.*

Local practitioners, particularly those organized in the Church of Lakumi Babalu Aye, filed suit, arguing that the ordinance was an unconstitutional infringement on their free exercise of religion (see First Amendment). The Supreme Court, in the case of *Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah*, 508 U.S. 520 (1993), ruled against the city, arguing that the text of the ordinance and the environment in which it was adopted demonstrated that it was intentionally directed at a particular religion and a particular religious practice. Such laws are unconstitutional, the Court said, and while governments have legitimate interests in preventing animal cruelty and in ensuring public health, a government cannot use these as excuses for attacks upon disfavored religious practices.

One major development of Santería in the United States has been the emergence of organized Santería "churches." Probably the earliest to develop was the Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye mentioned above. Established in the early 1970s in southern Florida and comprised mostly of Cuban Americans, it has helped to move Santería into the public. Other Santería churches include the African Theological Archministry in South Carolina, founded by Walter Eugene King, and the Church of Seven African Powers, organized in Florida during the 1980s. Overall numbers of *santeros* in the United States are hard to determine given the issues of secrecy and the religious syncretism of many practitioners. While the number of those fully initiated into Santería is relatively small, some scholars estimate that as many as 5 million individuals in the United States incorporate some elements of Santería practice into their religious lives.

SRP/EQ

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Satanism More than most other religious impulses, Satanism means many things to many people. To its opponents, Satanism has been associated with the abuse and murder of children. To its practitioners, Satanism refers to a tradition that affirms as good the natural desires and impulses that Christians have for centuries denounced as evil. Given the disparity in these definitions, it makes sense to refer to two Satanisms: the Satanism affirmed by practitioners and the Satanism denounced by detractors.

The former type is most visible in the Church of Satan, founded in 1966 in the San Francisco Bay area by Anton Szandor LaVey (1930–97). Before his incarnation as the self-appointed high priest of Satanism, LaVey reportedly spent some time in the circus, where he imbibed a flair for the dramatic and a keen sense of self-promotion. LaVey achieved national renown in the late 1960s, when he conducted America's first openly Satanic rituals—a wedding, a funeral, and a baptism (of his daughter, Zeena). In 1969, he wrote *The Satanic Bible,* which contains a simple creed that defines Satanism as the perfect antidote to Christianity. According to LaVey, Satanism affirms indulgence over abstinence, vengeance over turning the other cheek, and this life over the next. Its key rituals include the black mass (a parody of Roman Catholic Holy Communion) and celebrations of individual Satanists' birthdays.

LaVey responded to criticisms of his work by instructing members of the Church of Satan scrupulously to obey the law. His exploits earned him a recurring role as Hollywood's adviser of choice for horror movies. The Church of Satan peaked in popularity during the 1970s with a membership of perhaps 5,000. It spawned a number of imitative organizations, including the Temple of Set, which began when Michael Aquino, a high-ranking Church of Satan priest, decided to strike out on his own in 1975.

The second type of Satanism is both much more controversial and much more difficult to locate. In response to LaVey's popularization of Satanism, conservative Christian groups began in the 1980s to accuse Satanists of operating clandestine rings devoted to kidnapping, abusing, and murdering children. These detractors see child molestation as the key religious ritual of Satanism and point to each disappearance of a child from its home as evidence for that claim.

The most generous response to such allegations is that they have not yet been proven. Some heavy metal rock lyrics are inspired by Satanism, and some American high school students do dabble in Satanism as a form of adolescent rebellion. Nevertheless, the most observable phenomenon associated with this second type is not Satanism itself but its denunciation by conservative Protestants and Roman Catholics. In keeping with the recent tendency to refer to the period of the witch trials in Salem, Massachusetts, as an era of "witch-hunting" rather than "witchcraft," it might make sense to refer to the supposed revival of Satanism as a time of Satanist-hunting rather than Satanism. The fact that the Satanic revival and the conservative Protestant group the MORAL MAJORITY seem to have peaked roughly simultaneously lends credence to the thesis that the more nefarious form of Satanism may exist primarily in the minds of its critics.

The internet has proved to be a tremendous source for rumors and conspiracy theories regarding alleged Satanism, ritual child abuse, and human sacrifice. Many stories go back to the 18th and 19th centuries and revive stories told about Masons and the "Bavarian Illuminati," part of a worldwide conspiracy to undermine Christianity and take over the world. Books such as John W. Decamp's *The Franklin Cover-Up: Child Abuse, Satanism, and Murder in Nebraska* also serve as bases for the view that a massive Satanic conspiracy rules the world. Certain forms of music, including heavy metal, reinforce the conviction that Satanists are everywhere.

Despite the ubiquity of these claims, law enforcement officials have not uncovered proof of any organized undertakings. This, however, seems only to reinforce the conspiracy theorists in their view that even the police and FBI are involved.

Fears and rumors aside, true Satanists remain few in the United States. While numbers are difficult to ascertain both because of secrecy and the individualism of many practitioners, there probably are fewer than 300,000 individuals in the United States who would identify as Satanists in any form.

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Saybrook Platform The Saybrook Platform was a response by the Congregational (see CONGREGATIONALISM) churches of Connecticut to a perceived decrease in religious piety and church discipline. Written by a synod authorized and summoned by the colony's legislature in 1708, the Saybrook Platform fundamentally altered the nature and structure of church organization. The 12 ministers and four laymen involved rejected the extreme congregationalism that had been the ideal of church polity and replaced it with a more presbyterian system (see PRESBYTERIANISM). This new organization was composed of local ministerial associations and consociations comprised of ministers and lay members from local churches within a particular region. The ministerial associations were given the authority to examine candidates for the ministry and to oversee ministerial behavior, while the consociations were to impose discipline on local churches and to judge disputes arising within congregations.

This assault on traditional congregational independence led many to resist implementation of these policies. Despite the colonial government's support for the platform and the penalties it provided, including disfellowship of churches refusing to accept consociational rulings, many congregations ignored its provisions.

However, resistance by individual congregations eventually succumbed to organizational strength, and the consociation became the method of Congregational governance well into the 19th century, surviving even after Congregationalism was disestablished as Connecticut's official church.

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Schaff, Philip (1819–1893) Philip Schaff was the founder of the American Society of Church History and one of the most influential scholars and church leaders in 19th-century America. Along with his colleague JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN at Mercersburg Seminary in Pennsylvania, Schaff was instrumental in developing a form of religious thought known as the Mercersburg Theology.

Schaff was born at Chur, Switzerland, on January 1, 1819. Educated at the Universities of Tübingen, Halle, and Berlin, he began a promising teaching career at Berlin in 1842. In 1843, Schaff accepted an invitation to come to Mercersburg, the newly formed seminary of the GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH in America, where he served until 1865. Schaff later taught and lectured at Andover, Drew, Union, and Hartford Seminaries. In 1870, he accepted a professorship at Union Theological Seminary in New York City and remained there until his death.

Schaff's first major publication was *The Principle of Protestantism* (1845), an expansion of his inaugural address at Mercersburg. Translated into English and introduced by Nevin, *The Principle of Protestantism* became a manifesto for the Mercersburg Theology. Schaff had been influenced at Tübingen by Georg W. F. Hegel's teachings on historical development. His book discussed the REFORMATION as a flowering of elements within medieval Catholicism. Contrary to the standard Protestant view that the Reformation had thoroughly repudiated the corruptions of ROMAN CATHOLICISM, Schaff emphasized that there were valuable lessons to be learned in every age of church history.

Schaff's next significant publication appeared in 1846. In *What Is Church History?* he summarized interpretations of ecclesiastical history since the 16th century, placing his own work in the new "historical school." This book represented a milestone in American historical writing, for in it Schaff stressed how historians must not impose the values of their day on events of the past. However, the most conservative wing of the German Reformed Church viewed Schaff's ideas as reprehensible and raised the cry of "heresy" against him. Conflict over these views eventually forced Schaff's departure from Mercersburg.

Schaff's publishing record was truly extraordinary. While at Mercersburg, he participated in the writing and editing of a number of publications, including the *Mercersburg Review* (1857–61) and the first of eight volumes of his *History of the Christian Church* (1858). Later in his career, he published a number of significant works: *Church and State in the United States* (1876), an interpretation of the American commitment to religious liberty; the first edition of his three-volume *Creeds of Christendom* (1877); the 14-volume series *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (1880–86); and the original edition of the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (three volumes, 1882–84). Schaff also helped organize what would eventually be the 13-volume *American Church History* series, which was released between 1893 and 1897.

Schaff remained in the forefront of American Protestantism throughout his long and productive life. In addition to his contributions to American religious thought through his writings and teaching career at Mercersburg and at Union, he founded the American Society of Church History and served as its first president from 1888 to 1893. He was also involved in numerous social reform and ecumenical activities. He worked, for example, with the New York Sabbath Committee, the Evangelical Alliance, and the American Revised Bible translation committee.

Active in church affairs until the end, Schaff died at New York City on October 20, 1893.

GHS, Jr.

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Schechter, Solomon (1847–1915) By the time of his arrival in the United States to assume the presidency of the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in 1902, Solomon Schechter was recognized as the preeminent Hebrew scholar of his time. In his 13 years at the seminary, Schechter invigorated the academic study of JUDAISM and exerted a formative influence on the institutions and ideas of what became CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM.

Born December 7, 1847, in Focsani, Romania, Solomon Schechter was raised in a traditional Hasidic family (see HASIDISM). He began his rabbinical training at an early age and in 1875 moved to Vienna for further religious study. There he was introduced to secular learning, which he pursued during advanced studies in Berlin.

Invited to England in 1882 by Claude Montefiore, the English Jewish philanthropist and industrialist, Schechter began a scholarly career that led to an appointment in rabbinics at Cambridge University (1890). In 1897, Schechter made history with his excavation of a long-abandoned Cairo *genizah*. (A *genizah* is a place where unusable Jewish holy books are entombed in order to prevent their profanation.) This brought to light thousands of ancient and medieval manuscripts relating to Jewish culture and religion, many previously unknown or lost.

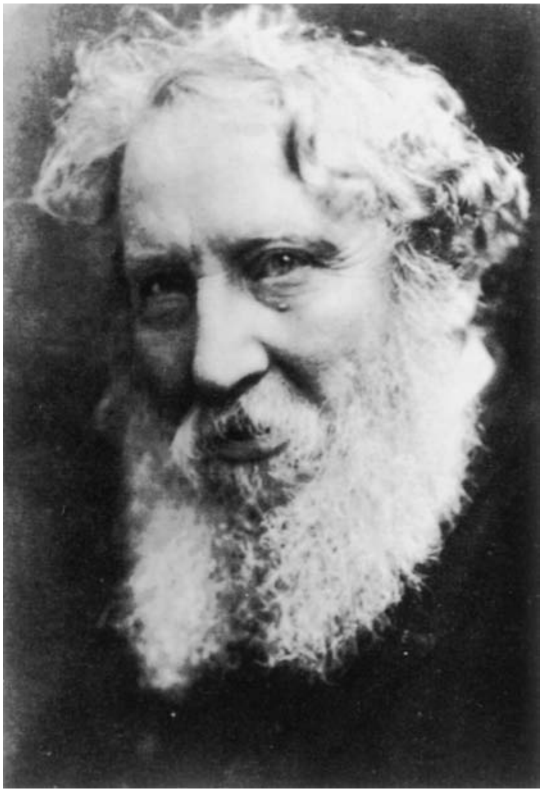
Academic respectability did not mean financial security, however. Financial woes, combined with a desire for a more Jewish environment in which to raise his children and a distaste for British classism, led Schechter to accept the presidency of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York in 1902.

Upon arriving in the United States, Schechter found "a demoralized institution with virtually no full time faculty, [and] little broad support among the laity." Undaunted, Schechter expressed his vision of the school in his inaugural address. The seminary was to combine rigorous scholarly method with a concern for Judaism and the Jewish people, open to all segments of the community and to all views. "I would consider my work . . . a complete failure if this institution would not in the future produce . . . a raving mystic who would denounce me as a sober philistine, . . . an advanced critic who would rail at me as a narrow minded fanatic, while a third devotee of strict orthodoxy would raise protest against any critical view I may entertain." With this vision, Schechter and the men he hired turned the school into one of the premier centers of Jewish learning, and graduates of JTS soon exerted tremendous influence within the Jewish-American community.

Beyond his scholarly achievements as a philologist and interpreter of the Jewish tradition, Schechter was a creative thinker who believed that Judaism could withstand the secularizing and assimilationist tendencies of modernity only by addressing them directly. This view led him to demand that the work done at the seminary should meet the highest canons of scholarship. It should have "that scientific thoroughness and finish which alone deserves the name research." Only by responding to modernity, rather than withdrawing from or avoiding it, could Judaism meet those social and intellectual forces Schechter viewed as "often more dangerous to [Jews] than pogroms and direct persecutions."

Judaism, however, did not have to fear all change, Schechter asserted, because Judaism always had been a religion in process. This did not mean that everything could be altered. The traditions of Judaism were important because they expressed the values of the community, *klal* Israel (universal or "catholic" Israel). More precisely, the traditions of Judaism were created by the people Israel in order to realize the eternal values within the Torah. Since these traditions inhered within a living people, rather than in dead books, the community itself had the right to alter or change the tradition in order to bring it into line "with the ideal aspirations and religious needs of the age."

ORTHODOX JUDAISM erred and dishonored the community by refusing to respond to the religious needs and demands of the time. REFORM JUDAISM, on the other hand, failed to realize that some changes were incompatible with Judaism and never could be legitimate because they violated the community itself. To make those changes would be to commit cultural-religious suicide.



Solomon Schechter, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary from 1902 to 1915. *(Jewish Theological Seminary of America)*

By the time of his death on November 19, 1915, Schechter had helped to reinvigorate Conservative Judaism in the United States. By transforming the JTS into a vibrant center of Jewish learning dedicated to intellectual rigor and a commitment to Judaism, Schechter helped to provide Conservative Judaism with a creative power that led it to become the largest branch of American Judaism.

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Schmemann, Alexander (1921–1983)

Born and educated in Europe, Father Alexander Schmemann made an influential career in America as an Orthodox liturgical theologian, professor, and church leader. A crucial figure in the establishment of the independent ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA in 1970, he inspired a liturgical revitalization movement whose impact was felt beyond the boundaries of Orthodoxy.

Born in Estonia in 1921, Schmemann grew up in the Russian emigré community in Paris and was educated at the Orthodox Theological Institute ("St. Sergius") and at the University of Paris. Influenced by his teachers, including A. V. Kartashev, Nicholas Afanasiev, and George Florovksy, Schmemann committed himself to the reexploration of the Byzantine and patristic roots of Orthodoxy. He was also influenced by the lively French Catholic liturgical movement of the period.

Ordained to the priesthood in 1946, he joined the faculty of St. Sergius as a church historian before emigrating to the United States in 1951 to take a position at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in New York. Along with several others trained at St. Sergius, Schmemann made St. Vladimir's a world center of Orthodox education and served as its dean from 1962 to 1983. He became the most important intellectual figure in the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America (also known as the Russian Metropolia).

Often called "the father of Orthodox liturgical theology," Schmemann's scholarly and popular works fueled a liturgical and eucharistic revival among the Orthodox. Major works emphasizing his central theme, the power of the Orthodox liturgy, include *For the Life of the World* (1964), *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (1967), and *The Eucharist* (1984). Scores of those trained at St. Vladimir's carried his views into the churches.

He based his work on *resourcement*, the attempt to recapture the theological spirit of the premedieval church. In particular, he aimed to purge Orthodox theology of fragments of Protestant and Catholic argumentation that he considered inauthentic and inorganic. He was particularly passionate in his criticism of secularism, which he described as "a lie about the world."

Schmemann argued that the Orthodox liturgy, which he described as an eschatological action, is the lifespring of the faith, the central vehicle through which Christian identity is formed and expressed. Its purpose "is to manifest the Kingdom of God, to make people taste its celestial beauty, truth, and goodness."

His ideas were influential outside Orthodoxy, especially among Catholics, and Schmemann was also an important, if often critical, figure in the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT.

Despite his aversion to secularity, Schmemann was an advocate of the selective accommodation of Orthodoxy to American culture. He was especially troubled by the fragmentation of the church and argued vehemently that Orthodox ecclesiology required the formation of a single American church.

Although few outside the Metropolia shared his sense of urgency, Schmemann and other leaders of the Metropolia worked to secure such a church. During the late 1960s, he played a crucial role in the negotiations between the Metropolia and the Patriarchate of Moscow that paved the way for the independence of the newly named Orthodox Church in America.

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Schmucker, Samuel Simon (1799–1873)

Samuel Schmucker was a minister and theologian who played a critical role in the development of American LUTHERANISM in the first half of the 19th century. He was instrumental in helping establish both the General Synod, the church's first national governmental body, and Gettysburg Seminary in Pennsylvania, now the oldest Lutheran theological school in America. Schmucker was also a controversial figure who wished to shape his denomination in the popular, democratic mold of mainstream American Protestant EVANGELICALISM.

Schmucker was born on February 28, 1799, in Hagerstown, Maryland. His father, John George Schmucker, was a Lutheran minister who was active in reform and benevolent activities in the early 19th century. Samuel graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1819 and from Princeton Seminary a year later. He was ordained to the ministry in 1821 and served a group of congregations near New Market, Virginia, from 1820 to 1826. Possessing more formal schooling than any other Lutheran minister of his time, Schmucker was called in 1826 to be founding president and professor at Gettysburg Seminary. He later took a leading role in organizing Pennsylvania (now Gettysburg) College, serving as its president between 1832 and 1834. He remained at the seminary for nearly 40 years and helped prepare several hundred students for the Lutheran ministry.

Schmucker sought to relate Lutheranism to the evangelical movement that dominated the religious landscape of the United States. He had been influenced by PIETISM, the 17th-century Protestant religious movement that stressed individual spiritual renewal and attention to godly living. He believed that Lutherans, who had initiated the REFORMATION in the 16th century, should continue their evangelistic efforts and spread the Christian Gospel in America. As Lutheran congregations were created as settlers moved westward, Schmucker desired to bring them into communion with the central governing body of the denomination, the General Synod that had been organized in 1820.

Swayed by the heady religious environment of the young American republic, Schmucker opposed the narrow doctrinal conservatism of the "Old," or "Historic," Lutherans who insisted upon staunch adherence to the 1580 Book of Concord, the classic Lutheran creedal statement. Schmucker argued that the genius of the new "American Lutheranism" would lie in its ability to adapt to changing cultural and religious circumstances. While still allowing that the Bible contained the essential doctrines of Lutheranism, Schmucker believed that Lutheran ministers should not have to be bound simply to "the minutiae of any human creed." Such evangelical impulses also impelled Schmucker into the advocacy of Christian union. In 1838 he published his *Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches,* a pioneering work calling for cooperation among the major Protestant denominations in the United States. And he attended the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846 in order to strengthen the cause of church unity.

As theologically conservative Lutherans flooded into the United States from Europe, however, Schmucker the evangelical liberal soon found himself isolated from most members of his church. Although Schmucker was once regarded as the savior of American Lutheranism, his fellow church members had virtually repudiated his leadership by mid-century. Nevertheless, he remained resolutely committed to the ideals he championed. Schmucker retired from his seminary professorship in 1864, and he died at Gettysburg on July 26, 1873.

GHS, Jr.

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Schneerson, Menachem Mendel (Menachem Mendel Schneersohn) (1902–1994)

The head, or rebbe, of Lubavitcher, or Habad, HASIDISM, Menachem Mendel Schneerson exerted tremendous force on American JUDAISM after his arrival in the United States in 1941. He oversaw the massive outreach campaigns run by the Lubavitchers, their adoption of modern technology—including cable television—and their singular openness toward nonobservant Jews. All of these activities were designed to bring about greater religious observance among Jews and to create a holier world in preparation for the coming of the Messiah, the desire for which constitutes a major element of Lubavitch thought. The significance of the Lubavitcher rebbe ran far deeper than his role as spiritual-communal head of the 30,000 to 50,000 members of the movement. The rebbe was a distinguished and respected figure in ORTHODOX JUDAISM and had a rather large cadre of supporters among nonobservant and secular Jews, who looked upon him and Lubavitch as dynamic forces in maintaining Judaic life and culture in the United States.

Menachem Mendel Schneerson was born in Nikolaev, Russia, on April 18, 1902. He was a descendant of the founder of Habad, Schneur Zalman of Lyady, and great-grandson of the third rebbe. At an early age, he showed great scholarly abilities, and by the time of his bar mitzvah, was considered an *ilui,* or Torah genius. Persecution of the sect in Russia led to his removal to Warsaw, Poland, where in 1929 he married the daughter of the then rebbe Joseph Itzhak Schneersohn. Although a distinguished religious scholar and aide to his father-in-law, Schneerson took the most unusual step of attending secular universities, studying at both the University of Berlin and the Sorbonne, from which he received a degree in engineering.

Following the outbreak of WORLD WAR II, he came to the United States in 1941, where he joined his father-in-law, who had recently been released from a Soviet prison. They settled in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, and Schneerson was placed in charge of the Lubavitch education programs. Following the death of Joseph Itzhak in 1950, Schneerson became the seventh Lubavitch rebbe.

Schneerson took the most doctrinally and organizationally sophisticated of all the Hasidic movements and made it into a powerful force in American Judaism. The rebbe himself was a powerful presence. For years, he granted audiences to all comers on Tuesday and Thursday nights from 9 P.M. until past midnight, but declining health and advancing years forced him to curtail this activity. Until his stroke in 1992, he continued to dispense advice and comfort and to support his followers through the mail, a task made easier by his fluency in 10 languages.

While the more separatist Hasidic groups click their tongues at Habad's openness toward nonobservant Jews (as well as Schneerson's secular education), the rebbe is reported to have remarked that he recognized only two types of Jews, those who are observant Jews and those who are not yet observant Jews. This attitude, made possible by the theological bases of Habad, has led to active proselytization among nonobservant Jews.

"Habad Houses" exist on numerous college campuses, and "Mitzvah Mobiles" cruise the streets of New York City with Habad members who encourage Jews to follow the religious commandments. The rebbe sent prayer books to Jews in Panama, a *mohel* (one who performs the ritual circumcision) to a tiny Caribbean island, and members of Lubavitch to small Jewish communities around the world. These activities are driven by Habad's kabbalistic theology, which emphasizes the divine spark in everyone. This spark is increased by the performance of any religious act, and as it grows, it moves the individual toward greater religious activity.

Habad's messianic expectation fuels this desire to bring all Jews into conformity with the divine law. Every religious act not only brings the individual Jew closer to God, but also moves the world closer to the messianic age. As greater numbers of people follow the divine laws, the world becomes "a more hospitable place for the messiah."

This messianic desire, manifest on billboards and bumper stickers announcing "We want *Moshiach* [Messiah] now!" led to some speculation that Schneerson himself was a messianic candidate. There were several reasons for this speculation. The first was sociological. Given the dynastic nature of Hasidism, the childlessness of the rebbe and his wife, Chaya, eventually could prove fatal to the movement.

There were theological issues as well. Since within Judaism there is the tradition that each generation has its potential messiah, the possibility that it was Schneerson was not too far-fetched. He matched all the criteria for the messiah set out by Maimonides in his Book of Judges. Schneerson was a descendant of the House of David, he scrupulously observed all the commandments, and he attempted to bring all of Israel into unity and the way of the Torah.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the messianic fervor reached a crescendo. Schneerson's messianic status seemed to be borne out by predictions that the 1991 Gulf War would be short, that Israel would be spared, that the Soviet Union would collapse, and that Russian and Ethiopian Jews would lead an exodus to Israel. The expectations received a setback in the winter of 1992, however, when Schneerson suffered a stroke, but as he slowly recovered, expectations rose yet again. Schneerson's death in June 1994 caused tremendous grief and distress among his followers and created tensions between those who continued to believe he would yet reveal himself as the messiah and those who believed that the world had proved itself unworthy.

During his life, Schneerson's influence extended well beyond the United States. He had a substantial following in Israel and influenced Israeli politics. Although he never visited the country and viewed its secular government with suspicion, he believed strongly that the land of Israel belonged to the Jews. After he announced that it would violate religious laws to relinquish any land (meaning the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza), a small religious party composed of Lubavitchers provided the votes to bring a hard-line government to power in 1990.

Within the United States, Schneerson's prestige extended beyond Lubavitchers and orthodoxy to many secular and nonobservant Jews, whose financial support made many of the movement's activities possible. These Jews, concerned about the continuation of Jewish life and Jewish culture, viewed Schneerson and the Lubavitchers as bulwarks against assimilation. As a result, Schneerson's significance within American Judaism was much greater than mere numbers could tell.

Since Schneerson's death, the movement experienced significant internal conflicts between some leaders of the Lubavitch movement and vocal supporters of the view that Schneerson was the Messiah. Interestingly, this conflict has found its way into the courts, ostensibly over the issue of ownership of 770 Eastern Parkway, Schneerson's home and the organization's main synagogue. The cause of the conflict was a plaque that mentioned Schneerson, in the traditional Jewish form of referring to the dead, as being of blessed memory. The messianists, who reject that Schneerson is truly dead, vandalized the plaque and attempted to replace it with one declaring him to be the Messiah.

Unlike many organizations led by charismatic individuals, Lubavitch appears to be suffering neither from the death of Schneerson, who left no appointed successor, nor from the conflicts within the Lubavitch movement. The highly motivated and organized structure that Schneerson created for the movement seems to be serving well. This structure actually may prove to be his most important legacy.

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science and religion The relationship between religion and science in the United States has been complex and multifaceted. They have been both partners and opponents. Practitioners of each have alternately viewed the other as threat and help, as essential and irrelevant.

The first European settlers in the present-day United States inhabited a radically different mental and scientific world from that of early 21st-century Americans. Intellectually rooted in the cosmological worlds of Aristotle and Ptolemy as well as the Bible, they believed that the Sun revolved around Earth. For them, the universe was naturally static and actively governed by a God who used the natural world to manifest his power and majesty.

By the time of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, this world had been turned upside down, and religious leaders had been active participants in that transformation. Copernicus and Galileo had demonstrated that Earth was not the center of the universe. Isaac Newton had explained the natural movement of objects. To a great extent, in Puritan New England at least, religion paved the way for the acceptance of these intellectual breakthroughs. By the 1650s, Harvard College, founded to train future ministers, taught the Copernican theory of the universe, and ministers such as COTTON MATHER and JONATHAN EDWARDS took an active interest in scientific and medical developments. Mather was elected to the Royal Society of London, and Edwards wrote several botanical essays notable for their attention to scientific detail. Both also promoted the cause of smallpox inoculation—such an inoculation, in fact, caused Edwards's death.

This relationship remained fairly close through the antebellum era. Science and religion shared several basic assumptions. Both believed the world was orderly and understandable. They also shared a commitment to a Baconian view of knowledge. Science worked on the basis of gathering facts that produced a solution or answer. This nontheoretical view of the world meshed well with the SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM that predominated among the country's leading religious thinkers.

Each tended to view the other positively. In the United States, Protestant religious thinkers saw science as a means of demonstrating the glory and power of God, while most scientists saw little or no conflict between their (usually Protestant) religious beliefs and their scientific work. When conflicts did emerge, they usually were over who was more qualified to interpret Scripture rather than over who was more qualified to interpret the scientific evidence.

This harmony was broken by the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and especially his *Descent of Man* (1871). While the books originally provoked much scientific debate about organic evolution, they met little widespread religious condemnation. By the turn of the century, nearly all American scientists had become convinced of some version of the theory of organic evolution, as had most religious liberals (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL) and many evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM). Even among those who rejected organic evolution, believing it incompatible with the Christian understanding of human nature, no major thinker accepted the literal biblical story of a recent six-day creation.

Early in the 20th century, this began to change. The increasing naturalism in science and the growing gulf between scientific knowledge and religious knowledge brought the issue of EVOLUTION to the forefront. Evolution in its Darwinian form increasingly seemed to strike at the very heart of biblical religion. By seeing the evolution of the species as simply a random series of adaptations to external stimuli, Darwinian evolution appeared to deny both a purposeful creation that was the result of divine action and a universe that was part of a divine plan. This was particularly problematic when applied to human beings. If human development were the result of random evolutionary forces, the belief that human beings were created in the image of God was denied, as was the unity of humanity.

Many religious people were particularly disturbed by the last two implications of Darwin's theory. If development were solely the result of conflict, then war and violence were not only the norm for human behavior but positive goods, necessities for the improvement of the race. Human evolution, in the view of this social Darwinism, depended on conflict and on weaker peoples being destroyed by the stronger. The poor and the weak were detriments to human progress.

Many Christians recoiled at this doctrine, including WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, who saw both the social ills he had spent his political career fighting and German belligerence in WORLD WAR I as caused by this doctrine. Following the war, Bryan spent much of his energy campaigning against evolution.

Opposition to evolution was linked with the growing conflict between FUNDAMENTALISM and MODERNISM in Protestant Christianity. The decision already had been made for the Catholic Church with the pope's condemnations of AMERICANISM in 1899 and of Catholic modernism in 1907. Both these condemnations and the campaign against evolution were part of a defense of traditional Christian doctrines against a science that seemed increasingly hostile to any supernatural claims. For many, the first line of this defense was the truth of Scripture, including the doctrine of the special creation of human beings.

This conflict came to a head at the SCOPES TRIAL held in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925. The trial of John Scopes for violating the state's law against teaching evolution in schools became a platform for the wider conflict, with Bryan and Clarence Darrow the opposing heroes. Darrow's humiliation of Bryan and the concomitant pillorying of the antievolutionists in the public press drove the movement underground.

This underground movement reemerged in the late 20th century. Spurred originally by the 1960 publication of *The Genesis Flood: The Biblical Record and Its Scientific Implications* by Henry Morris and John C. Whitcomb, Jr., and strengthened by the formation of the Creation Research Society in 1963 and Creation Science Research Center in 1970, the fundamentalist fight against evolution, now proceeding under the name of CREATIONISM or "creation science," attempted to have the biblical story of creation taught alongside evolution in public schools. These efforts succeeded when this approach was mandated by the state of Arkansas. This law, however, was declared unconstitutional in 1982 by a federal appeals court that was convinced by the testimony of several leading Christian theologians that the doctrine of creation implies a creator and was therefore a religious doctrine, not a scientific theory.

This did not end the conflict, however. Several states passed laws requiring that evolution explicitly be described as merely a "theory" in all educational materials and that it be acknowledged that other views of creation existed. State and local school boards increasingly became the location for the struggle over the nature of scientific education. Kansas became a particularly intense battleground when in August 1999 the state school board voted to eliminate the teaching of evolution as a mandatory topic in the state science curriculum. This decision brought widespread comment and often condemnation from the media and the scientific community. Even the governor decried the decision. The 2000 elections changed the makeup of the state education board, which reversed the earlier decision in January 2001.

These defeats have not ended the struggle against both the teaching of evolution and Darwinian evolution in general. A new variant of creation science know as intelligent design has been put forward as an alternative to Darwinian evolution both scientifically and in the curriculum. In the courts, it has fared no better than its predecessor.

As science and technology have progressed, there increasingly are places where the application of scientific knowledge impinges on religious faith. This has been most obvious is in the fields of medicine and medical research (see MEDICINE, RELIGION AND). These issues have involved everything from the nature of human death, research on human beings, and organ transplants.

During the 1990s, one of the most challenging issues in the area of science and religion was that of stem cell research. Stem cells are very specific cells in the human body. They are undifferentiated cells. This means they have not yet become a specific type of cell. Given their ability to become any type of cell and to replicate themselves, stem cells hold the hope for treating many human illnesses. The problem emerges from the fact that the most viable stem cells come from human embryos. These embryos are derived from eggs fertilized in vitro (usually as part of fertility treatment for a couple during which several eggs are fertilized).

Although these embryos cannot develop into viable fetuses, many individuals object to their use in research since they are the result of fertilized human eggs. This objection usually has a religious basis. The Catholic Church (See ROMAN CATHOLICISM) and evangelical Protestants (see EVANGELICALISM; FUNDAMENTALISM) argue that to kill a human being for such instrumental reasons is immoral. They believe these fertilized eggs are human beings and therefore cannot be "killed" as part of scientific research (see RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT). Still other religious perspectives believe that stem cell research is morally and religiously acceptable and perhaps even morally commendable, given the positive possibilities it holds out for human life.

Just as in the debate about evolution, these conflicts emerge because of radically different starting points over the nature of human being, what science means and what it does, and the extent to which scientific progress is viewed as undermining religious faith and human morality. To many Americans, science often seems to be an ongoing source of attack on both religion and morality. Despite the predominance of scientific naturalism in education, for most people, the response to much contemporary science is indifference if not outright hostility.

For many people, whether the Sun moves around Earth or vice versa is basically irrelevant. Polls suggest that large numbers of Americans are scientifically illiterate, with large numbers agreeing with statements such as "God created man pretty much in his present form at one time in the last 10,000 years." The dominant role of physics in the 20th century and resulting introduction of Einsteinian relativity, the uncertainty principle, and confusing concepts such as "black holes" and "quarks" broke the common bond that science and religion seemed to share in an earlier age. Religion remained committed to truths, while science increasingly spoke of probabilities. Given these shifts, contact between them became increasingly tenuous. Although there have been some attempts to reconnect religious and scientific issues, the major movement between science and religion during this century has been away from each other. Science and religion increasingly have come to inhabit radically different spheres and have lost the connections that marked earlier periods.

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Scientology Founded in 1953 by the Nebraska-born science fiction writer L. Ron Hubbard (1911–86), the Church of Scientology aims to spread the self-help philosophy/religion first outlined in his best seller, *Dianetics, The Modern Science of Mental Health* (1950).

The goal of Scientology as described in *Dianetics* is to uproot unhappiness, which results, according to Hubbard, when an individual is induced by the "engrams" (brain records of prior experiences, including events in past lives) that operate on his or her "reactive mind" to repeat destructive behaviors. This goal is accomplished by a number of techniques aimed at eradicating one's engrams and uprooting the effects of the reactive mind. These technique include a thorough "auditing" or accounting of engrams and a systematic "clearing," through education and counseling, of all traces of those engrams from the individual. Scientologists who reach this end are called "Clears."

In the 1960s, Hubbard added to this basic therapy a more elaborate metaphysics that described the spiritual essence of the human being as a "thetan." In keeping with this understanding, Scientologists strive to become not only "Clears" but also "Operating Thetans" (OTs). Freed from the ill-effects of the reactive mind, OTs are believed to possess extraordinary powers, including the ability to bring into existence MEST: Matter, Energy, Space and Time.

Scientology has been criticized by both Christian groups and the mass media as a dangerous "cult of greed." In 1967, the Internal Revenue Service ruled that the Church of Scientology was not a tax-exempt religious organization, and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld that ruling in 1988. In the early 1980s, Hubbard's wife and 10 other leading Scientologists were put in prison for illegally interfering in investigations of their organization by government agencies.

Scientology, like many other NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, also has been regularly accused of brainwashing individuals, isolating members from their families and friends, and mental and physical abuse. Particularly during Hubbard's lifetime, anything less than total agreement with the church's teachings was met with hostility, ostracism, and even punishment. Members regularly were attached to "E-Meters," machines similar to a lie detector, and questioned about their feelings toward Hubbard and whether they harbored any doubts about his teachings.

Although scandals brought the church much notoriety, they do not seem to have hindered its growth and influence. Both the ACLU and the National Council of Churches, as well as numerous other religious organizations, supported the Scientologists' efforts to regain their tax-exempt status. In 1993, the IRS, after an extensive investigation into Scientology's finances, including a determination that the salaries paid to its leading officials were not out of order, rescinded its revocation of the church's tax-exemption.

Scientology has been promoted by numerous Hollywood celebrities, including John Travolta and Tom Cruise. In 2000, Travolta starred in *Battlefield Earth*, a film adaptation of one of Hubbard's science fiction novels. On the negative side, Tom Cruise's public antics during the early 2000s, including a very public attack on the actress Brooke Shields for using medication to deal with depression, brought increased attention to Scientology's practices. Such attention was most unwelcome by the church, particularly since throughout the 1990s and the early 2000s, it was under intense scrutiny in many countries, including France and Germany.

Scientology has been met with particular suspicion in Germany, where neither the federal government nor most state governments recognize it as a religion. During the 1990s, the pianist Chick Corea was forbidden to play concerts in Germany because he was viewed as a propagandist for Scientology. In 1995, the country's then labor minister declared Scientology to be Germany's most dangerous cult.

The church remains based in Los Angeles. Unlike most other new religious movements established by a single, charismatic founder, Scientology's growth does not seem to have been hurt by Hubbard's death in 1986. While hard membership numbers are nonexistent, it claims to have several million members in more than 125 countries.

SRP

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Scofield, Cyrus Ingerson (1843–1921)

C. I. Scofield was a minister and author of *The Scofield Reference Bible*, unquestionably the most important work to arise out of the American premillennialist (see premillennialism) movement. Scofield insisted that every word of the Bible contained divine truth, and his *Reference Bible* outlined the various "dispensations" (see dispensationalism) of God's revelation to humankind. His views on the infallibility of the Scriptures also contributed significantly to the growth of fundamentalism in the United States in the early 20th century.

Scofield was born near Clinton, Michigan, on August 19, 1843, but his parents later moved the family to middle Tennessee. Scofield served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. After the war, he settled first in St. Louis, where he studied law and was married, and then in Atchison, Kansas. He was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1869, elected to the Kansas legislature in 1870, and appointed United States attorney for his district in 1873. However, in 1879, Scofield left his wife (whom he divorced in 1883) and two children behind in Kansas and returned to St. Louis.

The details of Scofield's life in this period are unclear, and alcoholism may well have contributed to the sudden end of his marriage and law career. In any case, he experienced a religious conversion in 1879, rejected his previous lukewarm affiliation with the Episcopal Church, and became a Congregationalist. After joining the evangelistic campaign of revivalist Dwight L. Moody, Scofield served as acting superintendent of the St. Louis YMCA and worked at the Hyde Park Congregational Church in the city from 1880 to 1882. In 1882, he moved to Dallas, where he was ordained a minister and had a successful tenure as pastor of the city's First Congregational Church.

During his years in Dallas, Scofield established his reputation as an outstanding conservative interpreter of the Bible. He conceived of the Bible as an encyclopedic puzzle, a dictionary of facts that could be sorted out in a scientific fashion and made to disclose the progressive revelation of divine secrets. In 1888, Scofield published *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, a book that systematized those teachings he believed the Scriptures contained. He also composed a three-volume correspondence course on the Bible. Between 1895 and 1915, several thousand subscribers enrolled in this program, which was eventually sold to the Moody Bible Institute.

Dwight Moody convinced Scofield to leave Dallas in 1895 and come to Northfield, Massachusetts, to lead the Congregational church Moody attended. While in that town, Scofield became involved both with the Northfield Conferences, the summer missionary conferences Moody had founded, and with the Niagara Conferences, the Bible and prophecy meetings held each summer in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. As early as 1901, Scofield indicated his interest in editing a Bible that would explain the millenarian ideas taught at the Northfield and Niagara Conferences. Although he returned to his former church in Dallas in 1902 and served there five more years, he left the church again in 1907 to devote his energies to the composition of his most important work.

The Scofield Reference Bible was published by Oxford University Press in 1909. Central to its approach was Scofield's belief that God had divided history into seven dispensations, lengthy periods in which men and women were tested in respect to their obedience to God's will. At the end of each of the first five dispensations, all described in the Hebrew Bible, the enormity of human sinfulness had led to divine condemnation and catastrophe. Scofield said that the world is presently in the midst of the sixth dispensation, the dispensation of grace that began with the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. At the end of this dispensation, the RAPTURE of the church will occur, and, following a period of great tribulation, Christ will return and his millennial (thousand-year) reign will begin.

Scofield's thought continues to have a tremendous influence on American fundamentalism. After the publication of the *Reference Bible*, he moved from Dallas to New York City, where he founded the New York Night School of the Bible. In 1914, he also cofounded the Philadelphia School of the Bible, and in that period he was highly popular as a lecturer and conference speaker. Although declining health forced him to curtail his activities, Scofield also edited the tercentenary edition of the King James version of the English Bible in 1911 and revised his *Reference Bible* in 1917. He died at his home in Douglaston, New York, on July 24, 1921.

GHS, Jr.

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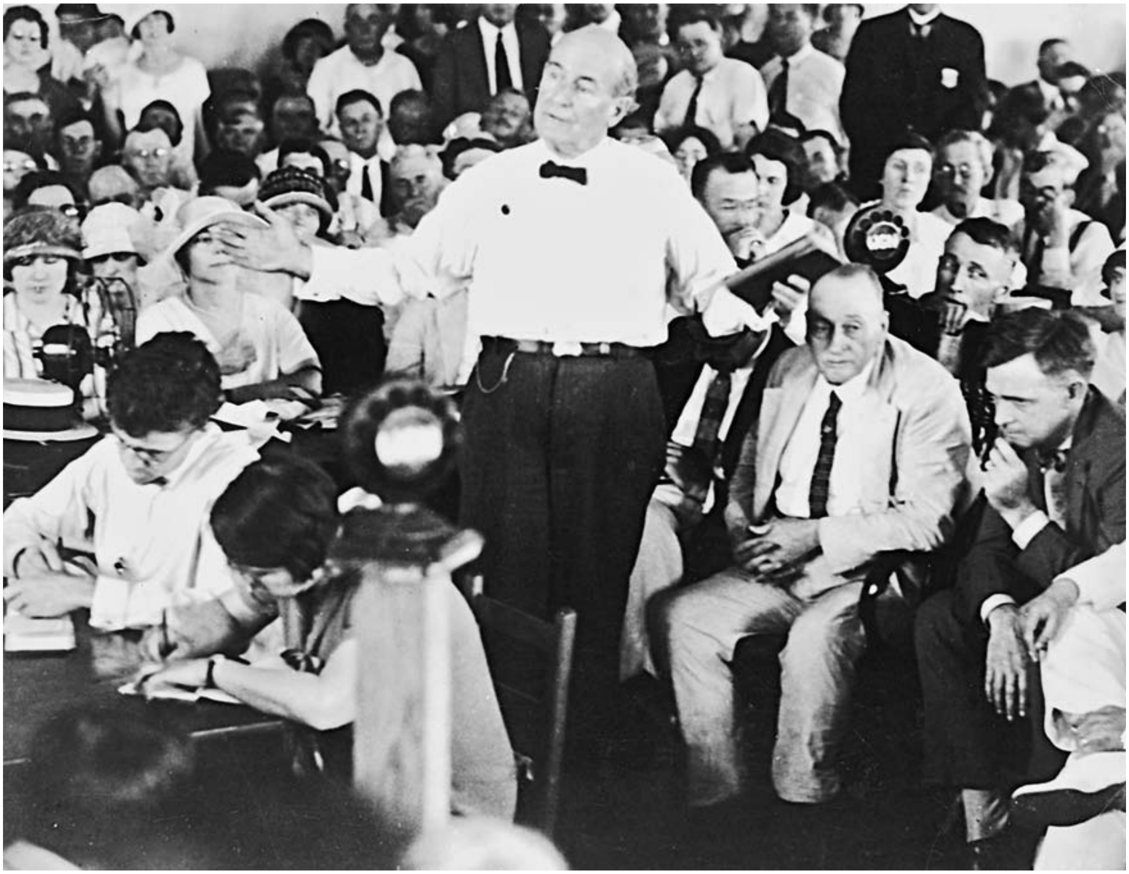
Scopes trial The trial of John T. Scopes, a science instructor accused of illegally teaching the theory of biological evolution to students in Dayton, Tennessee, was a pivotal moment in the history of 20th-century American FUNDAMENTALISM. Often called "the Monkey Trial," this event was also one of the first media extravaganzas in history. Hundreds of reporters flocked to a little southern town to observe the great Christian statesman WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN spar with defense attorney Clarence Darrow over the truth of the biblical account of creation and the descent of humankind from apes.

Following the appearance of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, Christians had long argued whether Charles Darwin's theories of evolutionary development contradicted teachings in the book of Genesis and other parts of the Bible. While some liberal theologians asserted that God might well have used certain forms of evolution to create the human race, more conservative interpreters insisted that Darwin's ideas and Christianity were absolutely incompatible. The controversy over Darwinism raged in the United States for many decades after the Civil War.

Matters came to a head in the 1920s, when several southern states introduced legislation that banned the teaching of evolution in public schools. The Tennessee law that Scopes violated had been passed early in 1925. It forbade teachers from mentioning "any theory that denies the Story of Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible." Scopes, a new biology teacher in a small mountain town, chose to challenge the law. He was supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, which supplied three of the most eminent lawyers of the day, including noted trial lawyer and religious skeptic Clarence Darrow. William Jennings Bryan, a three-time loser as Democratic candidate for president and one-time secretary of state, was a devout Christian who



William Jennings Bryan arguing for the prosecution at the Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, 1925. *(Getty)* had taken up the antievolution cause. Bryan became an active antievolutionist partially in opposition to the theories of social Darwinism that emerged in the late 19th century and as a result of his interviews with World War I German POWs. In these interviews, their use of language such as "survival of the fittest" convinced Bryan that evolution endangered human society by destroying the bases of morality. When the opportunity presented itself to fight against evolution on what was becoming a national stage, Bryan jumped at the chance.

The Scopes trial was a study of contrasts between two opposite worldviews. On one side was small-town America, southern, rural, poorly educated, and militantly conservative in its religious faith; on the other side was the urban North, intellectual, sophisticated, and religiously forward looking. When Bryan was called as a witness to testify on the veracity of the biblical text, Darrow's cross-examination tore his testimony to shreds. Darrow believed he was helping modern liberal culture fight back against the intellectual oppression of "bigots and ignoramuses." In the eyes of the press covering the trial, however, Bryan appeared to be simply a benighted yokel with little understanding of either modern biblical interpretation or science.

Although Scopes was convicted of the charges against him, the verdict was later overturned by a higher court in the state. Bryan won his case but died a few days after the verdict was reached. For the rest of the century, the fundamentalism Bryan championed at Dayton would be branded as hopelessly obscurantist. However, neither the fundamentalist movement nor the antievolution forces believed themselves defeated by the Scopes trial. A handful of states in the South continued to pass legislation against evolution.

Despite the fact that most of those laws were overturned by the courts during the 1960s, the rise of "creation science" in the 1970s and 1980s and "intelligent design" during the early 2000s (see CREATIONISM) demonstrated the continuing fear of and opposition to Darwinian evolution.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Scottish Common Sense Realism Scottish Common Sense Realism (also known as Common Sense philosophy or Baconianism) was an 18th-century philosophical school. It was crucial not only in shaping popular Protestant thought in America between the end of the War for Independence and the Civil War, but also in laying an intellectual base for the rise of FUNDAMENTALISM at the end of the 19th century. In opposition to both philosophical skepticism and philosophical idealism, Scottish Common Sense Realism argued that ordinary human beings were capable of gaining knowledge of the real world through the use of their senses.

The Common Sense philosophy emerged out of controversies in ENLIGHTENMENT thought in the mid-1700s. Philosophers had long debated the basis of human knowledge. John Locke (1632–1704), for example, had argued that "ideas" existed in an intermediate position between human beings and the real world. Since these ideas were the true objects of human thought, external things, he said, could only be known in one's mind. Locke's philosophical system was modified by George Berkeley (1685–1753), who insisted that ideas were the only things in existence and the only things that people could ever know. David Hume (1711–76), however, swiftly demolished Locke's rationalism and Berkeley's idealism.

He asked, first, how people could know that a real world existed and, second, if a real world did exist, how they could know anything about it. It was at this point that Thomas Reid (1710–96), a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman, entered the philosophical fray.

Reid and the philosophers who followed him tried to give solid metaphysical content to commonsense observations people always made. The ability to know the world, Reid said, was as natural as the ability to breathe air. His philosophy was both utilitarian and democratic, for it postulated that ordinary men and women were capable of comprehending a rational and predictable universe. Following the inductive methods of 17th-century scientist Francis Bacon, moreover, the Common Sense philosophers asserted that the external world was just as it appeared to be.

The fundamentally optimistic temper of Scottish Common Sense Realism perfectly fit the American intellectual and religious mood at the end of the 18th century. The philosophy had developed within the context of CALVINISM. While it appeared to contradict the strict Calvinist view that sin limits the human ability to know what is right, its belief in an innate moral sense was a helpful building block for a system of ethics. Calvinists in America thus gladly reconciled their views about determinism and depravity to match the new philosophy. Common Sense also provided the foundation for a rational, scientific confirmation of the truths of the Bible. A person could simply believe whatever he or she read in the Bible; no further knowledge or expertise was needed.

Many Americans employed the Common Sense method in the early days of the American republic. However, John Witherspoon, a Scottish-born clergyman who served as president of what is now Princeton University, brought the philosophy to prominence. After 1812, when the Presbyterian Church established a seminary at Princeton, Common Sense became the intellectual underpinning for theological instruction at that school. Princeton theologians saw themselves as champions of scientific impartiality against the challenge to biblical authority raised by liberals in their church. Teachers such as CHARLES HODGE, his son A. A. Hodge, and his protege BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD argued that the inspiration of Scripture depended upon the written words the Bible contained. Their doctrine of the INERRANCY of the biblical text, consistent with Common Sense belief, taught that the Bible was (as Charles Hodge put it) a "store-house of facts."

American fundamentalist thought in the late 19th and early 20th century was closely linked to Common Sense assumptions about the world. Combined with the biblicism of the Princeton theologians, Scottish Common Sense Realism led to supreme confidence about religious questions. Although fundamentalists might have appeared anti-intellectual in their refusal to accept Darwinist theories of evolution, their adherence to the "objective" standards of the biblical account of creation was—in their own estimation—eminently reasonable. Common Sense philosophy gave American fundamentalists what they believed was a secure bastion from which to defend the "old-time religion" and its conception of truth.

GHS, Jr.

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Seabury, Samuel (1729–1796) Samuel Seabury was the first Anglican (see ANGLICANISM) clergyman in the United States to be consecrated bishop after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. He made significant contributions both to the organization of the Episcopal Church and to the composition of that denomination's Book of Common Prayer.

Seabury was born on November 30, 1729, in Groton, Connecticut. Son of a Congregationalist minister who had converted to the Church of England, Seabury was himself ordained in 1753. He served as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in parishes in Long Island and Westchester County, New York. He was also involved in the unsuccessful effort to obtain an Anglican bishop for the colonies in the 1760s. During the Revolution, he volunteered as a chaplain to American Loyalists serving in the British army.

After the war ended, Seabury took an active role in reconstructing Anglicanism in the new nation. Chosen by the clergy of Connecticut in 1783 to seek consecration as their bishop, he sailed to England. Because English church law at that time required all clergy to swear an oath of allegiance to the British king, Seabury was unable to obtain the office he sought. Undaunted, he went north to Scotland, where on November 14, 1784, he was consecrated to the episcopate (see episcopacy) by three bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Seabury signed a concordat with the Scottish church pledging to incorporate its "high church" theological principles, notably, a strong episcopate, clerical control over the church, and emphasis on the sacrament of Holy Communion, into the structure of the new American Episcopal Church. Although the Episcopal General Convention at first refused to recognize that Seabury had been validly consecrated, since the Scottish Episcopal Church was not in communion with the Church of England, he was eventually accepted as a bishop in 1789.

Besides overseeing the church in Connecticut, Seabury extended assistance to Episcopalians throughout New England and assumed charge of parishes in Rhode Island in 1789. Ill health eventually overtook him. Seabury collapsed during a pastoral visit to New London, Connecticut, and died there on February 25, 1796.

GHS, Jr.

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Second Coming

See eschatology.

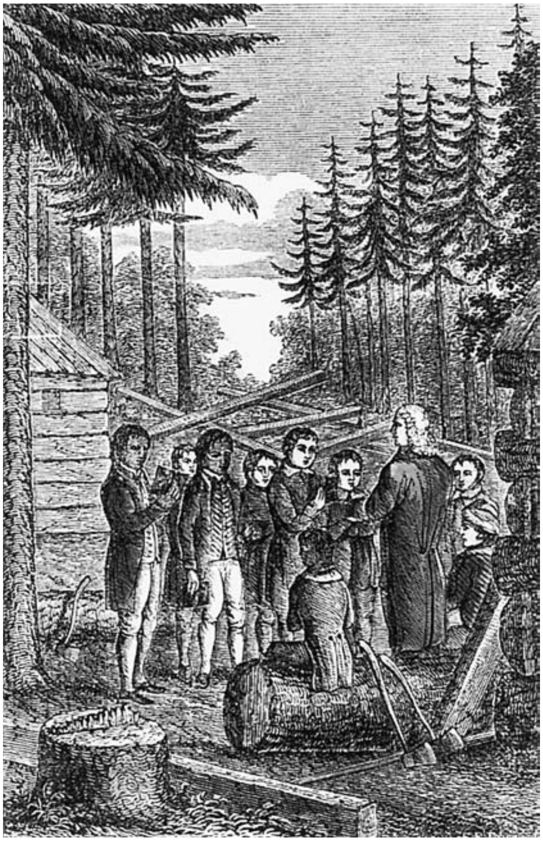
Second Great Awakening

The phrase *Second Great Awakening* refers to a series of revivals (see revivalism) that occurred throughout the United States between roughly 1790 and 1830.

Like the Great Awakening of the mid-18th century, the Second Great Awakening had a corporate as well as an individual dimension. Revivalists emphasized not only that God wished to save the souls of those who repented of their sins, but also that a special divine blessing had been placed upon America. Consistent with the self-reliant spirit of the early republic, leaders of the 19th-century revivals stressed the innate ability of individuals to reform both themselves and their society.

The Second Great Awakening had three distinct phases and locales: the relatively sedate revivals among New England Congregationalists in the first two decades of the 19th century, the raucous camp meetings on the southern and western frontier during roughly that same period, and the "new measure" revivals inspired by Charles G. Finney in the so-called Burned-Over District of upstate New York in the 1820s and 1830s.

Historians usually date the beginnings of the Second Great Awakening to the scattered revivals that appeared in remote sections of Connecticut and New Hampshire in the late 1790s. Although the New England phase of the awakening seemed to wane at the turn



Dartmouth College's beginnings sprang from the missionary zeal that swept New England during the Second Great Awakening. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

of the century, it gained force again in 1801 under the direction of Timothy Dwight, the president of Yale College. Dwight believed that many Yale students had fallen into "freethinking," and he launched a counterattack against that tendency. Yet even Dwight was surprised at the reaction his preaching provoked, for a third of the student body soon professed that they had experienced a religious conversion. As one student wrote in a letter to his family, "Yale College is a little temple."

Although the excitement at Yale quickly flagged, Dwight helped motivate other Connecticut clergy to join the revival campaign. Dwight's protege Moses Stuart, for example, led a revival at the First Church in New Haven in 1807 and 1808. Later, Lyman Beecher and Nathaniel William Taylor became leaders of the movement. Beecher was the great organizer and promoter of revivalism in New England, and Taylor provided the most coherent intellectual defense.

The leaders of the New England revivals sought to maintain the theological emphases of their great exemplar, Jonathan Edwards, who was the first to kindle religious enthusiasm during the Great Awakening. The followers of Edwards believed that the preaching of "plain gospel truths" would convince sinners to seek God's grace and lead to an eventual outpouring of the Holy Spirit. They emphasized that the revivals were the work not of human beings, but of God. They underscored this belief by insisting that worshippers maintain their decorum and eschew hysterical demonstrations of religious fervor. A renewed spiritual seriousness and the reformation of morals were viewed as the only genuine fruits of a revival.

As the Second Great Awakening spread west and south of New England, however, the eastern clergy's innate conservatism began to seem irrelevant to the social environment of the frontier. As a result, changes appeared in revival methods. Preachers viewed the successful revival more as a matter of technique than as a purely divine gift, and they introduced procedures intended to induce a decision for Christ. The western revivals were also marked by outbursts of undisciplined emotionalism. Held in unsettled areas among a generally unruly population, these revivals were said to attract those who preferred their "whiskey straight and . . . politics and religion red hot." Typical of this stage of the Second Great Awakening was the gathering in August 1801 at Cane Ridge (see Cane Ridge Revival), Kentucky. More than 10,000 people took part in a mass religious event that some participants later called the greatest outpouring of the Holy Spirit since the biblical day of Pentecost.

Cane Ridge became the symbol of tremendous religious changes occurring in the United States. Revivals broke out throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, and southern Ohio, and thousands of previously unchurched settlers were incorporated into Protestant denominations. Methodist revivalist PETER CARTWRIGHT, for instance, took part in countless camp meetings in this period. In his autobiography, Cartwright described groups of clergy of many different denominations uniting to preach at one time. On those occasions, he saw "more than a hundred sinners fall like dead men," while hundreds of other believers stood around "all shouting aloud the high praises of God at once."

Despite the success of the western revivalists, the emotional excesses of the camp meetings eventually convinced leaders of the Presbyterian Church to condemn the phenomenon. In 1805, the Presbyterian General Assembly, declaring that "God is a God of order and not of confusion," censured not only the looseness of revivalistic worship but also the general disregard for educational standards for ordination that revivalism encouraged. The General Assembly decried as well the tendency of Presbyterian revivalists to accept Arminian (see ARMINIANISM) theological notions, that is, the idea that sinners had free will either to accept or reject faith in Jesus Christ. This controversy was a central factor in schisms that split Presbyterianism in Kentucky and Tennessee. BARTON STONE and others, calling themselves "Christians only," withdrew from the Presbyterian Church in 1804, and revivalist members of the Cumberland Prebytery formed their own Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1805.

Over the next 20 years, the revivals of the awakening continued both in their conservative, New England form under the leadership of Congregationalists LYMAN BEECHER and his colleague Asahel Nettleton, and in their more exuberant western pattern, then almost exclusively under Methodist direction. The awakening entered its third—and in some ways most significant—phase in 1821, when CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, a lawyer in Adams, New York, experienced a conversion to Christ and felt a call to preach the Gospel.

Finney was ordained by the Presbyterians and began a series of evangelistic tours throughout western New York State. He was a physically imposing figure who drew large crowds wherever he traveled. He told his congregations that God had given men and women the opportunity to effect their own salvation if they would merely decide to surrender themselves to the Lord. He believed that common sense revealed how the human will was free to make up its own mind about spiritual matters. Finney's theological views also led him to rethink the revivalistic process itself. He did not emphasize the miraculous nature of a revival, but the natural means needed to achieve the desired results. He introduced several controversial features that became known as his "new measures," and he scandalized many by encouraging women to testify and pray in pubic.

Finney was a highly skilled practitioner of the revivalistic art. In 1825, he moved into the Mohawk Valley, and cities such as Rome, Utica, and Troy successively "caught fire." Wave after wave of religious excitement swept over the area, earning it the sobriquet "Burned-Over District." Finney soon became a national figure and later traveled to Philadelphia, New York City, and Boston to lead revivals. When illness led Finney to curtail his activities in 1832, the Second Great Awakening effectively came to an end.

The revivals Finney led had a far-reaching impact on both American religion and American society. The remarkable wave of social reform activity that followed the awakening was in part inspired by Finney's teachings, for he had always suggested the possibility of a person's attaining perfection (see PERFECTIONISM) in the present life. Although Finney himself was hesitant about applying his beliefs directly to the political sphere (no law could ever produce a perfect society, he thought), his emphasis on the human will and on dedicating oneself to the advancement of God's kingdom on Earth certainly was open to concrete social interpretations. Optimistic about the progress of revivalism and the increase of church membership across the United States, moreover, Finney even predicted in 1835 that the start of the millennium (see POSTMILLENNIALISM), the thousand-year reign of Christ, was only three years away—a further stimulus to the reforming impulse.

Thousands of American Protestants, animated by the revivals of the Second Great Awakening, quickly set to work to fulfill Finney's prophecy. Between 1816 and 1833, a whole cluster of national societies arose dedicated to education, missions, peace, temperance, antislavery, and other social reforms. As French commentator Alexis de Tocqueville remarked in 1835 after visiting America, religion was certainly "the foremost of the political institutions" of the United States. The awakening had roused many Americans to spread the Gospel and so transform their nation into a truly Christian republic.

(See also EVANGELICAL UNITED FRONT; EVANGELICALISM; NEW SCHOOL/OLD SCHOOL; RESTORATION MOVEMENT.)

GHS, Jr.

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Second World War See WORLD WAR II.

secular humanism The term *secular humanism,* coined by conservative Protestants, refers to a worldview that, according to opponents, eclipses the Christian God and elevates the worship of humanity itself. To those who use the term, secular humanism is a pernicious ideological viewpoint undercutting modern American society. It is thought to be particularly entrenched in the media, education, government, and even many liberal religious groups. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s conservative religious-political coalitions (see RELIGIOUS RIGHT) sought to mobilize opinion in a campaign to undercut the influence of secular humanism on public life.

In response to the social turmoil created by the 1960s COUNTERCULTURE, during the late 1970s and 1980s conservative Protestants affiliated with the New Religious Right became politically active. Southern Baptist minister JERRY FALWELL, founder of the MORAL MAJORITY, began speaking out against the growing influence of this godless, human-centered worldview. Many activists drew on a diagnosis of Western culture made by conservative Presbyterian theologian Francis Schaeffer, whose most notable predecessor was J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

In Schaeffer's writings, such as *A Christian Manifesto* (1981) and *How Should We Then Live?* (1976), Western culture has been in decline since the Protestant REFORMATION. According to Schaeffer, Westerners, including Americans, lost their grounding in the absolute truth and moral standards provided by the biblically based REFORMED TRADITION. While many Americans have regarded the ENLIGHTENMENT with some ambivalence, Schaeffer found in its SECULARISM the definitive source of most modern social and spiritual ills.

In particular, the Enlightenment worldview of humanism, which really only became firmly entrenched in America in the last few decades, inverted what earlier Protestants knew to be most important. For Schaeffer, humanists literally elevated the status of the human and displaced the transcendent God. Consequently, in recent decades, moral standards collapsed, and truth dissolved. Schaeffer's followers see a variety of social problems—sexual license, abortion (see SEXUALITY), drug use, and rising crime, all of which exemplify the permissiveness resulting from a lack of strong individual and family values—spreading across the land. This decline in values is especially disturbing because it has sapped America's spiritual strength, evident in the lack of will in the VIETNAM WAR, toleration for COMMUNISM, and a failure of patriotism (see CIVIL RELIGION).

In terms similar to those used by earlier generations to counter the spread of Catholicism (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM; NATIVISM), conservative Protestants, such as Tim LaHaye in *Battle for the Mind* (1980), claim secular humanism is a wide-ranging conspiracy entrenched within American institutions threatening to dilute the country's Christian heritage. Increasingly throughout the 1980s, conservative activists mobilized to ferret out secular humanism from public life. Contending that secular humanism is, in fact, a religion (and a dangerous one), activists argued that its pervasive influence in the public schools, government agencies, and publicly funded media violates the FIRST AMENDMENT. In 1987, Judge W. Brevard Hand of Alabama agreed, banning 31 textbooks from Alabama schools because they promoted "the religion of secular humanism." Though the decision was overturned, those opposed to secular humanism were encouraged to continue their efforts to remove dangerous titles from school libraries. According to a *New York Times* study, by 1986, "watchdog" groups had successfully removed 239 titles from public schools across the country.

The term *secular humanism* is occasionally used by members of the AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION as a valid way of distinguishing their own beliefs from those of religious liberals, such as the Unitarians (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION) who signed the HUMANIST MANIFESTO in 1933. In 1980, humanist Paul Kurtz launched the journal *Free Inquiry*, including a "Secular Humanist Declaration," in order to meet Falwell's charges head on and to try to reclaim the symbolic importance of humanism to American values. Nevertheless, the term remains more of a pejorative label than an accurate description of a distinct set of ideas. Most Americans who hold some form of the secular ideal also retain elements of a religious outlook. At bottom, the struggle against secular humanism represents the continuing conflict to define America's fundamental religious legacy as either Christian or pluralist (see PLURALISM). Americans of many tendencies, whether liberal or conservative, religious or secular, continue to identify their own religious outlook with the nation's fundamental values.

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secularism *Secular*, from the Latin *saeculum*, literally means this present age or generation and, by implication, things of this age or world, as opposed to one still to come. Hence the term, like the word *profane*, is often used in polar opposition to the word *religious* or *sacred*. This opposition is commonly taken to be part of a long-term historical process that social scientists have labeled *secularization*, by which societies supposedly lose their traditional moorings in religion on their way to becoming modern. Secularism consequently implies that the outcome of secularization is beneficial. Many social scientists and historians have seriously called into question the idea of secularization, arguing that it is not, in fact, a long-term irreversible process and that the rigid conceptual distinction between religion and the secular is, in fact, not visible within actual societies. Nevertheless, if secularization remains elusive, the belief in its benefits borrowed originally from the European ENLIGHTENMENT has exerted a profound impact on American culture over time.

Secularism as an ideal emerged first in the Enlightenment worldview incorporated by American deists into the revolutionary struggle. While deist revolutionaries largely avoided the strident anticlericalism and atheism that grew in Europe during the 18th century, many of them agreed with the typical Enlightenment effort to contrast reason with tradition, faith, superstition, and dogma. Accordingly, leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, THOMAS JEFFERSON, and TOM PAINE were quite critical of Christianity's claims to be a revealed religion. As the radical deist Elihu Palmer (1764–1806) put it, traditional religion was "an empire of superstition."

At the same time, almost all revolutionary leaders saw religion as necessary to promote civic virtue. For Jefferson and JAMES MADISON, this task was best undertaken indirectly. The conflicts between religious groups suggested that it had to be kept out of any direct role in a stable government (see ESTABLISHMENT, RELIGIOUS). The ideal of a secular society based on reason was thus partly at work in shaping the Constitution, which avoided mentioning religion or a divine being from whom the fledgling government derived its legitimacy. At the same time, however, many Christians themselves, particularly BAPTISTS such as ISAAC BACKUS, also championed the cause of religious liberty.

Between the Revolution and the CIVIL WAR, the secular ideal diminished, its power usurped by the creative energy unleashed by disestablished denominations. In the wake of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING's revivals and reforms, Protestants eagerly accepted the role of providing for the public good bequeathed to them by the more secular-minded Jefferson. Thus, religion proved capable of flourishing under the secular conditions of disestablishment.

A second period marked by the secular ideal emerged in the years following the Civil War. The rise of industrial capitalism, the growth of urban centers, the increased status of science, and an enormous influx of non-Protestant immigrants all contributed to profound transformations in American life. In the midst of the changes, the secular ideal reemerged, centered in the new views of knowledge contained within the emerging public universities. Many disciplines adopted the evolutionary theory developed by Charles Darwin, which challenged much traditional religious belief, occasioning bitter conflicts over SCIENCE AND RELIGION. Religious modernists during the Progressive Era prior to WORLD WAR I, largely Protestants, but also Catholics and Jews such as HORACE KALLEN and FELIX ADLER, sought to claim the new social conditions for their own, much as had their antebellum evangelical predecessors, confident that true religion could not only coexist with but even lead a secular, science-driven society.

While religious modernists found their influence rapidly eclipsed outside the small circle of church bureaucracies or the budding ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT, during the same period, a number of far more influential intellectuals abandoned their own religious backgrounds and embraced the secular ideal (see DEWEY, JOHN; JAMES, WILLIAM; HUMANIST MANIFESTO). But even here secularism was rarely appealed to in bald form, as the appreciation of non-dogmatic religious experience in Dewey's *A Common Faith* (1934) and James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) testify.

Admittedly, the confluence of institutionalized modern science, the state, the economy, and the mass culture produced by the media has created a form of society no longer conceptually dependent upon religion. But apart from largely university-based intellectuals, the secular ideal is not widely shared by the majority of the American population, who manage to live both religiously and secularly by trying to keep each in its place, a frequently difficult task since there remains profound disagreement about the public role of religion. Surveys indicate that the percentage of people actually holding atheistic or agnostic views (see ATHEISM) is quite small. But if secularism rarely exists in a pure form, it has recently loomed large in the worldview of resurgent conservative Protestants, who see it as a powerful force destroying an essentially Christian society (see FUNDAMENTALISM; SECULAR HUMANISM).

Secularism has certainly contributed to the shape of American institutions and to such important values as religious liberty and free speech. But whether seen in the struggles of the revolutionary era or in more modern times, in pure form it is rarely a powerful ideological force in American life. Ironically, the impact of secularism is most noticeable when combined with some form of the religious.

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segregation Segregation in the context of American history generally has meant the requiring of separate public facilities for whites and blacks, with a resulting relegation of blacks to inferior services and facilities. By the 1940s, this separation had become so complete in parts of the United States that whites and blacks lived in nearly separate societies, and in certain areas whites never saw blacks except as domestic servants. Until dismantled by law during the 1950s and 1960s, segregation was a dominant fact of American life, and its effects linger.

Despite segregation's deep hold in the United States, especially the American SOUTH, religious defenses of it were not generally popular, although there were those who attempted them and those who believed them. The religious justifications that were offered were rooted in arguments of biblical curse and racial inferiority.

The first of these religious justifications involved the curse of Cain, Genesis 4:15. Here it was argued that the "mark of Cain" was the making of his skin black. The second was the curse upon Ham, the son of Noah who "looked upon his father's nakedness" (Genesis 9:22). Noah's curse upon Ham, that he be a slave to his brothers and that his descendants would also be slaves, was applied to Africans, since Ham's grandson Cush was understood to be the father of the African people (Cushites) and since Africa was referred to as the land of Cush. Used originally by apologists for black SLAVERY, these texts also were marshaled to argue for the inherent inferiority of blacks, as was Jeremiah 13:23, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" Some interpreted this verse as suggesting there was nothing Africans could do to overcome their inherent inferiority.

All of these biblical arguments explicitly relied upon an assumption of black inferiority and white superiority. The one argument that did not immediately imply a natural inferiority of blacks was based upon the fact that people of different races lived in different regions. Drawing from the biblical story of the Tower of Babel, this argument claimed that God's confounding of the people's language implied a divine commandment of segregation. This was buttressed by references to biblical citations like Leviticus 19:19 that seemed to require unlike things to be separated. By analogy, the conclusion was that God wanted the races separated. The main point that this argument ignored was that Europeans were not particularly inclined to stay where they were and that whites essentially were doing the assigning of places.

All of these arguments had biblical mandates against them as well. Crucial was the fundamental theological claim of the divine creation of humanity—the fact that the biblical story of creation affirmed a common lineage. Additionally, the Pauline argument that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female (Galatians 3:28–29), seemed to belie any scriptural support for segregation. For these reasons, most denominations in the United States never publicly supported segregation as biblically based. Even those denominations dominated by white southerners rarely argued that segregation was religiously mandated, preferring instead simply to claim it was permitted. There were, however, individual Christians who did view segregation as religiously sanctioned, even commanded. During the 20th century, they tended to break away from existing denominations in order to organize new ones, such as the Association of Independent Methodists (1965), in order to avoid racial integration. Bob Jones University (BJU) is another place where racial separation was said to be biblically mandated. Although BJU is a multiracial school, interracial dating was prohibited until 2000, and the school held the official position that races were to be separated, a fact that led to the revocation of its tax-exempt status in 1983.

A major exception to the reluctance to argue that segregation was biblically mandated has been religious bodies affiliated with white supremacists, most notably the IDENTITY MOVEMENT. Rooted in 19th-century Anglo-Israelitism, which argued that Anglo-Saxons were the true Jews, the Identity movement affirms the superiority of the white race and its identity as the chosen people of God. The "mixing of the races" is understood to be a violation of divine law and a threat to racial purity. Although numerically small, their extremism and their tendency to violence, summed up in their cry of "RaHoWa" (racial holy war), has made them a frightening specter in American religion.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT)

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Self-Realization Fellowship Founded in 1920 by SWAMI PARAMAHANSA YOGANANDA (1893–1952), the Hindu-based Self-Realization Fellowship (SRF) was the largest Hindu organization in the United States before the reopening of immigration from Asia in 1965. The goal of the SRF is to spread in the West the teachings and practices of *kriya* yoga, a spiritual discipline that uses the yogin's spiritual energies (or kundalini) to attain liberation (or *moksha*). The organization also seeks to demonstrate "the complete harmony and basic oneness" of Christianity and Hinduism.

Like SWAMI VIVEKANANDA, who first came to the United States to attend the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS in Chicago in 1893, Swami Yogananda initially traveled to America in order to address an ecumenical religious conference. In his lectures at the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston in 1920, Yogananda joined Vivekananda in championing the real unity underlying the apparent differences of the world's religions. Unlike Vivekananda, who eventually returned to India, Yogananda took up residence in America. In personal encounters and public lectures, Yogananda taught *kriya* yoga as a practice compatible with Christian faith.

Yogananda established the Self-Realization Fellowship in Los Angeles as an American outgrowth of his Yogoda Satsanga Society of India (established in 1917). Incorporated in 1935, the SRF soon eclipsed the Vedanta Society as the leading Hindu organization in the United States. One reason for Yogananda's success was his ability to yoke Hindu beliefs and practices with emerging American traditions such as the GOSPEL OF WEALTH. *Kriya* yoga, he insisted, was a scientific technique rather than a spiritual exercise, so it could be practiced by Christians and Jews as well as Hindus and Buddhists. Moreover, that technique promised not merely expanded consciousness but also wealth and health. Unlike the Vedantists, who downplayed spiritual healing, the SRF emphasized it, publicizing its successes on billboards and in magazine advertisements.

SRF members are mostly middle-class European Americans, though the group is far more diverse today than it was in its early years. Those members aim to achieve the bliss of self-realization, which they equate with God-realization. Their Church of All Religions meets on Sundays and mixes Christian and Hindu practices. Its liturgies focus on meditation and incorporate readings from the New Testament, the Bhagavad Gita, and Yogananda's most widely read book, *Autobiography of a Yogi* (1946). A countercultural hit in the 1960s (see COUNTERCULTURE), Yogananda's autobiography continues to be read by Americans inspired by its message of the unity of all religions and the effectiveness of the techniques of *kriya* yoga.

At its peak, the SRF claimed 150 centers and 150,000 initiates. Following Yogananda's death in 1952, the group declined in both numbers and influence. James J. Lynn served as president of the SRF from 1952 until his death in 1955. Since that time, the organization has been run by Sri Daya Mata (Faye Wright), who was ordained as a nun by Yogananda in the 1930s. SRF claims 48 centers and meditation groups in 23 states, Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico.

SRP

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Separates See BAPTISTS; GREAT AWAKENING.

Separatists See CONGREGATIONALISM; PILGRIMS.

September 11, 2001, religion and Just before 9:00 A.M. on September 11, 2001, a commercial jetliner flew into one of the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Shortly afterward, a second plane struck the other tower. Minutes later, as people streamed from the buildings and as bystanders and millions of people viewing on television watched in horror, the south tower began to collapse, one floor dropping on the one below. The north tower's collapse soon followed. Amid this chaos, another jet crashed into the Pentagon, tearing a huge chunk into the wall of that massive edifice, the central command center of the U.S. military.

Rumors multiplied, fear grew, and anger mounted. Planes were ordered out of the skies. Amid this chaos, a fourth jet, its departure time delayed, also had been commandeered by terrorists, yet the delay made all the difference. The passengers on this plane, United Flight 93 flying from Boston to Los Angeles, alerted by cell phone conversations with family and friends, realized that their plane also was being directed to a major public building. The Capitol? The White House? No one knew, yet several passengers realized something needed to be done. Supported by those with whom they spoke, several passengers agreed on a plot to retake the plane. With words of "God bless you" ringing in their ears, heartfelt prayers, and a final "Let's roll" from one of the planners, the courageous individuals mounted an assault on the cockpit, bursting in and wrestling with the hijackers for control of the airplane. The assault was only partially successful. They prevented the hijackers from achieving their goal of flying the plane into its intended target but at the sacrifice of their own lives and the other passengers' as the plane crashed into a field in Pennsylvania.

In the hours and days that followed, fear, sadness, and concern gripped much of the American population. During those days, people turned to religion in many forms to deal with the shock, pain, and anger. From private prayers to interfaith gatherings to immense manifestations of CIVIL RELIGION, faith provided a basis for coping with those horrific events. But religion played another role as well. It soon became clear that the terrorist attacks were planned and carried out by a group of radical Islamists (see ISLAMISM) under the direction of al-Qaeda. This was a radical Islamist organization directed by Osama bin Laden, a Saudi national living in Afghanistan, where he was protected by the country's Islamist government led by the Taliban (see ISLAM).

Finally, a minority of Americans, albeit a vocal one, declared that the attacks themselves were both a scourge from God for the country's sins and proof that Islam was at war with Christianity. Their response to the conflict reflected a tendency toward jeremiad in American history, of declaring sufferings to be self-inflicted and capable of being overcome only when the people turned back to God. In the context of the attacks of September 11, these words came across as offensive and insulting to most American ears and as proof among the Islamists that their perception of the conflict as being between Islam and infidelity was correct.

Such views, however, were a distinct minority. The initial response was to bring people together. Many of these events were spontaneous as individuals gathered together to pray and to comfort one another. In churches, synagogues, temples, and mosques, people joined together to make some sense of the horror or, at the very least, to find some solace and support. In New York City, candlelight vigils were held across the city, and in Washington, D.C., thousands marched in a candlelight procession to the National Mall, where they joined thousands more holding vigil over the Pentagon, just across the Potomac River. Memorials to the victims sprang up at "Ground Zero" as family, friends, and complete strangers mourned the thousands of deaths.

Perhaps one of the defining spontaneous events occurred on the evening of September 11, when a group of senators and representatives gathered on the steps of the capitol for a press conference. As the conference ended, they spontaneously began singing "God Bless America." The song soon became the unofficial anthem of the time. From baseball games to churches and nearly all public gatherings, the song bound people together. Nonbellicose, relatively nonsectarian (minus the small percentage who identify as atheist and agnostic), upbeat, and capable of fusing both traditional religious beliefs with America's civil religion, the song seemed designed to balance out numerous pressures without being bland and meaningless.

While some events were spontaneous, others were meticulously planned and considered. Preeminent among these was the service held at the National Cathedral on September 14 as part of the "National Day of Prayer and Remembrance." Televised nationally and attended by four former presidents as well as the sitting president, the service included remarks by President George W. Bush as well as a sermon by the Reverend BILLY GRAHAM and a prayer by Dr. Muzammil H. Siddiqi representing the ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA.

This massive national event was mirrored throughout the country as cities and towns held similar memorial services and prayer services. These events varied from the internal events of specific congregations to citywide interfaith services. In Atlanta, Georgia, the city's mayor and the state's governor led a procession from Atlanta's Centennial Olympic Park to Ebenezer Baptist Church, the home church of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., where an interfaith memorial service was led by various Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, and Baha'i clergy.

These outpourings fused intimately with the symbols of America's civil religion, for beyond the mourning and commemoration of the deaths of thousands of human beings in the attacks, people also were mourning the deaths of Americans, their fellow citizens, and many who were not yet citizens. These individuals ran the gamut of gender, race, religion, class, and national origin. To many, the victims in death reflected the reality of the United States, with people from across the world, including all religions. More powerfully, the outpouring of response to the horrors reflected something deep in the American civil religion. The firefighters in particular became iconic symbols of self-sacrifice and commitment to others. This is evoked vividly in Tom Paxton's song "The Bravest," in which the singer, in the voice of someone in the towers when they were hit, reflects on the firefighters who guided him and others to safety and declares:

Now every time I try to sleep
I'm haunted by the sound,
Of firemen pounding up the stairs
While we were coming down.
. . .
So, now I go to funerals
For men I never knew.
The pipers play Amazing Grace,
As the coffins come in view.
They must have seen it coming
When they turned to face the fire.
They sent us down to safety,
Then, they kept on climbing higher.

Americans lined up to offer any and all support that they could, from giving blood, which turned out to be unneeded, as the anticipated survivors did not materialize, to donations of money, to making their way to New York and to the Pentagon to offer help to the rescuers. Restaurateurs went to feed the workers, people with skills like firefighters, steelworkers, military personnel, and police officers went to help, and others just went to offer whatever they could. To be present, to do something, to help in the face of the immense horror compelled many to act in some form of solidarity with their fellows. American flags festooned the sites of the attacks, and at Ground Zero in New York City where two iron beams had fallen in the shape of a cross, steel workers welded them permanently together in a statement of faith.

These multiple manifestations of religion in all of its guises would recur for the next several years during the anniversary commemorations of the attacks. Memorial services and remembrances would focus on the lives and deaths of all who had been involved. September 11 would become one of the holidays of America's civil religion, its victims memorialized and its heroes, the firefighters and those on flight 93, entered into its pantheon.

All these events lay in the future; in the days following September 11, a palpable fear gripped the country. Were other attacks in the offing? How secure was America? Was there a concerted conspiracy by an Islamic movement to destroy the country? If so, was this conspiracy supported by American Muslims? And even if not, had the country been infiltrated by large numbers of radical Muslims who were biding their time to be activated and begin their own attacks? How were they funded? Who aided them? And, perhaps more important, what had driven these individuals from solidly middle-class families in Saudi Arabia, many of whom had been educated in Europe, to undertake such a heinous crime? Was the source Islam itself or a distortion of Islam? If the latter, how had the version of Islam with which they were indoctrinated led to such violence, and how widespread was that version?

Religion after September 11 would be marked by these events and these questions. Serious questions were raised about the nature of Islam and whether the murderous attacks on that day constituted an aberration within Islam or were part of the essence of Islam. Despite the attempts to make those events occasions for solidarity and public calls for greater interfaith conversation and cooperation, such questions (and even suspicions) could not be ignored. In many ways, the failure of several Islamic organizations in the United States unconditionally to condemn terrorism in all its forms and their reluctance to challenge and oppose Islamist approaches to the religion increased these suspicions. The presence of Islamist documents and even Islamist preachers gave some credence to these suspicions.

While not all Islamists believe violence is necessary for achieving an Islamic society, even nonviolent Islamists use a language of separation and condemnation of everything that is "un-Islamic" in a way that suggests an intolerance and hostility toward others. This has created some problems for Muslims in the United States. The oil wealth of Saudi Arabia has enabled its government and many individuals to promote the form of Islam practiced by the Saudi royal family. This form often is referred to as WAHHABISM (from the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab, 1703–92) and focuses on a strict and literal interpretation of the Qur'an, opposes any innovation in religion, and rejects any beliefs or practices that suggest anything or anyone other than God deserves veneration.

The events of September 11 took place just as Islam had begun to become increasingly integrated into American society. While Muslims in the United States are much more a part of the country than they are in western Europe, the events of September 11 slowed this progress. Not only did it make many non-Muslims in the United States suspicious of American Muslims, these suspicions and some of the law enforcement responses to terrorism made some Muslims wonder whether they ever could be an accepted part of American society. Such feelings took some Muslims into more radical directions. Most Muslims, however, found themselves wondering about their position in society. Some women stopped wearing head coverings, and Islamic organizations in the country became more vocal, appropriately so, in their criticisms of terrorism and terrorist activities. Muslims in the United States also became much more concerned about what was being taught in their mosques and Islamic schools, and many became vocal in their opposition to Islamist perspectives and views.

For other Americans, the events generated a strong emotional response of sadness, fear, questioning, and even anger. Many found solace and comfort in religion and sought out the familiarity of churches, temples, synagogues, and mosques. The resulting wars in Afghanistan and Iraq also led to religious responses. Concern for soldiers, sailors, and marines serving overseas, the funerals of those killed in action, and questions about the wars themselves called forth religious responses. Some of these responses were a direct challenge to the general move toward greater unity and solace.

The Reverend Jerry Falwell declared, "I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way, all of them who have tried to secularize America. I point the finger in their face and say 'you helped this happen.'" Similar views were expressed by Pat Robertson and a few other Christian fundamentalist. Although rebuffed by the overwhelming majority of evangelical and fundamentalist leaders (and forced either to apologize or modify their remarks), these individuals were in a long line of American religious leaders who interpreted public and natural evils as God's punishment for sin and decline (see Puritanism).

As might be expected, the magnitude of the events of September 11, 2001, had a tremendous effect on religious life in the United States. These effects were varied and immense. Religion became a way of gaining comfort and support. It made it possible to live through the horror and violence. Personally and collectively, religion dominated much of people's responses after September 11, including the struggle with answering the questions of how could religion drive people to commit such evil acts.

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Serra, Junípero (1713–1784) Junípero Serra was one of the countless priests and monks who attempted to bring the Catholic faith to the colonial and indigenous inhabitants of Spain's New World possessions. Driven by a conversionary zeal and faithfulness alien to contemporary sensibilities, Serra struggled to bring the Native Americans into conformity with Spanish religion and civilization.

Born on the Spanish island of Majorca in 1713, he was christened Miguel José but adopted the name Junípero, after a companion of St. Francis of Assisi, when he became a Franciscan in 1731. After several years of study at the Pontifical University and the Lullian University in Palma, Spain, Serra was appointed to the Duns Scotus Chair of philosophy at the Lullian. A promising academic career lay before the young priest, but the call to a mission field proved too great, and in 1649, after six years as a professor, Serra left for Mexico, arriving there on January 1, 1750.

For 17 years, he labored in existing missions, until the papal suppression of the Jesuits opened up vast areas in California and the present-day southwestern United States to the Franciscans. Russian and English incursions along the California coast convinced Spanish officials of the need to solidify their control in that region, and Serra, who had been appointed to supervise the mission work, joined an expedition designed to pacify and colonize the region. In 1769, he established Mission San Diego, the first of nine such missions he organized in the region. Many of these missions eventually became major cities in California—San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Luis Obispo.

Around these missions, Serra gathered the resident Native Americans, introducing them to agriculture and European customs. While a critic of governmental and military abuse of the Indians, Serra failed to recognize the toll that his relocation had on them. The missions, while outwardly prosperous, were a source of disease and death for California's Indians.

An active pastor and able minister, Serra worked tirelessly. He claimed to have baptized more than 6,000 Indians and confirmed 5,000. He visited his missions often, and during one such trip, he died at Mission San Carlos de Monterey on August 28, 1784.

(See also NEW SPAIN; ROMAN CATHOLICISM.)

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Seton, Elizabeth Ann Bayley (1774–1821)

The first Roman Catholic (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) saint born in the United States, Elizabeth Seton began her life as Elizabeth Ann Bayley in New York City on January 25, 1774. Her mother, Catherine Bayley, died when Elizabeth was three, and she was raised by her father, Richard Bayley, a leading American physician.

She early showed a concern for the poor and weak, a trait that was encouraged by her father's educational methods, which were designed to encourage unselfishness and a sense of responsibility. In 1794, she married a New York businessman, William Magee Seton, and within nine years had borne three daughters and two sons. Despite the demands of domestic life, Seton engaged in charitable activities among the poor and sick of New York, helping to found in 1797 the city's first charitable organization, the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children.

Elizabeth Ann Seton, who founded the Sisters of Charity to educate, nurse, and minister to the poor.

By 1800, her husband's business was bankrupt, and he was ill with tuberculosis. A family trip to Italy failed to restore his health, and he died in Pisa in December 1803. Comforted by Roman Catholic friends, Seton developed an affection for the church, and upon returning to the United States the following year she continued her education in the faith, becoming a Catholic on March 15, 1805.

Family and friends, shocked by her conversion, abandoned the young widow and her children. Forced to open a school to feed her family, Seton struggled along until 1808, when she was invited to open a girls' boarding school in Baltimore. Under the patronage of Bishop John Carroll, Seton's school was successful, and she began to consider seriously the creation of a religious order. With four companions, she established the Sisters of St. Joseph on March 25, 1809.

Relocating to Emmitsburg, Maryland, that summer, the women adopted a modified version of the rule of the Sisters of Charity and dedicated themselves to education and aid to the sick and destitute. At Emmitsburg, Seton reconstituted her boarding school and introduced a free school for poor children, an activity that earned her the title "foundress of the parochial school system in the United States."

As superior of this first U.S. order, the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph, Seton oversaw its growth through much of the northeastern United States, where the sisters organized schools, nursed the sick, and cared for orphans and the poor. By the time of her death on January 4, 1821, she was recognized as one of the pillars of the American Catholic community and a woman of deep spiritual power.

In 1940, she was formally introduced as a candidate for canonization. Beatified by John XXIII in 1963, she was proclaimed St. Elizabeth Seton by Paul VI on September 14, 1975, becoming the first American-born saint.

EQ

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Seventh-day Adventist Church The Seventh-day Adventist Church is a Protestant denomination that grew out of religious revivals in the mid-19th century and predictions by self-taught Bible scholar William Miller about the second coming of Jesus Christ. The denomination teaches the necessity both of preparing for the coming of Christ and of observing Saturday, rather than Sunday, as the Christian day of worship. It derives its name from its emphasis on those beliefs: The Sabbath is the seventh day of creation described in the Old Testament book of Genesis, and *advent* means arrival or coming.

Seventh-day Adventists trace their roots to the preaching of William Miller, who prophesied that the millennium (see premillennialism), the thousand-year reign of Christ, would begin in either 1843 or 1844. At the height of the excitement that arose prior to October 22, 1844, the day Miller eventually predicted Christ would appear, more than a million Americans counted themselves among the "Millerites." Although the cataclysmic event Miller foretold never occurred and most of his followers subsequently resumed their normal lives, a few remained faithful to his millennial vision. Miller himself, however, died in 1849 and had no part in the later development of the denomination his prophecy spawned.

Ellen Gould White, who was converted to Miller's doctrines in 1842, was the true founder of the Seventh-day Adventists. Along with her husband, James, she helped form the inchoate movement into a denomination. After a vision in which an angel informed her that Christianity's failure to observe Saturday as the Sabbath had delayed the return of Christ, Ellen White convinced other disappointed Millerites to adopt that practice. In 1855, the Whites moved from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek, Michigan, where the new church's headquarters were established. The name *Seventh-day Adventist* was officially accepted in 1860, and by 1863, there were more than 100 churches and in excess of 3,000 members pledged to the denomination's distinctive beliefs and practices.

Ellen White's own struggle with illness assured that health reform would become one of the Seventh-day Adventists' central concerns. Advocating vegetarianism as well as the avoidance of alcohol, coffee, and tobacco, White was convinced that rigid dietary and hygienic precepts were central to maintaining a holy life. The elect, she argued, should pay heed not only to their theological doctrines, but also to their diet.

The denomination spread throughout the United States in the second half of the 19th century, most quickly in the West, establishing hospitals and schools in many locations. Towns like Loma Linda, California, and Battle Creek became settlements where Adventists maintained good health in anticipation of the imminent return of Christ. One of White's disciples, John Harvey Kellogg, achieved fame by transforming Battle Creek into the breakfast cereal capital of the United States.

By 1900, the denomination's missionaries had spread across the globe and garnered many converts. So successful were the evangelistic efforts of the Seventh-day Adventists overseas, in fact, that the church founded churches in more than 200 other countries. Despite believing that Christ's return is very near, the church has also invested heavily in medical, educational, and publishing ventures both at home and abroad. The expansion of the denomination in the early 20th century brought administrative changes and reorganization. A new structure grouped local churches into conferences, conferences into unions, and unions into a general conference at the national level.

In 1903, the Seventh-day Adventist headquarters moved from Battle Creek to Takoma Park, Maryland, just north of the nation's capital. Although the denomination's fastest expansion at present is overseas, where there are more than 9 million members, the church has also continued to grow in size in the United States. Now centered in Silver Spring, Maryland, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has about 1 million members.

GHS, Jr.

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Seventh-day Baptists

See BAPTISTS.

sexuality The significance attached to human sexuality in American culture has shifted over time. Sex became a problem requiring the sustained attention of religious and medical authority and the intervention of the state only in the 19th century. This intervention gave rise to a variety of countercurrents, such as the "free love" movements of the late 1800s and the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s. Whether Americans have seen sexuality in a negative or positive light, as sinful or liberating, they have drawn on religious discourse, symbolism, and rituals in order to make it a significant part of their lives.

The Europeans who settled in America during the COLONIAL PERIOD brought with them an understanding of human sexuality shaped by Christianity, classical culture, and European folk beliefs. In the orthodox formulation given by Saint Augustine in Book XIV of *The City of God* (413), sex was a necessary part of human life and hence intended by God as a part of the natural order of creation. But sex, intended for reproduction, was marred by the presence of lustful passion, concupiscence. Thus, Christian tradition, both Catholic and Protestant, came to regard sexual acts ambivalently, as part of the divine order of creation and as the cause or expression of sin.

During the colonial period, Protestant Americans viewed sex as a fundamental feature of married life, enabling reproduction as well as providing an outlet for feelings. Colonists assumed marriage itself was the normal state of mature individuals. In situating sex within divinely ordained marriage, early Americans gave it a crucial role in the development of the colonial enterprise: expanding the population base. As a consequence, women bore children throughout much of their lives, and contraception was rarely practiced except among the upper classes. In addition, colonists emphasized the limits of appropriate sexuality by contrasting their own Christian perspective with what they imagined to be the barbaric sexual practices of Native Americans. Additional limits were emphasized by condemnation of "solitary living" and fornication, unless the couple was engaged to be married. A variety of sexual acts were punishable by death, including adultery, bestiality, and sodomy, or "buggery." Records indicate several youths in Massachusetts suffered execution for having sex with animals. Other colonies were less severe.

In the early 19th century, Americans began refiguring their sexuality, drawing upon the expansion of medical knowledge during the ENLIGHTENMENT to undergird a wave of social reform. Medical language came to complement or even replace the religious language previously used to speak of sex. However, the previous dichotomy between sex as divinely ordained and sex as sin continued in medical form as Americans associated sex with health and disease. As the society grew more urban, sex became a potential social problem, and medical experts actively prescribed means to curb sexual desire among the unmarried and to counteract the spread of prostitution. For the most part, doctors, particularly those active in the new field of gynecology, continued to view reproductive sexuality as normal, in the process acquiring their own professional status by viewing women as reproductive beings and performing surgeries, such as female castration, in order to reduce the unhealthy and socially destabilizing expression of female sexual passion.

Doctors took on important public roles, advocating social policies based on their reproductive view of women, such as the limitation of new means of birth control. They lobbied successfully for antiabortion legislation in 40 states. Another focus of the growing medical interest in sex was deviance. Increasingly, doctors came to see acts of sodomy, which earlier Americans had regarded as sinful (and hence which any person might be capable of performing and repenting), as symptomatic of underlying disorders. Thus, *homosexuality* and *pervert* became words defining classes of persons.

Religious reformers also adopted the new medical approach to sex. Sylvester Graham (1794–1851) developed theories relating diet to sexuality that were widely spread by SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS such as ELLEN GOULD WHITE and dry cereal producer John Kellogg. Food products such as the "Graham cracker" and dry cereal were thought to reduce the otherwise uncontrollable sexual drive in children. Advocates of women's rights such as Susan B. Anthony, and even moderate JULIA WARD HOWE, fighting in the years after the CIVIL WAR for the abolition of prostitution and an increase in the legal age of consent, had an ambiguous relationship with the medical establishment. Supporting the growing emphasis on education in relation to hygiene, sexuality, motherhood, and prostitution, they resisted physicians' efforts to confine women to the home.

Other groups developed communal visions as alternatives to modernizing American life (see COMMUNITARIANISM). SHAKERS, Oneida Community members, and Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS) advocated either celibacy, polygamy, or what John Humphrey Noyes called "scientific propagation." Marriage itself came under attack by advocates of "free love," led by Frances Wright, an ardent abolitionist and free thinker (see atheism) who argued that love alone ought to be the basis for sexual relations.

In the early 20th century, a number of social and technological developments affected the framing of American sexuality. Increasing numbers of single male and female adults, given opportunity for mobility by the expanding industrial economy, found themselves in cities and possessing leisure time. The automobile provided adolescents with privacy, and Margaret Sanger's widespread advocacy of birth control enabled sexual activity outside the family as well as population control for racial minorities and the lower classes.

By the 1920s, Americans had begun to concur with H. L. Mencken's evaluation of Puritans (see Puritanism) as "prudes," consequently glorying in public expressions of sexuality, as newly developed popular media made sex a constant theme in song and film. Hollywood felt pressure from religious groups opposed to public sexuality, such as the Catholic-based National League for Decency, founded in 1934 to monitor the moral content of motion pictures (which one leader claimed were "perhaps the greatest menace to faith and morals in America today"). Catholics were urged to promise to abide by the league's film ratings.

Increasingly over the decades, Americans came to view pleasure as a distinct and more fundamental component of sexuality than reproduction. The "sexual revolution" inspired by the counterculture in the 1960s simply extended the range of circumstances under which pleasure could be sought. The explosion of how-to-do-it books, such as Alex Comfort's *The Joy of Sex* (1972), continued the longstanding American pattern of regarding sex as a problem for which one sought expertise, though now the source might be a popularized tantric mysticism or the Kama Sutra as Americans turned East for inspiration. The focus on sexual pleasure spread to the churches as well. Protestant fundamentalists, as in the popular book *The Total Woman* (1975) by Marabel Morgan, spoke of sexual ecstasy as the hallmark of Christian marriage.

In the climate of the sexual revolution, both women and homosexuals began to press for greater social rights and the freedom to live fulfilled lives apart from the old norm of marriage. While earlier women's rights advocates had achieved important reforms in terms of political rights and the improvement of child labor conditions, groups such as the Woman's Christian Temperance League (see Willard, Frances) had not been able to overturn what they often recognized as fundamental sexual inequalities in American life. Feminists in the 1970s took on the task of abolishing "patriarchy," an ideology of male privilege shaping American religious, political, and economic institutions, replacing it with what Mary Daly called "gyn/ecology," a spiritual worldview more healthful for women and to Earth itself (see feminist theology).

In recent years, public conflict over sexuality has intensified, most notably in the debate over both abortion and homosexuality. As part of a growing reaction to the turmoil of the 1960s (see Vietnam War), a broad-ranging alliance of conservative Protestants, Catholics, and Jews began exerting public pressure on both social policies and cultural currents that they saw destroying the nation's values. Organizations such as the Moral Majority mobilized previously unpolitical fundamentalist Protestants (see fundamentalism). Media "watchdog" groups began campaigning, as in the 1930s, against Hollywood's exploitation of sexuality in the mass media. But the fight over abortion in the years since the Supreme Court, in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), ruled that women had a constitutional right to abortion has become the most protracted public debate since Prohibition (see temperance). Originally, opponents were primarily Catholics, who traditionally had regarded abortion as murder, but by 1976, a variety of Protestant groups became involved, mobilizing thousands to engage in political action and protest to repeal legalized abortion. The largest organization, the National Right to Life Committee, claims more than 3,000 chapters across the country. While abortion often appears to be an issue posed between liberals ("prochoice") and conservatives ("prolife"), it has split many political and religious groups down the middle (see RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT).

Protests at abortion clinics turned increasingly violent in the 1980s, with attacks on both clinics and individual physicians. Additionally, the courts and legislatures have remained battlegrounds over the issue of abortion, with several states passing laws designed to limit *Roe.* Despite the fact that all these laws were overturned by courts, in 2006, the state of South Dakota passed a law making it a felony to perform an abortion for any reason other than to save the life of a pregnant woman. Although declared unconstitutional by a federal court, the U.S. Supreme Court in April 2007 upheld a federal law criminalizing a particular form of late-term abortion known medically as "intact dilation and extraction" and called by its opponents "partial birth abortion." This was the first time since its decision in *Roe* that the Supreme Court had upheld a significant limitation on abortion that did not include a "medical necessity" exemption.

If the galvanizing issue of the 1980s was abortion, homosexuality became the hot-button topic of the 1990s and 2000s. Long forced to hide their sexual identity, homosexuals adopted the strategies of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT following the New York City Stonewall Riots in 1969. They began publicly to acknowledge their sexuality, to organize demonstrations for "gay liberation," and to push for the end of discriminatory social policies and cultural practices. In addition to pressing for greater acceptance within the various religious denominations, many of which continued to declare homosexuality to be sinful and to prohibit their entry into the ministry, homosexuals also organized numerous gay-friendly churches and synagogues, the largest denomination of which is the METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY CHURCHES, founded in 1968 by Los Angeles Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM).

The perceived need among gays and lesbians to seek religious succor in an expressly welcoming denomination reflects the tensions within religious denominations over the issue of homosexuality. While most evangelical traditions and the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches condemned active homosexual behavior as a sin, the issue of how to address the needs of these individuals presented numerous challenges. Some conservative Christians developed ministries designed to "cure" homosexuals. The Catholic Church increased its scrutiny of seminarians.

Among mainline Protestants, homosexuality became a major issue among Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. Within all three denominations, moves toward greater inclusiveness resulted in serious opposition among certain segments of their membership. While among Methodists and Presbyterians this conflict mostly has been internal, the pressures on the Episcopal Church have been international. Its ordination of women and homosexuals and the consecration of women and admitted homosexuals as bishops brought it into conflict with other Anglican churches, particularly in Africa.

Within the United States, one of the most controversial issues in the political realm has been gay and lesbian marriage. This issue emerged with great intensity following the decision of the Massachusetts State Supreme Court that state laws prohibiting same-sex marriage violated the state's constitution. This decision led to an uproar among many conservative religionists, and many states passed additional laws banning same-sex marriage, while Congress passed the "Defense of Marriage Act," which granted states the right to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages performed elsewhere, seemingly contrary to the "full faith and credit clause" of the Constitution. Many urged the adoption of a constitutional amendment defining marriage as being only between a man and a woman. The emotional intensity of this issue, touching as it does on family, sexuality, and identity, was such that many saw it as a major galvanizing element in the 2004 elections that helped lead to George W. Bush's reelection.

Conflicts over sexuality found throughout the history of the United States have left an unsettled legacy. While contemporary commentators may argue over the significance of any particular issue, from a historical perspective each falls within a complex history of the nature of sexuality as a social and religious reality. It has divided generations and rocked denominations. Given sexuality's effect on all levels of human existence, from the most intimate and personal to the nature of the family to the very question of what is the basis of society, it is likely to remain a source of religious, social, and political conflict well into the future.

MG/EQ

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Seymour, William Joseph (1870–1922)

One of the first leaders of American PENTECOSTALISM, William Joseph Seymour led a storefront church in Los Angeles that became the site of the famed AZUSA STREET REVIVAL of 1906.

Biographical information about Seymour is spotty. The son of freed slaves, he was born in Centerville, Louisiana, in 1870. He received no formal education and worked for a time as a waiter in Indianapolis, Indiana. In 1900, he moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he came under the influence of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT and underwent an experience of SANCTIFICATION. Serving as an itinerant Holiness evangelist, Seymour settled next in Houston, Texas. There, he attended CHARLES F. PARHAM's Bible Institute in the fall of 1905 and adopted Parham's beliefs. Seymour became an advocate of Parham's Pentecostal teaching that speaking in tongues was definitive evidence that a believer had received baptism in the Holy Spirit.

In January 1906, Seymour accepted an invitation to an African-American Holiness mission in Los Angeles. In April 1906 and for another three years thereafter, thousands flocked to a rundown building on Azusa Street and were gripped by religious enthusiasm. At a time when few white Americans worshiped at churches led by black ministers, Seymour's revival was remarkable for its interracial makeup. Services were characterized by prayer and singing, speaking in tongues, and healing of the sick. As one participant wrote about her remarkable experiences during the revival, "The power of God fell and I was baptized in the Holy Ghost and fire. . . . I sang under the power of the Spirit in many languages." Seymour's early ministry at the Azusa Street mission is now generally believed to have sparked the growth of the Pentecostal movement in the early 20th century.

The revival began to wane after 1909, and Seymour's influence over Pentecostalism likewise declined. White worshipers gradually ceased coming to Azusa Street, and the church became exclusively black. Seymour, however, continued to conduct regular services at the mission until his death in 1922.

GHS, Jr.

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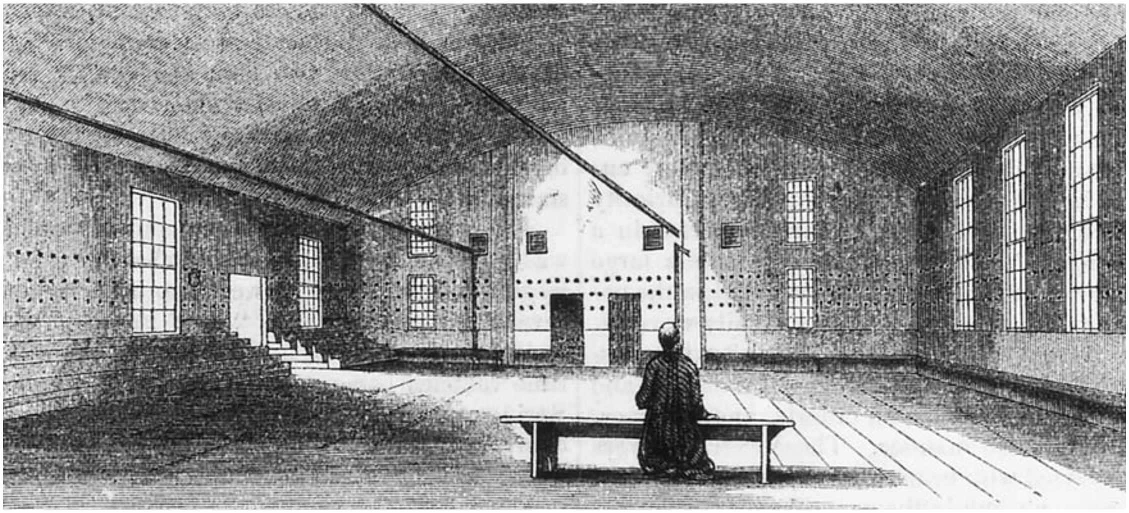
Shakers One of the most enduring organizations to arise out of the apocalyptic fervor that accompanied the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, or Shakers, are a celibate religious order best known today for their manufacture of furniture and the austere architectural style of their villages. Although by the turn of the 21st century they numbered only a handful of followers in a colony in Sabbathday Lake, Maine, at their peak in the early 19th century, the movement consisted of some 19 communities spread over 1,500 miles from Maine to West Union, Indiana, and later as far south as Narcousee, Florida.

The movement had its roots during the 1760s in a small evangelical British sect popularly called the "shaking Quakers," because they were known for expressing their religious enthusiasms through ecstatic visionary experiences and abrupt bodily movements. Beginning in 1770, one member, a young woman named ANN LEE, received a series of revelations that disclosed the source of human sinfulness to be the act of sexual intercourse. She also came to believe that the revelation of this truth ushered in the millennial kingdom on Earth and that human beings could live in God's spiritual realm now if they would abstain from the sin of carnal love. Fleeing persecution and poverty, in 1774 Lee and a small group of her followers migrated from Manchester to Niskeyuna, New York (near Albany), where they practiced celibacy and pacifism within their small colony.

Only after Lee's death in 1784 did the United Society of Believers organize as a community with its base in New Lebanon, New York, and begin to seek converts through missionary efforts. Under the leadership of Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, the Shakers prospered, gaining followers from among the many displaced New England migrants moving into western rural settlements after 1790. Like other evangelical groups (see EVANGELICALISM)



The Shaker communities founded by Mother Ann Lee have left a strong mark on American art and music. *(Library of Congress)* of the era, including the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, the Shakers increased their numbers through the many revivals (see REVIVALISM) that "burned over" newly established western territories. By the 1840s, at the height of the movement, between 5,000 and 6,000 adherents lived in Shaker communities. From 1837 to 1847, Shakers experienced a spiritual revival known as "Mother's Ann's Work," in which believers affirmed that "Mother" Ann Lee had been the second coming of Christ. But after the 1850s, community membership began to decline slowly.

While Shakers shared with many other Americans in the early national and antebellum periods the concern to unite religious ideals with perfected social environments, their beliefs and practices were quite distinctive. Because they believed that the teaching of celibacy and strict separation from the sinful world would allow members to live within God's kingdom in the present, they promoted complete economic independence and lifetime support of all believers. All goods were held in common, and work itself was seen as a form of sacrament. Farming provided the economic base for most of the early communities, but villages later diversified by selling quilts, furniture, and other handicrafts. Because financial security was assured, the movement prospered by taking in orphans and sometimes single mothers who could not sustain themselves independently. These converts, as well as the poor, found the security of life in the villages particularly appealing. But Shaker communities also attracted those who had become disillusioned with the economic and social competitiveness of an increasingly market-oriented culture and who sought spiritual simplicity in its myriad forms.

The Shakers were also distinctive for their belief in the bipartite nature of God and the strict separation of the sexes that followed from it. God was depicted as both Father and Mother, and Christ had also been revealed as both male and female in the persons of Jesus and Mother Ann. Shakers published numerous tracts, pamphlets, and other literature that explained their theology to the outside world. Their communities were organized along gender lines, with a male and female leader in each community to oversee the welfare of his or her own sex. Men and women slept, ate, and worked apart and even entered common buildings through separate doorways and staircases. They united only for the highly ordered worship services characterized by ritualized singing and dancing. Although members remained celibate, they were organized into separate-sex family groupings within the communities.

Given their rejection of procreation as a means of increasing the size of the society, the Shaker movement has lasted for an extraordinarily long period of time, making it the longest-lived communitarian experiment in American history. Although their numbers steadily decreased after 1850, those remaining held to the original teachings and maintained self-supporting communities as long as possible in a rapidly urbanizing and industrializing society. Many of their villages have since been converted into museums or sold. In New Lebanon, New York, a Sufi community called the Abode of the Message now practices meditation on old Shaker lands. Along with the Mormon (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS) and CHRISTIAN SCIENCE churches, the Shakers are one of many indigenous American religious organizations.

LMK

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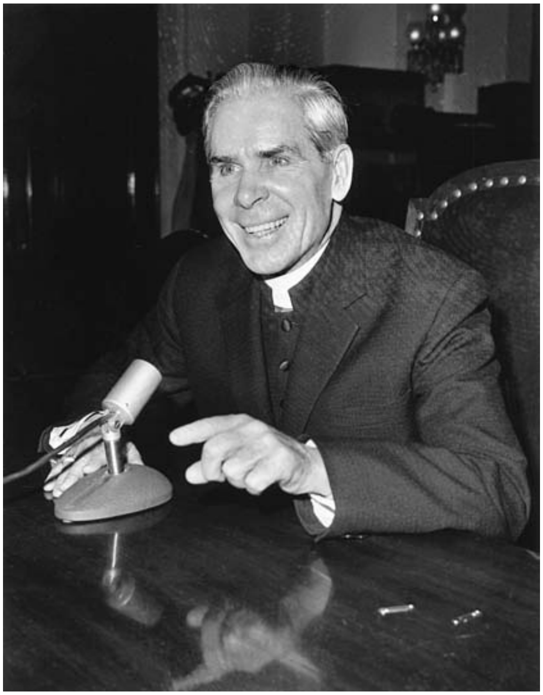
Shaku, Soyen See BUDDHISM; ZEN.

Shambhala International See TRUNGPA, CHOGYAM.

Sheen, Fulton J. (1895–1979) One of the early masters of religious radio and television, Fulton J. Sheen was born in El Paso, Illinois, on May 8, 1895. Although baptized as Peter, he adopted his mother's maiden name, Fulton, which he used throughout his life. His parents were hard-working Irish-American farmers and merchants who inculcated within Sheen a deep Roman Catholic piety (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). After graduating from St. Viator College in Bourbonnais, Illinois (B.A., 1917; M.A., 1919), he entered St. Paul's Seminary in Minnesota. Ordained on September 20, 1919, for the diocese of Peoria, he completed his studies at St. Paul Seminary. From there, he was sent to the Catholic University of America, from which he received degrees in both theology and canon law. Further study followed in Europe at Louvain (Ph.D., 1923) and at the Collegio Angelico in Rome (S.T.D., 1924).

Appointed to the faculty of St. Edmund's College in England, the young theologian published the first of his 60 books, *God and Intelligence in Modern Philosophy,* in 1925. This work earned him the Cardinal Mercier Prize in International Philosophy and an appointment as lecturer in philosophy at Louvain, the first American to receive such an honor.

Recalled to a Peoria parish in a test of obedience, Sheen served as a pastor until the end of 1926, when he was allowed to take the chair of apologetics at the Catholic University of America. For nearly a quarter-century, he would teach philosophy and theology there. Although widely respected for his intellectual work, Sheen would make his most important contributions elsewhere.



Fulton Sheen's radio and television broadcasts made him an early media celebrity with audiences of 30 million. *(Library of Congress)*

In 1930, he began to appear on the *Catholic Hour* radio program of the NBC radio network. A commanding presence and a folksy persona soon made him a prominent media celebrity whose broadcasts were estimated to reach an audience of more than 4 million. In 1952, he took that audience to the new medium of television, with a weekly program called *Life is Worth Living.* This Emmy Award-winning program, which ran for 13 years and had an average audience of 30 million, made Sheen a popular religious figure, whose reputation spread beyond Catholic circles. Sheen also wrote two syndicated newspaper columns, "Bishop Sheen Writes" and "God Loves You," both of which had a wide and varied readership.

Sheen's success among the American public was matched by his advancement within the church. By 1934, he had been made a papal chamberlain and a monsignor. In June 1951, he was consecrated as an auxiliary bishop of New York, a position he held along with that of U.S. director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith until 1966. Responsible for missions in this position, he edited two magazines, *Missions* and *Mission World*, and raised vast amounts of money for mission work. Sheen was helped in this fundraising not only by his celebrity status, but also by his friendship with numerous wealthy and famous people, as well as his role of confidante to celebrated converts such as Clare Booth Luce and Heywood Hale Broun.

Appointed bishop of Rochester in 1966, Sheen attempted to introduce changes into the diocese but was met with hostility and resistance. The climate was so bad that after three years he resigned, at which time he was honored as titular archbishop of Newport, Wales. The remaining 10 years of his life he spent writing, teaching, and lecturing. He died of heart disease in Manhattan on December 9, 1979, and was buried in the crypt of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City.

It is not difficult to identify the reason for Sheen's popularity. He was a dynamic and eloquent speaker who was able to put difficult ideas into a language understandable to all. His anticommunist and antimaterialist message played well in the 1950s. Equally important was the fact that American culture was becoming increasingly open to religious differences. Sheen's ability to speak as a Catholic to themes important to most Americans—patriotism, faith, and morality—emphasized common values and made it possible for non-Catholics to tune in to his programs without necessarily turning to Catholicism. In this regard, he resembles no one as much as BILLY GRAHAM. While each was a vigorous proponent of his particular brand of Christianity, both projected a message that moved beyond particularity. In Sheen's case, the universal appeal of his message can be seen as a major element in muting anti-Catholicism and in making Roman Catholicism part of the religious and cultural mainstream in the United States.

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Sheldon, Charles Monroe (1857–1946)

Author of the novel *In His Steps*, which has sold several million copies, Charles Sheldon attempted to articulate the relevance of New Testament ethics to the industrial social order. He used fiction, the most accessible literary vehicle, to popularize the themes of the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement.

Sheldon was born in Wellsville, New York, on February 26, 1857. His father, a Congregational minister (see CONGREGATIONALISM), moved the family to South Dakota while Sheldon was quite young. Schooled at home early on, Sheldon went east to college, graduating from Brown University in 1883 and, having decided on the ministry, from Andover Newton Seminary in 1886. After serving a small congregation in Waterbury, Vermont, for two years, Sheldon returned to the Great Plains, taking a position at the Central Congregational Church in Topeka, Kansas, where he remained from 1889 to 1916.

Sheldon began writing stories to replace Sunday evening sermons early in his ministry, and some were printed in *Advance*, a religious magazine based in Chicago. In one such series, Sheldon, seeking to attract young people to his church, focused on the many social problems of industrial America's urban centers. Collected together, they became *In His Steps* (1897). Sheldon lost control of the copyright, and the book was pirated into numerous editions and some 20 foreign translations, selling at least 6 million copies over the years. By his own overly generous estimate in 1933, sales reached 23 million. But even by the more conservative estimate, the book's popularity has been extraordinary. By 1965, its sales among fiction were surpassed only by *Peyton Place* and in nonfiction by the Bible.

Literary fiction has served the cause of social reform in other eras. The spread of ABOLITIONISM was due in great part to the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. *In His Steps* continued the literary attack on American injustices, as did a number of literary efforts to make popular the reformist zeal of the Social Gospel movement. Books such as *Christ Came to Chicago* by William Stead (1894), *The Silent Partner* by Elizabeth S. Phelps (1871), as well as numerous periodicals and popular hymns such as Washington Gladden's "O Master Let Me Walk with Thee" suggested that New Testament principles could result in profound social transformations. Sheldon's characters, members of a fashionable, middle-class church, are confronted one Sunday by a "shabby-looking young man," who soon dies in the home of the pastor, Henry Maxwell. Stirred by his encounter with poverty, Maxwell resolves to take his religion more seriously, and he challenges his parishioners to do the same. Several characters accept the pastor's challenge to ask themselves "What would Jesus do?" before making any decisions. The novel ends with Maxwell seeing in a vision "the regeneration of Christendom," made possible by the faithful choosing to follow Jesus "all the way, walking obediently in his steps."

Sheldon wrote 30 novels addressing Social Gospel themes, though none of them were nearly as successful as *In His Steps*. After concluding his ministry in Topeka, he served as an editor for the *Christian Herald* until his death in Topeka, on February 24, 1946. In later decades, his reputation remained strong as he championed causes such as TEMPERANCE, pacifism (see PEACE REFORM), and ecumenical cooperation (see ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT). Never adopting the more strident critiques of social structures made by WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH's version of the Social Gospel or in the NEOORTHODOXY of REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Sheldon continued to advocate the personal appropriation of New Testament values as the surest cure for modern social ailments, in the process giving middle-class Americans assurance that older religious patterns could still make sense of the complexities of their new urban lives. Sheldon's influence lived on in evangelical Christian circles in the early 21st century in the form of popular W.W.J.D. ("What Would Jesus Do?") jewelry.

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Sikhism Sikhs trace their religious roots back to the 16th-century Hindu reformer and founder of Sikhism Guru Nanak (1469–1539). Guru Nanak was the first in a series of Ten Gurus that culminated with Gobind Singh (1666–1708). Sikhs, literally "disciples" of these Ten Gurus, follow a religious tradition that borrows from Hindu devotionalism and the Sufi mysticism of Islam. Like many Hindus, they believe in the karmic cycle of life, death, and rebirth. Like Muslims, they are monotheists who are wary of representing God in human form. Only the name of God, they believe, can be perceived and worshiped.

The Granth Sahib, the scripture of the Sikhs compiled by the fifth guru in 1604, enjoins believers to shun idol worship and to pray to one God, whom Sikhs invoke with the phrase *Wahi Guru* ("Hail Guru"). Known for their military prowess, Sikhs have been particularly ardent advocates, first, of Indian independence and, more recently, of a Sikh state independent from Hindu India. Many traditional Sikhs practice the "five Ks"—*kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (comb), *kara* (steel wrist bangle), *kirpan* (ceremonial dagger), and *kacch* (undershorts)—each symbolizing a Sikh value such as purity or unity. In the United States, however, many Sikh men do cut their hair and only some wear the distinctive turbans popularly associated with Sikhism.

HINDUISM has had a greater impact than Sikhism among American intellectuals, but Sikhs preceded Hindus to the United States. Asian Indian immigrants came to the country as early as 1820, but they did not arrive in significant numbers until western railroad projects of the late 1890s provided them with prospects for employment. Most of this first wave of immigrants came from the Punjab region of northern India, and most of them were Sikhs. The *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1899 described some of the first Sikh immigrants as "the most picturesque group that has been seen on the Pacific Mall dock for many a day," and Sikhs soon endured racist taunts at the hands of European Americans who denounced them as "ragheads." In 1917, an anti-Sikh riot broke out in Bellingham, Washington.

Nonetheless, American Sikhs persevered. In 1909, Saint Nihal Singh defended his fellow Sikh immigrants in the magazine *Out West* as hard workers and lovers of liberty. In 1912, Sikhs organized the first Sikh *gurdwara*, or temple, in America in Stockton, California.

Drawing on both Hindu and Islamic traditions, Sikhism was brought to the United States in the 20th century by Indian devotees. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)*

A second temple followed in El Centro, California, in 1948. In addition to these temples, American Sikhs established cultural organizations such as the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society and the Indian American Cultural Center.

Between the passage by the U.S. Congress of the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 and its repeal in 1965, few Asian Indians came to the United States. In the late 1960s, however, a second and much larger immigration wave commenced, carrying hundreds of thousands of Indian immigrants, many of them Sikhs, to cities across the United States.

Unlike Hinduism, which has made some inroads among European Americans, Sikhism in the United States is almost entirely a religion of Indian Americans. Sikhs now maintain temples in most major American cities. The largest of those institutions, located in Yuba City, California, is also the biggest Sikh temple in the world. Many Sikh temples in the United States are organized under the Sikh Council of North America, an umbrella organization in Richmond Hill, New York.

Like other religious traditions from India, Sikhism has spawned gurus and movements in the West that combine its beliefs and practices with elements of other faiths. One of the most influential Sikh-influenced gurus is Yogi Bhajan, who came to the United States in 1968 and established the Los Angeles–based Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization (3HO). Born Harbhajan Singh, Yogi Bhajan is known to his followers as Siri Singh Sahib Bhai Sahib Harbhajan Khalsa Yogiji. His 3HO is now part of a broader movement called Sikh Dharma in the West. That movement's mixture of traditional Sikh practices such as ritual bathing with kundalini yoga has attracted mostly European Americans. Sikh Dharma runs more than 100 ashrams in the United States and maintains headquarters in both Los Angeles and Espanola, New Mexico, where Yogi Bhajan resides.

Another Sikh-influenced movement in the United States is the Radhasoami Satsang. This movement was established in 1861 in Agra, India, by an Indian banker, Seth Shiv Dayal Singh (1818–78). Like members of 3HO, Radhasoamis teach both Hindu and Sikh practices, but their movement has attracted Christians and Muslims as well as Sikhs, Hindus, and seekers. Radhasoamis represent God as a mystical union of Radha (the consort of the Hindu god Krishna and a symbol of the perfect devotee's soul) and Soami (the "master" and creator). They distinguish themselves from more orthodox Sikhs by revering living masters as well as Sikhism's founding Ten Gurus. Radhasoamis practice two spiritual disciplines: devotion to the guru and meditation on divine sounds audible only to the concentrated mind.

After the death of its founder in 1878, the Radhasoami movement split into numerous branches. One branch originated in 1891 when Jaimal Singh (1839–1903) founded the Radhasoami Satsang at Beas in Amritsar, India. That group made its way to America in 1910. Like many Indian gurus, Jaimal Singh was largely uninterested in recruiting and instructing non-Indian students, so the Radhasoami Satsang at Beas failed to gather any significant American following. After Jaimal Singh's death, however, Kirpal Singh (1894–1974) took the movement to the West under the banner of his own organization, the Delhi-based Ruhani Satsang (established in 1951).

While in India, Kirpal Singh wrote books in English and recruited Western disciples. In 1955 and 1963, he toured the United States, lecturing and gathering disciples. The Ruhani Satsang responded to Kirpal Singh's death in 1974 by splintering into three groups: the Sawan Kirpal Mission, the Kirpal Light Satsang, and the Sant Bani Ashram. These organizations are based in Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire, respectively. Echoes of the Radhasoami movement can also be found in NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS such as the Divine Light Mission.

There are approximately 20 million Sikhs in the world, but no accurate numbers exist for America's Sikh community. Estimates typically vary from about 300,000 to 550,000 adherents.

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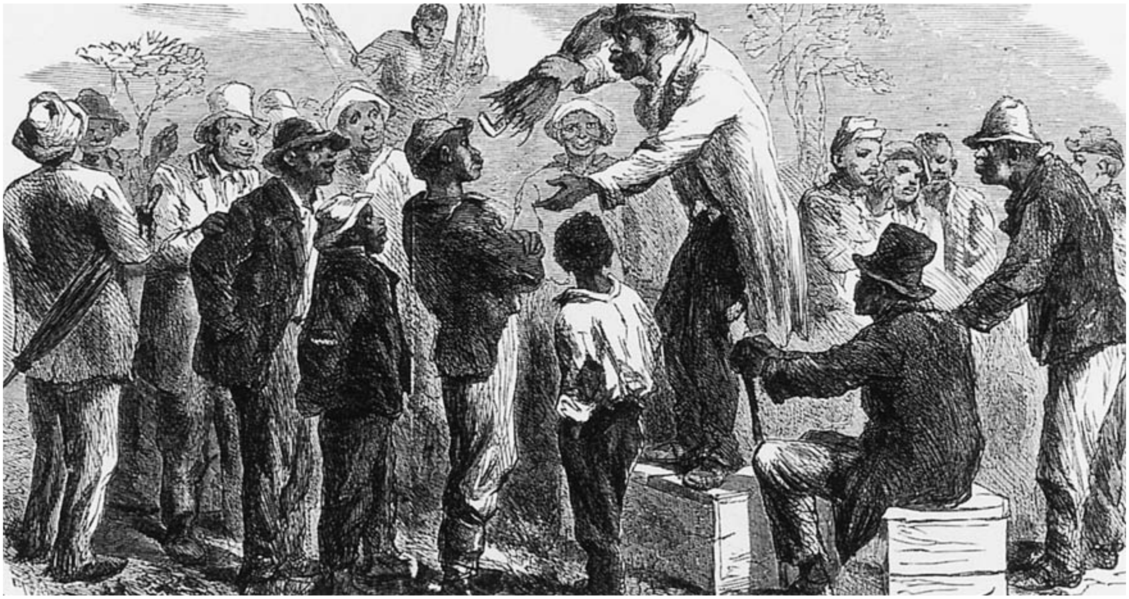
Simpson, Albert Benjamin See HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

slavery New World slavery presented a powerful challenge to religion. Perpetual servitude for oneself and one's descendants without the hope that religious conversion would end enslavement was forbidden in Judaism and typically rejected in Islam. Many also believed that it was equally incompatible with Christianity. Slavery challenged religion in other ways as well. The process of capture, transportation, and enslavement in a faraway land wreaked havoc on the enslaved Africans' traditional religious beliefs and practices and challenged the religion of slave owners, too. Did the master have a duty to provide religious instruction to his slaves? Although most religious leaders answered yes, many slave owners were hesitant, fearing that English law forbade enslaving Christians and that Christianity ruined slaves.

Most religious leaders countered the opposition to Christianizing slaves by pointing out that the Bible itself sanctioned slavery and that the Apostle Paul explicitly tells servants to obey their masters. Christianity, they argued, would improve slaves, causing them to do willingly what they previously had done only under coercion.

This was the message of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS (SPG). Founded in 1701 to spread the Gospel among the heathen, the SPG was the first organization to attempt systematic proselytization among slaves in British North America. But the SPG met with little success. The long process of Anglican catechizing, a scarcity of priests, and the indifference and suspicion of both planters and slaves hindered the mission. Hostility from African-born slaves was so great that the SPG increasingly ignored them to expend its efforts on their American-born children. Finally, the opposition of the Anglican elite to the AMERICAN REVOLUTION ended any possibility that it could maintain a favored status. The Anglican Church would be replaced by denominations more in keeping with the democratic ethos of the new nation.

METHODISTS and BAPTISTS achieved the earliest successes in evangelizing the slaves. Both churches opposed slavery in their early years and preached a gospel of equality before God that seemed to challenge the accepted social order in the southern colonies. Like the Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]), the most outspoken of predominantly white religious groups in opposing slavery, Methodists and Baptists did not see religious power and authority as linked to political and social prestige. They early recognized the conflict between their message of religious equality and slavery. Their opposition to slavery, however, led most slave owners to forbid them access to their slaves, thereby placing the denominations in a quandary. Should they maintain their opposition to slavery and thus endanger the souls of slaves who would never hear the Gospel, or weaken their opposition to slavery to achieve that greater purpose? The majority of Baptists and Methodists, in the South at least, chose the latter. They, along with most southern religious groups, removed slavery from the moral to the political realm and



The Bible was appealed to by both plantation owners and slaves to justify and condemn the practice of slavery. A plantation preacher. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

continued their evangelism. Slavery ceased to be understood as a moral evil and came to be seen as a positive good, the means by which Africans were brought from heathenism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization.

Such accomodationism was not part of the African-American religious experience under slavery. Because of slavery, blacks read the biblical story differently from whites. While most whites searched the Scriptures for passages that sanctioned slavery, black were drawn to the story of the exodus of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt to freedom in the Promised Land and to the story of the resurrection. Their God was a God who freed the captives and brought women and men from death to life.

Christianity provided a message of redemption, both after death and in this life. While some blacks spiritualized this redemption—heaven would provide compensation for unjust suffering in this world—most viewed redemption as occurring both here and in the hereafter. This gave the slaves a distinct understanding of the biblical message embedded in the religious music of African Americans, "If the Lord delivered Daniel from the lion's den, why not every man?"

For some slaves, the Christian message of redemption became a message of apocalyptic deliverance. Blacks themselves were to act as the instruments of God's wrath against the evil of slavery and slaveholders. This explains the critical role religion played in the numerous slave revolts America experienced (see TURNER, NAT; VESEY, DENMARK).

Redemption and judgment also played a role in the religious impetus behind ABOLITIONISM. Rooted in the PERFECTIONISM of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, most abolitionists viewed slavery as a moral evil and preached a radical version of nonaccommodation to it. Civil disobedience and moral suasion were their weapons. Other abolitionists saw slavery as an insult to God that needed to be stamped out by any means. As Frederick Douglass phrased it, "By ballots if possible, by bullets if necessary."

By the time of the CIVIL WAR (1861–65), these visions had merged into one. Originally a war, as President ABRAHAM LINCOLN argued, to "maintain the Union," it soon became a religious crusade against slavery. This was epitomized by JULIA WARD HOWE's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," with its line, "As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free."

The Union victory in the Civil War and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the CONSTITUTION (in December 1865) ended slavery in the United States. Solving the problems bequeathed to the nation by slavery was another matter. A century would pass before most of these would be addressed, and even today the legacy of slavery troubles the land.

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Small, Albion Woodbury (1854–1926)

Selected by William Raney Harper to chair the fledgling University of Chicago Department of Sociology in 1892, Small was highly regarded in his own day as a leading light in the development of progressive social thought, as well as an important contributor to the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement.

Born to Albion Keith Parris Small, a Baptist minister, and Thankful Lincoln Small in Buckfield, Maine, on May 11, 1854, Small came from old Yankee stock. His life reflected the influences of both pre-Darwinian piety and the newer faith in science that spread rapidly in America in the late 19th century (see EVOLUTION; SCIENCE AND RELIGION; SECULARISM). Small graduated from Colby College in Maine and, intending to follow his father into the ministry, entered the Baptist Theological Seminary in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1876. Upon graduation, however, Small's love of the new social sciences proved too powerful, and he moved to Germany to study sociology. At the time, German sociology was dominated by an ethical, social reformist approach, which Small found congenial to his own liberal Protestant (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL) views. Upon his return, he taught at Colby College and eventually completed his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins in 1889. After returning to Colby as its new president, Small came to the attention of William Raney Harper, who was using money from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to provide the new University of Chicago with an already distinguished faculty. Small remained at Chicago from 1892 until his death on March 24, 1926.

Small, like many academics of his day, saw the university as an institution with almost unlimited potential to bring about social reform. He took an active role in many civic organizations and participated in numerous Social Gospel conferences. While convinced that social science was at bottom an ethical endeavor, he distanced himself from contemporaries who spoke of sociology as Christian work, as well as from what he saw as the utopianism of socialist radicals. Small looked to sociology to provide society with a rational basis for change, replacing competition with cooperation, individualism with community. He sought to develop a systematic account of a rational society in his major works, *An Introduction to the Science of Society* (1894), *The Meaning of Social Science* (1910), and *The Origins of Sociology* (1924), as well as in a neglected novel, *Between the Eras* (1913), which attacked the moral premises of capitalism.

While he supported the reform efforts of the clergy, he saw his own role as providing an objective, empirical analysis for use in the formation of social policy. In spite of the ethical commitment that shaped his desire to study society, he thought the social scientist had the duty and the capability of remaining out of the political fray. Though never abandoning his own Protestant liberalism, over time he did move beyond his early argument that "the tendency in sociology must be toward an approximation of the ideal of social life contained in the Gospels." He replaced the belief that Christianity provided a blueprint for a modern industrial society's social values with the assumption that a university-based social science would discover and articulate the values most capable of overcoming the conflicts of economic and political interest rocking American life.

He saw both religion and science contributing to the task of reform, but at different levels, since they were fundamentally different activities. The wellsprings of religion lay in the "affections" of the heart, while science was more public and self-critical. The university's task was to discover ultimate standards of value; religion's was to "impress the importance and authority of that ultimate standard," as he put it in an address to Phi Beta Kappa members in 1906. Thus, his commitment to the Protestant Social Gospel may have been overshadowed by his influence as a teacher supporting the growing secularism of American public culture in the 20th century.

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Smith, Hannah Whitall See HIGHER CHRISTIAN LIFE MOVEMENT.

Smith, Joseph, Jr. (1805–1844) The translator of the BOOK OF MORMON and the founder of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (LDS Church), Joseph Smith, Jr., was the inspiration behind America's most controversial and influential new religion. Mormons, as members of the LDS Church are popularly known, view Smith, in light of Hebrew Bible and New Testament types, as seer and prophet, president and military

Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the most successful religion to originate in America commander, church elder and high priest, founder and apostle.

Smith was the fourth of nine children born to a farming family of modest means in Sharon, Vermont, on December 23, 1805. His mother, Lucy Mack Smith, and his father, Joseph Smith, Sr., moved their family many times before settling near Palmyra in western New York in 1816. Smith reached maturity, therefore, in an area of intense religious ferment frequently referred to as the BURNED-OVER DISTRICT. In Palmyra, Smith's mother joined the Presbyterian Church, but his father remained an unaffiliated "seeker," searching for religious truth in a variety of Protestant denominations and refusing to pledge his fidelity to any of them.

The problem of religious PLURALISM was, therefore, a live issue in the Smith household. That problem was only compounded, moreover, by the broader religious climate in which options as diverse as SPIRITUALISM, SWEDENBORGIANISM, Shakerism (see SHAKERS), UNIVERSALISM, FREEMASONRY, REVIVALISM, and Christian PRIMITIVISM and restorationism (see RESTORATION MOVEMENT) flourished. Also prospering among the area's spiritual adventurers were practices associated with magic and the occult. Smith took in many of those influences. As a youth, he pondered the truth of the various religious options that whirled around him and wondered which could provide him eternal salvation.

While still a teenager, Smith began to turn in the direction of the religious tradition that would become Mormonism. When he was only 14, he had the first of a series of visions that resolved his uncertainties into faith. In his famous "First Vision" of 1820, Smith reportedly encountered a "Father" and a "Son." He asked them whether he was saved and inquired about which of the Christian denominations he should join. Smith was offered assurance of his own salvation, but on the denominational question he was informed, as Smith later wrote, that "I must join none of them, for they were all wrong." In subsequent visions, Smith reportedly conversed with John the Baptist, who initiated him into the "lesser" priesthood of the Hebrew patriarch Aaron. Peter, James, and John appeared subsequently to confer on Smith the "higher" Old Testament priesthood of Melchizedek. In this way, he received the authority to restore not only the primitive church but also ancient Israel.

In addition to Christian apostles and Hebraic patriarchs, a series of angels also reportedly appeared to Smith. In 1823, an angel named Moroni came to Smith, informing him of gold plates buried in Manchester, New York, in the Hill Cumorah. These plates were inscribed in hieroglyphics but were accompanied by two stones ("Urim" and "Thummim") that would enable their interpretation. Smith took possession of the plates and began translating them in 1827. The Book of Mormon, as Smith's translation was titled, narrated the adventures of ancient Israelites in the New World in the context of a post-Calvinist theology that rejected Reformed verities such as irresistible grace and original sin in favor of more liberal views of God and human nature. It was published when Smith was 24 years old, in March 1830. That same year in Fayette, New York, Smith founded "The Church of Jesus Christ," which (following Smith's insistence that true Christian saints were living in the last days before the return of Jesus Christ) would later be renamed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Unlike many other founders of NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, Smith was not required to leave his family behind in order to pursue his spiritual calling. In fact, Smith's parents and siblings were among his earliest and most important converts. Smith's father was ordained the first patriarch of the LDS Church in 1833; his mother eventually produced a controversial but nonetheless influential study of her beloved son entitled *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (1853); and

Emma Hale Smith, who became the first of his many wives in January of 1827, also was an influential Mormon.

In the period immediately following the publication of the Book of Mormon and the founding of his church, Smith reportedly received a number of revelations that according to many scholars transformed Mormonism from a reform movement within Christianity to an entirely new religious movement. These revelations were collected and published first as *The Book of Commandments* (1833) and later in an expanded form as *Doctrine and Covenants* (1835). These books, along with a later compilation of Smith's revelations and translations entitled *The Pearl of Great Price* (1851), are now regarded by Mormons as divinely inspired scripture. In these texts, Smith preached distinctive doctrines (the corporeality of god, the "eternal progression" of humans toward divinity, the ongoing nature of revelation, etc.) and practices (baptism of the dead by proxy, polygamy, marriage for eternity, etc.) that distinguished Mormonism from other religious movements.

Under Smith's direction, the Mormon movement soon began to look not only like an attempt to restore the apostolic church but also like an effort to restore ancient Israel. In 1830 and 1831, Smith introduced the idea of "gathering" the Mormon community into one place and put that idea into practice by moving with his followers to Kirtland, Ohio. Later Smith would lead his fellow Mormons in migrating from Kirtland to locations in Missouri and then, in 1839, to Nauvoo, Illinois. Smith's successor, BRIGHAM YOUNG, would follow his mentor's example by transplanting the LDS Church to the basin of the Great Salt Lake in Utah in 1848. At Kirtland, however, Smith persisted in injecting Hebraic models into Mormon life by orchestrating the building not of a church but of a temple. Smith's intermingling of Jewish and Christian themes into Mormonism was especially evident during the ceremonies marking the opening of the Kirtland temple in 1836. In an event that paralleled the transfiguration of Jesus described in the Gospel of Matthew, Smith and his important early associate Oliver Cowdery supposedly saw not only Jesus but also Moses and other Jewish patriarchs. And though they described the Kirtland temple as a reconstruction of the temple of Solomon, they incorporated into their dedication the early Christian ritual of footwashing.

Smith's combination of Christian and Jewish beliefs and practices with Burned-over District concerns attracted Mormon converts and precipitated anti-Mormon hostility. Smith was tarred and feathered in Hiram, Ohio, in 1832 and arrested and jailed on subsequent occasions. He seemed to devote as much energy to inflaming anti-Mormon sentiments as he did to escaping from religious persecution. Perhaps because of his awareness that the hostility of the "Gentile" world to Mormon beliefs and practices functioned to knit the Mormons into a cohesive community, Smith seemed to go out of his way to supply his opponents with reasons to attack him. Among the actions that brought wrath upon the Mormon Church were Smith's institution of the practice of "plural marriage," or polygamy, in Nauvoo, Illinois, and his decision to run for the presidency of the United States in 1844. Smith's most provocative act, however, was probably his order, carried out on June 11, 1844, to destroy the printing press of the *Nauvoo Expositor,* which had published (in its first and only issue) articles hostile to the LDS Church.

Local authorities responded to that provocation by arresting Smith and his brother Hyrum and holding them in jail in Carthage, Illinois. On June 27, 1844, a mob broke into the jail and lynched both Smith and his brother. Thus, Smith was transformed at the age of 38 from prophet to martyr.

After Smith's death, a struggle ensued over both the leadership and the direction of the Mormon movement. This battle resulted in the division of Mormonism into its two main divisions: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the "Utah Mormons"), which followed Brigham Young and affirmed controversial practices such as polygamy, and the much smaller Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (see COMMUNITY OF CHRIST), which followed Smith's son, Joseph Smith III, and denounced polygamy.

Smith is remembered today by critics as a charlatan and by followers as a latter-day prophet sent by God. Defenders and debunkers agree, however, that Smith was one of America's premier religious innovators.

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Smith, Robert Pearsall See HIGHER CHRISTIAN LIFE MOVEMENT.

snake handling Snake handling is a religious practice that involves holding and lifting up copperheads, rattlesnakes, and other poisonous serpents as a demonstration that one has received a special blessing from God.

This form of Christian worship, usually accompanied by loud rhythmic music and dancing, is found mainly among members of independent Pentecostal (see PENTECOSTALISM) churches in the Appalachian region of the United States.

The act of snake handling in worship services comes from a literal reading of Mark 16:17–18 in its King James Bible translation (the only translation snake handlers accept as normative). In these verses, Jesus commands his disciples to use snakes as symbols of their faithfulness: "And these signs shall follow them that believe. . . . They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them." The importance of this translation for snake handlers rests with the imperative "shall." As they themselves report, the text says *shall,* it does not say may, it does not say might, it does not say can. Similarly, while drinking poison, usually strychnine, occurs during worship services, it is much less common. There is no imperative in the line discussing drinking deadly things. The text simply says, "if they drink. . . ."

The snake handling movement first appeared in 1913 under the leadership of George W. Hensley, a self-trained preacher in eastern Tennessee who believed he had been baptized in the Holy Spirit and given special powers by God. When Hensley joined AMBROSE JESSUP TOMLINSON's Church of God, he introduced snake handling into that denomination. The practice received Tomlinson's tentative approval in 1917. Although Hensley left the Church of God a few years later, snake handling quickly became popular in many Pentecostal churches in poor rural areas throughout the South. It was often combined with fire handling and the drinking of strychnine as additional manifestations of God's control over the lives of believers.

Snake-handling congregations are fairly autonomous and small. The number of individuals who belong to such congregations is difficult to determine, mostly because of legal and social proscriptions on the activity, but there probably are no more than 3,000, including many who do not handle snakes at all. Generically, they often are referred to as the Church of God with Signs Following. The name derives from the same verses in Mark that give rise to snake handling and from Mark 16:20, in which the disciples, after Jesus' ascension into heaven, are to have gone "forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."

Snake handlers place serpents on top of their heads, wrap them around their necks, and even throw them to other worshipers. Bites, considered to be the result of a person's lack of faith, are surprisingly infrequent, and when they do occur, medical treatment seldom is sought. Dozens of people are known to have died from snakebites suffered during religious services since the beginning of Hensley's movement.

Many states in the Southeast, with the exceptions of Georgia and West Virgina, have statutes that could be applied to snake handlers (and Kentucky's directly proscribes the use of "a reptile in connection with any religious service or gathering . . ."). They are rarely enforced, however, since most require proving "reckless endangerment," and many prosecutors feel that those who feel endangered can simply leave the service. Despite these legal obstacles and the social stigma often associated with snake handling, the practice continues, drawing its members mostly from economically depressed areas of the southeastern United States, but also from throughout the country. Those who participate in these activities trust that, since they are acting in obedience to biblical commandments, God has power to protect them and they will suffer no lasting harm.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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Social Gospel The Social Gospel movement refocused Protestant concerns for social reform away from the arena of the individual soul and toward the structures shaping American society. Reflecting and responding to rapid social and economic changes that were transforming the nation from a rural, agrarian society at the end of the CIVIL WAR to an urban, industrial order by the start of WORLD WAR I, social Christianity arose in the United States during the last several decades of the 19th century and achieved its high point between the turn of the century and 1920.

Though participating in currents of thought common to Europeans at the same time, the Social Gospel (the term that gradually displaced "social Christianity") was a typically American movement—idealistic, practical-minded, action-oriented, and melioristic. Influenced by the pragmatic spirit, which interpreted and judged ideas by their measurable results, the Social Gospel shifted the emphasis of traditional Protestantism from the imperative to love God to one of loving one's neighbor. In the words of SHAILER MATHEWS, it involved "the application of the teaching of Jesus and the total message of the Christian salvation to society, the economic life, and social institutions . . . as well as to individuals."

The effort to apply Christian principles in everyday life was not new, going back at least as far as the apostle Paul. What was innovative was the emphasis given to social reform and the theological support given to social activism. Intense scrutiny was not directed at social evils of every type; the Social Gospel sought improvement through individual and cooperative action, like ABOLITIONISM earlier, while the more secular progressive movement sought change through political reform.

Faith in the power of information and education to transform people and force them to action was integral to the mindset of social Christianity. Even before 1902, its advocates had been studying social problems, but in that year the muckraking movement was launched as articles on political corruption and business malfeasance increasingly began to appear in popular periodicals. A decade of muckraking exposing social evils of every type fed the growing momentum of the Social Gospel movement. Muckrakers touched the social conscience of people with a vocabulary paralleling that of clergy, with a heavy emphasis on terms such as *righteousness, sin, greed, guilt, corruption*, and *conversion*.

The Social Gospel's origins date from the 1870s, with the teachings of SOLOMON WASHINGTON GLADDEN, the minister of a large Congregational church in Columbus, Ohio. Urging his parishioners to confront directly the conditions of the urban slum, he preached a social Christianity that applied Christ's teachings to social problems. During the wave of violent strikes that occurred during 1877, he sought to bring resolution to the conflict between business and labor.

Our Country, a best-selling book published in 1885 by JOSIAH STRONG, another Congregational minister, served as a primary document for Protestant reform in succeeding years. Other pioneering leaders of the movement included George D. Herron, a popular preacher as well as a professor of applied Christianity at Iowa College (later Grinnell); William Dwight Porter Bliss, Congregational minister and sociologist who took the lead in founding the American Fabian Society and who edited the *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (1897); and Richard T. Ely, a professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins, Wisconsin, and Northwestern and one of the most influential academics of his time. Gladden, Bliss, Ely, and other leading clergy and political economists organized the Society of Christian Socialists in Boston in 1889, but most people who participated in the Social Gospel movement refused to go so far as to identify themselves as socialists.

For the most part, this was a movement within Protestantism, although some Catholics and Jews were also involved. Denominations especially involved in its activities included the Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and the northern branches of the Baptists. In addition, nondenominational groups such as the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, the YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, and the SALVATION ARMY fed into the energy of the movement.

One of the most popular and influential works produced by the social gospelers was CHARLES M. SHELDON's *In His Steps* (1897), a book describing the radical transformation that would come to American society if only people would ask, and base their actions on, the single question "What would Jesus do?" The Social Gospel's leading theologian and theoretician, however, was WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, whose social consciousness was raised by his observations of the neighborhood surrounding his Baptist parish in the notorious Hell's Kitchen area of New York City. Later, as professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, he penned the most significant single document of the movement, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), which became a sort of Bible for its members.

In 1908, the Social Gospel took institutional form with the establishment of the Federal Council of Churches (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES; WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES). During the period before World War I, this organization emerged as a voice for mainstream American Protestantism and began to serve as a liaison between progressive government officials and socially conscious churchpeople. By the 1920s, it had lobbyists in Washington exercising influence on public policy. With America's entry into World War I, the primary phase of the Social Gospel came to an end. The foundation that it had laid by that time, however, meant that its organizing principles and underlying commitment to social justice would play an increasingly influential role within American Protestantism during succeeding decades, particularly through the National Council of Churches that succeeded the Federal Council of Churches in 1951.

MG

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Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Founded in 1701 by Thomas Bray (1656–1730), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was a missionary organization established to promote and sustain ANGLICANISM in the North American colonies, including Canada and the West Indies, in the decades prior to the Revolutionary War. Although the society endured through the end of the 19th century, after the American Revolution, its missionary interests moved away from the United States to other areas of British colonial rule.

The SPG originated as part of an aggressive and broad-based effort to expand British colonial control and consolidate power in North America in the late 17th century. One aspect of this push was the effort to bolster the strength of the Church of England as the religious arm of the government. Anglican officials had become increasingly alarmed at the spiritual indifference, tolerance of religious dissent, and institutional disarray evidenced in the American possessions. The church first asserted its authority by designating "commissaries" to several colonies, church officials who could assess and organize the religious needs of the population in lieu of a local bishop. Thomas Bray, appointed commissary of Maryland in 1696, realized that more resources would be necessary in order to establish the Church of England in the colonies. In 1699, he and a gathering of Anglican priests founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, an organization that founded schools and printed and distributed religious literature. In 1701, the same group established the SPG in order to train and support Anglican missionaries for work overseas.

Several aims guided the work of the SPG in its North American phase. A primary goal was to supply ministers to unchurched Anglicans, those New World subjects who were already loyal to the church. But of equal importance was outreach to European American dissenters, particularly PURITANS, Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF), and Roman Catholics (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM), whose presence threatened the authority of the Crown. In 1702, George Keith, an ex-Quaker, was sent out to survey the status of colonial churches. Keith conducted a preaching tour from Maine to North Carolina, "preaching and disputing publicly," and devoting particular attention to Quakers. Subsequently, ministers were sent out with a modest sum of money and a parcel of books to locations where the need seemed most pressing. The SPG committed itself to supporting missionaries financially as long as was necessary.

Outreach to European Americans met with mixed success. Because Virginia and Maryland were relatively well covered with clergy, work in the South focused intensively on North and South Carolina and the newly established colony of Georgia, where the young John Wesley served in the 1730s under the SPG. Anglicanism also spread effectively into the mid-Atlantic colonies. By 1750, New York boasted 20 churches, New Jersey 18, Delaware 14, and Pennsylvania 19. In 1754, King George II chartered King's College, an Anglican school in New York that later became Columbia University. New England, a region dominated by Puritan influence throughout the 18th century, resisted Anglican evangelization more unyieldingly, but even there influence was perceptible. A most notable example involved the "Great Defection" of several well-known Puritan divines, including Timothy Cutler, president of Yale College, to the Church of England in 1722. After Cutler's ordination, he returned to America as a missionary for the SPG.

The SPG also aspired to bring the Gospel to the "heathen" inhabitants of North America, particularly American Indians (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS) and African Americans (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION). While the mission to Native Americans quickly proved to be unworkable, hampered as it was by a lack of native cooperation and periodic European-Indian warfare, slave populations were an easier audience to isolate and organize, and thus Anglican energy shifted to the instruction and baptism of blacks. Ironically, the greatest obstacle to success, in the eyes of many missionaries, was the resistance of slave owners to having their chattel officially recognized by the church. While some masters were merely indifferent to slave baptism, a significant number protested that bringing African Americans into the Christian communion would imperil the legitimacy of their enslavement and take time away from their work. They assumed that baptism, as a public acknowledgement of the slave's spiritual equality, would necessitate manumission, or the freeing of slaves. Evangelization was thus often left to the discretion of individual slave owners, and consequently missionaries spent a substantial amount of time trying to reassure property owners that slavery and Christianity were compatible institutions. While some African Americans were baptized, their small numbers were soon dwarfed by the many slaves who joined "New Light" (see NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS) congregations after the 1730s.

Anglican missionary activity in the New World was disrupted when the colonies declared their independence from Britain. Church of England priests joined the Loyalist exodus, signaling the end of the American phase of SPG activity.

LMK

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Society of Jesus See JESUITS.

Sojourners Fellowship During the late 1960s, a group of evangelical Christians from Chicago's Trinity Evangelical Divinity School formed a community later named Sojourners Fellowship. The group's founders opposed the VIETNAM WAR and viewed peacemaking and economic and racial justice as central Christian vocations. Pledging loyalty only to the kingdom of God, they named their tabloid, first published in 1971, the *Post-American.* In the mid-1970s, the fellowship relocated to the inner city of Washington, D.C., and renamed their magazine *Sojourners.* Within 10 years, *Sojourners* had become the most important voice for radical Christian pacifism in North America.

The political positions found in *Sojourners* usually parallel those found in the so-called alternative press. Since liberal Protestantism has been significantly influenced by LIBERATION THEOLOGY and other forms of religious radicalism, the liberal Protestant press and *Sojourners* often agree about U.S. foreign and domestic policy. But several principles have distinguished *Sojourners* from counterparts such as *Christian Century* and the now-defunct *Christianity and Crisis.* Among the most important are pacifism, theological conservatism, and an emphasis on spiritual discernment in the Christian moral life.

Sojourners rejects both Christian realism (the legacy of REINHOLD NIEBUHR) and public

Protestantism, two positions that have viewed American power as an important tool in the pursuit of social justice. Skeptical about the role of government, *Sojourners* shares more with the Anabaptist distrust of the state than with Calvinist hopes for the Christianization of human culture.

Sojourners views the Bible as the central moral authority but rejects Protestant FUNDAMENTALISM's assertions about the inerrancy of Scripture. A number of central themes appear again and again in *Sojourners* and in movement texts such as John Yoder's *The Politics of Jesus* (1972) and *Agenda for a Biblical People* (1976) by *Sojourners'* longtime editor Jim Wallis. Jesus' life and teachings are the model for Christian life, these books argue. Jesus resisted the political powers of his day, promoting through nonviolent means an earthly kingdom of God that demanded the redistribution of wealth. Early Christians followed Jesus' radicalism until they were coopted when the Roman emperor Constantine made Christianity the official imperial religion. Contemporary Christians should return, therefore, to the original mission of constructing the kingdom of God, which necessitates living simply, eschewing consumerism, and promoting justice. Finally, since the Bible does not attend to every contemporary moral quandary, Christians must cultivate a conscience that can "discern the times" and act courageously in the face of the power of the state and the dictates of mainstream culture.

Sojourners has supported war tax resistance and civil disobedience against nuclear weapons facilities. During the 1980s, the fellowship played a leading role in developing a "Pledge of Resistance" in which thousands promised to resist a U.S.-sponsored insurrection against Nicaragua's leftist regime. *Sojourners* also spawned "Witness for Peace," an organization that places volunteers in war-torn countries in order to document and deter violence. Although the impact of *Sojourners* in the past two decades is difficult to measure, its resistance to U.S. military interventions and proxy wars abroad may have prevented even bolder forms of intervention during the cold war era.

Sojourners and the Sojourners Fellowship together illustrate that evangelical Christianity is not a monolithic, right-wing tradition. Recently *Sojourners* has evolved into an ecumenical journal, adding liberal Protestants and radical Catholics to its readership. It has also taken positions controversial to many of its readers, most notably promoting a "consistent life ethic" opposed to abortion.

In the late 1990s, *Sojourners* developed a Web site where Jim Wallis and a new generation of Christian activists "promote values at the crossroads where spirituality, politics, and culture meet."

BRT

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Soka Gakkai International-USA Soka Gakkai International-USA (SGI-USA) is the largest of two major American Buddhist organizations rooted in the Mahayana ("Great Vehicle") Buddhist teachings of Nichiren Daishonin (1222–82), the Japanese founder of Nichiren BUDDHISM.

Followers of Nichiren distinguish themselves from other Buddhists in a variety of ways. They stress the Lotus Sutra over all other Mahayana Buddhist texts and advocate chanting the title of that sutra (*Nam-Myoho-Renge-Kyo*: "Hail to the Wonderful Teaching of the Lotus Sutra") as the key Buddhist rite. They also emphasize the worldly benefits of the *daimoku*, as that chant is called. At least until contemporary times, they also tended to be militantly nationalistic and to regard all other forms of Buddhism not merely as inferior faiths but as dangerous heresies.

SGI-USA is an American outgrowth of the Soka Gakkai ("Value Creation Society"), a lay organization established by Tsunesaburo Makiguchi in Japan in the 1930s as a means of converting the world to the "True School of Buddhism" (Nichiren Shoshu) and ushering in an era of world peace. Soka Gakkai grew in its early years despite government persecution of the movement (for, among other things, its strident opposition to state Shintoism) and the imprisonment of Makiguchi in 1943 and his death in prison in 1944.

In 1960, Daisaku Ikeda became Soka Gakkai's new president. One of his first official actions was to establish a U.S. branch. Led by the Korean-born Masayasu Sadanaga, that organization would soon be named Nichiren Shoshu of America (NSA).

At first, that group attracted mostly Japanese Americans. In 1967, Sadanaga began an aggressive and successful proselytization effort (*shakubuku*) that brought in large numbers of non-Asians, especially blacks and Hispanics. Out of this campaign, Nichiren Shoshu of America emerged as a vital new religious movement. In the 1960s and 1970s, NSA grew rapidly, especially among the college-age population, by reaching out to non-Asian Americans through seminars and publications, including two periodicals, the *World Tribune* (established in 1964) and the *NSA Quarterly* (established in 1973). As the organization moved into Canada, Central and South America, and the Caribbean, it changed its name to Nichiren Shoshu Academy.

Although the NSA maintained close organizational ties to its mother movement in Japan, it supplanted Soka Gakkai's militant Japanese nationalism with its own brand of American CIVIL RELIGION. Ironically, the NSA was for a time the most aggressively and self-consciously Americanized Buddhist movement in the United States. In 1972, Masayasu Sadanaga took the "American" name of George M. Williams. In his lectures, Williams stressed the common aspirations of American patriots and NSA practitioners. Youth members marched in a fife and drum corps and brass bands, and the organization's "Junior Pioneers" participated in activities akin to those of the Boy Scouts. One NSA convention around the time of the American Bicentennial was organized around the theme "The Spirit of 1776."

Although lay-led, Soka Gakkai historically maintained close ties with Nichiren Shoshu priests. Soka Gakkai leaders accepted the authority of priests in ritual matters and priests, in turn, offered the lay movement legitimacy and provided it with its key ritual object, the *gohonzon*, a sacred scroll symbolizing the teachings of the Lotus Sutra and the life of Nichiren. Subterranean tensions between those priests and lay leaders like President Ikeda built over the years, however, and exploded in 1991, when Nichiren Shoshu priests denounced Ikeda and effectively excommunicated all Soka Gakkai members. In the aftermath of this split, which some scholars have described as a Buddhist version of the Protestant Reformation (with Ikeda likened to Martin Luther), Nichiren Shoshu can now be found in the United States in two main organizations. Soka Gakkai International-USA (SGI-USA) is by far the larger. Nichiren Shoshu Temple (NST), the priest-led organization that excommunicated Soka Gakkai members, is much smaller.

In the aftermath of the 1991 schism, SGI-USA has thrived. Like Nichiren Shoshu adherents in Japan, members of SGI-USA believe that Buddhahood is achieved through faith in and reliance upon the Lotus Sutra. Their core ritual practice is chanting the *daimoku* in the presence of a *gohonzon* (which are now supplied to SGI-USA members via nonpriestly sources). Both of those practices are said to invoke the power of the Lotus Sutra to instill in the individual practitioner spiritual and material benefits.

Now headquartered in Santa Monica, California, SGI-USA maintains nearly 90 community centers and claims 330,000 members, including celebrity adherents such as the musician Herbie Hancock and the actor Orlando Bloom. Informed sources, however, acknowledge only about 30,000 to 40,000 active members. SGI-USA members no longer proselytize aggressively, and the nationalism of the bicentennial celebrations of 1976 has given way to a more cosmopolitan emphasis on world peace and interreligious dialogue. The Boston Research Center for the 21st Century, a SGI-USA affiliate located near the campus of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is now one of the leading venues in the United States for interreligious dialogue.

SRP

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Soloveitchik, Joseph Dov (1903–1993)

Arguably one of the most important Orthodox Jewish theologians of the second half of the 20th century, Joseph Dov Soloveitchik remains basically unknown outside that community. That a man who was asked to be the chief Ashkenazic rabbi of Israel could be nearly unknown in his own country says much about Orthodox insularity. It also demonstrates how little attention American society has paid to ORTHODOX JUDAISM. Soloveitchik exercised such tremendous influence on Orthodox Judaism that he was universally referred to as Rav, the rabbi's rabbi.

Born on February 27, 1903, in Pruzhan, Poland, where his maternal grandfather was chief rabbi, Joseph Dov Soloveitchik grew up in Haslovitz, Belorussia, where his father served as rabbi. Tutored privately by his father after it was discovered that the schoolmaster was instructing him in Hasidic texts (see HASIDISM) rather than the Talmud, Soloveitchik had a strong religious education, although his mother introduced him to modern literature. His education was in the "Brisker" method, called after his paternal grandfather, the "Brisker (Brest-Litovsk) Rav." This method, with its emphasis on incisive analysis, exact definition, precise classification, and critical independence, carried over into Soloveitchik's work at the University of Berlin and is visible in his own thought.

At Berlin, he studied physics, mathematics, and philosophy, receiving his doctorate in 1931. The following year, Soloveitchik and his wife came to the United States and settled in Boston, where he was named chief rabbi. In 1941, he succeeded his father as professor of Talmud at New York's Yeshiva University, commuting there regularly from his home in Boston.

In the 1970s, he was asked to become the chief Ashkenazic rabbi of Israel, a position he refused. When asked about this refusal, he stated that he could not be an officer of the state, claiming that "a rabbinate linked up with the state cannot be completely free." Although favorably disposed toward Israel—he was honorary president of the RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA for more than four decades—Soloveitchik did not view *aliya* (immigration to Israel) as a religious imperative. He believed Orthodox Judaism could thrive in the United States and understood exile as part of the essence of the Jewish people.

Given the significance of Soloveitchik's theological and philosophical work, his relative dearth of published works is surprising. Soloveitchik acknowledged this as a family malady, since neither his grandfather nor his father published much despite their reputations as scholars. A demand for perfection underlay this failing, and Soloveitchik claimed that he wrote little that seemed sufficiently complete. His public lectures, however, were filled to overflowing, and like many Orthodox rabbis, he could speak for hours at a time. Often recorded by listeners, his talks circulated widely as either tapes or transcripts.

Two themes dominated Soloveitchik's thought. The first was the question of what the man of faith has to say to "a functional, utilitarian society." Drawing from Søren Kierkegaard and Immanuel Kant, Soloveitchik argued that the religious life is fundamentally one of loneliness, not emotionally but factually. The individual comes before God alone, thereby affirming her or his existence as a subject. Only the individual who has ceased to be an object of societal demands and roles can call upon God and respond to the divine commands.

The religious life is a process of developing self-awareness, self-assertion, and self-creativity. This process is made possible through the halacha, the religious law that regulates personal, social, and ritual conduct. Only through halacha is "the apprehension and fulfillment of God's will" possible. The centrality of halacha to Jewish life is the second theme of Soloveitchik's thought. It both creates and defines the communal and religious existence of the Jew. Halacha serves two fundamental purposes. The first of these is the sacralizing (sanctification) of human life and human existence. Halacha "enables man to bend the realm of eternity into the temporal universe." The second purpose of halacha is to bring humanity into a knowledge of the will of the Creator, to bring the individual to awareness of God. For Soloveitchik, halacha was purely objective. It was an "a priori system in need of no validation and not contingent upon human personality or subjectivity."

This minimizing of the element of human subjectivity set Soloveitchik apart from the growing emphasis on feeling within American Judaism, especially as influenced by Hasidism. Soloveitchik was committed to searching for the significance of the divine word beyond human willing, wanting, and feeling. For this reason, he emphasized the religious law. The doing of the law was not dependent on how the individual felt; it was simply linked to the divine command and the individual's response of yes or no.

As chief rabbi of Boston, professor at Yeshiva University, and the preeminent authority on halacha, Soloveitchik exercised tremendous influence on Orthodox Judaism in America. Although only one voice among many, his erudition, learning, and depth made it an audible one. His philosophical defense of religious law as the basis of Orthodox Judaism made him a substantial figure in American and international circles.

Soloveitchik's practical involvement with decisions about halacha made his work particularly significant for Orthodox Jews throughout the United States. As the leading arbiter of religious law—of questions involving food, marriage, divorce, and ritual—Soloveitchik's importance extended far beyond that of most philosophers and theologians. Until his death on April 8, 1993, his decisions regarding the application of religious law to specific cases affected the daily lives of thousands.

With Soloveitchik's passing, however, Orthodox Judaism not only lost one of its leaders, a man of worldwide prominence, it also lost one of the last of its leading scholars with a secular education. The implications of this fact will have major long-term implications on the developments of the tradition.

EQ

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South The American South—the Confederate states plus Oklahoma and Kentucky—has a distinctive history and religious heritage. With the exception of the state of Utah, no section of the United States is as religiously homogeneous as the American South or as religiously observant.

Neither of those two realities marked the early period of settlement (see COLONIAL PERIOD). Most southern colonies originally had the Church of England (see EPISCOPAL CHURCH) as their religious establishment. This was a nominal establishment at best, and it became increasingly weak during the 1700s due to the growing secularization of the elite class that dominated the Anglican Church. Influenced by the ENLIGHTENMENT and the cultural milieu of the times, this class was often deistic in outlook.

The other major source of Southern religion was the increasing immigration into the backcountry primarily by Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM) or unchurched Scots-Irish settlers. Later these immigrants would be reached by Baptist and Methodist preachers. The Anglican Church was weakened further by its opposition to the Revolution, while the Presbyterians and BAPTISTS were aided by their support of it.

The religious movement that dramatically transformed Southern religion was the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, known in the South as the Great Revival. The emotionalism, egalitarianism, and experientialism that marked the REVIVALISM of the awakening indelibly marked the region. In the South, religion is characterized by low-church Protestantism: nonsacramental and nonconfessional denominations. Baptists, METHODISTS, Presbyterians, and Disciples of Christ (see CHRISTIAN CHURCH [DISCIPLES OF CHRIST]) predominate. These churches, which emphasize the importance of conversion, personal morality, and the equality of all believers, constitute an overwhelming majority in the American South. Their dominance is so profound that other denominations deviate from traditional observances to place themselves more in line with these emphases.

While religion in the South has been theologically conservative, FUNDAMENTALISM has not dominated the region. Although some southerners were important fundamentalists, notably J. Frank Norris (1877–1952) and BOB JONES, SR. (1883–1968), fundamentalism's impact has been limited. The experientialism of southern religion has argued against an emphasis on doctrine, and the region's predominant denomination—the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION—historically has deemphasized doctrinal rigidity in favor of evangelism and denominational unity.

This low-church Protestantism has deeply affected the cultural milieu. Codes of personal behavior formulated by those denominations, especially the Baptists and Methodists, have become normative for the society as a whole. While not necessarily defining how people actually behave, they do define the norms from which people deviate. Protestantism in particular and religion in general dominate the culture. The level of religious knowledge in the South is surprisingly high, and for many people, the church remains the centerpiece of social life.

The other inescapable fact of southern religion is that it is a biracial phenomenon, just as the region is a biracial culture. Despite racism, hostility, and violence, blacks and whites in the South have been linked throughout history. SLAVERY and the large black population have defined southern religion as well as southern culture.

Bethany Church, Siloam, Greene County, Georgia, one of the oldest churches in the country. *(Library of Congress)*

This is true on several levels. Slavery brought about the most determinative event of southern history—the CIVIL WAR. The sectional tensions that divided the nation also divided religion. Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians split into northern and southern denominations. The Episcopal Church reunited shortly after the war, the Methodists not until 1939, and the Presbyterians in 1983. The Baptists never reunited, and the identification of the Southern Baptist Convention with the South and its ethos became increasingly strong.

Churches in the South provided the white population with a source of solace and refuge following the Confederacy's defeat in the war. Many white southerners were convinced that they had been defeated not because they were wrong, but because God desired that a region of pure religion remain in the country in order to convert it. The white churches served as a bastion of southern nationalism, albeit translated into a spiritual idiom. Southern religion was a creature of southern society and history, but southern society was equally a creature of southern religion (see LOST CAUSE MYTH). Nonetheless, the region remained haunted by its sins. Guilt in southern religion is palpable. Not only is this guilt spiritual and moral, but much of it is attributable to the South's failure to deal justly with its black population.

For the wronged blacks, religion provided solace of another sort. Black religion in the South is also rooted in low-church Protestantism. Evangelized primarily by Methodists and Baptists during the first half of the 1800s, blacks quickly adapted the Christian message to the situation of slavery.

Following the Civil War and emancipation, blacks left the white churches to form their own black-led denominations (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION). These churches, primarily Baptist and Methodist, provided the black community with gathering places free from white control. As sources of independent black thought and activity, they supplied the black community with leadership and organizational centers, best exemplified by the role of the black church in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, itself a product of southern black religion.

Beyond the general rule of religious homogeneity, the American South also shares in the American history of diversity. ROMAN CATHOLICISM played, and plays, a major role in Louisiana (see NEW FRANCE), Texas, and southern Florida (see NEW SPAIN). JUDAISM arrived early in the region. Charleston, South Carolina, has one of the nation's oldest Jewish congregations and the nation's first Reformed congregation (see REFORM JUDAISM). Other religious groups have maintained a separate identity over the years while integrating culturally into the region. Examples include the MORAVIANS and Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]) in North Carolina and German Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM) in central Texas.

The South is also home to several distinctive forms of American religion. These include the small Baptist groups of Appalachia—Primitive, Old Regular, Union, Missionary, and Free Will Baptists. Although differing in doctrine, these small denominations share many characteristics, including an emphasis on foot-washing as an ordinance of the church and a distinctive, fast-paced preaching style.

The snake handlers (see SNAKE HANDLING) are another unique element of Appalachian religion. Rooted in PENTECOSTALISM, church members take literally the scriptural statement that those "who believe . . . shall pick up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them." (Mark 16:17–18). Although snakebites are infrequent, they have been sufficient in number that several states have outlawed the practice.

Despite the homogenizing tendencies of television, franchises, interstate highways, and the Internet, the South remains a separate and identifiable region. Religion plays a continuing and important role in this distinctiveness. The relationship between southern society and southern religion creates a religious environment unique in the 21st-century United States.

(See also CAROLINAS [COLONY]; COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN; EVANGELICALISM; PROSLAVERY THOUGHT; VIRGINIA [COLONY]).

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Southern Baptist Convention The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) was organized in Augusta, Georgia, on May 8, 1845, when BAPTISTS in the North and SOUTH split over the issue of slavery. Since that time, it has grown to become the largest Protestant denomination in the United States. Numbering more than 16 million members in 2007 with churches in every state of the union, the denomination retains its identification with and has its greatest strength in the South, where it is the largest denomination in every state except Louisiana.

The convention has retained the classic Baptist commitment to the individual congregation as the only form and type of the true church and technically has no control over the activities of individual congregations. The convention itself, which formally exists only during its annual meeting every year, was created to function as a center for evangelization, that is, the conversion of people to Christianity. Evangelism has been at the forefront of the denomination's life and to a great extent has been the source of its unity and identity. During the 1980s and 1990s, however, many challenged this traditional view, and the denomination moved to exclude from membership congregations that deviated from its increasingly conservative positions on women, homosexuality, and other matters.

During the latter part of the 19th century, Southern Baptists—and the South as a whole—slowly recovered from the destruction of the CIVIL WAR and worked to construct the institutions necessary to support their work. These included a seminary—Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (now located in Louisville, Kentucky), organized in 1859 but not in operation until after the war—the Women's Missionary Union (1888), and the Sunday School Board (1891). Even greater growth took place between 1900 and WORLD WAR II with the establishment of three more seminaries (Southeastern Baptist Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina; New Orleans Baptist Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana; Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Dallas, Texas) and several boards and commissions with responsibility for home and foreign missions, social and political issues, and denominational history. All of this work remained centered in the South, however, and the convention, headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee, was understood and understood itself as a southern denomination.

Following World War II, however, the denomination began to expand throughout the country and by the mid-1970s had churches in every state in the union, even organizing a seminary to serve the Midwest, Midwestern Baptist Seminary in Kansas City, Missouri, in the 1950s. The denomination was increasingly swept up in the social and political turmoil of the 1960s and 1970s, despite its struggle to focus primarily on the task of evangelism. But to a great extent, it thrived, experiencing phenomenal growth in the 20th century—from 1.7 million members in 1900, to 7.1 million in 1950, to nearly 17 million in 2008.

These changes were not uncomplicated, however. The expansion of the denomination and its increasing engagement with the wider world brought a heightened awareness of the denomination's diversity. Some felt that theological diversity meant the denominational bureaucracy and the seminaries were harboring theological liberals (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL) and were failing to accommodate the concerns and desires of the more conservative and fundamentalist members (see FUNDAMENTALISM).

The result was a concerted effort by fundamentalists to take control of the convention and its operations. Begun in 1976 and led by Paul Pressler and Paige Patterson, this movement desired to make biblical INERRANCY and political conservatism hallmarks of the denomination. It achieved its first success in 1979 with the election of a convention president committed to its theological and political positions. Through the 1980s and into the 1990s with the support of 52 to 55 percent of those voting at the convention's annual meeting, the fundamentalists managed to gain control of the boards of the convention's operating agencies and its seminaries.

The results were mass resignations at Southeastern Baptist Seminary and numerous resignations at Southern Baptist Seminary, the denomination's flagship school. Those opposed to the fundamentalists formed two organizations—the Southern Baptist Alliance and the Association of Southern Baptists—to act as counterweights to the fundamentalist-controlled convention. Two seminaries separate from those controlled by the convention also were organized. These conflicts and tensions also severely affected morale throughout the denomination, and the number of new members added each year began to decline.

As the convention moved into the third millennium, it became obvious that it was committed to a vehemently conservative position on both social issues and evangelization. In the mid-1990s, it officially condemned homosexuality and disfellowshipped two congregations that had undertaken to bless homosexual unions. At the annual meeting in 1998, it adopted a statement on women expressly affirming the subordinate position of women in the church, the family, and society. During this time, it also made a public commitment to undertake active evangelization among Jews, Muslims, and Hindus. Indeed, the convention published a small pamphlet identifying nearly every Muslim community in the world with a specific prayer for its conversion.

Through these actions, the Southern Baptist Convention has self-consciously set a course that puts it expressly at odds with contemporary currents. While this anticultural posture may reflect the thinking of active members, one must wonder whether it can continue to expand among those who have grown up with the idea of women's equality, the acceptance of homosexuality, and religious tolerance. Either, as seems to be the case with its statement on women and its boycott of Disney, the pronouncements of the convention will become increasingly irrelevant to the lives of its members, or the SBC itself will turn into a closed denomination, fighting a rear guard action against all modern trends.

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Based on the work of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) (see Civil Rights movement), an organization created to lead the boycott against the city's segregated buses, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was organized in January 1957. Some 60 black ministers attending the Negro Leaders Conference on Nonviolent Integration at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta voted to create a South-wide organization designed to further the cause of nonviolent approaches to overcoming segregation. After several name changes, this organization eventually became the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The weekend of its birth was to be representative of its life, for during the conference the black community of Montgomery, Alabama, was racked by bombings. These racist attacks hit hardest at the backbone of the SCLC, the churches. The SCLC was, and has remained, a movement rooted in the black church. Calling upon African Americans to "assert their human dignity by refusing further cooperation with evil," the SCLC urged a process of nonviolent direct resistance to segregation.

Under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., the SCLC gained the attention of the black community, many white Americans, and the world. Although it suffered several setbacks, notably in Albany, Georgia (1962), and Chicago, Illinois (1966), the SCLC achieved tremendous success in such segregated bastions as Birmingham (1963) and Selma, Alabama (1965). The sight of innocent African-American men, women, and children responding not violently, but prayerfully, to police dog attacks, fire hoses, and beatings aroused the conscience of the nation. The SCLC's demonstrations helped pave the way for the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

King's assassination in April 1968 was a tremendous blow to the SCLC. Although King's successor, RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY, a colleague of King since the MIA days, attempted to continue the movement, numerous forces worked against it. A long-planned "Poor People's March" on Washington in 1968 sank into a sea of poor planning, internal conflicts, indifference, and bad weather. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the SCLC faced growing challenges to its philosophy of nonviolence and nonracialism. The Black Power movement and the growing rhetoric of violence would soon challenge the SCLC's emphases on nonviolence and brotherhood.

Chastened and smaller, the SCLC continued to press for greater gains for blacks, primarily in its stronghold in the South. Under the leadership of Abernathy and his successor, Joseph Lowery, the SCLC worked to expand its scope. Concern about the black family led it to institute in 1980 the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Weekend, an annual conference designed to strengthen black family life. The SCLC also has expanded upon King's interest in foreign affairs and is quite outspoken on issues involving Africa and the Middle East.

These concerns have not overshadowed its work for black political rights. When the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was up for renewal in 1982, the SCLC led a reenactment of the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery that was instrumental in the act's original passage. The choice of Martin Luther King III as the organization's president in 1997 was a major move toward revitalizing the SCLC. His attention to the needs of the black family and his emphasis on black economic development may return it to the forefront of the struggle for "Jobs, Freedom, and Justice" that has been its hallmark from the beginning.

(See also STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.)

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Southern Methodists See UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.

Southern Presbyterians See PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.); PRESBYTERIANISM.

Spalding, Martin John (1810–1872) The leading Catholic apologist and primate of the American Roman Catholic hierarchy as archbishop of Baltimore, Martin John Spalding was a dominant figure in 19th-century American ROMAN CATHOLICISM. Born on May 23, 1810, on a small farm near Lebanon, Kentucky, and raised in a devout Roman Catholic family, Martin, along with his brother Benedict, committed himself early to the priesthood. Educated at St. Mary's College (B.A., 1826), St. Thomas Seminary in Bardstown (B.D., 1830), and the Urban College in Rome (S.T.D., 1834), he returned to Kentucky in 1834. There he served as a pastor in Bardstown (1834–38, 1841–44) and Lexington (1840–41) as well as president of St. Joseph's College (1838–40).

Appointed vicar general (1844), then bishop (1848) of the diocese of Louisville, Spalding brought his intellectual and diplomatic abilities to bear in defense of the Catholic faith. A prolific writer and popular lecturer, Spalding gained national attention as an apologist for Catholicism. A collection of his lectures, *General Evidences of Catholicity*, was one of the most popular Catholic apologetical works of the time. Equally significant were his pastoral letters, especially on education, which he saw as central to maintaining the Catholic faith in America and promoting citizenship. He championed parochial schools and supported the establishment of the American colleges in Louvain and Rome as well as the Catholic University of America. Spalding also promoted the Catholic Publication Society (founded 1866, now Paulist Press), feeling that a Catholic publishing house was necessary to stem the overwhelming tide of Protestant books and pamphlets flooding the United States.

Like most of his contemporary coreligionists, Spalding believed that the Catholic faith was compatible with American citizenship. He understood this to mean that a grounding in Catholic doctrine prepared one for the responsibilities of citizenship and for one's civic duties. For this reason, he supported strong statements on doctrine and was one of the few American bishops to defend Pius IX's "Syllabus of Errors," with its condemnation of religious liberty, freedom of the press, and democracy. Named archbishop of Baltimore in 1864, he attended VATICAN COUNCIL I in 1870, where he advocated the promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility, thinking that such a centralizing doctrine would aid priests in their work.

In the United States, Spalding used his authority to increase doctrinal and institutional order in the Roman Catholic Church by convening the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) (see BALTIMORE, COUNCILS OF). This conference not only issued rules regularizing church procedures throughout the country, but also articulated several theological positions. Its documents included statements on the Trinity, creation, redemption, veneration of Mary, and the doctrine that outside the church there is no salvation. Equally significant was the council's attention to the problems of the Catholic immigrant population, for whom the church's responsibility was not only religious but to "provide for every want of suffering humanity."

The council was perhaps the finest achievement of Spalding's career. He guided its meetings through several difficult moments and achieved agreement on the most important articles, many of which he had written. Long hampered by poor health and weakened by the trip to Rome in 1870, Spalding died on February 7, 1872, in Baltimore.

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Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb See MORAVIANS.

Spellman, Francis Joseph (1889–1967)

As archbishop of New York for more than a quarter-century, Francis Spellman was the preeminent Roman Catholic leader of his time (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM). Although his fellow bishops often resisted his leadership, Spellman's Vatican contacts and long personal friendship with Eugenio Pacelli (the Vatican secretary of state, who later became Pope Pius XII) provided him with great influence in Rome.

The son of a grocer from Whitman, Massachusetts, Spellman was born on May 4, 1889. He took great pride in the fact that his parents were American-born and resented being called an Irishman. Educated in the public schools of Whitman, he attended Fordham College (now University), deciding on the priesthood shortly before graduating in 1911. After entering the archdiocesan seminary in Boston, he was sent to the North American College in Rome, where he received his doctorate in 1916. He was ordained in May of that year.

Returning to Boston, he spent two years as a parish priest until Archbishop William O'Connell assigned him to the staff of the *Pilot,* the archdiocesan paper. After his appointment to the diocesan chancery (the bishop's staff) in 1922, conflicts developed with O'Connell, who over the next three years assigned Spellman to insignificant positions.

Spellman made the best of this time, translating two books and gaining the friendship of the apostolic delegate to the United States. In 1925, he accompanied a group of pilgrims to Rome, where he became acquainted with several prominent people, including Pacelli, who arranged for his appointment as the first-ever American attaché to the Vatican secretary of state. Spellman's most important activity in this position was smuggling Pope Pius XI's condemnation of fascism, *Non Abbiamo Besogno,* out of the country and passing it on to the Associated Press.

The following year, Spellman was consecrated auxiliary bishop of Boston, much to the consternation of Archbishop O'Connell, who made no secret of the fact that he had not requested an auxiliary, least of all Spellman. Relations between the two were strained at best, and conflicts repeatedly emerged.

This situation ended on April 15, 1939, when the newly elected pope, Pius XII, appointed Spellman archbishop of New York. As a relatively unknown bishop, Spellman's name had not even been among those originally considered for the position. But with the appointment, he was now the leader of the most influential archdiocese in America and had an old friend sitting on the papal throne.

This power was important as the winds of war swirled worldwide. Spellman played a crucial role in convincing President Franklin Roosevelt to appoint a personal representative to the Vatican, arguing that the United States could use the diplomatic information available to the Vatican. Although he had lobbied Roosevelt to establish official diplomatic relations with the Vatican since 1936, Spellman was willing to accept a personal representative as a temporary measure. As a reward for this accomplishment, Pius XII appointed Spellman vicar for the armed forces of the United States. Spellman relished this position and used it to its fullest.

After the outbreak of WORLD WAR II, Spellman was an outspoken supporter of the war effort, identifying the Allied forces as fighting for the cause of Christian civilization. He visited American troops throughout the European theater and helped to convince Spain's Francisco Franco to remain neutral. Following the liberation of Rome, Spellman advised Pius XII on American church affairs, suggesting RICHARD J. CUSHING as successor to the recently deceased Archbishop O'Connell.

Named a cardinal in 1946 after refusing an appointment as Vatican secretary of state, Spellman emerged from the war years as the most visible American bishop. Feeling that the struggle against COMMUNISM was central to the preservation of Christian civilization, he was an outspoken anticommunist and a supporter of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Spellman used his position as vicar to the military as a platform for his anticommunism, visiting American troops in Korea and Vietnam and remaining outspoken in his support for the VIETNAM WAR until his death on December 2, 1967.

Although generally described as a conservative, Spellman's political views were quite complicated. He was sensitive to racial and ethnic inequality and supported priests and nuns who were active in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. He included the liberal JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY among his advisers to VATICAN COUNCIL II and was instrumental in forcing the council's adoption of the declaration on religious liberty.

As archbishop, Spellman was an able administrator and oversaw massive growth in the New York archdiocese. The Catholic population of the city doubled during his tenure. Spellman ensured that there were sufficient schools, churches, and hospitals to serve their needs. All this work was guided by Spellman's deep commitment to a life of prayer that he said provided him with the strength to meet the demands placed upon him.

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spirit baptism See PENTECOSTALISM.

Spiritualism The distinctive affirmation of Spiritualism, a new religious movement that arose in mid-19th-century America, is that spirits of the dead can and do communicate with the living.

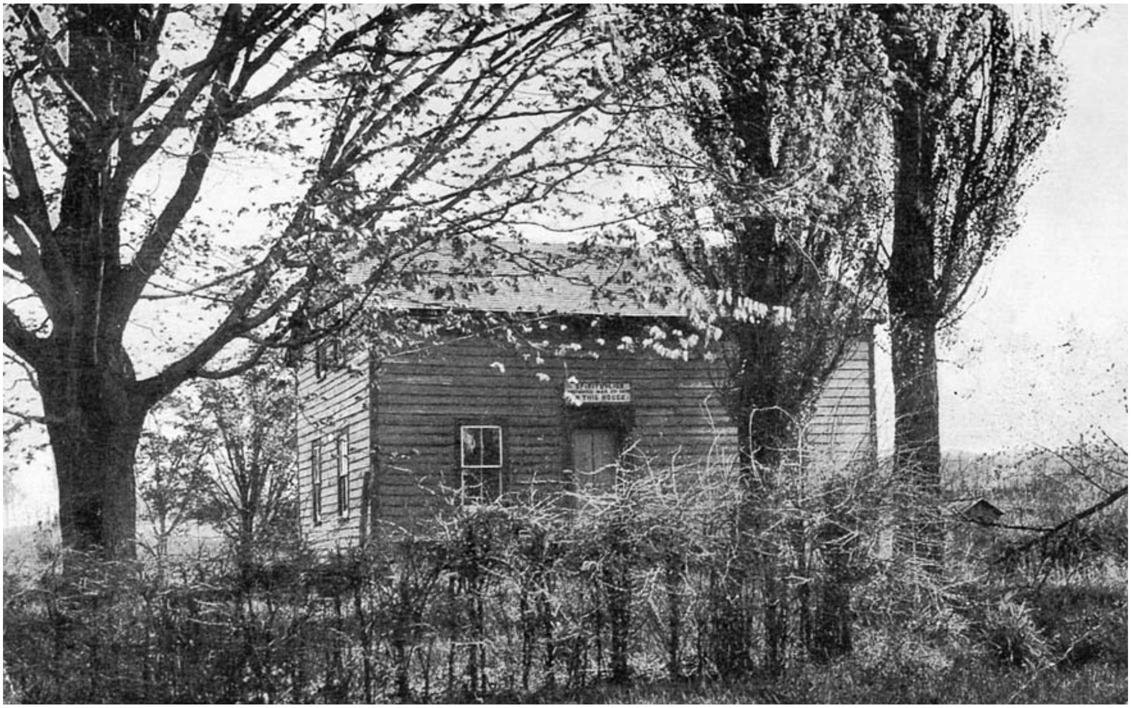
Though Spiritualists trace their movement back to visions of Samuel in the Hebrew Bible and the oracles of Delphi in ancient Greece, American Spiritualism is usually dated to March 31, 1848, when mysterious rappings first emanated from beneath the kitchen table of Margaret and Kate Fox, two young girls living in Hydesville, New York. As Spiritualism spread, the spirit rappings of the Fox sisters yielded to more extravagant spiritual manifestations such as slate-writing, levitations, table-tilting, and the materialization of spirits in small theatrical stages called séance cabinets.

Thanks to the writing of ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS (1826–1920), the "Poughkeepsie Seer" who soon became the most prolific medium in antebellum America, and to *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley's undying devotion to the cause, Spiritualist séances became popular entertainment not only in the BURNED-OVER DISTRICT on the FRONTIER but also in Canada and California. Among the famous folk who joined Spiritualist circles in the 1850s were HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, William Lloyd Garrison, GEORGE RIPLEY, Lydia Maria Child, William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, and SARAH and ANGELINA GRIMKÉ. Perhaps because of the tendency of mediums (many of them women) to speak the language of gender equality, many early women's rights advocates, including Susan B. Anthony, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, FRANCES WILLARD, and Victoria Woodhull, also sympathized with the movement.

Still, Spiritualism remained for the most part a popular pastime, spread more effectively by circus magnate P. T. Barnum, who took the Fox sisters on tour, than by New York literati. Letters of ordinary Americans in the antebellum period demonstrated an astonishing fascination with mediums and their messages. "Spiritualism is democratic," a mid-century adherent affirmed. "It is addressed to the common people, and we are all common people."

Although Spiritualists evinced a shared philosophical interest in the writings of the Swedish seer Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) and the Austrian physician Franz Antoine Mesmer (1733–1815) (see SWEDENBORGIANISM; MESMERISM), practices rather than beliefs united their community. The 19th-century Spiritualists agreed on the efficacy of their core ritual—spiritual communication between living beings and disembodied spirits facilitated by trance mediums—which for them provided empirical proof of the existence of the individual soul beyond the grave. But they were dogmatic about little else.

Writings in Spiritualist periodicals such as the *Spiritual Telegraph* (1852–60) and the *Banner of Light* (1857–1907) tended toward religious liberalism. In general, Spiritualist authors rejected such orthodox Christian teachings as the absolute sovereignty of God, the total depravity of human beings, and the atoning death of Jesus on the cross in favor of an immanent and impersonal God, a free and perfectible humanity, and a human Jesus. Like the Transcendentalists (see TRANSCENDENTALISM), they



Postcard of the house where Spiritualism originated in Newark, New York, on March 31, 1848.

rejected miracles as violations of an inviolable natural law. And like adherents of UNIVERSALISM, they rejected hell as unjust and hoped that in the end everyone would be saved. Spiritualists joined religious populists of all stripes in criticizing the privileged knowledge of learned clergy and in appealing to the natural wisdom of unlettered folk. They posited no external authorities mediating between themselves and God or Truth. Each individual, whether clerical or lay, male or female, was free to follow her or his conscience wherever it might lead, and more often than not, the individual consciences of Spiritualists led to notions of liberty, equality, democracy, and progress. Still, Spiritualists tempered their yearnings for spiritual freedom with a desire for order that manifested itself in the authority of mediums, the hierarchical cosmology of Emanuel Swedenborg, the routines of Spiritualist practice, and the organization of Spiritualist circles and utopian societies.

Accusations of fraud bedeviled the Spiritualist movement almost from its inception. In 1888, Margaret and Kate Fox confessed to having fabricated their famous spirit rappings. Margaret retracted her confession one year later, but the damage done to the movement by the controversy could not be reversed. Detractors also accused Spiritualists of immorality. Fixing on the advocacy of "free love" by Andrew Jackson Davis and Victoria Woodhull, these critics contended that Spiritualism led to promiscuity and even prostitution.

The Spiritualist boom of the mid-19th century subsided in the late 1850s, but Spiritualism has endured both as an alternative and a supplement to more mainstream religious expressions. Spiritualism also exerted an important influence on THEOSOPHY, which emerged as a reform movement out of Spiritualism in 1875, and on NEW AGE RELIGION, in which Spiritualism is now referred to as channeling.

There were numerous attempts to organize the Spiritualist impulse, which was by design as anti-institutional as it was anti-creedal. The most successful such attempt was the National Spiritualist Association, which was founded in Chicago in 1893 and at one time boasted 50,000 members.

Spiritualism made its way into the 20th century in part through the activities of the Universal Hagar's Spiritual Church, organized by Father George W. Hurley in Detroit in 1923. Like other churches in the African-American Spiritual movement, Hurley's sect mixes elements from Spiritualism—the siance and spirit communication, for example—with cultural and religious elements borrowed from Roman Catholicism, black Protestantism, Freemasonry, Vodou, astrology, black nationalism, and Afrocentrism.

This recent turn in American Spiritualism may be taking the movement full circle, since some believe that 19th-century American Spiritualism was itself influenced by West African traditions of spirit possession.

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Spyrou, Athenagoras (1886–1972) One of the most influential Orthodox hierarchs of the 20th century, Athenagoras Spyrou served critical terms as Greek Orthodox archbishop of North and South America and subsequently as ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople.

Born Aristocles Spyrou in 1886 in the Ottoman province of Epirus (now in northern Greece), he studied at the patriarchal seminary at Halki, outside Istanbul. Ordained to the diaconate in 1910, he took the monastic name Athenagoras. He then served as a church administrator in the Balkans before being appointed in 1919 to the important post of archdeacon to Meletios Metaxakis, the reformist archbishop of Athens.

On good terms with both conservative and liberal factions in Greece, Athenagoras was consecrated as a bishop in 1922 and served as metropolitan of Kerkyra and Paxoi from 1922 until his election as archbishop of North and South America in 1930.

Charged with the formidable task of bringing peace and order to a church splintered by 10 years of extreme factional struggles, Athenagoras arrived in New York in 1931. A tall, imposing figure, Athenagoras slowly rallied the Greek community and forged a cohesive and relatively tranquil archdiocese.

Traveling almost continually, he often resolved conflicts by arriving in a town and summoning all the factions to meet with him. He loved to visit Greek families, and many Greek Americans treasure stories about the time Athenagoras drank coffee in their grandparents' living room.

Despite vigorous objections, Athenagoras centralized administration at the expense of independent diocesan bishops and struggled to give parish priests more authority than parish councils. By the early 1940s, he had gained enough support to put the archdiocese on a sound financial footing and organize several key church institutions and groups, including the Holy Cross Seminary outside Boston.

Elected patriarch of Constantinople, the senior hierarchical see in the Orthodox world, Athenagoras returned to Turkey in 1948. During an eventful 23-year-long patriarchate, he became one of the most prominent and effective proponents of the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. At the same time, he saw the domestic base of the patriarchate sapped, as the Greek population of Istanbul fell from more than 100,000 to a handful as the result of Turkish pressure.

Under Athenagoras, the patriarchate pressed for Orthodox unity and encouraged Orthodox participation in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. In the difficult period after 1945, when almost all of the world's Orthodox Christians lived in states where the church suffered persecution, he also served as an effective spokesman for world Orthodoxy.

His ecumenical activities reached their zenith in 1964, when he met Pope Paul VI in Jerusalem. There the two bishops lifted the mutual decrees of excommunication leveled by their predecessors after the 11th-century schism between Rome and Constantinople. Athenagoras spoke frequently about his hopes for church reunion and encouraged joint commissions of scholars and theologians, but at the time of his death in 1972, church union remained a distant prospect.

AHW

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Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902) A prominent 19th-century social reformer who agitated for ABOLITIONISM, TEMPERANCE, women's rights, and female suffrage, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was a pioneer in feminist criticism of the Bible and one of her century's most outspoken critics of the contributions of institutional Christianity to women's bondage.

Stanton was born to a wealthy family in Johnstown, New York, on November 12, 1815. As a child, she first became aware of "the defect of her sex" when, after all her brothers had died, her father remarked to her, "Oh, my daughter, I wish you were a boy!" She graduated from the Johnstown Academy (1830) and the Troy Female Seminary (1831).

Stanton began her work as a social reformer in the antislavery movement. In 1840, she married abolitionist Henry Stanton but demonstrated her independence of mind by supporting her husband's rival, William Lloyd Garrison, an abolitionist who also favored women's rights. In 1848, Stanton hosted America's first Women's Rights Convention at her home in Seneca Falls, New York, and contributed to the preparation of that convention's influential Declaration of Sentiments asserting the equality of women. Her interest in women's issues was encouraged by her friend and mentor, the Quaker reformer Lucretia Mott.

Despite her early contributions to the women's rights movement, Stanton did not appear in public often until later in her life.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton oversaw the publication of *The Woman's Bible* in 1895. *(Library of Congress)*

She wrote regularly and lectured occasionally when she was not pregnant or raising her seven children, but her public activity truly began only after her children were older.

Stanton's main work as a religious reformer was overseeing the publication of the *Woman's Bible* in 1895 and 1898. Stanton was raised in a tradition of conservative Presbyterianism, but her political views led her to criticize Christianity for what she saw as its contributions to the enslavement of women. In the *Woman's Bible*, which she coauthored with a Revising Committee of female scholars, Stanton criticized biblical passages that demeaned women and praised passages that celebrated them.

As an adult, Stanton was attracted, along with many other women's rights activists, to Spiritualism. One factor that may have informed her interest in Spiritualism was the tendency of spirits of the dead to agitate through the avenue of mediums (most of them women) for the rights of living women. "The only religious sect in the world . . . that has recognized the equality of woman," she wrote in *The History of Woman Suffrage*, "is the Spiritualists."

Stanton died on October 26, 1902. At the time, she was heralded as one of the mothers of the women's suffrage movement. But because of her pioneering work on the *Woman's Bible*, many now remember her as well as one of the mothers of feminist theology.

TP

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Stoddard, Solomon (1643–1729) Best known as the grandfather of Jonathan Edwards, one of the United States's preeminent colonial theologians, Solomon Stoddard was a significant figure in his own right. His influence among Congregationalists (see Congregationalism) along the Connecticut River Valley was such that he was jokingly referred to as the "pope of the West."

To a great extent, Stoddard's career can be seen as a working out of the implications of the Half-way Covenant. Approved by a ministerial synod in 1662 (the year Stoddard received his B.A. degree from Harvard), the covenant allowed for an extension of baptism to the children of those whose only connection to a church was their own infant baptism. Stoddard's understanding of the covenant led him to relax the standards for both church membership and admission to the Lord's Supper.

Following his graduation, Stoddard (born on September 27, 1643, in Boston) spent five more years at Harvard—first as a graduate student, later as a tutor and librarian. In 1667, he accepted a chaplaincy in Barbados, where he remained until 1670. In that year, he returned to Massachusetts (see Massachusetts Bay Colony), becoming the minister in the town of Northampton, at that time the western frontier. Stoddard would labor at the Northampton church until his death on February 11, 1729.

While Stoddard was at Northampton, the church experienced several periods of religious "refreshening," viewed by some historians as precursors to the Great Awakening. His alterations in the requirements for church membership and admission to the sacraments generated much controversy and brought him into conflict with Increase Mather and his son Cotton

MATHER. The Mathers denounced "Stoddardeanism" as a violation of church order, bemoaning it as the end of Puritan orthodoxy.

Stoddard's alterations emerged from a deep pastoral concern. Though firmly committed to the doctrines of human depravity and the inscrutable workings of God's grace in bringing about salvation, he rejected the idea of limiting church membership only to those who could give evidence of a conversion experience. Stoddard returned to the older views of both the Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM) and early Congregationalists, making church membership available to all who assented to the church's doctrines and excluding only those who led an openly scandalous life.

Stoddard did differ from his Puritan (see PURITANISM) forebears in his understanding of the Lord's Supper, viewing it as a means of awakening faith. Along with the sermon and prayer, it was a way of effecting divine grace within those God chose to save. For this reason, Stoddard rejected restricting it only to the saved.

Pastoral concern led Stoddard to other innovations as well. He felt that traditional forms should be altered to meet new circumstances and judged in light of their success. All his activities were designed to increase religious vitality and personal faith. While conservative Boston looked askance at these innovations, they were widely copied by other churches in the Connecticut River Valley.

In 1726, Stoddard was joined in his pastoral work at Northampton by his grandson Jonathan Edwards. Edwards continued this work after Stoddard's death. By 1748, however, Edwards had become disturbed by the lax standards introduced by his grandfather. When he attempted to strengthen the requirements for church membership, the depth of his grandfather's 59-year pastorate was seen. The congregation rebelled, forcing Edwards's resignation.

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Stone, Barton Warren (1772–1844) Barton Stone, a Presbyterian minister, initiated the great 1801 revival at Cane Ridge, Kentucky. This event helped inaugurate the western phase of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING and symbolized the critical importance of CAMP MEETINGS in spreading Christianity in the early 19th century.

Eventually breaking away from the Presbyterian Church, Stone helped shape the "Stonite" wing of the RESTORATION MOVEMENT. Stone and his followers later united with the forces of ALEXANDER CAMPBELL to form the denomination that became known as the CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST).

Stone was born on December 24, 1772, near Port Tobacco, Maryland. He converted to Christianity at the age of 19 and dedicated himself to the ministry. After studying theology privately, he was granted a license to preach in 1796. Stone served for two years as an itinerant minister in North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, and in 1798, he was called to small Presbyterian congregations at Concord and Cane Ridge, Kentucky. Having learned revival techniques from fellow Presbyterian James McGready, Stone organized at Cane Ridge a camp meeting that attracted thousands of worshipers. That event established Stone's reputation as a religious leader and demonstrated the usefulness of extended revivals in furthering the cause of Christianity under the fluid social conditions of the western FRONTIER.

The CANE RIDGE REVIVAL, on the other hand, raised problems for Stone in his own denomination. The unusual practices (dancing, falling, jerking, laughing, and even barking) that many people observed at the western camp meetings were a cause for alarm among conservative Presbyterians. While Stone admitted that such practices were strange, he staunchly defended their efficacy as genuine expressions of the Holy Spirit's work. Since numerous unchurched settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee were incorporated into the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominations as a result of the revivals, Stone did not wish to see the successes that he and other evangelists had achieved dismissed out of hand.

By 1803, Presbyterians were questioning the theology that underlay the revivals and the emotional excesses they encouraged. Wishing both to preserve the traditional Calvinist emphasis on the divine initiative in salvation and to counter the ARMINIANISM implicit in the revivalists' stress on human free will, they scrutinized Stone's work. Stone and four other dissidents, however, quickly preempted any possibility of disciplinary action. First, they formed their own independent Presbyterian body. Then, abandoning the Presbyterian label altogether, they chose in 1804 to call themselves simply "Christians." They affirmed the independence of local congregations, eschewed all creeds except the Bible, and practiced adult baptism by immersion, as in New Testament times.

Stone became the principal spokesman for this intentionally nonsectarian movement. He traveled extensively to build up its membership and published a monthly journal, the *Christian Messenger*, which ran from 1826 until the time of his death. The theme of radical separation from the world appeared consistently in Stone's writings. "Here you have no abiding place," he said, "but are as strangers and pilgrims seeking a better country." After meeting Alexander Campbell in 1830 and finding common ground with the Campbellites' desire to restore apostolic simplicity to American church life, Stone merged most of his movement with Campbell's.

Although hampered by paralysis, Stone continued his evangelistic work for another decade. He died while on a preaching tour at Hannibal, Missouri, on November 9, 1844.

GHS, Jr.

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Stowe, Harriet Beecher (1811–1896)

Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote more than 30 books during a long career. She is best remembered for the 1852 best-seller *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which galvanized abolitionist (see ABOLITIONISM) sentiment in the North and was an important factor in the coming of the CIVIL WAR. As President Abraham Lincoln quipped when he first met Stowe, she was "the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war."

Stowe was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 14, 1811. One of 11 children of the famed Congregational minister LYMAN BEECHER, she belonged to the nation's most renowned Protestant household. The Beechers moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1832, when Harriet's father was named president of the newly formed Lane Theological Seminary. In 1836, Harriet married Lane professor Calvin E. Stowe. The Stowes later lived at Bowdoin College in Maine and at Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, where Calvin held teaching posts.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act outraged Stowe and occasioned her composition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was serialized in 1851 and published as a book the next year. Drawing on her earlier experiences in Cincinnati and her observations of slavery in nearby Kentucky, she vividly depicted that institution's many evils. Although long after her death the character Uncle Tom would

Abolitionist and author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) Harriet Beecher Stowe. *(Library of Congress)*

come under severe criticism as a symbol of black passivity in the face of white oppression, Stowe intended Tom as a Christlike figure whose suffering symbolically redeemed America from the sin of slavery. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold more than 300,000 copies in its first year of publication. While the book provoked angry rebuttals throughout the South, it mirrored the North's feelings of guilt about captured fugitive slaves.

Obsessed by the Calvinist theology she had learned from her father, Stowe was devastated in 1857 when her eldest son, Henry, died without formally joining a church. Two years later in *The Minister's Wooing,* her most explicitly autobiographical novel, she excoriated the cruel teachings of Calvinism that consigned unconverted men and women like Henry to hellfire. Even writing, however, could not fully exorcise Stowe's feelings about the beliefs of the church of her youth. In 1864, she bought a pew at St. John's Episcopal Church in Hartford, Connecticut. Although she never officially joined the denomination, the aesthetic sense and theological flexibility of Episcopalianism proved well suited to Stowe's religious temperament.

After the Civil War, Stowe bought a house in Florida, where she spent most of the rest of her life. Despite being overcome by senility in 1890, she kept one idea clear in her mind: "Trust in the Lord and do good." Near the end of her life, Stowe returned to Hartford, where she died on July 1, 1896.

GHS, Jr.

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Strong, Josiah (1847–1916) Josiah Strong was an early leader in both the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT and SOCIAL GOSPEL theology. Born in Naperville, Illinois, on January 19, 1847, he attended college and seminary in Ohio at Western Reserve College (B.A., 1869) and Lane Seminary (1869–71). Ordained as a Congregational minister in 1871 (see CONGREGATIONALISM), Strong spent the first 15 years of his career as regional secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society (1881–84) and as a pastor in Wyoming and Ohio. While serving as a minister in Cincinnati, he achieved national prominence with the publication in 1885 of his first book, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis,* an analysis of urban social problems with suggestions for their alleviation.

In that year, Strong's church in Cincinnati held an interdenominational conference on the role of the churches in solving social problems. Many Protestant leaders of the time attended this and succeeding conferences held in 1887, 1889, and 1893. The last took place in Chicago in conjunction with the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

Upon becoming general secretary of the nearly moribund Evangelical Alliance in 1886, Strong attempted to transform that institution into a leader in social affairs. Finding it too restrictive and conservative for his purposes, he left in 1898 and founded the American League (Institute after 1902) for Social Service.

Strong was one of the first American church leaders concerned with the problems of the cities. He was a pioneer in analyzing social problems and in articulating ways the churches could solve them. Coordinating efforts by local churches was a major goal of Strong's work, which brought him into the nascent ecumenical movement. While preeminently a proponent of federation from the bottom up because of his belief that churches in the same area had more in common with each other than with churches of the same denomination miles away, Strong was active in the Federal Council of Churches and served on its Commission on the Church and Social Service (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES).

Josiah Strong analyzed the social problems caused by the Industrial Revolution and advocated ways for churches to solve them. *(New-York Historical Society)*

Despite, or perhaps because of, his commitment to social service, Strong's books were filled with the racialism of the time. Part of the churches' goal in rectifying social evils was the "Anglo-Saxonizing" of the world (see NATIVISM). For Strong, the Anglo-Saxons were privileged above other races, possessing superior spiritual, intellectual, and governmental faculties.

Although those attitudes limit the usefulness of his ideas, Strong is remembered today as a pioneer in the movement for Christian unity and in the development of Protestant social concern and action. He died in New York City on April 28, 1916.

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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was one of the more vibrant, visible, and creative organizations in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Popularly referred to as "Snick," from its initials, SNCC, it was a movement built on youth, passion, and courage. Opposed to centralization and hierarchy, SNCC was determined, in the words of Ella Baker (its sage but not its leader), to "work with people where they are." Although marked by racial separatism toward the end, SNCC's early and most successful years were defined by an ethos of nonracialism, grassroots democracy, and an unmatched passion for activism.

SNCC's formal creation took place over Easter weekend 1960 (April 15–17) at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. At this meeting of the Southwide Student Leadership Conference on Nonviolent Resistance, several different student movements fused into the Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. In its early years, SNCC revolved around two poles. The first, originally centered in Nashville, was religiously grounded and viewed nonviolence as a comprehensive worldview. The second, centered in Atlanta, was more secular and viewed nonviolence as a tactic.

SNCC's guiding principles can be summed up as direct action, nonviolent resistance, and local control. Early on, the committee decided to remain separate from the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), which it viewed as hierarchical and patriarchal. While maintaining a working relationship with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and the SCLC, SNCC's staff viewed themselves as more personally committed than the SCLC. SNCC's "jail, no bail" policy along with its long-term commitment to community organization represented major differences in orientation. Many SNCC members resented the elitist role of the ministers of the SCLC and often referred to King as "de Lawd."

The real force in SNCC was its field directors. Each lived in a community and organized people around local concerns and needs. Drawing a weekly salary of only $10, the field directors rarely were better off than the people with whom they worked. Harassed, jailed, beaten, and even killed by local authorities, the SNCC field directors suffered all that white racist authorities had to offer. Although spread throughout the SOUTH, SNCC was most active in southwest Georgia, Danville, Virginia, and the Mississippi delta.

SNCC's work in Mississippi began in 1960. Originally centered on voter education, it expanded to include direct action to integrate public facilities and services. As part of COFO (the Council of Federated Organizations), SNCC provided the organizers while the SCLC, the NAACP, and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) provided the money for a massive project designed to bring blacks into the political system. Part of this project was the "Freedom Summer" of 1964. In that year, hundreds of white volunteers went to Mississippi to help run "freedom schools" and aid in community organizing.

They also experienced the racism and violence of the region. The disappearance of three SNCC workers in May 1964 focused national and international attention on the South. By the time the bodies of Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner were discovered a month and a half later, Congress had passed an omnibus civil rights bill, and growing numbers of voices were raised against continued repression of African Americans. That it took the murder of two white men (Schwerner and Goodman) to bring about such an outcry, when blacks had been beaten and murdered for years, created much bitterness within SNCC.

The year 1964 was significant for SNCC in other ways. In August of that year, the racially integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) nearly managed to unseat the state's regular delegation at the Democratic Convention. The eloquence and dignity of the members of the MFDP during their struggle seared the demands for racial justice into the consciousness of many Americans.

The deaths of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney, the media focus on the white volunteers, and the failure of the Democratic Convention to seat the MFDP strained SNCC to the breaking point. An organizational vote in 1966 replaced the older SNCC staff with newer members, most of whom were northern-born blacks. Several felt that SNCC should be racially exclusive. This group—led by Stokely Carmichael, an SNCC organizer in Lowndes County, Alabama—adopted a militant Black Power stance that forced out both the white organizers and many of the older members. They also centralized the movement, erasing its grassroots power base.

As the leadership of SNCC moved into the Black Panther Party, it became increasingly northern and urban in orientation. Legal problems and violent conflicts with the police weakened the movement further. By 1970, it was virtually defunct.

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Student Volunteer Movement One of the most ambitious and influential student voluntary associations to promote world missions, the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), founded in 1888, claimed to have enrolled more than 20,000 North American college students as evangelical Protestant missionaries before its demise in the 1960s.

In the summer of 1886, the itinerant revivalist DWIGHT L. MOODY, recently returned from a preaching tour of the schools that are now part of the Ivy League, convened a month-long conference of the Intercollegiate YMCA at the Mount Hermon Academy in Northfield, Massachusetts. In the course of the meeting, Moody led 100 students, the "Mount Hermon Hundred," to take the pledge to become foreign missionaries. Over the next few years, various supporters carried the pledge to other colleges and universities. In 1888, the SVM was formally organized to direct student energies toward foreign mission service. The movement appointed JOHN R. MOTT, a Methodist leader of the YMCA, as its first president and Robert E. Speer, a Presbyterian supporter of missions, as traveling secretary.

Taking as its watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation," the society sought to organize students at all major American universities. The movement also spread abroad quickly, leading to the establishment of the British Student Volunteer Missionary Union (1892) and the World Student Christian Federation (1895). Self-consciously interdenominational and evangelical, the SVM based its appeal on the authority of Scripture, particularly the "Great Commission" of Jesus Christ that was interpreted as calling individuals to "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel." In its many mission books and study programs, the movement emphasized the importance of personal conversion and holiness and the salvation of individual souls as the avenue to social regeneration.

At the same time, the movement also had an anti-intellectual dimension that incited spiritual passions and encouraged students to take their pledge as an act of faith. The SVM connected the spiritual conquest of the globe, as indicated by the organization's watchword, to popular American patriotism. Leaders such as Mott made extensive use of militant rhetoric, envisioning himself as a global commander-in-chief, encouraging the image of the SVM as a military camp in training, and lending an added sense of urgency to the cause. The SVM thus drew upon popular late 19th-century conceptions of American superiority and MANIFEST DESTINY to further its religious goals and convince students to take the pledge. Through its long series of large conventions, or "Quadrennials," held every four years beginning in 1891, the SVM vowed to reach every generation of college students with its message.

The effects of the SVM at home were perhaps even more significant than its work abroad. The movement's organizational strategies produced and trained many talented leaders in world missions who raised money, published widely, and promoted the ideal of overseas Christian service during the first half of the 20th century. Mott, Speer, Arthur T. Pierson, Kenneth Latourette, and other leaders wrote widely influential texts about world missions, helped to establish missionary collections at colleges and universities, endowed mission chairs and lectureships, founded Bible institutes and colleges, and created supporting organizations to raise funds for foreign missions, including the Laymen's Missionary Movement (1906). All these efforts directly aided the growth of financial giving to the missionary cause, which climbed steeply from $9 million in 1906 to $45 million in 1924.

The SVM fell into rapid decline after 1920 due to a lessening of popular interest in foreign missions as well as to organizational and leadership problems. In 1959, it merged with two other student societies to form the National Student Christian Federation and in 1966 became part of the University Christian Movement, which disbanded in 1969.

LMK

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Sufism Sufism is a form of ISLAM that emphasizes the mystical and esoteric elements of the tradition. Emerging as an identifiable movement in the 7th and 8th centuries, at one time, Sufism dominated popular Islamic practices, and the majority of Muslims were affiliated with one of the leading Sufi orders (*tariqa*). These orders include the Qadiri, Chisti, Naqshbandi, Mevlevi, and Bekteshi. While their emphasis on the individual's direct relationship with God often makes them suspect in the minds of other Muslims, most Sufis accept orthodox religious laws and Islamic doctrine. One exception is the Bekteshis who flourished among the janissaries (the military elite) of the Ottoman Empire. The order retains a following in the areas of the Balkans once controlled by the Ottomans and always has generated some suspicion because of its use of alcohol (which is forbidden in Islam), its acceptance of women on a roughly equal basis, and its tendency toward pantheism.

Sufi orders emphasize the transmission of secret religious knowledge from master (*shayk, sheik, pir*) to disciple (*murid*), claiming that this knowledge has been handed down in an unbroken chain of transmission from the Prophet Muhammad through his son-in-law Ali. The Naqshbandi order differs from the others in that it traces its lineage to Muhammad through Abu Bakr, a companion of the Prophet and the first caliph, the leader of the Muslim community following Muhammad's death.

Sufism emphasizes the idea of the unity of all being with the divine, with God. Through parables, allegories, poems, and songs, Sufis attempt to break down the walls that prevent one from grasping this unity. This is a process for the Sufi student, who ascends during his or her instruction to higher levels of spiritual wisdom. As the student becomes more advanced, she or he is progressively introduced to more of the esoteric knowledge that links the order to the Prophet.

The struggle to experience unity with the divine is most visibly manifested in the Sufi practice of *dhikr* (*zikr*), a ritual directed toward recalling or remembering God, and can be undertaken in either an individual or group setting. Sufis are best known for their group *dhikr* that involves dancing, singing, and even music. The Mevlevi order of Sufis are practitioners of perhaps the most famous form. Their *dhikr,* which consists of a spinning to music, also gives them their popular name, the Whirling Dervishes.

Through *dhikr,* meditation (*muraqabah*), and the struggle to eliminate all negative thoughts, emotions, and actions, one moves to higher and higher levels of spiritual awareness. One needs to reach a level of loving God and other humans irrespective of differences with them (whether of race, religion, or nationality) and with no thought of possible reward. Only by reaching such a level can one realize the true unity of existence.

Since Sufism traditionally uses complex and allegorical language to express esoteric religious truths, poetry has played a major role in Sufism. The most famous of these Sufi poets is Mawlānā Jalāl-ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī (1207–73), known in the English-speaking world simply as Rumi. Born in Balkh (then part of the Persian Empire now in Afghanistan) and buried in modern-day Konya, Turkey, Rumi played a major role in the development of Sufism in many areas of the world. Rumi's importance can be seen in the saying, he is "not a prophet, but surely he has brought a scripture." After his death, his followers founded the Mevlevi order.

Sufism declined markedly in the 20th century. First, Sufism and Sufis suffered from ideological and even physical attacks from Wahhabis (see WAHHABISM) and other Islamists (see ISLAMISM) who viewed Sufism as un-Islamic. Second, as independent countries emerged in the Muslim world during the 20th century, they tended to suppress independent organizations that could be sources of challenges to the rulers. Finally, since the orders tended to be supported financially by endowments, the expropriation of these funds by the states also severely weakened the orders. These actions were felt most acutely in Turkey, where the modernizing government of Atatürk succeeded in closing down nearly all the orders, although this policy has seen a slow reversal in the past few decades.

While many Muslim immigrants to the United States brought their Sufism with them, Sufism also entered the American consciousness through the COUNTERCULTURE of the 1960s. Sufism's esotericism, its emphasis on divine love, the poetry of Rumi, and the music and dancing of *dhikr* meshed well with counterculture perspectives. While the engagement of most of these individuals with Sufism (as with HINDUISM) was quite shallow, they did succeed in bringing its teachings to America's awareness.

The nature of this engagement also explains why many Sufi movements in the United States tend to minimize or eliminate much of their Islamic content. Still others, like the Mevlevi Order of America, while open to individuals from all religions, retain Muslims as leaders and expressly maintain most traditional Islamic beliefs. Movements that minimize the Islamic content include the Sufi Order International of North America (Universal Sufism), the Golden Sufi Center, and the Sufi Foundation of America. These organizations tend to emphasize a pantheistic view of the world, where everything reflects the divine nature, or Universal Intelligence, in the language of Universal Sufism.

Traditional Islamic Sufism also has its place in the United States. Currently, more than 10 Sufi schools have a formal presence in the United States, including the Naqshbandi, Chishti, and Qadiri. Other Sufi-oriented organizations in the United States include the ASMA Society (formerly the American Sufi

Muslim Association), the Islamic Studies and Research Association International, and the Islamic Supreme Council of North America.

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Sunday, Billy (William Ashley) (1862–1935) Billy Sunday was a renowned and colorful evangelist in the early 20th century. Because of his ability to distill Christian teachings into simple language, Sunday had tremendous popular appeal.

Sunday was born on a farm in Ames, Iowa, on November 19, 1862. He received little formal education and had a diverse early career as an undertaker's assistant, furniture salesman, and professional baseball player. Employed as an outfielder for the Chicago White Stockings, he was converted to Christ during an urban rescue mission in front of a Chicago saloon in 1886. He gave up baseball altogether in 1891 to work for the YMCA. Sunday next served as an assistant to revival leader J. Wilbur Chapman from 1893 to 1895, and when Chapman retired in 1895, he succeeded him. Sunday remained a revivalist for the rest of his life, and he was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1903.

Sunday gradually developed a tremendous following. Although his initial revivalistic campaigns had been held in small midwestern towns and cities, by the time of WORLD WAR I, he was preaching in large cities such as Chicago, New York, and Boston. Sunday was a great dramatist, and his flamboyant gestures, theatrical poses, and salty, everyday language attracted hordes of ordinary people. Ably assisted by Nell Sunday, his wife and business manager, he developed an elaborate machinery for raising a revival. Despite the hostility of most traditional clergy and laity, whom Sunday dismissed as "hog-jowled, weasel-eyed, . . . mushy-fisted, jelly-spined, pussy-footing, four-flushing, Charlotte-russe Christians," millions of Americans heard and were moved by both his bizarre antics and his strenuous evangelistic efforts.

Sunday turned his attention as well toward social issues. He denounced the many evils he believed afflicted American society: immigration, socialism, political corruption, and—most heinous of all—the liquor interest. Sunday thought everyone who was not a teetotaler was a "dirty low-down, whisky-soaked,

Billy Sunday, the "baseball evangelist," whose talent for drama drew large crowds. *(Library of Congress)* beer-guzzling, bull-necked, foul-mouthed hypocrite." From 1905 until the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, he regularly delivered his "Booze Sermon," in which he appealed for Prohibition. On a more disturbing note, Sunday's concerns about reform also coalesced with those of the KU KLUX KLAN. In his southern revivals of the 1920s especially, he solicited and accepted the support of the Klan, an organization expressing the same racist, nativist (see NATIVISM), and anti-Catholic fears that Sunday and many white Protestants felt.

During the brief American involvement in World War I, Sunday added his unwavering chauvinism in support of the Allied war effort. After the war, however, failing health forced him to curtail his labors, and as a consequence his evangelistic work gradually declined. The "baseball evangelist" died in Chicago on November 6, 1935.

GHS, Jr.

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Sunday school movement The movement to create Sunday schools began in the early years of the republic. Its expansion coincided with the rise of hospitals, prisons, asylums, free public schools, orphanages, and houses of refuge. Although Sunday schools later became closely associated with denominationalism, in its early stages, the Sunday school movement expanded rapidly because of the way evangelical reformers saw education as a means to fulfill their millennial expectations (see EVANGELICALISM).

Following the example of their British counterparts, who had begun their efforts nearly a decade earlier, Sunday schools in America made their first appearance shortly after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The first one was probably organized in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1786 by FRANCIS ASBURY. Others soon followed in coastal cities and factory towns such as Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The METHODISTS were the first to adopt the Sunday school as official policy, urging their establishment at or near places of worship in 1790.

These early Sunday schools were largely efforts to give children of poor working-class families a chance to become educated in both basic reading and religion and at the same time to control their perceived misbehavior on the Sabbath. New motives for establishing them emerged by the 1830s, when evangelical Protestants began supporting them. From a means of basic education and social control, they were converted into a way of evangelizing and educating young children in important Christian truths and principles. Their growth during this period was rapid, as tens of thousands of teachers and students enlisted in the cause.

Sunday schools operated alongside prayer meetings, mission chapels, and urban missionaries as ways to combat urban social problems. Their growth was stimulated by changing views of childhood emphasizing the vast untapped potential that existed in every human being. They also benefited from an influx of children from Protestant church-going families. Finally, the growth of free urban schooling promoted the growth of evangelical Sunday schools.

The various denominations recognized that Sunday schools could be a significant part of their programs, but during the early 1800s, the impulse to create Sunday schools remained to a large degree an interdenominational movement. Sunday school unions or societies emerged in many towns and cities, and the American Sunday School Union was organized in Philadelphia in 1817. Its *Sunday School Magazine* became part of a vast flood of literature that publicized and promoted Sunday schools all over the country.

During the decades before the CIVIL WAR, state and denominational Sunday school societies proliferated, including the Massachusetts Sunday School Union (comprising Congregationalists and Baptists) in 1825, the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union the following year, and its Methodist Episcopal counterpart the year after that. The year 1832 brought the first national convention of Sunday school workers, held in New York City. While the Sunday school had its origins in urban areas as a means of access to working-class children, as the FRONTIER pushed westward during the 19th century, it served to bring religious services and instruction to places that lacked organized denominational activities. Missionaries sent out by the American Sunday School Union and the American Home Missionary Society used the Sunday school as an interim method of bringing religious services and instruction to communities before regular churches could be set up. In frontier areas, Sunday schools were therefore not just for children but for adults as well.

In addition to promoting Sabbath observance in both rural and urban areas, Sunday schools were seen as a means of enhancing the social order in general. Memorization was the major method of instruction, as it was in the common schools of the time. The rules and rituals established by the Sunday schools carried lessons that students could practice in their everyday lives: cleanliness, neatness, punctuality, benevolence, and industry.

A uniform system of teaching, devised by John H. Vincent in 1866, helped improve the quality of instruction. The Chautauqua Assembly was begun in 1874 under his leadership, in association with Lewis Miller, as a way to bring Sunday school teachers and leaders together for systematic training. During the decades after the Civil War, the movement became a major means of recruitment for the denominations. Also, the ecumenical aspect of the early-day Sunday school gradually gave way to denominational identification, and the Sunday school became closely identified with other aspects of denominational activity in later years.

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Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro (1870–1966)

D. T. Suzuki, the most important and influential bearer of ZEN from Japan to the United States, served as a bridge between East and West when Asia and America were in the process of discovering each other.

Born in 1870 in a small village in northern Japan to a samurai family, Suzuki moved as a young man to Tokyo to attend Imperial University. In Tokyo, he took up Zen training. His Zen masters soon recognized his substantial accomplishments by renaming him "Daisetz" ("great humility"). Suzuki's career as a Japanese expositor of Zen to the modern West, however, would leave him with few reasons to be humble.

His East-West work began when, as a lay disciple of Zen monk Soyen Shaku, he translated into English a speech that his master subsequently delivered at the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS in Chicago in 1893. In 1897, Suzuki moved from his Zen monastery and his Japanese homeland to La Salle, Illinois, where for 11 years he used his considerable language skills in his work as a translator for the Open Court Publishing Company of Buddhist sympathizer (see BUDDHISM) Paul Carus. Suzuki also wrote numerous articles in Carus's journals, *Open Court* and *The Monist.* He returned to Japan in 1909 but visited the United States regularly to teach and to deliver lectures to Americans interested in Zen.

While in Japan in 1911, Suzuki married Beatrice Erskine Lane, a graduate of Radcliffe College and an advocate of THEOSOPHY (a tradition that, along with SWEDENBORGIANISM, also influenced Suzuki himself). Together, he and his wife founded *The Eastern Buddhist,* an English-language journal of the Mahayana ("Greater Vehicle") Buddhist school of northern Asia. During the 1950s, Suzuki taught for six years at Columbia University, where he helped to cultivate the interest of the Beat authors in Zen (see BEAT MOVEMENT). In 1959, while living in Cambridge, Massachusetts, he founded the Cambridge Buddhist Association and served as its first president.

In addition to English translations of Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese scriptures, Suzuki published numerous books that attempted to explain to Western readers an Asian tradition that, according to its practitioners, is fundamentally inexplicable. His first Zen compendium, *Essays in Zen Buddhism,* appeared in England in 1927, and his *Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (1954) remains a leading English-language guide to Zen. In the latter book, Suzuki explicates Zen concepts such as satori (sudden enlightenment) and Zen practices such as *zazen* (sitting meditation) and grappling with mind puzzles called koans. Suzuki also counters a number of standard Christian objections to Zen. He argues, for example, that the Zen doctrine of *sunyata,* or emptiness, does not result, as many Westerners believe, in nihilism and despair but, on the contrary, in a "higher affirmation" and a life of individual freedom and spontaneity. Zen, Suzuki asserts, is mystical yet practical, a path not only to intuitive insight but also to authentic living.

Some critics have taken Suzuki to task for emphasizing the mystical and experiential elements of Zen while downplaying Zen ritual and scripture. Moreover, individuals have tended to overlook Suzuki's support for Japanese imperial expansion. He repeatedly defended Japanese military expeditions and proclaimed that any "unruly heathens" who stood in Japan's way deserved to be punished.

Despite these facts, one cannot minimize Suzuki's centrality in shaping the direction of Zen in the modern West, particularly in the United States. When Suzuki died in 1966 in Kamakura, Japan, at the age of 96, he was undoubtedly the most important popularizer of Zen in the United States. He influenced a generation of Eastward-looking American intellectuals, including composer John Cage, author Philip Kapleau, Catholic theologian THOMAS MERTON, Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, and Zen Episcopalian ALAN WATTS. More than anyone else, Suzuki was responsible for the "Zen explosion" in America in the 1950s and 1960s.

SRP/EQ

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Swedenborgianism One of the most influential vehicles for occult wisdom in 19th-century America, Swedenborgianism originated with the Swedish scientist-turned-seer Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772).

The son of a Lutheran bishop, Swedenborg was trained as a scientist rather than a theologian. He studied geology, published several books in that field, and was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of

Sciences in St. Petersburg, Russia. At the age of 55, he experienced a spiritual crisis precipitated by visions in which he traveled to heaven and hell and conversed with the likes of John Calvin and Martin Luther.

Swedenborg resolved that crisis by resigning from his job with Sweden's Bureau of Mines in 1747 and taking up a new life as a prolific theologian and philosopher. The impressive list of works that followed included detailed descriptions of his spiritual travels, philosophical and theological treatises, and commentaries on Christian Scripture.

At the core of Swedenborg's thought is the Neoplatonic theory of correspondences between the spiritual realm and the physical realm. Swedenborg divided the spiritual realm, which he saw as more real than the physical, into a series of spheres. After death, he argued, souls travel to the sphere that matches the level of their moral attainments on Earth. Swedenborg never developed his ideas systematically in his writings, perhaps because he was more intent on interpreting Christian Scriptures in light of his theories than on working out the theories themselves. Many of his most intriguing works, including his eight-volume *Arcana Caelestia* (1749–56), are biblical commentaries. Perhaps because he wrote many of his books in Latin, Swedenborg was not widely studied during his lifetime.

Following his death in London in 1772, however, Swedenborg's works began to be translated into English. In 1783, a core group of followers institutionalized his considerable charisma by founding in London the Church of the New Jerusalem (or "New Church"). The first Swedenborgian society in the United States was established in Baltimore in 1792.

Three branches of Swedenborgianism now exist in the United States. The first of these branches, the General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America, was established in 1817. Its five key doctrines affirm a basically liberal and Christocentric theology:

1. That there is one God, in whom there is a Divine Trinity; and that He is the Lord Jesus Christ.
2. That saving faith is to believe in Him.
3. Every man is born to evils of every kind, and unless through repentance he removes them in part, he remains in them, and he who remains in them cannot be saved.
4. That good actions are to be done, because they are of God and from God.
5. That these are to be done by a man as from himself; but that it ought to be believed that they are done from the Lord with him and by him.

Probably because of its esoteric bent, Swedenborgianism never attracted many adherents in the United States. Swedenborgianism proper peaked in the 1840s, when John Chapman ("Johnny Appleseed") championed Swedenborg's ideas on the FRONTIER. There are now only a few thousand members of Swedenborgian societies in the United States. The movement's significance, however, outruns those numbers, largely because of the influence Swedenborgian ideas have had on other religious movements. Swedenborg's theories found their way into SPIRITUALISM, THEOSOPHY, and NEW THOUGHT in the 19th century and today inform NEW AGE RELIGION.

SRP

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Szold, Henrietta (1860–1945) Founder of Hadassah, author, editor, and first woman member of the world Zionist executive committee, Henrietta Szold exerted a tremendous impact on JUDAISM and Jewish life, both in the United States and in Palestine.

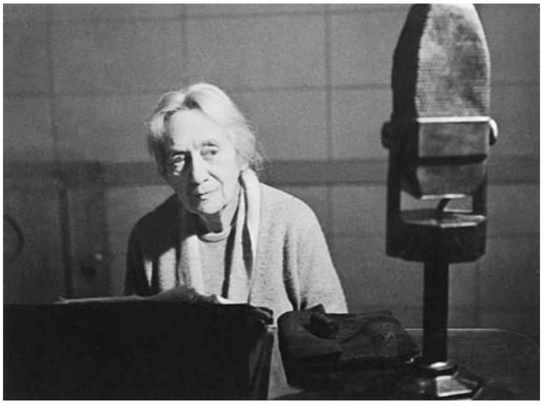
Henrietta Szold was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on December 21, 1860. The daughter of a prominent rabbi, she early showed a concern for Jewish culture and life. In her teens, she began to write articles for Jewish-American newspapers and began a career as a teacher.

The waves of poor Russian immigrants, victims of rising ANTI-SEMITISM in Russia, who arrived in the United States during the late 19th century affected Henrietta deeply, and she organized an evening school to serve them. Touched by their stories of persecution, she developed an interest in ZIONISM—the movement to reestablish the Jewish state in the land of Israel.

In 1893, she cofounded the Zionist Association of Baltimore, one of the earliest in the United States. In the same year, she became a founding editor of the Jewish Publication Society (JPS), a position she held until 1916. As an editor at JPS, Szold continued her work of preserving and disseminating Jewish culture in the United States.

Beginning in 1910, when she became secretary of the Federation of American Zionists, Szold's activities were increasingly directed toward Zionism. In 1912, she founded Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America. Dedicated to relief work among Jewish immigrants to Palestine, Hadassah centered its activities on medical and health services, supplying the immigrants with doctors, nurses, ambulances, and medical supplies. As a social organization, Hadassah also made Zionism prominent in the lives of thousands of American women.

In 1927 she became the first woman elected to the Palestine Zionist Executive Committee. In that year, she emigrated to Palestine, where she lived until her death on February 13, 1945. While in Palestine, Szold made her most valuable contributions to world Jewry as director of the Youth Aliyah. From 1933 until her death, Szold was responsible for resettling thousands of youths and children who managed to escape the Nazis. Of the 30,000 young people brought to Palestine in the Youth Aliyah, many arrived as orphans. Organized into children's villages and incorporated into existing kibbutzim, they provided a significant core of Israel's population.



Henrietta Szold founded Hadassah, which has had a profound effect on the Jewish communities in both the United States and Israel. *(Hadassah Archives)*

Still working at the time of her death at age 85, Henrietta Szold played a major role in two countries. A "captive to a cause," as she phrased it, Szold helped to make Zionism a significant element in American Judaism and among American Jews. By working to make Zionism a reality, she helped lay the foundations for the establishment of the state of Israel.

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T

Taoism Taoism is an ancient Chinese way of life that goes back to the fourth-century B.C. text *Tao te ching* (Book of the Way and Its Power) said to be written by the Taoist sage Lao-tzu. Taoists aim to act in harmony with the Tao (the "Way") rather than allowing egotistical desires or social norms to interfere with the natural flow of things.

Many scholars divide Taoism into two strands: a philosophical strand for elites focused on individual spiritual transformation and evident in the *Tao te ching* and another Taoist classic called *Chuang-tzu;* and a more popular religious strand focused on cultivating immortality through a variety of meditative and dietary techniques. Both strands are visible in the contemporary United States. Mystical, philosophical Taoism surfaces in books such as the best-seller *The Tao of Pooh* (1983), which translates the depths of Taoist teachings into language even Winnie the Pooh could understand. Though many scholars dismiss "Pooh Bear Taoism" as a pale approximation of the real thing, it nonetheless exerts a powerful influence on Eastward-looking Americans. Religious Taoism is evident in the popularity of alternative healing practices rooted in ancient Taoist immortality techniques. A combination of Taoism and ZEN also has had a powerful presence in the United States in martial arts academies, which have introduced millions of Americans to concepts such as yin and yang, *ch'i* (vital energy), and *wu-wei* (nonaction).

Although Americans involved with the COUNTERCULTURE discovered Taoism in the 1960s and 1970s, the tradition actually has a long history in the United States. Immigrants who came to the West Coast from China beginning with the discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought with them a variety of Chinese religions, including Confucianism, BUDDHISM, Taoism, and Chinese popular religions. They enshrined the gods, immortals, ancestors, and Buddhas of those religions in a variety of temples. The first, which arose in San Francisco's Chinatown in the early 1850s, was the Tin Hou Temple, dedicated to the Taoist Queen of Heaven and the Seas, who protects fishermen and anyone else in distress on the seas. Over the next few decades, roughly 400 of those syncretistic temples emerged. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, however, virtually eliminated Chinese immigration, and soon many of these temples were forced to close their doors. A few survived, however, including the Tin Hou Temple, which shut down for a time in the 1950s but reopened in 1975 after the renewal of immigration from Asia in 1965 provided new patrons for its services.

Taoism in contemporary America is not highly organized, but there are a few dozen explicitly Taoist institutions in the United States. They include the Ching Chung Taoist Association in San Francisco, the Fung Loy Kok Taoist Temple in Denver, the Shrine of the Eternal Breath of Tao in Los Angeles, and the

New England Center of Tao in Weston, Massachusetts. The Abode of the Eternal Tao in Eugene, Oregon, publishes *The Empty Vessel,* a Taoist quarterly.

(See also IMMIGRATION.)

SRP

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Tarthang Tulku See BUDDHISM.

Taylor, Nathaniel William (1786–1858)

Nathaniel William Taylor was a Congregational minister and theologian who, along with Yale College president TIMOTHY DWIGHT, is considered to be the founder of the early 19th-century religious movement known as the New Haven Theology. The New Haven Theology, a form of American ARMINIANISM, blended many of the traditional theological doctrines of Calvinism with the emphasis on free will that typified REVIVALISM in the United States.

Taylor was born in New Milford, Connecticut, on June 23, 1786. He graduated from Yale in 1807. After starting his career as a reader and secretary for Timothy Dwight, Taylor served as minister of the First Church of New Haven between 1811 and 1822. He left the First Church to become professor of theology at the newly founded Yale Divinity School, which was established in 1822 to supply the increasing demand for trained and educated ministers during the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. Taylor remained at that post for the next 35 years.

Although Taylor insisted he never departed from Calvinist orthodoxy, his theological approach was, in fact, novel. He made this position clear in his "Concio ad Clerum," an address before the annual gathering of the Congregational clergy of his state in 1828. He rejected the classic view that sin derives from humanity's connection with Adam, that is, that moral depravity is an inherited quality native to human nature itself. Rather, in Taylor's view, "sin is in the sinning." Although sin is "original" because it is inevitable and universal, men and women also have—in his famous phrase—"power to the contrary." A human being is a rational, moral agent, not a passive or predetermined part of nature, and is therefore free to choose to live according to God's laws.

Taylor's approach affected American Christianity in two ways. First, he consciously encouraged Congregationalists to engage in revivalist activities, the quintessential religious expression of the democratic ethos of Jacksonian America. After that time, revivals in America came generally to be understood less as miraculous works of God than as the achievements of preachers skillful enough to win the assent and cooperation of sinners. Second, Taylor laid a broad theoretical base for religiously motivated activities of social reform. Just as sinners had the ability to seek their own spiritual conversion, so well-intentioned Christians held the power to undertake the moral regeneration of American society. The New Haven Theology provided American Protestants with a rationale for trusting God while at the same time exerting themselves in the pursuit of secular goals.

Taylor's writings were collected and published in several posthumous volumes: *Practical Sermons* (1858), *Essays, Lectures, Etc.* (1859), and *Lectures on the Moral Government of God* (1859). Still serving at Yale Divinity School at the end of his life, Taylor died in New Haven on March 10, 1858.

GHS, Jr.

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technology, religion and The relationship between religions and technology in the United States (as well as in general) is complex and often surprising. While many tend to assume that religions are resistant to technological advances, this is not necessarily the case. In many instances, religions (often the most theologically conservative) have been in the forefront of adopting technology toward furthering their religious missions.

The perception of religion as resistant to technological advance to a great extent has its roots in the very real fact that some traditions are very much opposed to technology, Old Order AMISH being the best example. More important has been the opposition to scientific developments that appeared to challenge and threaten religious teachings. These include the conflict between the Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) and Galileo over the heliocentric view of the solar system. (One must not think that the Roman Catholic Church was alone in its opposition. Upon hearing of Galileo's work, Martin Luther wrote, "There is talk of a new astrologer who wants to prove that the earth moves and goes around instead of the sky, the sun, the moon, just as if somebody were moving in a carriage or ship might hold that he was sitting still and at rest while the earth and the trees walked and moved. . . . The fool wants to turn the whole art of astronomy upside-down. However, as Holy Scripture tells us, so did Joshua bid the sun to stand still and not the earth.") The other major source of such conflict and more central to American history has been EVOLUTION, while the conflict between the church and Galileo often became evidence for attacks on the Catholic Church (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM). Since both the heliocentric solar system and Darwinian evolution appeared to threaten both the truthfulness of religious texts and religious doctrine (particularly Christian, Jewish, and Muslim texts and doctrines), they met with much opposition. Given their overwhelming numbers in this country, the most visible and vocal opposition came from Christians. While most religious individuals eventually reconciled themselves to the idea that the Sun does not move, evolution presented greater challenges because for many it struck at the heart of doctrinal issues, the nature of human beings, and morality. Technological issues that intersect these boundaries always have been the most resisted and contested. Limitations of space prevent an examination all the relationships between religion and technology. This article focuses primarily on how religions in the United States responded to communication technologies. (For a detailed discussion of religion and medical technologies, see MEDICINE, RELIGION AND.)

While religion and science had their historical conflicts, these conflicts were not generalized. During the late 17th and early 18th centuries, American ministers were much more supportive of inoculations than contemporary physicians. In fact, one of the United States' leading theologians, JONATHAN EDWARDS, died from complications of a smallpox inoculation. Overall, religious leaders regularly have been more concerned about the moral and social consequences of technological developments than others. Some, such as the Old Order Amish, have decided that most technologies have a long-term negative consequence on an ordered, religiously centered, and moral community. Their rejection tends to be grounded in the view that technologies can distract one from religious matters and from the community. While most other religious traditions in the United States have not opted for a blanket rejection, they often have manifested serious concerns about the use of certain technologies and the possible negative consequences of these uses.

Communication and entertainment technologies present this issue in a stark way. The bon mot that claims the second series of books printed by Gutenberg after his Bible were pornographic engravings well illustrates this point. Technologies may be morally neutral, but the uses to which they are put may prove not to be. While new publishing technologies played a major role in the development and spread of the Reformation, even the reformers had concerns about the uses to which printing could be put. Everyone should be encouraged to search Scripture, yet which translation? In an odd twist, the King James version of the Bible so popular with conservative Protestants was commissioned by King James to counteract the Geneva Bible, the favorite of English Puritans. James found that translation too democratic and critical of tyrants and monarchs. On the other hand, the printed word and accompanying engravings could deepen religious commitment and solidarity. *Foxe's Book of Martyrs's* vivid portrayal of Catholic persecution of Protestants, with its gruesome engravings, reminded all English Protestants of who the enemy was and the consequences of its victory. The conflict over the use to which printing was put set the tone for most of the future religious conflicts over technology.

Interestingly, the leading technological advances of the 19th century met little religious resistance in the United States. The telegraph, railroad, and steamship presented few, if any, moral challenges to most American religious individuals. While one may find the occasional criticism of railroad and steamship travel as providing the opportunity for immoral behavior, both, along with the telegraph, were adopted readily as means by which religion could be spread. American Protestants found the railroads to be a wonderful medium for transporting religious materials, and colporteurs crisscrossed the country distributing Bibles and religious tracts. Steamships eased travel and facilitated the growth of "foreign missions," while the telegraph facilitated the flow of information. The ease with which religious organizations, particularly Christians, incorporated technology into their work would be replicated with other technologies. The entertainment technologies of the 20th century—the automobile, radio, movies, television, and computers—raised serious concerns about the uses to which they could be put and for their content. This again distinguished them from other technologies, such as electrification, which, again with limited exceptions, met little organized religious opposition.

The automobile presents a most interesting example of the way in which a technology was greeted. To a great extent, the availability of the affordable and relatively reliable automobile, beginning with the Ford Model T, was welcomed by most individuals. The independence and mobility it offered the individual was quickly embraced. At the same time, religious leaders had their doubts. The opportunities the car presented for unchaperoned dating raised concerns about immoral behavior. The ease of mobility weakened the bonds of community and increased the temptation to picnic in the country or travel to the seashore instead of attending church. For Jews, it placed greater strains on ritual observance. The Sabbath limits on travel and the requirements of kosher food usually demanded that Jews live in relatively close communities where one could walk to services on the Sabbath and holidays. When combined with the decrease in Orthodox practice and the growth of Reform Judaism, the automobile (as well as motorized public transport) increased the breakup of these communities. By easing travel, one could move out of crowded urban communities and into the suburbs often with relatively small Jewish populations. Motorized transport of food, particularly refrigerated trucks, meant that one no longer had to live close to a kosher butcher. Food could be processed anywhere in the country and shipped elsewhere.

For Catholics, the automobile not only raised concerns about sexual immorality; the mobility it allowed transformed the parish church. The parish church changed from a worshipping community of a geographically defined group of people to a community of interest or value. People attended a particular church because of a charismatic priest, its form of worship, its social ministries, or its youth work.

The temptations of the automobile were great. During the early 20th century, Catholic priests regularly preached against it. Sometime in the 1920s, however, these homilies decreased. The reason was that the rules were changed to allow priests to have cars. They could not resist the temptation of mobility, and why should they? From visiting the sick, meeting with parishioners, to aiding the needy, the automobile greatly aided anyone who had to travel. While it might provide an opportunity for sexual immorality, it also made the priest more readily responsive to his flock.

This duality also marked religions' reactions to entertainment technologies. Radio, movies, television, and, later, the computer presented themselves as possible purveyors of immoral, degrading, and salacious materials. The possibility of their being used to undermine the values of society was early recognized. In 1906, the magazine of the Women's Christian Temperance Union editorialized against the "sensational aspects of movies which undermine traditional values. Crime is made interesting, romantic, exciting—everything but criminal. Deformities of the human frame are made laughable." Movies were degrading society's fabric, and their content needed to be controlled and even censored. Movements to do so were strengthened in the 1920s, when public reports of drug use and sexual immorality among those involved in the movie industry led the industry itself to undertake an attempt to self-police through the creation of the Hays Office. Such actions seemed insufficient, and in 1933 the Catholic Legion of Decency was formed. The legion (later renamed the National Legion of Decency [1934] and in 1966, the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures) devised a letter rating system for movies, with A being morally unobjectionable, B objectionable in part, and C morally objectionable. The goals of the legion were made clear in the 1934 version of its oath of membership, in which an individual expresses his condemnation of "all indecent and immoral motion pictures, and those which glorify crime or criminals. Furthermore, the member promised to do all in her or his ability to "strengthen public opinion against the production of indecent and immoral films, and to unite with all who protest against them."

Like television later, there was no blanket condemnation of the medium. The use to which it was put in the pursuit of money was the source of condemnation. Most religious leaders recognized and believed in wholesome entertainment. They also saw how these media could be used as sources of moral and religious uplift and to spread the religious message. Radio, television, and even movies soon became electronic pulpits for a variety of religious leaders, from Father CHARLES COUGHLIN and FULTON J. SHEEN to AIMIEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON and PAT ROBERTSON (see ELECTRONIC CHURCH).

Although governmental censorship of films ended following a 1952 Supreme Court decision and self-censorship declined markedly during the 1960s and 1970s (and in television during the 1980s), religious organizations remained concerned about the content of films and television programs. While fights against sex, drugs, and violence were losing battles, uproar over what seemed to be attacks on religion remained high priorities. Retellings of the story of Jesus were particularly marked for protest, whether Monty Python's *Life of Brian* or Mel Gibson's *The Passion*.

Although religious people concerned about the content of regular movies and television may have given up on the mass media market, they responded by creating their own programs. This was aided greatly by the emergence of mass-market video cassette players and, later, DVD players. Music, movies, and religious lectures could be recorded and distributed relatively cheaply and easily. Content could be controlled, and one could live a religious life, of whatever type, filled with entertainment and educational materials that never challenged one's religious beliefs or offended one's morality.

The computer also served this purpose. While all these technologies could provide a secure cocoon in which one could live, they also proved to be valuable media for less wholesome religious movements, including the IDENTITY MOVEMENT and Islamist groups tending toward violence and hatred (see ISLAMISM; TERRORISM, RELIGION AND; RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE).

The 1990s and early 2000s saw the emergence of a new issue regarding technology. Concerns about global warming and environmental degradation more generally led to growing criticisms of certain forms of technology that increased pollution levels. The growth of genetic technologies led some religious leaders to challenge their unchecked expansion and to criticize how the manipulation of agricultural technologies affected traditional crops and farmers throughout the world. In one set of critiques, technology increasingly became seen as a threat that needed to be controlled. Interestingly, most of these critiques came from the liberal wings of American Christianity and Judaism. Only rarely did their more conservative counterparts share these concerns. The one exception to this concern was in the realm of medical technologies.

This growing critique of technology from religion reached its height in some forms of the DEEP ECOLOGY movement. Among some of these individuals, the problem was no longer the use of technology or even technology itself, but human beings. They were the problem, and there was a need for some major limitation on them. Otherwise, they would destroy all life. While the view of a minority, by the early 2000s, it was increasing.

The relationship between religion and technology in the United States is not and has never been a story of religious opposition to new developments. It also never has been a story of more liberal religious movements being more open to technology and more conservative or traditional ones being opposed. In fact, to a great extent, particularly from the 1960s on, more conservative and traditional religious movements have more readily adapted technological advances, particularly within the media, to their own purposes. Liberal ones have lagged seriously behind. The dominant conversation has been the use of technologies and how they can be adapted, converted, if one will, to serve higher purposes.

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Tecumseh (ca. 1768–1813) Tecumseh was a leader of the Native American resistance to white expansion in the early 19th century. Along with his brother Tenskwautawa (1775?–1837?), who was known as the Prophet, he preached a form of pan-Indian primitivism.

Tecumseh probably was born in 1768 in what is now Clark County, Ohio. His father was killed by whites when Tecumseh was about six years old, and his mother abandoned him the following year, leaving him to be raised by an older sister. A member of the Shawnee people, early in his life he developed marked prowess as a warrior and as a skillful leader. He also achieved recognition for his rejection of the Shawnee tradition of torturing enemies captured in battle.

Growing increasingly concerned by the expansion of white settlers into the Old Northwest, he urged a policy of Indian landholding that saw the land as a common possession of all the Indian peoples and not the property of a single tribe or village. This land, therefore, could not be sold or traded, but had to be held in trust for all Indian peoples.

Widespread rejection of this position led Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwautawa to embark upon a pan-Indian crusade aimed at uniting all the Indian peoples of the Old Northwest, the South, and the eastern Mississippi Valley. This crusade was directed at protecting Native American lands but also had a powerful religious dimension. Informed by a revelation delivered to Tenskwautawa by the high God, Tecumseh and Tenskwautawa preached a rejection of European ways and a return to traditional Native American customs. Tenskwautawa's prophethood was verified by his foretelling of an 1806 solar eclipse.

The Indians made a strong stand against American advancement onto their land between 1806 and 1813. Their power reached its height on November 7, 1811, when, emerging from their headquarters at Prophetstown in modern-day Indiana, Tenskwautawa led an attack on an advancing U.S. expedition commanded by General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe. The fierce battle was indecisive. The Americans managed to reach Prophetstown and raze the village but suffered such significant losses that they were forced to retreat. Despite the draw, the battle seriously depleted the power of the Shawnee army and led the way for further U.S. advances into the region.

With the outbreak of the War of 1812, Tecumseh and Tenskwautawa continued their resistance to American expansionism and led a Native American army in support of the British. Tecumseh eventually was killed in the battle of the Thames in Canada on October 5, 1813.

Tenskwautawa continued to fight with the British against the United States until the war ended, at which time he retired to Canada with a British pension. Ongoing concern for his people led him to return to Ohio in 1826. From there, he accompanied the Shawnee people on their exodus into Missouri and, later, Kansas, where he died, probably in 1837.

Tecumseh's death did not end the power of his message. His preaching led to the decision of the Creek (Muskogee) to undertake a war against the United States. The war broke out in modern-day Alabama in 1813; soon the Creek had recovered a great deal of their land, driving nearly all the whites out of their territory. However, after a long struggle, an expeditionary force led by Andrew Jackson met the Creek in a pitched battle at their stronghold at Horseshoe Bend in Alabama on March 27, 1814. Victorious in this and succeeding battles, Jackson was able to force the signing of a treaty that eventually led to the removal of most of the Creek from their ancestral homes.

Although unable to accomplish their goals, Tecumseh and Tenskwautawa stand as powerful symbols of both Native American resistance and revitalization. Their message of unity and tradition had a powerful effect on Native Americans, who saw their land and ways being washed away by a flood of intruders, and gave them the power and will to resist these incursions.

(See also NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIONS.)

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Tekakwitha, Kateri (1656–1680) Kateri or Katherine Tekakwitha (Tegah-Kouita), the first Native American to be proposed for sainthood, was born at Gandahouhage, Mohawk Territory (near modern-day Auriesville, New York) probably in 1656. Her mother was a captured Christian Algonquin who had been married to one of her Mohawk captors. At the age of four, Kateri was stricken in a smallpox epidemic that killed her parents and left her disfigured.

Orphaned, she was raised by a paternal uncle who was virulently anti-Christian and anti-French. Successful French military attacks on the Mohawk forced them to open up their region to Jesuit missionaries, whose teaching deeply influenced the young girl. Despite the opposition of her uncle, she underwent Christian instruction and was baptized on Easter Sunday 1675 and given the name Katherine (Kateri).

Abused and threatened because of her new faith and her refusal to marry, Tekakwitha fled to the mission of St. Francis Xavier du Sault St. Louis (Lachine Rapids, Canada). Her religious devotion was so intense that she was revered as a holy woman. Kateri practiced numerous austerities—fasting two days a week, flagellating herself, undertaking numerous penances, and praying for hours in the mission chapel.

She took a private vow of chastity and established a small convent at the mission, where she became an inspiration for the converts. The austerities took their toll, however, and she died on April 17, 1680, at the age of 24. The story of her deep faith spread throughout the region, among both French and Indians, and the grave of the "Lily of the Mohawks" at La Prairie de la Madeleine, Canada, soon became a site of pilgrimage. Increasing numbers of miracles were attributed to her intervention, and in 1884, the Third Plenary Council of the U.S. Catholic Church petitioned Rome to initiate steps for her canonization. In 1932, with the formal presentation of her cause for beatification, she became the first North American Indian to be proposed for sainthood. In 1980, she was beatified by Pope John Paul II, the last step before achieving full canonization as a saint.

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televangelism See ELECTRONIC CHURCH.

temperance Opposition to "intemperance," the heavy consumption of alcohol, has a long history within the reforming vision of evangelically minded Protestants (see EVANGELICALISM; SECOND GREAT AWAKENING). The temperance cause spread in three great waves from the 1820s onward. Institutionalized in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1874) and the Anti-Saloon League (1893), it provided a unifying focus for a wide variety of social reform and religious groups, particularly evangelical denominations and moderate women suffragists (see WILLARD, FRANCES). The movement's national impact culminated in the 1919 ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which made most production and consumption of alcohol illegal until its repeal in 1933. The temperance concern continues to be evident today in the thrust of municipal liquor laws in several regions of the country.

Contrary to the popular image of PURITANISM, New England's founders were not prudes; rum played an important part in the early trade economy. Over the course of the COLONIAL PERIOD, Americans drank enormous amounts of alcohol, especially whiskey, and by the 1820s, per capita annual consumption of distilled beverages was roughly three times that of today. Early attacks on alcohol spoke of it primarily as a danger to both health and civic life. For Lyman Beecher, widespread consumption indicated that "our vices are digging the graves of our liberties, and preparing to entomb our glory." Beecher founded the Connecticut Society for the Reformation of Morals in 1813, the nation's first temperance group, and in the next few years, the movement took on an evangelical tone, as drinking became associated with sin. Beecher galvanized support with the publication of *Six Sermons* on abstinence in 1826.

Other societies appeared across New England during these years, including the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance (1826) and the American Temperance Union (1836). Temperance societies produced literature on the evils of "demon rum," organized revivals, and dispatched public lecturers. By 1834, the Boston group had expanded nationally to include 5,000 branch chapters, with a million members. Following Maine's lead in 1846, the reform had produced prohibition laws in 13 states by 1855. However, by the end of the Civil War in 1865, only two states remained "dry."

A second wave of reform, less focused on the earlier evangelistic concerns of Beecher and the New England societies, began in the mid-1870s. Temperance became a vehicle for women seeking to change the emerging industrial social order, in which they were being placed in increasingly dependent positions upon wage-earning husbands and fathers. Beginning with a spontaneous protest on December 24, 1873, led by Eliza Trimble Thompson of Hillsboro, Ohio, marchers closed in on saloons, singing, praying, and pleading with occupants to return to their families. If nothing else, the protests invigorated a number of women, some of whom gathered in Cleveland during November 1874 to form the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Eventually, under Frances Willard, the WCTU went on to exert enormous national influence on temperance as well as other pressing social issues.

Willard's own vision of ecumenical, broad-reaching social reforms was overshadowed in 1893 by the formation of the Anti-Saloon League under the leadership of Methodist minister Alpha J. Kynett, president Hiram Price, and superintendent Wayne Wheeler, who said the league represented the churches and the "decent people." Backed by national groups of Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians (see presbyterianism) (totaling nearly 40,000 congregations), the league served the growing populist sentiment: antiurban, anti-Catholic, antiforeign (see nativism). Well financed and effective at pressure politics, the league targeted members of Congress and state legislators, resulting in the passage of dry laws in two-thirds of the states by 1916. The league's tactics were successful, but the militant national climate produced by World War I also helped. German brewers—epitomizing everything else German—were subjected to considerable harassment by the Anglo-Saxon population. With overwhelming national support, Congress passed the Eighteenth Amendment on December 18, 1917.

The temperance movement represented perhaps the most widespread consensus of values ever achieved in American culture. In spite of the extent to which the league itself was dominated by rural-based evangelical voices, the drive for Prohibition found support among socialists and progressives, who saw it as a means of derailing a powerful and socially destructive liquor industry. Catholics certainly had reason to oppose prohibitionism: Catholic ethnic groups often saw alcohol as far less than demonic; working-class Catholics viewed Prohibition as a middle-class strategy to control their lives (which it was). Nevertheless, liberal Catholic leaders were supportive of temperance, if not always of outright Prohibition. Catholics did, however, view moral persuasion rather than legislation as the most appropriate strategy for reforming American drinking patterns, and their suspicion of the league grew in conjunction with the league's public influence. Cardinal JAMES GIBBONS, who declared in 1891 that he was "a temperate man, not a temperance man," said prior to passage of the Eighteenth Amendment that prohibition would be "a national catastrophe, little short of a crime against the spiritual and physical well-being of the American people."

Although Prohibition remained the law of the land until 1933, it proved unworkable. Laws violated more than observed, said Catholic theologian JOHN RYAN, carried no force. Certainly, the experiment united the nation's Protestants and fueled the growing anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish nativism of the 1920s. One Protestant leader, for instance, labeled 1928 Catholic presidential candidate Alfred E. Smith a "rum-soaked Romanist" who represented "the kind of dirty people you find on the sidewalks of New York . . . the Italians, the Sicilians, the Poles, the Russian Jews." But the unified values that bolstered American society at the end of World War I fragmented during the 1920s, as Protestants fought among themselves and lost what cultural authority they had developed earlier. In the midst of economic and cultural crisis, drinking lost much of its sinful stature, becoming instead a sign of rebellion against a stifling social order.

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Ten Commandments controversy The controversy over government-supported display of the Ten Commandments has been a regular component of public life in the United States since the 1990s (see CHURCH AND STATE, RELATION BETWEEN). The Ten Commandments are a list of rules that God gives to the Hebrews during their exodus from Egypt to the "promised land" in Canaan. These commandments (with some variance) are found in the Torah (that part of the Bible Christians call the Old Testament) at Exodus 20: 2–17 and Deuteronomy 5:6–21.

At its simplest level, the controversy involves the question of whether the Ten Commandments are a religious statement or whether they represent the basis for law in the United States. If they are religious, then a government-funded display of the commandments would constitute an endorsement of religion and, therefore, run afoul of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. If the Ten Commandments simply reflect the basis of law, then a display probably would not create a legal problem.

The situation is not that simple. Many individuals see public Ten Commandment displays as a way of "putting religion back into public life or government." Many use the subterfuge of "basis of law" as a way of accomplishing that goal. Even if their claims are not disingenuous, there remain several problems with this attempt. The preeminent one is which version of the Ten Commandments to use. JUDAISM enumerates the commandments differently from Christians, and Protestant and Catholic Christians also differ in the way they number (and translate) the commandments. The mere act, then, of choosing a particular version of the commandments is a governmental decision that one formulation is "more valid" or "more correct" than others, thereby preferring one religion over others. Also, given that several of the commandments are expressly religious, for example, Exodus 20:2–5: "I am the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. . . ."

Clearly, these verses reflect a claim that monotheism is the only acceptable form of religion. It also declares that any religious practices involving the veneration (let alone worship) of graven images (idols in the traditional understanding) are wrong. One may legitimately question whether any government in the United States ought to be involved in the promulgation of statements that promote a particular form of religiosity and that intentionally disparage other forms. Additionally, the choice of the Ten Commandments as the exemplar of the basis for law raises questions. Why a religious code? Why this particular one?

While a strong case could be made for the Ten Commandments as a major source for the legal structure of much of the United States, an equally strong case could be made for pre-Christian Roman law and for the traditional legal codes of the Germanic tribes. The Supreme Court of the United States has approached its decision making regarding Ten Commandments displays in two ways. The first involves the intent of the governmental entity involved in erecting such a display. Where it can be reasonably inferred that the intent was to promote the Ten Commandments as a reli-

LAWS OF NATURE
AND
OF NATURE'S GOD
Declaration of Independence 1776

Workers pause in preparation to move the Ten Commandments monument from the rotunda of the Alabama State Judicial Building on August 27, 2003. *(Getty)* gious statement, a governmentally sponsored display of the Ten Commandments is unconstitutional. This rationale was the basis of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the case of *McCreary County, Kentucky, et al. v. American Civil Liberties Union of Kentucky et al.*

To some extent, this may be imputed to the circumstances surrounding the display. In the Kentucky case, the legislative history showed direct intent by the county government to make a religious statement; other cases are less direct. Various courts have based their decisions on the view that government-supported displays of the Ten Commandments do constitute a violation of the Establishment Clause, to the extent that they stand alone and are not a part of wider display of sources of law. When combined with other documents and other exhibits illustrating numerous sources of law, then a display of the Ten Commandments under the auspices of a governmental entity may be viewed constitutional.

Numerous places in the United States have experienced Ten Commandments controversies. Indiana, Georgia, and Texas are some of the states where they have reached the courts. The controversy reached its height, however, in the state of Alabama under then chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court Roy Moore.

In August 2001, Justice Moore had a 5,300-lb. monument with the Ten Commandments engraved on it installed in Alabama's Supreme Court building. When this act was challenged in the courts, Moore lost, both at trial and on appeal. When the federal appeals court ordered Moore to remove the monument or face a $3,500-a-day contempt fine, he refused. The specter of a state court refusing to follow the orders of a federal court resurrected the history of southern refusal to follow the national government. In response, Moore's colleagues on the court met and unanimously voted to remove the monument and to suspend him from his duties. Despite protests and vows of resistance, Moore was forced to watch the monument being removed physically from the courthouse, and the supremacy of the federal constitution and the federal courts was demonstrated once again.

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Tennent, Gilbert (1703–1764) Gilbert Tennent was the premier Presbyterian revivalist of his day. He was also an important spokesman for the GREAT AWAKENING, the remarkable series of revivals that occurred in mid-18th-century America. Best remembered for his March 1740 sermon on "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry," in which he attacked opponents of the awakening as less than true Christians, Tennent's ideas contributed greatly to the animosity that split Presbyterians into New Side and Old Side (see NEW SIDE/OLD SIDE) factions in 1741.

Tennent was born in County Armagh, Ireland, on February 5, 1703. He was the eldest son of William Tennent, Sr., then a clergyman of the Church of England. After the family emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1718, William renounced his Anglican orders and was admitted to the Presbyterian ministry. Gilbert received a master's degree from Yale College in 1725 and studied theology under his father's tutelage. He was licensed as a Presbyterian minister in 1725, served briefly at Newcastle, Delaware, and then assumed a pastorate in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

At New Brunswick, Tennent became acquainted with the famed preacher and evangelist THEODORUS J. FRELINGHUYSEN, pastor of a neighboring Dutch Reformed church. Frelinghuysen convinced Tennent that no one should call himself a Christian unless he had undergone an experience of conversion and received the inward assurance that his soul had been saved. As a consequence of this belief, Tennent made evangelism the center of his ministry, and by 1729, revivals had begun to occur in churches in his area. In the meantime, churches at Freehold, New Jersey (where his brother John was pastor), and Neshaminy, Pennsylvania (where his father and his brother William, Jr., both served as clergy), also showed evidences of spiritual stirring. This was the beginning of the Great Awakening.

In the late 1720s and early 1730s, Tennent was involved with the "Log College" that his father had founded at Neshaminy to train Presbyterian ministers. Despite being derided for its lack of academic credentials by those who opposed the revivals, the Log College educated a group of clergy who continued the tradition of the awakening. By 1739, Tennent's influence was so great that Anglican revivalist GEORGE WHITEFIELD sought him out during his famous tour of the colonies. Whitefield asked Tennent to accompany him to New England, and Tennent obliged by leading revivals in Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1740. Tennent undercut the trust people placed in a purely formal faith—attending worship as a routine matter and adhering to doctrines and moral teachings in an unexamined way—and called them to true repentance.

As it turned out, Tennent went too far, for the Presbyterians soon divided over the appropriateness of such piety and the revivals it inspired. In 1741, Tennent's New Brunswick presbytery was expelled from the Synod of Philadelphia by the antirevivalist Old Side party. The New Side Presbyterians, as the revival party was known, responded to their ejection by organizing a church of their own. The division in Presbyterianism continued until 1758, when the factions came together again under the dominance of the New Side. In the intervening years, Tennent moderated his views and admitted that he had erred in exacerbating the controversy over revivals.

Tennent left New Brunswick in 1743 to become pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, where he stayed for the remainder of his life. In his later years, he served as moderator of the reunited Presbyterian Church and labored to foster its growth. Tennent died in Philadelphia on July 23, 1764.

GHS, Jr.

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terrorism, religion and While the issue of religion and terrorism became a dominant theme in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, it is not necessarily a new phenomenon. Historically, one can identify groups and individuals that reasonably could be designated religiously motivated terrorists dating back to the zealots and *sicarii* of first-century C.E. JUDAISM and the Assassins (*hashashin*) of ISLAM. The examples could be multiplied. What distinguishes contemporary terrorism (religiously motivated or not) is the complete disregard of difference between civilians and combatants, or between military, police, and political targets. In much contemporary terrorism, the emphasis seems to be on the terror, not on directing the attacks on those holding positions of power or responsibility.

Many have tended to be dismissive of the word *terrorism* itself, arguing that it can be applied to any violent act. The trite phrase that "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" fails miserably to understand the objective reality of terrorism, just as would a similar statement made about murder. This is not to suggest that many governments have not used the term to label groups with which they were at odds. The abuse of the term does not eliminate its objective and descriptive value.

In U.S. law and in international law, terrorism has a very specific definition. Generically, it is defined as any activity that involves illegal acts dangerous to human life or potentially destructive of critical infrastructure or key resources that intends to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping.

Even if such a definition might be too broad, it does provide a clear demonstration that terrorism has an objective nature, that it is not purely a subjective phenomenon. As this article focuses on the subject of religious terrorism, the word *terrorism* will be used in the following sense: the use of violence or the threat of violence, primarily against civilians and infrastructure, with the goal of achieving ends that one believes are religiously mandated or to avenge what one believes to be insults to one's religion or to the divine itself.

In the United States, religious terrorism primarily has been the purview of hate groups such as the KU KLUX KLAN, the IDENTITY MOVEMENT, and other groups that have nativist (see NATIVISM) and racist views as well as the more extreme elements of the RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT. This has been seen in events such as the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City by those associated with the Christian Identity movement, the murder of several Jewish, African American, and Asian individuals by an Identity follower, and the targeting of abortion clinics and abortion providers by abortion opponents.

The United States also has been victimized by Islamists who believe ISLAM has sanctioned violence against everyone opposed to it. Both the 1993 and 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center (see SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, RELIGION AND) were perpetrated by Islamic terrorists. They also have perpetrated attacks on U.S. property and citizens abroad. Additionally, several American scholars of HINDUISM have been targeted by Hindu extremists who objected to their scholarly writings on terrorism. Americans have on occasion been inadvertent victims of Sikh terrorism (see SIKHISM) directed against the government of India. Other traditions have not been immune from the scourge of religiously motivated terrorist violence. Both BUDDHISM in Sri Lanka and JUDAISM in Israel have elements that are inclined to terroristic violence.

Those who teach or practice religiously motivated violence do so as a result of their particular view of religion and of the relationship between God and the wider world. One element of this tendency begins with the absolutizing nature of their understanding of religion. Religion for them is an exclusive affair. This, however, is not itself determinative of religious violence. Many groups have absolute understandings of their religious truth yet feel no desire or need to perpetrate violence on others who differ. In fact, they may be convinced that such actions are themselves completely unacceptable. The move to religious violence depends on other factors. Any of the following factors could prove sufficient for an individual or group to adopt violence, particularly terrorist violence, but they usually work together, reinforcing each other and making the move to violence acceptable in the minds of the perpetrators.

The perpetrators not only are convinced that they have clear knowledge about God's will for society, but that they are under an obligation to help realize that will, whether by eliminating opponents of the divine will or by forcing the adoption of behaviors, laws, or practices more consistent with that will. Additionally, since that which they desire to effect is part of the divine will, those who resist become opponents of God. While these opponents initially may be viewed as merely wrong or ignorant, their continued resistance demonstrates that they are opponents of God and allies of evil. As a result they are completely legitimate targets for attack.

Often, the situation is not merely a violation of the divine will, it is an offense against God. Violence becomes a way of defending God's honor either against a specific offense or against an entire social system that exists in opposition to the divine will. The endurance of this morally unacceptable reality may result from the failure of true believers to act to effect God's will. Much of the violence often is directed against coreligionists who are more blameworthy because they should know better.

For such individuals, the failure to act is itself sinful. They believe they are under a divinely ordained obligation to make reality conform to God's demands. Their success in doing so will lead to societal salvation, producing a world that is good for all. Those who resist the establishment of this world, who oppose the divine will, are enemies, not only of the religionists but of the cosmic order. The battle may be fought on Earth, but it is a reflection of the greater battle between the children of light and the children of darkness. By striking violently against the forces of evil on Earth, many driven to terrorism by religious motives hope to provoke a more generalized war, one they believe to be part of a greater cosmic conflict between the forces of good and evil. This is a major component of much of the violence perpetrated by white supremacist and Identity movements in the United States. They hope to provoke a racial holy war that will lead to eventual victory of the true believers. The language of such a cosmic and, to their minds, eventually redemptive war runs through much of the language and rhetoric of those who undertake terrorism in the name of religion.

EQ

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Testem Benevolentiae See AMERICANISM.

Theosophy One of many NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS that originated in the 19th-century United States, Theosophy (literally, "wisdom of God") began as a reform movement within American SPIRITUALISM.

Theosophists trace their roots back through SWEDENBORGIANISM and MESMERISM, Pythagoreanism and Neoplatonism, the Jewish KABBALAH and the Hindu Vedas to one common and secret spring of primeval wisdom from which all people of faith drink. But despite its appeals to the ancient East, Theosophy has freely adopted and adapted influences from the modern West, including Spiritualism, free thought, evolutionary theory, and academic Orientalism.

The Theosophical movement found institutional form when HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY (1831–91) and HENRY STEEL OLCOTT (1832–1907) cofounded the Theosophical Society in New York in 1875. Among the better-known early Theosophists were inventor Thomas Edison and Abner Doubleday, who was once erroneously revered as the inventor of baseball. Under the leadership of William Quan Judge (1851–96), the Theosophical Society in America split off from the original Theosophical Society in 1895. That organization made its headquarters in Point Loma, California, and was led by Katherine A. Tingley (1847–1929) following Judge's death in 1896. A later schism produced the third major Theosophical organization, the United Lodge of Theosophists, founded in Los Angeles in 1909.

Members of the Theosophical Society aimed initially to conduct Spiritualist experiments and then to induce on the basis of their scientific observations the occult laws undergirding spiritual phenomena. After Blavatsky and Olcott took the Theosophical Society to India in 1878, the organization integrated a new interest in Asian religious traditions into its Spiritualist agenda. In the early 1880s, the society codified three objects: "to form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, creed, or color; to promote the study of Aryan and other Eastern literature, religions and sciences; and to investigate the hidden mysteries of nature and the psychical powers latent in man."

Following Blavatsky's death in 1891, England's Annie Wood Besant (1847–1933) gradually moved into the forefront of the Theosophical movement. She represented Theosophy at the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS in Chicago in 1893 and became president of the Theosophical Society after Olcott's death in 1907. Although Besant distinguished herself from Blavatsky and Olcott (both of whom had converted to BUDDHISM while in Ceylon in 1880) by her advocacy of HINDUISM, she continued her predecessors' emphasis on the kinship of all religions.

At the core of Theosophy, there are two distinguishable concerns: first, an esoteric interest in investigating spiritual phenomena and discovering the occult laws underlying them; and, second, an exoteric interest in promoting the liberal theory that all religions are essentially one. Those two concerns manifested themselves, respectively, in the Esoteric Section, founded by the charismatic Blavatsky in 1888, and in the hoped-for but never realized panreligious "Universal Brotherhood of Humanity," emphasized by the more organizationally minded Olcott.

Theosophists claim that their truths are ancient truths, passed down through the ages by a secret occult brotherhood of Mahatmas ("Great Souls") who have preserved their hermetic tradition by initiating a select group of adepts into its mysteries. The most striking capacity of these adepts (Blavatsky included) is their ability to produce, through their knowledge of occult laws, effects that look remarkably similar to the phenomena produced during Spiritualist séances by mediums communing with disembodied spirits of the dead.

The writings of Helena Blavatsky, who claimed to have been initiated into this secret occult brotherhood while traveling in the Orient, form the core of the Theosophical canon. Both *Isis Unveiled* (1877), her first and most widely read book, and *The Secret Doctrine* (1888), her most systematic work, trace all religion, philosophy, and science to one ancient and universal wisdom religion.

Theosophy is often referred to as a "harmonial religion," and Theosophists do attempt to harmonize numerous entities—God and humanity, religion and science, East and West, matter and spirit. Because they believe that human beings are manifestations of the divine and are therefore fundamentally at one with God, Theosophists tend to be optimistic about the ability of both human beings and human societies to evolve in positive directions. Articles in the main Theosophical organ, the *Theosophist* (established in 1879), have promoted concerns as disparate as women's rights, TEMPERANCE, vegetarianism, cremation, caste reform, and Esperanto.

Theosophists generally reject dualistic, anthropomorphic, and transcendent notions of God in favor of an Absolute that is monistic, impersonal, and immanent. Most Theosophists also reject orthodox Christian notions that humans live one life and then move on to eternal rewards in heaven or everlasting punishment in hell. According to Blavatsky, human beings consist of seven bodies or sheaths. The first four, or "Lower Quaternary," are the physical body, the etheric body double, the astral body, and the mental body. These bodies cease to exist at death. But the final three bodies, the "Upper Imperishable Triad" of Mind, Soul, and Spirit, survive through numerous incarnations. In addition to reincarnation, Theosophists typically affirm the law of karma, which states that individuals cannot escape the consequences of their actions. For this reason, most reject as unjust the orthodox Christian theologies of the Atonement that affirm that Jesus Christ's death on the cross pays the debt of human sin.

Theosophists' interests in reincarnation and karma point to Theosophy's religious eclecticism. Because they affirm the fundamental unity of all religious traditions, Theosophists have a long history of promoting Asian religious traditions and of longing for a "Universal Brotherhood of Humanity" that will bring into harmony people of all nations, religions, and cultures. Although Theosophists for a time belied this pluralistic stance with anti-Christian backbiting, Theosophists today tend to be as friendly toward Christianity as Blavatsky and Olcott were toward Hindus and Buddhists.

Because of its emphasis on the immanence of God, its cosmic optimism, its interest in social reform, its criticism of dogma and ritual, its tendency toward ARMINIANISM, and its friendliness toward both science and modernity, Theosophy may be seen alongside modernistic Protestantism (see MODERNISM), REFORM JUDAISM, and Catholic AMERICANISM as a form of religious liberalism. It also stands as an important precursor to NEW AGE RELIGION.

Despite the kinship between Theosophy and more mainstream religious movements, no Theosophical organization has been able to attract a large membership. From its beginning in 1875 until today, Theosophy has attracted an elite rather than a popular following. In India and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Theosophy appealed almost exclusively to British civil servants and English-speaking Indian elites. Moreover, periodic scandals—beginning with the notorious "Coulomb Case" of 1884, in which Emma Coulomb, a former colleague and friend of Blavatsky, accused her of fraud—have drained Theosophical organizations of members. Despite these limitations, Theosophists have been able to establish and maintain hundreds of branches on five continents, with about 5,000 members in the United States.

SRP

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Thoreau, Henry David (1817–1862)

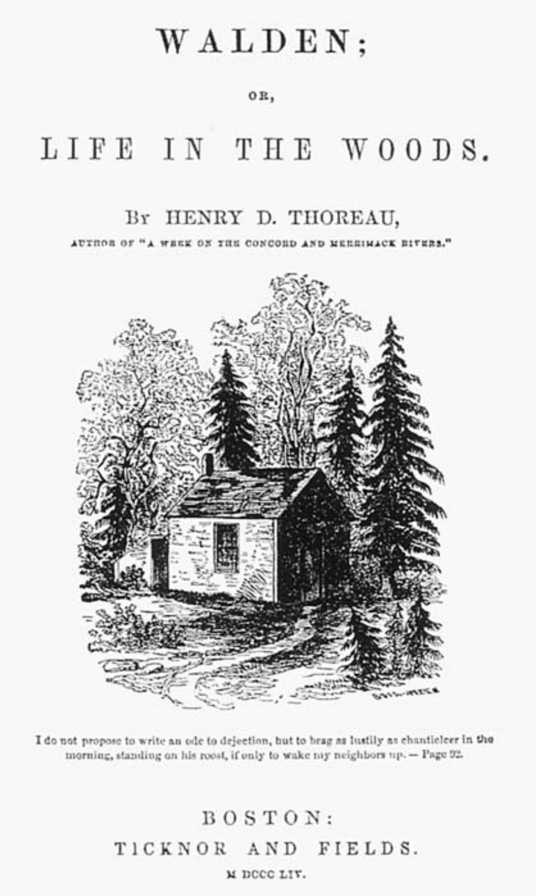
Largely unknown to contemporaries outside his circle of New England intellectuals, Thoreau devoted his energies to living and thinking as an individual. Regarded during his lifetime as a political extremist, in later times, he influenced many Americans active in causes of political and social reform. In particular, his writing on nature, especially *Walden; or, Life in the Woods* (1854), exerted a profound influence on the conservation movement that arose in the late 19th and early 20th century. In addition, his antiauthoritarian religious views and his appreciation for Asian thought endeared him to subsequent generations dissatisfied with the cultural mainstream, such as the COUNTERCULTURE of the 1960s.

Born in poverty on July 12, 1817, Thoreau early on developed a love of reading, and by the time he entered Harvard College in 1833, he was already well prepared in the classics. At Harvard, he lived frugally and began storing his ideas in his posthumously published *Journals.* After graduation, Thoreau taught sporadically, made pencils with his father, and, in general, developed no plans for a lucrative career. He performed odd jobs, kept house while living with RALPH WALDO EMERSON for two years, spent another year tutoring the children of Emerson's brother, and performed occasional land surveys.

Thoreau was critical of the style of life necessary both to the nascent capitalism of his day and to more traditional farming, both of which turned the human into the servant of tools and machines. In contrast, he sought to live an independent life. As he put it in "Civil Disobedience": "You must live within yourself, and depend upon yourself always tucked up and ready for a start." While he made an effort to join the lyceum circuit of TRANSCENDENTALISM, he never developed the oratorical skills of Emerson or BRONSON ALCOTT and never saw the essay or the lecture as a means to a livelihood. As he once put it: "My life has been the poem I would have writ, / But I could not both live and utter it." He did take an active public role in supporting ABOLITIONISM. In addition, he spent a brief time in jail over his refusal to pay "poll taxes," an experience that led him to reflect on the inherent corruption of political power and to his advocacy of civil disobedience. His death at the age of 42 from tuberculosis came on May 6, 1862.

Thoreau's real life emerged in the course of his many travels throughout the Northeast and in the year spent living alone on Walden Pond near Concord. In his daily encounters with the features of his New England environment, Thoreau found a kind of sacramental power, a communion with what is truly real, much as his friend Emerson had suggested. But the material means of Thoreau's communion were far more particular than Emerson's. In dealing with huckleberries, woodchucks, and beans, Thoreau came to see in the diversity of nature the divine presence. For Thoreau, this presence could easily be obscured by human enterprise. Thus, the human task, as he saw it, was to keep the world new and unspoiled: "In Wildness is the preservation of the world," he wrote in "Walking."

Thoreau's appreciation for the material qualities of the world have led some to see him as a pantheist, one who believes the world itself is divine. While much in his writing reflects that leaning, at the same time, he inherited enough from his New England CALVINISM to suspect that nature pointed to something higher and unseen. However, in spite of this residual view of a transcendent God, Thoreau broke completely with the authority claimed by religious tradition. Even more than Emerson, he wanted to experience divinity directly. To that end, he worked hard to acquire a breadth of perspectives on the spiritual, becoming a student of the classical Asian works recently translated into English



WALDEN;

OR,

LIFE IN THE WOODS.

BY HENRY D. THOREAU,

AUTHOR OF "A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS."

I do not propose to write an ode to dejection, but to brag as lustily as chanticleer in the morning, standing on his roost, if only to wake my neighbors up. — Page 92.

BOSTON:

TICKNOR AND FIELDS.

M DCCC LIV.

Title page of *Walden* by Henry David Thoreau. *(Library of Congress)* (see Buddhism, Hinduism), particularly the Bhagavad Gita. Thoreau's ability to blend his own insight into natural history with a wealth of background in classical Greek and Roman literature, the Bible, and works from Asia put his solitary pursuits in what he saw as the company of immortals.

First and foremost an individualist, Thoreau was often disdained by his contemporaries, whom he thought lived "lives of quiet desperation." But his continuing appeal to subsequent generations suggests that his efforts to see the spiritual qualities of the natural world and to live simply amid them reflect important yearnings for an authentic life among many Americans.

MG

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Thornwell, James Henley (1812–1862)

James Henley Thornwell was a Presbyterian minister, a proslavery theorist, and the most notable theologian of the antebellum South. Thornwell has often been labeled "the Calhoun of the Church" because of his theological defense of the institution of slavery.

Thornwell was born in Marlboro District, South Carolina, on December 9, 1812. He graduated from South Carolina College in 1831, studied in Massachusetts at Andover Theological Seminary and Harvard Divinity School, and was licensed to preach by the Harmony Presbytery of South Carolina in 1834. Over the next 20 years, Thornwell served briefly in several pastorates and as a professor at South Carolina College. In 1855, he became professor of theology at Columbia Theological Seminary, where he remained until the end of his life. He was also active in the affairs of the Old School (see New School/Old School) Presbyterian Church as founding editor of the *Southern Presbyterian Review* (1847) and as editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review* (1855–57).

During the 1850s, Thornwell formulated the "doctrine of the spirituality of the church," the theoretical basis for southern proslavery religious thought. Thornwell insisted that the church was a spiritual organization devoted to matters of heavenly, not earthly, concern. He believed the church should be apolitical and had no justification involving itself in secular affairs, even in moral reform efforts. Contrary to abolitionist crusaders in the North, who condemned slavery on Christian and biblical grounds, Thornwell maintained that the institution was a purely civil affair that the church had no authority either to condemn or commend.

After the Civil War began in the spring of 1861, Thornwell led in the formation of a separate Old School denomination in the South, the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. In his "Address to All the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth," which he composed for the southern Presbyterians' first General Assembly in December 1861, Thornwell justified his church's separation from its counterpart in the North. In his speech, he described church and state as "planets moving in different orbits." If northern Presbyterians had been willing to respect that idea and had not meddled in political matters, separation into two denominations might never have been necessary. Presbyterians in the South were grateful, he said, that they had "never mixed the issues of this world with the weightier matters that properly belong to . . . citizens of the kingdom of God."

Poor health had troubled Thornwell for several months prior to the beginning of the war. Personal tragedy further weakened him. After traveling to Virginia to visit a son who had been wounded in battle, Thornwell's health failed completely. He died in Charlotte, North Carolina, on August 1, 1862.

GHS, Jr.

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Thurman, Howard (1899–1981) Howard Thurman, one of the most important and influential American theologians of the 20th century, was born in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1899. (The month and day seem to be unknown.) Reared by his grandmother, a former slave, Thurman early on experienced the indignities and limitations imposed by the segregated South of that time. Thurman was a good student, but Daytona's segregated black school went only through the seventh grade. In order to further his education, Thurman's family decided to send him to high school in Jacksonville. Through significant efforts, they collected the money to pay for his trip.

On the day he departed, Thurman arrived at the train station only to discover that the cost of the ticket did not cover shipping his baggage as well. The price of the ticket had taken all of his money. Distraught, Thurman (as he wrote in his autobiography) simply sat down and began to cry. He was approached by an African-American man in overalls who paid the freight charges. The man never introduced himself, and Thurman, who never learned his name, would later dedicate his autobiography to "the stranger in the railroad station in Daytona Beach who restored my broken dream sixty-five years ago."

After graduating from high school, Thurman received a scholarship to Morehouse College, from which he graduated in 1923 as valedictorian. He then attended Rochester Theological Seminary, graduating in 1925. In that year, he also was ordained to the Baptist ministry. Thurman initially took a pulpit at Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Oberlin, Ohio. He later returned to Morehouse as a professor of religion and director of religious life there and at Spelman College for women.

In 1929, Thurman spent the spring semester at Haverford College studying with the Quaker theologian and mystic Rufus Jones. During this time, Thurman began to develop his distinctive theology that fused political activism, an inner quietude, and mystical contemplation rooted in a commitment to peace and nonviolence.

Between 1932 and 1944, Thurman served as professor of Christian theology and (after 1936) also dean of the chapel at Howard University. Thurman also traveled extensively on behalf of the YMCA (see Young Men's Christian Association) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. On one of these trips in 1935, Thurman led a delegation of African Americans to Southeast Asia. During their time in India, the delegation met with Gandhi. This meeting, in which Gandhi challenged the group to determine whether Christianity could provide a basis for nonviolent social change, had a profound impact on Thurman. To a great extent, answering that challenge constituted much of Thurman's life work.

In 1944, Thurman left his position at Howard University to become the pastor of the first intentionally racially integrated and multicultural church in the United States, the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples in San Francisco, California. Thurman remained as one of the senior pastors of the chuch until 1953, when he accepted an appointment at Boston University as a professor and dean of the chapel. While there, Thurman began the process of taking the multiple threads of his personal intellectual experience and weaving them into a deeply textured tapestry. During this time, he published several of his most important books, including *Jesus and the Disinherited* (1949), *Deep Is the Hunger: Meditations for Apostles of Sensitiveness* (1951), and *The Creative Encounter: An Interpretation of Religion and the Social Witness* (1954). Thurman also influenced the individual who probably had the greatest effect on American religion in the

20th century, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. Thurman had been a classmate of King, Sr., at Morehouse and mentored the younger King while he attended Boston University. The younger King appears to have been deeply influenced by Thurman's *Jesus and the Disinherited*, and it was one of the books that he traveled with during the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

In 1965, Thurman retired from Boston University. From that time until his death in 1981, he worked and wrote from his position at the Howard Thurman Education Trust based in San Francisco. During these later years, Thurman was markedly prolific. Writing and publishing more than 10 books, including *The Luminous Darkness: A Personal Interpretation of the Anatomy of Segregation and the Ground of Hope* (1965), *The Search for Common Ground: An Inquiry into the Basis of Man's Experience of Community* (1971), and *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman* (1979).

Thurman died on April 10, 1981, in San Francisco. He was cremated and his ashes are at Morehouse College and Howard University.

While one can speak somewhat directly of Thurman's influence over the development of the Civil Rights movement in the United States, particularly through its emphasis on nonviolence, Thurman's power and influence as a minister, preacher, and theologian is much wider and much deeper than that. Indeed, Thurman's influence has grown markedly since his death. After the immediate battles and conflicts over civil rights, his view of the need to integrate the internal nature of the individual with social and political commitments seems to resonate much more deeply than before. When society appears to be realizing that political liberation and freedom (as necessary as they are) alone do not solve all problems, Thurman's message that political and individual transformation are inextricably linked has greater power. For that reason, the statement by the African-American theologian Robert Franklin perhaps best sums up Thurman as a "21st century theologian working in the middle of the 20th century."

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Tillich, Paul Johannes (1886–1965) One of the leading American theologians of the 20th century, Paul Tillich was born on August 20, 1886, in Starzeddel, Germany (now Starosiedle, Poland). His early life was that of a small-town child of a German Lutheran minister. Called to the ministry himself, Tillich studied at the Universities of Berlin, Tübingen, and Halle before receiving his Ph.D. from Breslau in 1911. He returned to Halle, where he received the licentiate in theology in 1912 and assumed the role of a Lutheran minister.

During WORLD WAR I, Tillich served as a chaplain in the German army. The horrors of the war and his wife's desertion (she ran off with his best friend) served to undermine Tillich's assumptions about the world, as did the chaos of Weimar Germany. Tillich, having experienced the death of liberal theology (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL) in the war, immersed himself in radical thought and politics. He formed an organization of Christian socialists, the Kairos Circle, and became the first Lutheran minister to join the German Social Democratic Party.

The Nazi assumption of power in 1933 put Tillich in danger because of his political views. By then a professor of philosophy at the University of Frankfurt-am-Main, Tillich was the first Christian removed from a teaching position by the Nazis. (It was later learned that he was also on the first list of non-Jews slated for execution.) Although he felt that to leave Germany in its time of need was cowardly, he heeded the advice of REINHOLD NIEBUHR and accepted an invitation from Union Theological Seminary to give a series of lectures. Arriving in the United States in 1933, he was made professor of philosophical theology at Union, the faculty having made a place for him by voluntarily giving up 5 percent of their salary.

At Union, Tillich and his second wife, Hannah, had a difficult time adjusting to life in a foreign land, but that did not prevent him from continuing the creative work he had begun in Germany. Tillich's theology focused on three main themes. The first was that religious reality can be expressed only in cultural forms. These forms are always limited and never express the totality of religious truth. They are given meaning and value by the fact that they participate in, are infused with, the divine reality. This complex relationship was expressed by Tillich in the phrases "religion is the substance of culture" and "culture is the form of religion."

The second major theme in Tillich's work is the analysis of the goal of religious reflection. Religion is always the expression of an "ultimate concern." This phrase of Tillich's is both analytical and normative. As analytical, it describes existing religious phenomena. Human beings worship many things, some of which are idols. One can know the idols of a particular culture by asking what that culture's ultimate concern is. As normative, the phrase always asks the question, "What is truly ultimate?" The answer, for Tillich, is the God that is Being Itself. God as Being Itself is not to be confused with the idols of human creation, the gods of religion, or even the God of Christian belief. God as Being Itself stands above humanity's limited cultural conceptions of God. The God who is truly God is beyond the ability of human beings to grasp completely. Beyond finitude, God as Being Itself continues despite the destruction of our limited and finite attempts to make God in our image, to limit God to our conceptual understandings.

The realization that everything in which we put our faith is destined for collapse leads humanity to despair, anxiety, and estrangement. The world seems to be void and meaningless. In the midst of this rests the fact of God as the ground of all being. The basic unity of the world is not destroyed in the collapse of our finite forms. Being continues and nonbeing is overcome.

In Christian theological terms, Jesus as the Christ provides the possibility for overcoming anxiety and estrangement. He is the New Being who shows us the power of salvation. Jesus experienced all the limits and tragedy of human existence but through the activity of God expressed the reuniting and reconciliation of the essential unity between God and humanity, the reality of "God-manhood," in Tillich's phrase. This essential unity is seen in the Resurrection, in which the "reality" of the New Being is ultimately seen, for in the Resurrection the overcoming of estrangement and finitude is demonstrated.

By the time of his retirement from Union in 1955, Tillich was probably the most influential theologian in the United States. After leaving Union, Tillich spent seven years as university professor at Harvard. The last three years of his life (1962–65) were spent teaching at the University of Chicago. These years, while short, were significant for Tillich. His influence extended beyond the churchly and had a deep impact even on those who did not consider themselves religious. Tillich always had a strong appreciation for the secular world, especially the arts. While at Chicago, his friendship with Mircea Eliade, a professor of the history of religions, served to broaden his knowledge and appreciation of other religious traditions. The significance of those traditions for Christian understanding was the work in which he was engaged at the time of his death of a heart attack on October 22, 1965.

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Toleration, Act of (Maryland)

The Act of Toleration passed by the Maryland (see MARYLAND [COLONY]) colonial assembly on April 21, 1649, known officially as An Act Concerning Religion, was a major step forward for religious liberty. Designed to end the armed conflicts between Protestants and Catholics that had wracked the colony in the first part of the decade, the law carefully proscribed behavior designed to create hostility and animosity.

The act guaranteed all persons "professing belief in Jesus Christ" to be free to exercise their religion without being "any waies troubled, Molested or discountenanced. . . ." Equally, it forbade reproachfully calling anyone "heretic, schismatic, idolator, Puritan, independent, Presbyterian, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, or Separatist." Although a far cry from the 17th-century norm, the act protected only those who accepted the Trinity (denial being punishable by death) and forbade disparaging remarks about the Virgin, apostles, or evangelists and profanation of the Lord's day, or Sabbath, "called Sunday."

The act, however, failed to bring about peace in the colony. A Protestant revolt removed Maryland's acting governor from power in 1651, and, after firmly establishing control, the Protestants repealed the Toleration Act in 1654. The next year, the Protestant-dominated assembly outlawed the practice of ROMAN CATHOLICISM. Although Catholics regained some of their rights following the return of proprietary government, not until after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION did they regain the rights they earlier had granted to others in the colony they established.

(See also ANTI-CATHOLICISM; CALVERT, CECILIUS.)

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Tomlinson, Ambrose Jessup (1865–1943)

A. J. Tomlinson was one of the first leaders of 20th-century PENTECOSTALISM and the founder of the Church of God of Prophecy. Tomlinson's wide-reaching ministry reflected many of the key beliefs and practices of early Pentecostalism: faith healing, speaking in tongues, and restoration of the New Testament church.

Tomlinson was born near Westfield, Indiana, on September 22, 1865. He began working as the Sunday school superintendent of a Quaker congregation in Westfield around the year 1889. However, after learning about the HOLINESS MOVEMENT and its views of SANCTIFICATION, Tomlinson organized his own congregation of believers. The Holiness movement, which arose within Protestantism in the 19th century, emphasized the individual Christian's ability to attain perfection on Earth through the work of the Holy Spirit. After several years of missionary preaching in eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina, Tomlinson gathered several congregations and their ministers in 1906. By 1909, he had been elected moderator of a new denomination, the Church of God, so named to emphasize its continuity with the Christianity of biblical times. It was, Tomlinson claimed, the only true church.

Two practices set Tomlinson's movement apart from other Protestant denominations. First, after learning of the doctrine of divine healing taught by Pentecostal minister Carrie Judd Montgomery, Tomlinson began praying in his revival services for the healing of the sick. His ideas about Christian holiness convinced him that God would not only help believers overcome sin, but also bring them physical healing. Second, in January 1908, Tomlinson underwent a tremendous spiritual experience that he believed symbolized baptism in the Holy Spirit. From then on, Tomlinson looked upon the ability to speak in tongues, reminiscent of the day of Pentecost described in the New Testament book of Acts (2:1–11), as evidence of God's special favor. Spontaneous outbursts of ecstatic speech marked the worship of early Pentecostal churches like Tomlinson's.

Tomlinson held the post of general overseer of the Church of God from 1910 to 1923. He also edited the denomination's official journal, the *Church of God Evangel,* during the same period. A dispute over Tomlinson's leadership style and his refusal to share power with other church officers, however, alienated his associates and led to a schism. Accused of financial mismanagement, he was deposed from his position in 1923. Tomlinson took 2,000 adherents with him to form a new denomination, also named "Church of God." Following a lengthy period of litigation, the original denomination took the name CHURCH OF GOD (CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE), while Tomlinson's denomination eventually accepted the designation Church of God of Prophecy. Tomlinson's authoritarianism kept his denomination separate from other Pentecostal churches, the Church of God of Prophecy numbered more than 30,000 members by the early 1940s and nearly 115,000 in 2004.

Tomlinson always said that his primary concern was the winning of souls and their incorporation into God's church. He worked tirelessly for the remainder of his life, building up the movement he led. Tomlinson died at Cleveland, Tennessee, on October 2, 1943.

GHS, Jr.

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tongues, speaking in See PENTECOSTALISM.

Torrey, Reuben Archer (1856–1928)

R. A. Torrey was the first superintendent of the Chicago Bible Institute (later Moody Bible Institute), an organization founded by the influential revivalist DWIGHT L. MOODY in 1887. During a peripatetic career as a minister and evangelist, Torrey established himself as a prominent critic of liberal theological trends in American Protestantism. He was one of the early spokesmen for the conservative religious movement, now called FUNDAMENTALISM, that emerged in the early 20th century.

Torrey was born on January 28, 1856, in Hoboken, New Jersey. He received his bachelor's degree from Yale College in 1875 and, after graduation from Yale Divinity School in 1878, was ordained to the Congregational ministry. He served in pastorates at the Congregational church in Garrettsville, Ohio (1878–82), and at the Open Door Congregational Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota (1883–86). Next, Torrey worked as superintendent of the Minneapolis City Missionary Society (1886–89). In 1889, he was called to Chicago to head the Bible Institute. Between 1894 and 1906, he was both superintendent of the Bible Institute and pastor of the Chicago Avenue Church in that city.

Torrey conveyed neither the personal warmth nor the irenic temper of his mentor, Moody. His evangelistic efforts, while highly successful, placed emphasis more on the intellectual content of the Christian faith than on piety, and he proved to be a prolific writer and lecturer in support of traditional Protestant doctrines. Following a year's study (1882–83) in Germany, where he had been introduced to advanced but troubling ideas on biblical criticism, Torrey returned to the United States with a determination to defend Christian orthodoxy against modern theology, which he equated with infidelity.

Torrey's most significant contributions to the cause of conservative theology were made as editor of *The Fundamentals,* the influential 12-volume paperback series published between 1910 and 1915. In *The Fundamentals,* Torrey and others championed such beliefs as the INERRANCY of the Bible, the bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the eternal punishment of sinners in hell. Torrey also rejected the SOCIAL GOSPEL and other liberal programs aimed at bettering society through human effort. His PREMILLENNIALISM inspired conservative Christians to place their hopes exclusively in the second coming of Christ.

Although he remained nominally in charge of the Chicago Bible Institute, from 1901 to 1905, Torrey undertook a worldwide evangelistic campaign, in which he reportedly preached to more than 15 million people throughout Europe, Asia, and Australia. After leaving Chicago in 1908, he worked as an independent evangelist until 1912, then served as dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (1912–24) and as pastor of the Church of the Open Door, Los Angeles (1915–24). One of his principal concerns throughout his career was the training of students for urban missionary work.

Torrey remained active as a preacher and lecturer after retirement from the Church of the Open Door in 1924. He died at his home in Asheville, North Carolina, on October 26, 1928.

GHS, Jr.

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transcendentalism The loosely bound group of New England intellectuals known as "transcendentalists" shared a fascination with the ancient mystical view of correspondence between mind or spirit and nature. Transcendentalists developed their ideas more through lectures than literature but nevertheless exerted a powerful written influence on contemporaries and later generations, producing a creative blending of the intellectual residue of their New England ancestors and contemporaries—PURITANS and Unitarians (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION)—with the ideas of Romantic European poets and philosophers. In the social context of an industrializing North and a slaveholding South, they brought their idealist spirituality, based on views of knowledge and nature, to bear on the most pressing social questions of their day, becoming involved in socialist communal experiments, ABOLITIONISM, and women's rights.

Transcendentalism had its genesis in conversation, as several members of Boston's intellectual elite gathered on September 19, 1836, for an evening of discussion with RALPH WALDO EMERSON (see ALCOTT, BRONSON; BROWNSON, ORESTES AUGUSTUS; CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN; RIPLEY, GEORGE). These friends founded the Transcendental Club, which eventually included feminist MARGARET FULLER, who came to edit *The Dial,* the short-lived but influential transcendentalist periodical, as well as HENRY DAVID THOREAU, THEODORE PARKER, and WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, JR.

While varied in interests and viewpoints, transcendentalists grappled with a common intellectual problem, the relation of spirit and matter, and drew on common resources in order to meet their needs. Like the Puritans, they continued to rely upon both introspection and mystical experience of nature as keys to understanding the divine and to use Platonic language to express the analogous relation between matter and spirit. From the Unitarians, they took a rationalist distrust of religious dogma and a high view of human moral potential. From the European Romantics such as Johann Fichte, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge they learned to view the human mind as the ultimate reality. In addition, they read the mystical works of SWEDENBORGIANISM and were among the first Americans to incorporate the teachings of Asian traditions such as HINDUISM.

As articulated by Emerson in his influential *Nature* (1836), transcendentalists thought mind and nature were one. Hence, there is a mysticism inherent in their writings, as when Emerson says, "I become a transparent eyeball; I am nothing; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God." But this mysticism, for which their detractors gave them the name *transcendentalists*, led to a remarkably pragmatic set of interests.

Because of the unity between mind and nature, lawful relationships could be intuited between things natural and things spiritual. Assuming the reality of correspondence, transcendentalists viewed harmony with nature as the primary law of life. Such harmony indicated goals for personal as well as social action. Individuals were encouraged to develop their inner selves, and they encouraged their fellow citizens in a rapidly expanding, frenetic republic to develop appropriately harmonious institutions and forms of cultural expression. To that end, while Emerson remained more interested in the task of self-cultivation, other transcendentalists sought to create harmonious communities. George Ripley began Brook Farm in 1841, and Bronson Alcott helped organize the smaller and shorter-lived Fruitlands in 1843 (see COMMUNITARIANISM; UTOPIANISM). In further efforts to give practical form to their eclectic mysticism, transcendentalists wrote about SLAVERY and women's rights, art and architecture as frequently as they did about philosophical or religious ideas.

In addition to their practical concerns for social action, transcendentalists also developed forms of ritual action, which they thought could provide modern people with more inspiration than the empty ritual forms of the Christian churches. Communing with nature came through morning walks or ritual bathing in Walden Pond, but most importantly, through ritualized forms of conversation, in which individual spirits could be harmonized with each other and the world. Several members, particularly Orestes Brownson, Theodore Parker, James Freeman Clarke, and William Ellery Channing, Jr., undertook experimental forms of ministry outside Boston's Unitarian establishment.

The impact of transcendentalism is hard to trace since the group, given its emphasis on unconstrained individual communion with nature, avoided taking institutional form. Many thousands of individuals heard Emerson, Parker, and Alcott on the lyceum circuit, an extensive network of educational lectures held in towns across New England. And Emerson's written work circulated widely in his own day.

Its most noticeable impact is perhaps on subsequent intellectual and social movements. Theological liberalism took on the critique of dogma begun by the transcendentalists, and a wide variety of 19th- and 20th-century metaphysical movements, from CHRISTIAN SCIENCE and NEW THOUGHT down to NEW AGE RELIGION, have drawn on transcendentalist ideas to depict the power of mental healing. The modern environmental movement, seen in the DEEP ECOLOGY movement, carries on transcendental themes of nature worship articulated by JOHN MUIR, who himself came under the direct influence of Emerson and Thoreau. Some have argued that transcendentalism's influence has, in fact, spread across American culture.

MG

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Transcendental Meditation Transcendental Meditation (TM) was the most successful of America's NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS in the 1960s and 1970s. Rooted in HINDUISM and taught by MAHARISHI MAHESH YOGI (1911–2008), TM emphasizes the quiet repetition of a single word or phrase called a mantra as a vehicle to spiritual and social development.

That practice was first institutionalized in India on January 1, 1958, when the Maharishi established the Spiritual Regeneration movement. For the next decade, he traveled across Asia, Europe, and North America, training students in his distinctive version of mantra chanting. Initially, TM was described as a pathway to the fairly traditional Hindu goal of realizing the unity of the Self and Godhead, but over time, the Maharishi began emphasizing the fruits of the practice in everyday life. The movement got a boost with the publication of the Maharishi's first book, *The Science of Being and Art of Living*, in 1963. It took off in the late 1960s and early 1970s when the Beatles and other celebrities befriended the Maharishi and began practicing TM.

Soon, however, TM adherents were drawing not on the authority of superstars but on the authority of science, attempting to prove through a series of experiments that TM could, among other things, lessen stress and increase creativity. In 1972, Maharishi unveiled his World Plan, which moved beyond his earlier emphasis on individual spiritual transformation to a design for reforming society. By 1974, his World Plan Executive Council had established Maharishi International University (now Maharishi University of Management) in Fairfield, Iowa. In the 1990s, the movement moved into politics when leaders organized the Natural Law Party.

One reason for TM's popularity is that it is fairly simple to learn and to practice. An elementary version of Advaita Vedanta, or nondualistic, Hinduism, TM shuns asceticism, emphasizes what is natural, and promises joy and happiness. An initiate typically attends an introductory lecture sponsored by the TM-affiliated International Meditation Society. After paying a fee, the practitioner is given a secret mantra by a teacher during an initiation ceremony. He or she then sits and silently repeats that mantra twice a day for 15 or 20 minutes.

Practitioners frequently claim that TM is not religious but scientific ("the science of creative intelligence"), but American courts have ruled otherwise. In the late 1970s, they banned a TM course being taught in New Jersey public schools on the grounds that TM was, in fact, a religion. Whether science or religion or both, TM is one of a handful of Hindu forms more widely practiced in the West than in India. Though it peaked during the heyday of the COUNTERCULTURE in the 1960s and 1970s, it remains a force in American religion today.

SRP

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Trungpa, Chogyam (1939–1987) Long before the DALAI LAMA popularized Tibetan BUDDHISM in the United States, Chogyam Trungpa brought the Vajrayana ("Diamond Vehicle") Buddhism of Tibet to countercultural Americans in the 1970s.

Born in northeastern Tibet in 1939, Trungpa was tapped at the tender age of 18 months as the reincarnation of the Tenth Trungpa Tulku (bodhisattva emanation) and thus the head of a Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism. He became a novice when he was eight and took a guru at the age of nine. Now recognized as the Eleventh Trungpa Tulku, he received the title of Rinpoche (Precious Jewel) and served as abbot at a number of monasteries in Tibet.

Accompanied by fellow Tibetans fleeing the Chinese takeover of Tibet, Trungpa made his way in 1959 to Kalimpong, India, where he was given a home by Freda Bedi, an Oxford graduate who would eventually become a Tibetan Buddhist nun. When Bedi moved to New Delhi to serve as the principal of a school for Tibetan exiles, Trungpa joined her as its spiritual adviser. While in India, Trungpa learned English and proved himself an adept student of Western culture.

Moving to England in 1963, he enrolled at Oxford, where he studied Western philosophy and Japanese ZEN. He found enough time away from his studies to establish the short-lived Samye-Ling Meditation Centre in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. There he first put into practice a spiritual discipline he has called "meditation in action."

In 1970, Chogyam Trungpa renounced his monastic vows and married Diane Judith Pybus. That same year, they immigrated to the United States. Shortly after his arrival, he

Students with Rinpoche Chogyam Trungpa, founder of the largest Tibetan Buddhist organization in the United States, in Barnet, Vermont. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)* established a Tibetan Buddhist community called Karme-Choling (Tail of the Tiger) in Barnet, Vermont. Lecture tours and the publication of books such as *Meditation in Action* (1970) and *Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism* (1973) prompted the establishment of Tibetan Buddhist meditation centers in many U.S. cities.

Trungpa eventually settled in Boulder, Colorado, where, in 1971, he founded the Rocky Mountain Dharma Center, which aims to integrate popular Zen practices and arts into Tibetan Buddhism. In 1973, Trungpa gathered his many projects together into an umbrella organization called Vajradhatu (now Shambhala International). He expanded into Canada in 1981 with the Halifax-based Vajradhatu Canada. In 1986, he and his headquarters moved to Halifax. He died one year later and was cremated at Tail of the Tiger in Vermont.

Trungpa was perhaps most widely known outside the Tibetan Buddhist community for his delight in upsetting Western stereotypes of Asian ascetics. A practitioner of tantrism, an esoteric practice common to Buddhism and HINDUISM, Trungpa shunned neither alcohol nor cigarettes and was known to indulge in red meat, psychedelic drugs, and obscenities. He called his approach "crazy wisdom."

Trungpa's most enduring legacy in America may be his Boulder-based Naropa Institute (established in 1974), an accredited college that grants B.A. and M.A. degrees. The institute has attracted teachers such as the Harvard professor turned Hindu guru RAM DASS and the late Beat poet Allen Ginsberg (see BEAT MOVEMENT).

In 1976, Trungpa tapped an American, Thomas Rich (renamed Osel Tendzin), as his chief disciple. When Trungpa died in 1987, Tendzin assumed leadership of his teacher's organizations. Revelations of Tendzin's sexual promiscuity, followed by his death from AIDS in 1990, sent those organizations reeling until Trungpa's oldest son, Osel Rangdrol Mukpo (also known as the Venerable Sakyong Mipham, Rinpoche) took over in the mid-1990s.

SRP

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trusteeism Trusteeism was a movement within the Roman Catholic Church (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) in the United States that aimed to place control of the individual church, including the right to choose parish priests, in the hands of lay trustees or boards. Primarily an issue in the late 18th and early 19th century, trusteeism emerged in the United States for several reasons.

The first was the fact that the American Roman Catholic Church was at the time small and weak, with little centralized control. Second, most state legislatures drew up laws of incorporation that were ill-suited to the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church. These laws tended to vest the administration of the local parish or congregation as a legal corporation in the hands of laypeople who were given wide administrative powers. A third factor was the republican ethos of the United States, which argued that political authority emanated from the people. Finally, immigrant groups who felt that the hierarchy was insensitive to their particular religious and cultural traditions often would attempt to control a parish in order to ensure that they had a priest fluent in their language and sympathetic to their traditions.

Although the earliest conflict over trusteeism was in New York (1785), the problem also surfaced in Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Norfolk, Virginia. Attacked by the bishops and condemned as "novel and quite unheard of" by Pope Pius VII, trusteeism lingered well into the 19th century. It received new strength in the 1850s with the election of anti-Catholic "Know-Nothing" legislatures in, among other places, New York and Pennsylvania, which proceeded to adopt state laws placing church property in the hands of lay trustees (see ANTI-CATHOLICISM; NATIVISM). Following the party's collapse at the end of the decade, these laws were later repealed or overturned by the courts.

By the end of the 19th century, trusteeism had diminished greatly, and while it reappeared among the newly immigrant Slavic Catholics, especially Poles and Ruthenians, and in times of parish crisis and conflict, the hierarchy managed to maintain its doctrinal right to control the property of and appointments to individual parishes. Trusteeism remained an option, however. As urban dioceses faced declining revenues and numbers in the late 1980s and 1990s and began to close churches as a solution, some rebellions among parishioners took on aspects of the previous century's trusteeism controversy.

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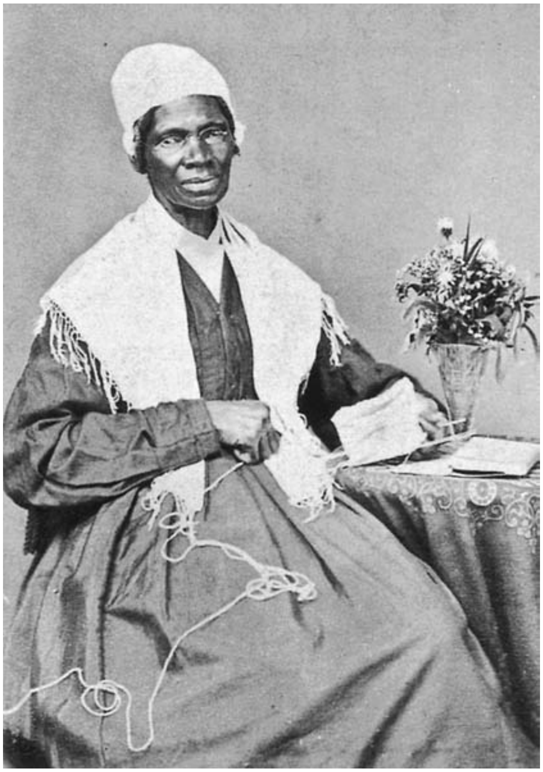
Truth, Sojourner (1797–1883) One of the leading black abolitionist (see ABOLITIONISM) of the 19th century, Sojourner Truth achieved this position only after overcoming a life of degradation and pain. She was born a slave about 1797 in Hurley, Ulster County, New York, to a wealthy Dutch farmer; her given name is variously recorded as Isabella, Isabelle, or Belle. Truth's first language was Dutch, and she always spoke English with a Dutch accent. Deeply influenced by the religious visions of her mother, Truth was devastated by their separation in 1808, when she was sold for the first of four times.

In 1810, Truth became the property of John Dumont, who for 16 years would be her master. During this time, she suffered repeated beatings from her mistress and was forced to serve as "breeding stock" to supply the Dumonts with labor and cash. Distraught when one of her sons was sold and embittered by Dumont's failure to free her as promised, Truth ran away in 1826. She found refuge with a local family who took her in until 1827, when New York's emancipation law went into effect. In that year, she walked into New York City a free woman.

Given from an early age to religious visions and divine communications, she wandered about New York looking for religious truth. In 1829, she fell in with a Perfectionist



Former slave Sojourner Truth became a powerful advocate of abolitionism and women's rights. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)* (see Perfectionism) religious preacher named Mathias, joining him and a group of followers in organizing a religious commune in Sing Sing (now Ossining), New York. When the commune collapsed amid scandal in 1835, Truth returned to New York City.

For the next nine years, she lived a quiet life there, but in 1843, the voices and visions returned, telling her to become a wandering preacher. She adopted the name Sojourner Truth and began preaching throughout New England. In 1846, a visit to the Northampton Association of Education and Industry brought her into contact with abolitionists. She soon became an ardent abolitionist and worked closely with William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and Wendell Phillips. This work also brought her into contact with the nascent women's rights movement in 1850 and earned her friendships with Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

More than six feet tall with a strong voice, Truth was a powerful draw on the lecture circuit. At that time, women were generally prohibited (in some cases by law) from public speaking, and many who came to gawk at a woman—indeed, a black woman—speaking in public left greatly moved. Truth gained a reputation for ably silencing the most belligerent hecklers. After she spoke at one meeting in Ohio, she listened to a minister belittle women as delicate and weak. This comment, followed by disparaging remarks questioning Truth's femaleness, led her to rip open her bodice, revealing her breasts. She taunted her detractor by asking whether she was not a woman and where the minister had been when she was forced to labor in the fields.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, she raised funds for black regiments. In 1864, she joined the National Freedman's Relief Association and taught at the Freedman's Village in Arlington, Virginia. She also served as a nurse in the Freedman's Hospital and distributed aid to the refugee ex-slaves who flocked to the capital.

Distressed by their suffering and unemployment, Truth began a campaign for the distribution of public lands in the West to African Americans that would lead to the creation of a "Negro state." Opposition to the idea by the Grant administration and growing hostility from the public forced her to abandon the plan in 1875. In that year, she retired to her home in Battle Creek, Michigan, where she lived until her death on November 26, 1883.

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Tubman, Harriet (1821–1913) Harriet Tubman's life was so filled with adventure that, if it were not for her race and sex, she long ago would have attained the mythic status of men like Davy Crockett. She was born in slavery to Benjamin Ross and Harriet Green in Dorchester County on Maryland's eastern shore. The year of her birth is disputed, though 1821 is the most widely accepted. Originally named Araminta by her owner, she later adopted her mother's name.

Put to work in the fields, she developed a strength and stamina later put to use on behalf of her religious and political principles. A serious head injury during childhood produced a form of narcolepsy that afflicted her until her death. It also influenced her status as a religious visionary and seer. Denied an education due to slavery, she nonetheless possessed acute intelligence and judgment that aided her as a leader of the Underground Railroad.

In 1844, her mother forced her to marry John Tubman. Though he was a freeman, she nonetheless remained a slave. In 1849, the death of her master led to rumors that the slaves were to be sold south. Harriet and her two brothers escaped and headed North. Her brothers changed their minds and returned home, but Harriet continued until she arrived in Philadelphia.

During her escape, Harriet had been helped by members of the Underground Railroad, a network of abolitionists (see ABOLITIONISM) who aided escaped slaves by sheltering, feeding, and guiding them through unfamiliar territory. Tubman soon became one the railroad's most active "conductors," making 19 trips south and rescuing more than 300 blacks from slavery. Perhaps her most daring rescue came in 1857, when she spirited away her aging parents and settled them at her home in Auburn, New York, on land she had purchased from William H. Seward. This occurred at a time when the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 imposed harsh penalties on those aiding escaped slaves and when Tubman herself had a $40,000 bounty on her head, dead or alive.

Tubman's faith in divine providence and her inner vision gave her legendary strength and courage. As one observer remarked, "A more heroic soul did not breathe in the bosom of Judith or Jeanne d'Arc." John Brown, whom she met in Canada in 1848, referred to her as General Tubman and described her as the "most of a man naturally that I ever met with," and obtained her support for his ill-fated attack on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry.

With the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, Tubman continued her activities on behalf of the slaves. On her arrival at the liberated coastal islands of South Carolina, bearing a letter of introduction from the governor of Massachusetts, she was put into the service of the Union Army as a cook, nurse, scout, and spy. At the close of the war, she served in the Freedmen's Hospital at Fortress Monroe and later spent several years organizing freedmen's schools in North Carolina.

The publication of her memoir, *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman* (1869; as told to Sarah Bradford, for Tubman remained illiterate throughout her life), provided her with a modest income that allowed her to pay off the mortgage on her Auburn property. Receiving recognition from the federal government was another matter. It took more than 30 years before her wartime service was recognized with a pension of only $20 a month.

Until her death on March 10, 1913, Tubman continued her activities on behalf of African Americans. She also was a notable proponent of women's rights and developed a close relationship with Susan B. Anthony. Her Auburn property became the Harriet Tubman Home for Indigent and Aged Negroes. Now a national shrine, it is managed by the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH, to which she belonged.

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Turner, Nat (1800–1831) Leader of the most famous slave revolt in U.S. history, Nat Turner was born in Southampton County, Virginia, probably on October 2, 1800, although there is some dispute about the date. His father ran away from the plantation when

Turner was young and was never recaptured. Turner attained the rudiments of education on his own and became a devoted student of the Bible. Deeply religious, he preached among both slaves and whites, at least one of whom, Ethelred Brantley, he baptized (1825). Turner himself escaped successfully when in his 20s, but, troubled by his conscience, he returned on his own, for which he was ridiculed by the other slaves.

His owner, Samuel Turner, died in 1822, and Nat was sold to a neighboring planter, Thomas Moore. In 1830, Moore's widow married Joseph Travis. At the Travis plantation, Turner embarked upon his religiously sanctioned rebellion.

A vision in spring 1828 convinced Turner that he was to be the instrument of God in achieving a great purpose. While working in the fields, he later reported in his confession, "I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent. . . ." On February 12, 1831, he saw the sign he had been waiting for: a solar eclipse. Turner took four other slaves into his confidence, informing them that they were to be the instruments of God's wrath against slavery. The insurrection was to begin on July 4.

When that day arrived, Turner was ill and the rebellion postponed. Seeing another sign in the bluish-green sun of August 13, Turner met with his fellow conspirators on Sunday, August 21, and they decided to strike that night.

At roughly 2 A.M. on August 22, the bloodiest slave revolt in U.S. history began. By the morning of August 23, the rebels had slain at least 57 whites, and their number had grown to more than 70. They proceeded toward Jerusalem (now Courtland), the county seat. A delay, made to sack the home of a wealthy planter, allowed white volunteers to catch up to Turner and his men. Although originally repulsed, the whites, reinforced by militia, forced Turner and his men into retreat. Turner attempted to continue, but by the next day hundreds of state militia, U.S. troops, and volunteers had arrived to quell the rebellion.

The suppression occurred with the utmost savagery. Scores of innocent blacks were slaughtered "without trial and under circumstances of great barbarity," as a contemporary newspaper reported. Turner hid for two months before being caught on October 30, 1831. During his imprisonment, he was interrogated by a local lawyer, Thomas Gray, who transcribed Turner's responses. Published as the *Confessions,* this remains the main documentary source about the rebellion. Turner rejected any suggestion that he was wrong by asking, "Was not Christ crucified?" On November 5, Turner was convicted and sentenced to be executed by hanging on November 11. Contemporary accounts state that he went to his death bravely and calmly.

The results of the Turner rebellion were many. Fear of similar revolts led to new laws against educating blacks, closer supervision of black worship, and censorship of newspapers, such as abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* (see ABOLITIONISM). The rebellion also moved into the religious mythology of AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION, where God as a source of deliverance from captivity often took the form of an avenging angel, striking slave owners as the angel of death struck down the Egyptian firstborn.

(See also SLAVERY; VESEY, DENMARK.)

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U

Unification Church Founded by the charismatic North Korea–born reverend SUN MYUNG MOON in 1954, the Unification Church was one of the most widely publicized NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS in the United States in the 1970s.

Known officially as the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, the Unification Church was brought to the United States by Moon's followers in 1959. Moon himself toured the United States twice before moving to America in the early 1970s. During that decade, the movement grew rapidly among well-educated young people looking for religious solutions to the cultural and social problems highlighted but not solved by the political protests of the 1960s.

"Moonies," as Unification Church members have been disparagingly called, distinguished themselves sharply from their hippie counterparts by their clean-cut appearance. Moreover, they eschewed recreational drugs and sex before marriage. Many were attracted to Moon's tendency to sacralize rather than criticize America—to describe the United States as a godly nation with a divine mission for the world. During the 1970s, church members could be seen in cities across America making converts and selling flowers to raise money for the church. Many were initially recruited by the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (CARP), a Unification Church affiliate active on college campuses.

The distinctive scripture of the Unification Church is *The Divine Principle*, a collection of Moon's revelations from Jesus, Moses, Buddha, and others. Originally published in 1957, *The Divine Principle* has been repeatedly revised. In the book, Moon prophesies the coming of a "Lord of the Second Advent" who will finish what Jesus Christ began by overcoming the forces of Satan, reconciling God and humanity, and restoring the world to an Edenic state of peace.

Unification theology reinterprets key Christian myths and symbols in light of Moon's master metaphor of the family. Like orthodox Christian thinking, Moon's theology begins in the Garden of Eden with the first family. According to Moon, God intended Adam and Eve to create a sinless, "God-centered family" and to bear "perfect children" who would live harmoniously with one another and with God. Because Eve was seduced by Satan, however, all subsequent human beings were destined to be born to imperfection in fallen, Satan-centered families.

Jesus came into the world, Moon's theology continues, not simply to save people from their sins but to marry, to form a "God-centered family," to have "perfect children," and thus to restore the divine lineage severed by Eve's sin. Although Jesus succeeded in his spiritual mission, he failed to marry and thus to begin to reconstruct physically the kingdom of God on Earth.

The mission of the "Lord of the Second Advent" is to do what Jesus fell short of doing. Although Moon did not explicitly identify himself as this prophesied messiah until the early 1990s, his followers generally regarded him as such. Unification Church members referred to one another as brothers and sisters and to Moon as the "Father" of their spiritual family. Moon's second wife, Hak Ja Han, they revered as "Mother" and the "Bride of Christ."

The Unification Church has been criticized by members of the media and by relatives of its members as a "cult" that brainwashes its devotees into believing heretical teachings and practicing unorthodox rituals. Critics have complained about Moon's tendency to mix religion and politics. He supported Richard Nixon during the Watergate scandal and was reportedly connected with the KCIA, the intelligence agency of South Korea. Moon's mass marriages and mass blessings, including a 1997 ecumenical event in Washington, D.C., attended by the controversial NATION OF ISLAM minister LOUIS FARRAKHAN, have also been derided. But Moon's detractors have complained most vociferously about his recruiting tactics, which supposedly include "mind control."

Some have responded to these tactics with equally controversial techniques, including kidnapping and "deprogramming" converts against their will. In 1977, a state appellate court in California overturned a lower court ruling that granted custody of specified Unification Church members to their parents. Since that time, anticult activists (see ANTICULT MOVEMENT) have deemphasized coercive deprogramming and stepped up their efforts to simply persuade Americans to eschew Moon's organizations.

Although the Unification Church may have been helped more than hurt by the publicity surrounding the deprogramming controversy, Moon's movement was clearly damaged by his 1982 conviction on charges of tax evasion. Moon and his organizations were also hurt by the publication in 1998 of *In the Shadow of the Moons: My Life in Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Family,* an exposé by Nansook Hong, the former wife of the Reverend Moon's son Hyo Jin Moon.

American membership in the Unification Church seems to have peaked in the 1970s. The church probably now attracts no more than a few thousand full-time members in the United States. Thousands more, however, continue to be influenced by Reverend Moon, who maintains the Unification Theological Seminary in Barrytown, New York, and has ties to the *Washington Times* newspaper and Bridgeport University in Connecticut. Since 1994, the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Unification Church in 1954, Moon's many organizations have been gathered together under the umbrella of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (FFWPU).

SRP

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Unitas Fratrum See MORAVIANS.

Unitarian controversy The Unitarian controversy was a series of theological debates that began in Massachusetts in 1805 and eventually divided New England Congregational churches into orthodox Calvinist and liberal Unitarian camps. As the controversy came to an end in 1825, a new denomination, the American Unitarian Association (now the UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION), was organized by a group of Boston-area churches. This dispute irreparably shattered the denominational unity of Congregationalism and was a major factor in the abolition of the Massachusetts religious establishment in 1833.

The term *Unitarian* refers at its most basic level to the belief that God is one being rather than three beings. Although the doctrine of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) had been central to Christian orthodoxy since the fourth century, it was by no means a universal belief of early Christianity. During the 16th century, moreover, some of the more radical Protestant reformers, such as Michael Servetus and Faustus Socinus, questioned trinitarian beliefs. As a consequence, a form of Unitarianism developed in parts of Hungary, Transylvania, and Poland after the Reformation. With the coming of the ENLIGHTENMENT in the early 18th century, Unitarian ideas also appeared in England. Unitarianism was popularized by JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, the scientist and philosopher who carried his skepticism about traditional Christian doctrines to the United States after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The Unitarian controversy expressed theological tensions that had been developing in segments of American Protestantism for more than 150 years. The most direct historic predecessor of Unitarianism was the strain of ARMINIANISM that emerged out of New England PURITANISM in the early 18th century. Arminians emphasized the moral capability of human beings in preparing for their conversion. During the GREAT AWAKENING, this tradition received a strong expression among rationalistic "Old Light" Congregationalists like JONATHAN MAYHEW and CHARLES CHAUNCY. These clergymen opposed revivalism and questioned such key Calvinist doctrines as predestination and original sin. The first formal rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity occurred in 1785, when King's Chapel in Boston renounced its Anglican heritage and removed all trinitarian references from its prayer book.

The initial phase of the Unitarian controversy began after the death of David Tappan, a professor of divinity at Harvard College, in 1803. When Henry Ware, the Congregational minister in Hingham, Massachusetts, and a well-known theological liberal, was elected as Tappan's successor in 1805, Jedidiah Morse, a minister in nearby Charlestown and an overseer of the college, objected. Morse, who had earlier declared that the vacated professorship needed to be filled by an orthodox Calvinist, roused conservatives to action. In 1808, they organized Andover Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts, to counter creeping liberalism at Harvard. Morse later published the pamphlet *American Unitarianism* (1815), in which he accused liberal Congregationalists of heresy and called upon conservatives to sunder ties with them. Liberals responded in turn and in 1816 formed their own program of theological education at Harvard.

The next and most involved stage of the controversy centered on the efforts of WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, minister of Boston's Federal Street Church. In a published letter to his colleague Samuel Thatcher, Channing lamented the rudeness and unfairness of Morse's charges. Salem's Samuel Worcester, an orthodox minister, counterattacked, and Channing and he exchanged several open letters in 1815. Liberals questioned the conservatives' emphasis on doctrinal semantics and argued that religious character and moral living, not subscription to human statements about God's nature, were the key basis of the Christian faith. To the orthodox, the creeds and confessions of the church were not trivial at all, but divinely inspired statements that were essential to Christian faith.

Channing stated his position definitively in his sermon at the 1819 ordination of Jared Sparks, who had been called to be the minister of an explicitly Unitarian church in Baltimore. This sermon, later published under the title "Unitarian Christianity," articulated the basic beliefs of early Unitarianism: an optimistic view of human nature, the "essential sameness" (as Channing said) between God and humankind, and the affirmation that Jesus had come to convince men and women to lead morally perfect lives. Channing's sermon touched off another round of pamphlet exchanges with the conservatives. Andrews Norton, a professor at Harvard Divinity School, and Moses Stuart, a professor at Andover Seminary, argued over the doctrine of the Trinity. And Leonard Woods of Andover and Henry Ware of Harvard debated about human nature, with Ware taking the liberal position that humanity was essentially good, and Woods the Calvinist insisting on the innate sinfulness of humankind.

While these theological battles raged, the Unitarian controversy was generating even more enduring institutional changes. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780, which had continued a truncated version of the prerevolutionary Congregational religious establishment, required each Massachusetts town to elect "public teachers of piety, religion and morality." However, since the law did not state that the "public teachers" had to be orthodox Congregationalists, voters in some localities ignored the wishes of orthodox church members and selected liberals to lead them. Divisions between Unitarians and trinitarians soon became so heated that lawsuits resulted. In the famed "Dedham Decision" of 1820, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that church property belonged to the parish (that is, the town) rather than to the communicant membership of the local church. The effects of this decision were far-reaching: more than 100 parishes formally became Unitarian, while numerous trinitarians withdrew from them and formed new churches. As a result, Congregational support for the Massachusetts religious establishment all but evaporated, and that establishment (the country's last) ended in 1833.

The Unitarian controversy effectively came to a close in 1825 with the organization of the American Unitarian Association (AUA), a loose affiliation that sponsored joint educational, journalistic, missionary, and charitable activities. By that time, approximately 125 Unitarian churches dotted the landscape in eastern Massachusetts. Although the AUA did not constitute a full denomination until after the CIVIL WAR, its formation assured that Unitarianism was not a transitory phenomenon, but had become a permanent component within American Protestantism.

GHS, Jr.

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Unitarian Universalist Association The Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) is a denomination that represents the theological left wing of Protestantism in the United States.

It traces its historical roots back to two early 19th-century religious movements: Unitarianism, a rationalistic, optimistic version of CONGREGATIONALISM that emerged in eastern Massachusetts during the so-called UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY of 1805–25; and UNIVERSALISM, a modified form of CALVINISM that emphasized the salvation of all humanity. The UUA was created in 1961 by the merger of the American Unitarian Association (AUA) and the Universalist Church of America, small liberal denominations centered in New England.

The beginnings of American Unitarianism are found in the antirevivalist writings of "Old Light" Congregational ministers such as Boston minister CHARLES CHAUNCY, who opposed the GREAT AWAKENING in the 1740s. The first open break with traditional Christian belief in the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) occurred in 1785. In that year, King's Chapel in Boston, an Anglican parish before the War for Independence, removed all trinitarian references from the prayer book it used for worship. The Unitarian controversy, which eventually split churches in eastern Massachusetts between Unitarian and orthodox factions, commenced in 1805 with the election of Henry Ware, a well-known liberal minister, to a professorship of divinity at Harvard College. And the classic exposition of early Unitarian doctrine was presented in 1819 by WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING in his sermon "Unitarian Christianity" at the ordination of Jared Sparks in Baltimore.

Despite the strenuous efforts of theological conservatives to suppress the Unitarians in their midst, more and more Congregational churches in eastern Massachusetts adopted Unitarian principles between 1805 and 1825. The AUA was formed in 1825 to bring institutional cohesion to that blossoming movement. Until the 1860s, the AUA remained simply a loose missionary federation that published religious tracts and founded new Unitarian churches outside the Boston area. The organization did not assume a formal denominational structure until after the CIVIL WAR. A professional bureaucracy and a regular assembly of delegates to set church policy were created with the establishment of the National Conference of Unitarian Churches in 1865.

The basic theological precept that set Unitarians apart from orthodox Congregationalists in the early 19th century was their belief in the perfectibility of humankind. As Channing, the Unitarians' first great leader, declared, there is an "essential sameness" between God and humanity; the ministry of Jesus Christ was not based on overcoming innate human sinfulness (the Calvinist position), but simply on leading men and women toward a natural union with God their creator. Unitarian clergyman JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE later provided the quintessential summary of Unitarian beliefs: "The fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the leadership of Jesus, salvation by character, and the progress of mankind onward and upward forever." Since roughly four-fifths of the 125 oldest Unitarian churches were located within 40 miles of the city of Boston, Clarke's aphorism was also easily parodied. As some critics quipped, Unitarians really believed in "the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the neighborhood of Boston."

The churches and people who belonged to the AUA represented the intellectual, commercial, and civic leadership of New England, with Harvard as their academic and cultural mecca. Although most 19th-century Unitarians rejected traditional Christian claims concerning the divinity of Jesus Christ, few were prepared to abandon the notion that Christianity was based on divine revelation. Yet radical movements within Unitarianism during the antebellum period soon pressed the liberal faith to its logical limits. RALPH WALDO EMERSON and the transcendentalists (see TRANSCENDENTALISM), for example, attacked the authority of the Bible and envisioned the possibility of direct communion with divinity apart from historically rooted institutions and beliefs. The Free Religious Association was founded in 1867 by OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM and other Unitarian radicals who did not consider themselves Christians at all.

The 19th-century Unitarians have usually been characterized as well-to-do, urban churchgoers who rejected traditional ideas about hell because they thought human beings were too good for God to damn them. Universalists, on the other hand, tended to be rural folk repelled by the idea of hell not because humankind was undeserving of punishment, but because they thought God was too loving to inflict it. Universalists relied strongly upon faith in the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, who suffered *for* men and women rather than *instead* of them. HOSEA BALLOU's 1804 *Treatise on the Atonement* was one of the earliest expressions of Universalist beliefs.

An institutional structure was established for those beliefs through the formation of the Universalist Church of America in 1833, and Tufts College and the divinity school in Medford, Massachusetts, became the main educational centers of the denomination. Universalists, like American Protestant evangelicals generally, grew rapidly over the course of the 19th century, numbering about 65,000 members by 1900.

However, as the 20th century began, both Universalists and Unitarians appeared to have reached the limits of their expansion, as two important religious impulses outside those denominations circumscribed their membership. First, modernist movements within the Congregational, Baptist, and Presbyterian Churches cast doubt on many traditional Protestant beliefs about the Bible. Although stiff internal opposition often met those theological challenges, religious liberalism ceased being the exclusive property of Unitarians and Universalists. Second, within the two liberal denominations themselves, humanism and agnosticism emerged as acceptable alternatives to the Christian theism of the early 19th century. In the minds of some Unitarians and Universalists, there was no rationale for involvement even in a relatively progressive Christian denomination. Thus, the gradual modernization of American Protestantism produced an ironic result: The old liberal denominations lost much of their accustomed constituency.

As Unitarians and Universalists reckoned with dwindling membership in the mid-20th century, differences between them, which had long seemed more sociological than theological, appeared less and less significant. An initial merger agreement was reached in 1959, and unification was made final two years later. The resulting organization continued the congregational autonomy, noncreedal position, and commitment to liberal political causes that had always typified the two separate traditions. The denomination reported more than 150,000 members in about 1,000 churches in 2006. New England remains the locus of the UUA's numerical strength, and cities and academic communities in the Northeast contain the majority of the church's generally well-educated and socially progressive membership.

GHS, Jr.

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United Brethren in Christ, Church of the See UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.

United Church of Christ The United Church of Christ (UCC) was formed in 1957 by the union of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church. This denomination is the heir of two distinctive ecclesiastical traditions: New England CONGREGATIONALISM and the GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH of the Midwest. The UCC is one of the most theologically and socially progressive of all the churches within American mainline Protestantism today.

Throughout the colonial period, Congregationalists were the largest and most influential Christian body in English North America. Congregationalism had arrived in the New World with the PILGRIMS who came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620 and with the Puritan settlers of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY in 1629. At the end of the 17th century, when the two colonies united, the churches within them effectively became a single denomination. The GREAT AWAKENING, which peaked in New England between 1740 and 1742, also strengthened Congregationalism by reviving the heartfelt piety that had characterized early PURITANISM. Congregational minister JONATHAN EDWARDS, whose preaching in 1734–35 sparked the early revivals of the awakening, is generally recognized as one of the greatest theological minds in American religious history.

Ironically, the success of the Great Awakening soon undermined the institutional strength of Congregationalism. The revivals spawned a rift between New and Old Light factions within the Congregational churches. The New Lights, who favored revivals, argued that their clergy and fellow church members lacked true religious conviction. Many New Lights withdrew from the Congregational establishment prior to the American Revolution and formed their own "Separate" churches. A number of those Separate congregations later organized themselves as Baptist churches. The Old Lights, on the other hand, opposed the revivals. Old Light Congregationalists tended to hold highly rationalistic, liberal views out of step with the Calvinist theological orthodoxy of their Puritan past. The Old Lights were forerunners of the Unitarian party that emerged out of New England Congregational churches in the early 1900s.

Despite the losses Congregationalism suffered between 1760 and 1830, the church was still the fourth-largest American denomination (behind the METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, and Presbyterians) at the end of that period. Congregationalists took a lead in organizing societies to evangelize the new western territories of the expanding United States. One missionary venture involved an alliance with the Presbyterian Church. The PLAN OF UNION, which effectively unified the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations in the Midwest between 1801 and 1837, helped bring the cultural and religious values of New England to upstate New York and Ohio in the period before the CIVIL WAR. Congregationalists were concerned, too, with missionary work overseas. They formed the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the first American foreign mission society, in 1812. Finally, the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION (AMA) was founded in 1846. Although originally organized to educate African Americans in the South, the AMA later evangelized Native Americans in the West and evolved into the home missions department of the UCC in the 20th century.

Because of Congregationalism's adherence to the principle of strictly independent church bodies, a true denominational identity and bureaucracy did not develop until the late 19th century. Not until 1871, with the founding of the organization known as the National Council of Congregational Churches, were Congregationalists organized fully on a national level. Over time, several smaller church bodies grafted themselves onto the larger organization, and in 1931, the denomination adopted the name General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches (or the Congregational Christian Churches). In 1938, discussions regarding a further union, this time with the Evangelical and Reformed Church, began.

The Evangelical and Reformed Church, itself the product of a merger of two similar German ethnic traditions, had roots extending back into the late 17th century. Although most German immigrants to America were Lutherans, some German Reformed settlers also came to the New World in the colonial period. The German Reformed community adhered to the Heidelberg Catechism, a 1563 document that mediated between the teachings of the two greatest leaders of the Reformation, John Calvin and Martin Luther. The German Reformed Church was organized in America by John Philip Boehm and Michael Schlatter in the first half of the 18th century. Following the American Revolution, it freed itself completely from lingering institutional ties with the Dutch Reformed Church.

The increase of the German Reformed denomination in the East and the tremendous immigration of Germans to the Midwest states between 1830 and 1845 saw the establishment of two separate church bodies: the eastern-oriented German Reformed Church in the United States (1863) and the German Evangelical Synod of North America (1872), which strongly identified with midwestern German culture. The German Reformed heritage, however, was not vibrant enough to support two American denominations, and the churches eventually united in 1934 to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Although this new church then contained 600,000 members, its ethnic base continued to curtail growth, even during the heady period of Protestant church expansion in the 1940s and 1950s.

When the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church began discussions about a possible merger in 1944, many obstacles presented themselves. The theological traditionalism and strong sense of interdenominational connectedness that the German Reformed tradition fostered were at odds with the progressive theological attitudes and emphasis on local autonomy that marked Congregationalism. Despite those initial difficulties, leaders of the two churches pressed for union. Merger into the 2-million-member United Church of Christ was finally effected at a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, in June 1957.

Most but not all Congregationalists accepted the formation of the new denomination. An association of Congregational churches adhering to a conservative interpretation of Christianity had earlier been formed by those uncomfortable with the impending merger. Known as the Conservative Congregational Christian Conference and officially organized in 1948, this denomination upheld many of the distinctive tenets of Puritanism that modern Congregationalists had gradually modified and reinterpreted: the lordship of Jesus Christ, the necessity of a fully believing church membership, and the absolute authority of the Bible. The Conservative Congregational Christian Conference remains a small association of evangelical (see EVANGELICALISM) churches today.

The UCC is now noted for its liberal religious views, exemplified best by its continuing commitment to the principle of an active lay membership and its early recognition (by Congregationalists in 1853) of women in the ordained ministry. Despite a decline in membership (typical of MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM as a whole) since the 1960s, the denomination still has a major impact on American Christianity. Strongest in the northeast quadrant of the United States, the UCC reported nearly 1.3 million members and more than 5,700 congregations in 2008.

GHS, Jr.

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United Lutheran Church in America See EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

United Methodist Church The United Methodist Church (UMC) is the largest Methodist (see METHODISTS) denomination as well as the second-largest Protestant church in the United States today. It was formed in 1968 when the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Evangelical United Brethren Church, a denomination rooted in German PIETISM, were joined.

The United Methodist Church traces its origins to the ministry of 18th-century Anglican clergyman John Wesley (see WESLEYAN TRADITION). Wesley, who had experienced a religious conversion in 1738, traveled throughout England and preached to crowds of common people about the saving grace of Jesus Christ. He also developed an ecclesiastical system dependent on lay leadership that helped spread his religious and social views. Although he did not intend to organize a new denomination but simply wished to revive the spiritual life of the Church of England, Wesley eventually ordained clergy for service among Methodists in America. The formal organization of Methodism in the United States dates from December 24, 1784, when a gathering, afterward known as the "Christmas Conference," founded the Methodist Episcopal Church and accepted Wesley's representatives THOMAS COKE and FRANCIS ASBURY as its first superintendents.

The other major branch of present-day United Methodism grew from German-American revivalism in Pennsylvania. Phillip William Otterbein, a German Reformed minister who arrived in the colonies in 1752, served a congregation in Lancaster. In 1754, he experienced a religious conversion. Otterbein later met Mennonite Martin Boehm at a religious gathering in York, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1767. Following Boehm's sermon, Otterbein recognized Boehm as a kindred spirit and exclaimed to him: "We are brothers!" Many others were similarly attracted by the evangelical message Boehm preached. Eventually, a group of preachers met near Frederick, Maryland, in September 1800. They formed a body called the United Brethren in Christ and named Boehm and Otterbein their first bishops.

Jacob Albright, a Pennsylvania farmer who was brought up in a family of pietistic Lutherans, was the founder of another related movement. The deaths of some of his children led to his intense religious conversion in 1791. Licensed as a lay Methodist preacher, he began leading revivals in eastern Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1796. Since Methodists would not allow separate German-speaking congregations, Albright organized his converts into a church in 1803 and became their bishop in 1807. Known first as "Albright's People," the group changed its name to "The Evangelical Association" in 1816. The Evangelical Association adapted the Methodist Episcopal *Discipline*, which contained the church's doctrines and administrative procedures, for its own use. (Many years later, in 1922, the Evangelical Association reconstituted itself under a new name, the Evangelical Church.)

As the 19th century dawned, American Methodism was strengthened considerably by the revivals and general religious excitement of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. Despite several schisms, including the defection of black members to the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH and the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH, the Methodist Episcopal Church numbered more than 340,000 members by 1825, and Methodists constituted the largest church body in the United States. The conflict over slavery in mid-century led to further splits, including the exodus of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1845. By 1850, when the membership of the Methodist church in the North stood close to 800,000, the southern church could itself report more than 600,000 members. Even Union victory in the CIVIL WAR could not heal the sectional split in Methodism, and the two denominations remained separate throughout the rest of the century.

The spread of theological liberalism raised the greatest challenge to American Methodists in the late 19th and early 20th century. Biblical criticism and the introduction of Darwin's theory of EVOLUTION produced considerable conflict in all Protestant churches during this period. Methodist theologian Borden Parker Bowne, for example, head of the philosophy department at Boston University, was a proponent of a philosophical school called Personalism. Personalism taught that the starting point of Christianity is the human personality. Bowne was charged with heresy in 1904, but his acquittal was considered an important victory for the liberal party in his denomination.

Methodists in the North also helped shape the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement at the turn of the century. In 1908, the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a Social Creed calling for the just treatment of American workers. Bishop Francis J. McConnell, who later served as president of the Federal Council of Churches, took an active interest in social reform. He chaired an interchurch commission investigating the steel strike of 1919 that supported the strikers. At the same time, both northern and southern Methodists united in their opposition to the consumption of alcoholic beverages. The adoption of grape juice in the Communion service during this period testified to the importance Methodists placed on the TEMPERANCE ideal.

Over the half century between the end of the Civil War and the conclusion of WORLD WAR I, both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, grew roughly fourfold—reaching 4 million members in the North and 2 million members in the South by 1920. President Theodore Roosevelt in 1900 recognized the centrality of Methodism in American society when he called the Methodists "the most representative church" in the United States. At the same time, serious talk of reunion between the main northern and southern branches of Methodism began in earnest. The two denominations produced a common hymnal in 1905 and 1935. Finally, at a Uniting Conference in Kansas City in the spring of 1939, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the smaller Methodist Protestant Church joined themselves together as the Methodist Church.

Over the same period, the German denominations with a revivalistic heritage similar to Methodism's also moved closer to merger with the Methodist Church. Leaders of the Evangelical Association and the Methodist Episcopal Church had discussed union between 1859 and 1871. The United Brethren in Christ and the Methodist Protestant Church had likewise considered a merger after 1900. Although those negotiations did not achieve their stated goals, groundwork was laid for later successes. German Methodist conferences, moreover, which had been launched in Ohio in 1832 under the leadership of Wilhelm Nast, were absorbed into the Methodist Episcopal Church prior to the reunion with the southern Methodists in 1939.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, a Methodist leader devoted to Christian unity, was one of the figures who inspired the process that eventually brought the United Methodist Church into being. Oxnam had helped found the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1950 and served as president of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES from 1948 to 1957. In 1960, the Methodists and the Evangelical United Brethren Church (the denomination that merged the United Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Church in 1946) participated in the Consultation on Church Union, a movement that sought to bring 10 Protestant denominations into a single church. Despite the ineffectiveness of the consultation, the Evangelical United Brethren and Methodists recognized that their theological similarities could make merger possible. After a meeting in Chicago in November 1966, the union of the Methodist Church with the Evangelical United Brethren Church, effective in April 1968, was achieved.

Although the Methodists numbered more than 10 million and the Evangelical United Brethren about 775,000 in 1968, membership in the combined denomination has decreased steadily since.

Social and political issues continued to roil the United Methodist Church throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s. Preeminent was homosexuality. The role of homosexuals within the church, and particularly the blessing of homosexual unions and the ordination of homosexuals, served as a major source of divisiveness. The conflict reached such proportions that at the 2004 General Conference, a leading denominational conservative offered a formal motion to divide the denomination. Although this proposal was soundly defeated, it highlighted the intensity of the debate.

The denomination's current policy, adopted in 1996, forbids pastors from participating in blessing same-sex unions and prohibits the ordination of practicing homosexuals. In 2004, the General Conference of the United Methodist Church adopted a resolution expressly forbidding any UMC body from giving United Methodist funds to any "gay caucus or group" or to use such funds "to promote the acceptance of homosexuality."

Despite these official positions, however, the denomination has been inconsistent in enforcing them. While some pastors have been convicted and suspended from their ministerial offices for blessing same-sex unions and even defrocked for admitted homosexuality, others have been acquitted on the same charges even when the actions were self-confessed. Even more reflective of the church's confusion on the issue is the fact that some pastors have been disciplined for criticizing other UMC ministers for participating in services blessing homosexual unions.

In many ways, this ambiguity reflects centuries of Methodist practice that helped the denomination remain a big tent, encompassing a variety of theological and political views. While the United Methodist Church, like all mainline Protestant denominations, has suffered some decline in membership, its numbers stabilized in the last decade of the 20th century. In 2006, the denomination reported nearly 8 million members in more than 35,000 churches.

GHS, Jr./EQ

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United Pentecostal Church, International See PENTECOSTALISM.

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United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing See SHAKERS.

United States Christian Commission See CIVIL WAR.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) was formed in 2001 by the merger of the NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (NCCB) and the United States Catholic Conference (USCC) (see ROMAN CATHOLICSM). The USCCB is comprised of the Roman Catholic bishops and archbishops of the United States and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The conference seeks to promote the greater good of society through the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church by creating and implementing programs designed to address contemporary needs.

The bishops (numbering 273 active members in 2007) constitute the membership of the conference. In their work, they are served by a staff of more than 350 lay people, priests, deacons, and religious located at the conference headquarters in Washington, D.C. The USCCB also has a small Office of Film and Broadcasting based in New York City and an Office of Migration and Refugee Services in Miami.

According to its articles of incorporation, the mission of the USCCB is "To unify, coordinate, encourage, promote and carry on Catholic activities in the United States; to organize and conduct religious, charitable and social welfare work at home and abroad; to aid in education; to care for immigrants; and generally to enter into and promote by education, publication and direction the objects of its being." The merger was motivated by the perception that the work of the NCCB and the USCC did not seem sufficiently integrated. By placing the work of the USCC, which had focused on issues not directly related to church administration and doctrine, including social welfare and moral development, on the same level as the more expressly canonical work of the NCCB, it was hoped that these wider social and welfare functions would receive a greater level of import.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, nothing roiled the Roman Catholic Church and its hierarchy more than the subject of the sexual abuse of children by Catholic priests. Not only was the church slow in acknowledging the magnitude of the problem, for years bishops had mostly addressed it in terms of the weaknesses of the priests, it failed to recognize the pain and torment experienced by the victims. Rather than being punished, priests were reassigned, sent for treatment, or transferred. Bishops themselves often colluded in these responses, and some, like the bishop of Boston, John Cardinal Law, were forced to resign due to their inadequate response to the problem.

In 2002, following the reorganization, the conference issued two formal documents on the sexual abuse of children by priests, the *Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People* and *Norms for Diocesan/Eparchial Policies Dealing with Allegations of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Priests, Deacons, or Other Church Personnel.* While some criticized these moves as inadequate and delinquent, they did establish clear rules for dioceses to follow in dealing with the allegations of abuse. They dramatically changed previous practices and outlined a more victim-centered approach to such allegations.

The USCCB, as the theological and administrative hub for American Catholicism, is the epicenter for the struggles the church faces in the United States. As it attempts to interpret the teachings of the universal church for the American context and provide guidance to American Catholics in the specific realities of the United States, the USCCB treads a difficult path.

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United States Sanitary Commission See CIVIL WAR.

United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism Founded in New York City in 1913 as the United Synagogue of America, the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism (USCJ) is the national organization of synagogues that compose the movement known as CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. The founders hoped that the United Synagogue, along with the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) with which it was affiliated, would become unifying elements in American Judaism. As a result, they eschewed party labels in the name. This hope was soon dashed, however, and the United Synagogue became another branch of American Judaism, a fact that was only reluctantly acknowledged by the adoption of the current name in 1990.

The goal of the United Synagogue was to formulate a Judaism responsive to its historic traditions and to the distinctive situation in the United States. The United Synagogue's statement of purpose addressed this directly. Its mission was "the advancement of the cause of Judaism in America and the maintenance of Jewish tradition in its historic continuity."

SOLOMON SCHECHTER, in his inaugural address as the United Synagogue's first president, stressed these points. "What we intend to accomplish is not to create a new party, but to consolidate an old one. . . . I refer to the large numbers of Jews who, thoroughly American in habits of life and modes of thinking and, in many cases, imbued with the best culture of the day, have always maintained Conservative principles and remained aloof from the Reform movement which swept over the country" (see REFORM JUDAISM). According to Schechter, these Jews do not constitute a new development in Jewish life, but mirror the state of Sephardic Jews in Spain prior to the 15th century.

While advocating a Judaism that maintained Sabbath observance, dietary laws, and traditional ritual forms such as the use of Hebrew and prayers for the restoration of the Jewish state, the USCJ allowed some alterations in ritual, including greater use of English and the abolition of sex-segregated seating. While permitting ritual latitude by its member synagogues, the USCJ demanded that they all require men to cover their heads during services, use either a Conservative or Orthodox prayer book, and maintain a kosher kitchen.

From its small beginnings, the United Synagogue grew into the largest of the three branches of American Judaism. It experienced phenomenal expansion during the 1940s and 1950s. Much of this growth resulted from its attractiveness to former Orthodox Jews who, uncomfortable with the extremes of Reform, found within the USCJ an atmosphere both sufficiently traditional and sufficiently modern. By 2000, the United Synagogue of America had 824 member synagogues representing more than 1.5 million members.

In the 1970s, however, conflicts within the United Synagogue and changed external circumstances caused the movement to founder. Preeminent was the longstanding tension between the members of the United Synagogue and the leaders of Conservative Judaism, primarily the faculty at Jewish Theological Seminary. The latter were nearly Orthodox in their life and practice, while the majority of the former were nearly indistinguishable from Reform Jews in their observance of the Sabbath and dietary laws. This meant that the faculty at JTS, who traditionally had dominated Conservative Judaism, were increasingly out of touch with the reality of members' lives.

It also became difficult for Conservative Judaism to present itself as a distinctive movement. As the edges separating Reform and Conservative on one hand and Orthodox and Conservative on the other began to blur, Conservative Judaism seemed to lose its reason for being.

The secession in the 1960s of many of the United Synagogue's most dynamic thinkers to form RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM exacerbated the situation. Although far from traditional in their thinking, the Reconstructionists articulated a coherent ideology of practice and action that infused vibrancy into Conservative Judaism. Their departure contributed to the movement's crisis of identity.

Despite these problems, the USCJ advanced during the last quarter of the 20th century. Its educational and youth programs produced defectors to Orthodoxy but also created a cadre of members committed both to the USCJ and to its beliefs and practices. As a result, the USCJ relied less and less on Orthodox "dropouts" to maintain and increase its membership. Growth now came from Reform and unaffiliated Jews, as well as from converts to Judaism.

Despite periods of flux and demoralization, the USCJ succeeded in developing a second- and third-generation membership steeped in its doctrines and values. Committed to Conservative Judaism's continued existence, these members accepted the challenge of maintaining and furthering Jewish traditions while responding to changing intellectual, social, and historical conditions.

By the 1990s, Conservative Judaism had begun to lose much of this vibrancy. In many ways, the practices of most of its members rarely could be distinguished from those of most Reform and even secular Jews in the United States. Institutionally, the struggle to balance traditional Judaism and contemporary realities became increasingly fraught. Every decision made by the religious law committee either moved it further from traditional practice or alienated more liberal members. In no way was this more visible than its 2006 decision on homosexuality.

In 1992, the Conservative movement adopted a consensus statement on homosexuality declaring that homosexuals were welcome as members of local congregations and able to participate in all Conservative institutions. The statement also prohibited Conservative rabbis from performing commitment ceremonies for gays and lesbians and would not accept homosexuals as candidates for the rabbinate or as cantors. Decisions regarding religious schools and prayer services were left to the local congregations.

In 2006, the Conservative movement revisited the issue before its Committee on Jewish Law and Standards. The committee, comprised of 25 voting members, accepts as religiously permissible any legal position receiving the votes of at least six members. The decision ended up split among three different opinions. One upheld the positions adopted in 1992. Two others, with slight differences, allowed for the ordination of homosexuals and recognition of committed relationships, although not marriage. All the adopted *responsa* affirmed the traditional ban on male homosexual intercourse, although there was a strong minority for removing all previous bans and limitations.

While this attempt to navigate between Scylla and Charybdis may seem admirable, it satisfied few, and the movement's seeming lack of an identity has hindered its ability to increase or even to retain members. By the 2000s, the United Synagogue was no longer the largest Jewish denomination in the United States, having been surpassed by Reform. In 2008, the United Synagogue for Conservative Judaism had about 1.5 million members in 760 congregations.

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United Synod South See Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Unity School of Christianity See New Thought.

Universalism Universalism, or the belief that all people will eventually be delivered from the penalties of sin and receive salvation, has had a long history in the United States, both as a doctrine espoused by various peoples and groups and later as an organized religious movement.

In post-Reformation England and Europe, the Calvinist stress on predestination, the notion that God has already consigned some people to heaven and others to hell, was rejected by many people who nonetheless remained within Protestantism. Some German pietist sects also believed in universal salvation.

Starting in the mid-18th century, people espousing Universalist doctrines became more organized in their professions of faith, just as official toleration of their views declined. In Britain in the 1750s, James Relly and his followers called themselves Universalists and spread their convictions of a benevolent God and eventual freedom from the wages of sin. One of Relly's followers was John Murray (1741–1815), who later became known as the father of American Universalism. But even before Murray's efforts to organize a religious society bore fruit, numerous liberal Protestant colonists promoted the concept of universal salvation.

Universalism as a loosely organized religious movement began haltingly in the late

18th century. Murray, an English convert to Methodism who had been banished from fellowship because of his association with Relly, arrived in New Jersey in 1770. He began preaching Universalist doctrines all along the Atlantic coast, often to hostile and violent crowds. His efforts eventually led to the formation of the first Universalist church in America in Gloucester, Massachusetts. Organized in 1779 when a group of members of the Congregationalist First Church of Gloucester withdrew to form a separate society, the group endured a prolonged legal battle in order to exempt its members from paying taxes for the support of their former church.

The transformation from a disorganized movement to an established denomination proceeded very slowly for a variety of reasons. On the whole, people attracted to Universalist views were a fiercely independent group that had come to hold unpopular beliefs in the face of extreme hostility and opposition and often without clerical guidance. Suspicious of centralized organization, some overtly resistant to the idea of forming a church, Universalists throughout the late 18th century established societies on an informal and local basis. Many believed that individual interpretation of the Scriptures was the only sound basis for belief, because they were highly optimistic about the rational capabilities of human beings to discern God's will. Universalists also battled many adversaries on the road to organization. The Gloucester Congregationalists had criticized the apostates for being a "mere jumble of detached members." Critics complained that if all would eventually be saved, people would have no incentive to act morally, and social chaos would result.

In the early 19th century, the scattered Universalist societies in the northeastern states gradually attained a higher degree of interdependence. These efforts were helped by early leaders such as Murray and Elhanan Winchester (1751–97), a preacher from Brookline, Massachusetts, who formed the first Society of Universal Baptists in Philadelphia. In 1803, a group of Universalists met to standardize and clarify points of doctrine in the "Winchester Profession," a brief statement that served as a basis of belief for the remainder of the century. The declaration affirmed that the Bible is the revealed word of God; asserted that a benevolent God, revealed in the person of Jesus Christ, would restore all humanity to holiness and happiness; and admonished believers to maintain order and practice good works. In addition, by the early 19th century, most Universalists adhered to a Unitarian understanding of the Godhead (as opposed to the orthodox trinitarian view of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) and stressed the primacy of freedom of conscience and the separation of church and state. These basic beliefs came to characterize the Universalist Church, formally organized into the Universalist Church of America in 1833.

Universalists experienced their swiftest expansion between 1820 and 1850, when the evangelical REVIVALISM of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING spawned an equally powerful liberal backlash. Universalists rejected the enthusiasms of EVANGELICALISM but shared their commitment to social reform, actively participating in the TEMPERANCE, antislavery, and women's rights movements. The Universalist Olympia Brown (1835–1926) was among the first Protestant women ordained to the ministry in 1853. The church also spread to the South and West during this period. By 1870, 21 state conventions of the church had been organized. Although Universalism reached its maximum strength at the beginning of the 20th century with some 65,000 members, its growth was fastest during the earlier period in part because its common-sense, rational approach to scriptural interpretation appealed to people moving westward, out of established religious communities.

In 1961, the Universalists officially merged with the Unitarian Church to form the UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION. Historically, the two groups had held a wide variety of beliefs in common. But Unitarianism had been much more influential among the elite and cosmopolitan classes along the eastern seaboard. Universalism, with its implicit antiauthoritarianism and individualism, appealed more widely to the working classes, particularly those in small-town New England and along the line of westward settlement. These social differences prevented the commonalities of liberal Protestant theology from bringing the movements together at an earlier point, although attempts at union had previously been considered.

In 2005 between 250,000 and 500,000 Americans described themselves as Unitarian Universalists. Three seminaries currently identify themselves with the denomination: Harvard Divinity School, Meadville-Lombard (Chicago), and Starr King (Berkeley). The UUA retains the early Universalist commitment to social reform and today stands on the liberal end of both the political and theological spectra of Protestant denominations in America.

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Universalist Church in America See UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION; UNIVERSALISM.

utopianism The search for utopia, or a perfect society, has been a constant theme in Judeo-Christian thought. In America, the availability of land and the relative lack of constraints on free religious expression have intensified this search; indeed, some people would argue that American history, with its optimistic narratives of individual and social progress and the freedom to break the bonds of tradition and history, is itself a utopian experiment.

The term *utopian* derives from Greek, meaning "no place." It frequently refers to an unrealizable quest, and the history of utopianism in America is filled with examples of the conflict between high ideals and mixed outcomes, dreams realized and dreams deferred. Utopianism is often a matter of perspective: What seems possible to some people may seem naively unattainable to others.

Several assumptions have characterized most American utopias. The first is the belief that either individuals, or the social system, or both, were perfectible and malleable. Not all utopians have believed that both society and human beings could be made perfect at once, but most have asserted that if one or the other could reach that state, it would necessarily lead to the betterment of the other. The Puritans, for example, believed that original sin prevented individuals from attaining a state of perfect holiness here on Earth, but they also contended that by living in a community of God, a theocracy, people would grow in grace and achieve as much as was possible in this life.

Utopian schemes often have been distinguished by the corollary assumption that this perfection could take place without direct supernatural intervention. In other words, utopians are not always millennialists, or followers of the belief that God must return to Earth in order to create a perfect society. Humans, perhaps with help or guidance from a divine being, can themselves achieve the perfect society.

In America, utopian experiments have thrived from the early colonial period to the present. During the Renaissance, the New World itself was characterized by many Europeans as an earthly paradise, a garden before the fall. In turn, explorers came west looking for the perfect land. The Puritans were only one of a number of European-American religious groups that migrated on the expectation of finding an ever-bountiful region, one that would allow them to establish settlements

Robert Owen founded the famous nonsectarian utopian community in New Harmony, Indiana, in 1826.

where they could live unhindered by the social, economic, and religious constraints of their native countries. All hoped for a better world, although not all believed that perfection on Earth was possible.

In the decades immediately following the American Revolution, the utopian impulse in America gained momentum. With the acquisition of new western lands, the collapse of traditional religious and political authority, and the potential for immediate social change exemplified by the birth of the republic itself, reformers came to see America as an empty space, a social void ripe for experimentation. Along with this renewed sense of possibility came a declining emphasis among Protestants on the devastating effects of original sin on human behavior. Increasingly, 19th-century reformers downplayed the inescapability of human sin and highlighted the consequent possibility of earthly holiness. The resulting utopian impulse most often took communitarian form (see COMMUNITARIANISM). By the 1830s and 1840s, dozens of utopian communities were established to test the human capacity for perfection, including the SHAKERS, the EPHRATA COMMUNITY, Amana, the Mormons (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS), the Oneida Community (see NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY), Fruitlands, Brook Farm, Fourierist phalanxes, Jerusalem, New Harmony, and many more. Although most died out fairly rapidly, new ones continued to proliferate, demonstrating a remarkable American capacity for optimism even in the face of probable failure.

Utopianism tended to follow lines of westward settlement, as social pioneers sought open space on which to etch their plans for paradise. By the late 1890s, California was the state with the largest number of utopian communities in the country, including an Icarian community, Point Loma, Fountain Grove, Llano del Rio, and the Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth.

The 1960s and 1970s also saw an eruption of utopian communities. While many were relatively short-lived, some communities, such as The Farm in Tennessee, continued for decades. Still others, such as Esalen in California and the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado, succeeded less by forming utopian communities than by creating educational and learning environments where individual and social perfection would begin and radiate out from their students. Interestingly, all three of these examples had significant emphases on the religious or spiritual development of their members and students, whether forms of meditation, NEW AGE RELIGION, or Tibetan BUDDHISM.

The explosion of computer technologies during the 1990s also gave rise to another surge of utopianism. Like the American frontier of the 1800s, the world of cyberspace seemed to present unlimited possibilities for the human condition. Individuals could break the bonds of space and connect immediately with individuals across the world. All knowledge seemed readily available to any who sought it. In this frontier, just like the physical frontier of the 19th century, one could re-create oneself at will. Here, however, there seemed to be no limitations. The more radical spoke of the possibility inherent in creating "cyborgs," fusing mechanical and computer technologies with the human body. All these possibilities raised serious challenges to understandings of what it meant to be human, of identity, and of human consciousness. In fact, they raised essentially religious questions.

Like the utopianism of the 19th century and before, this cyberutopianism also generated opponents. These individuals, often referred to in the literature as luddites, critiqued the changes in human being and human life presented by the new technologies as well as the expressed desire to meld human and machine.

Like nearly all previous utopian dreams, the current versions seem to produce neither the glorious future foreseen by proponents nor the collapse of civilization feared by decriers. They do, however, continue to demonstrate that American culture is permeated by a belief in an infinite possibility of what human beings can do and can become.

LMK/EQ

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Vajradhatu See TRUNGPA, CHOGYAM.

Vatican Council I Called by Pope Pius IX, the First Vatican Council opened on December 9, 1869, and closed on September 1, 1870. The council's original agenda involved the consideration of 52 statements dealing with matters such as church organization, the relationship between religion and reason, and the preparation of a universal catechism. Only one of these statements, however—a document on the relationship between religion and reason that affirmed the dignity and importance of human reason while stressing its subordination to revelation—was adopted, as the council turned its attention increasingly to the issues of papal primacy and infallibility.

The promulgation of the latter as dogma was undoubtedly the most significant event of the council not only for the Roman Catholic Church as a whole but particularly for ROMAN CATHOLICISM in the United States. For while this dogma technically applied to papal pronouncements made ex cathedra (literally, "from the chair or throne") in the pope's role as head of the church, in the popular mind the doctrine involved all issues and made it appear that Catholics would be forced to act according to the wishes of the pope.

The council was also important because it was the first church council attended by American Roman Catholic bishops. Although the Americans had little overall impact on the deliberations, the size of the delegation—48 bishops and archbishops and one abbot—illustrated well the growth of the church in the United States.

Most of the American bishops opposed, on both theological and practical grounds, the adoption of the doctrine of papal infallibility. But even with European allies, they found it impossible to stem the tide in its favor. When the vote was taken to declare papal pronouncements on doctrine infallible, the tally was 433 in favor and 2 opposed. One of the negative votes came from Bishop Edward Fitzgerald of Little Rock. A total of 25 of the yes votes came from Americans; the remaining American bishops had already left the council in order to avoid casting a negative vote in the pope's presence.

For the next century, papal infallibility would remain the largest source of Protestant ANTI-CATHOLICISM. Most American Protestants were convinced that Catholics holding public office would be unable to act according to their consciences but would be forced to vote according to the dictates of the pope. While such concerns were largely groundless, they were part of the Protestant consciousness and helped to explain why few Roman Catholics held high public office in the United States until the second half of the 20th century.

(See also VATICAN COUNCIL II.)

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Vatican Council II The Second Vatican Council, probably the most important event in the history of ROMAN CATHOLICISM since the REFORMATION, had its beginnings on January 25, 1959, when the recently elected pope, John XXIII, announced that he would call an ecumenical council. After more than three years of preparation, the council began on October 11, 1962. It was closed some three years later by John's successor, Pope Paul VI, on December 8, 1965. By that time, the council had taken long-lasting steps that radically transformed Roman Catholicism.

The council's decisions changed many Catholic practices, including ending the requirement that Catholics abstain from meat on Fridays, but its most significant effects concerned the church itself. The new definition of the church as the whole people of God, a community of the faithful rather than a hierarchy of bishops, priests, religious, and laity, radically transformed Catholic belief and practice, and its implications have not yet been fully worked out.

The church also changed its relationship to both Protestants and non-Christians. With the "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" (*Nostra Aetate*) and the "Declaration on Religious Freedom") (*Dignitatis Humanae*), the Roman Catholic Church altered its traditional relationship to other religious traditions and its historical opposition to religious liberty and church-state separation. Both of these documents dispensed with the dogmatic claim that there was no salvation outside of the Roman Catholic Church. *Nostra Aetate* also explicitly condemned ANTI-SEMITISM and implicitly recognized the role of Catholic doctrine in promoting it. More positively, the documents opened the way for discussions between Catholics and Protestants and Catholics and non-Christians. The Declaration on Religious Freedom also dispelled any lingering suspicions of Catholicism as a religion committed to religious coercion.

The American bishops and their advisers were central in bringing about the adoption of these documents. Although relatively unfamiliar with advanced trends in European theology during the 1940s and 1950s, the American bishops knew and were comfortable with both non-Catholics and non-Christians. Unlike most of their European counterparts, the Americans were committed to republican and democratic government and could make a strong case from experience that democracy and religious liberty, including freedom of speech and the press, were not hostile to the welfare of the Roman Catholic Church. As a result, they actively worked for the adoption of these declarations and, in the case of *Nostra Aetate*, overcame a conservative scheme to prevent a vote on its adoption.

Such radical changes in tradition and dogma were not without major consequences. Many conservative Catholics saw the entire conciliar enterprise as an unfortunate surrender to the claims of the secular world. Liberals felt that it had not gone far enough in transforming authority and power in the church. The changes in authority it did make were quickly seized upon, however, and by 1976, thousands of priests and nuns had left the religious life, church attendance had declined by one-third, and confessions by more than half. Nonetheless, the church retained the loyalty and commitment of millions of laypeople who, along with thousands of priests, nuns, and monks, struggled to realize the implications of Vatican II for their religious lives. The council wrought a tremendous change on Roman Catholicism in the United States. To a great extent the entire papacy of John Paul II from 1978 to 2005 can be seen as an attempt to negotiate the church between the competing forces after Vatican II. While many chafed under John Paul's conservative position on social issues, his openness to other faiths and his commitment to democratic institutions could only have happened as a result of the new directions created by Vatican II.

The implications of Vatican II still were being worked out in the first decade of the 21st century. The death of Pope John Paul II in 2005 and the elevation of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger to the papacy as Benedict XVI saw the first major participant in Vatican II to become pope. As a young theologian, Ratzinger had been active in pushing the European hierarchy to support the council's statements on religious freedom and on non-Christian religions. While he continued to be a vocal supporter of these documents and of the council in general, as head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith under John Paul II, Ratzinger aggressively enforced the boundaries of Catholic doctrine, particularly those on papal authority.

As Pope Benedict XVI, he has been a vocal proponent of an engaged Catholicism. He also has been particularly outspoken in opposing moral and intellectual relativism. These positions have been important in setting limits to the openings created to by the council itself. At the same time, Benedict has shown a willingness to struggle with the implications of the council's decisions. That the working out of these implications has taken so much time should not be surprising. The magnitude of the changes and the complex issues addressed by Vatican Council II do not lend themselves to easy answers or to a clear set of practices. The church's willingness to struggle with them, however, well illustrates the magnitude of the transformations created by the council.

(See also VATICAN COUNCIL I; MURRAY, JOHN COURTNEY.)

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Vedanta Society Established in New York City in 1894, the Vedanta Society was the first major Hindu (see HINDUISM) organization in the United States. Two Indian-born Hindu reformers figured prominently in its founding: Sri Ramakrishna (1836–86) and SWAMI VIVEKANANDA (1863–1902). Ramakrishna was a priest at the Dakshineshwar Temple outside Calcutta, a temple dedicated to Kali, the Hindu goddess who is both feared as a bloodthirsty dweller of cremation grounds and revered as the divine Mother and protector. Vivekananda, also from the Calcutta area, was Ramakrishna's most accomplished disciple.

Vivekananda traveled to the United States as a Hindu representative to the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, convened as part of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. There his refined demeanor and impeccable English captured the hearts of many. Vivekananda also impressed at least a few religious liberals with his argument that all gods and all religions are but differing manifestations of one divine principle and one universal religion.

After establishing the Vedanta Society in New York, Vivekananda lectured across the country, founding centers in other major cities. Upon returning to India in 1897, he founded the Ramakrishna Mission. Both the Ramakrishna Mission and the Vedanta Society aim not only to spread Hindu philosophy but also to reform society through love and devotion.

Although Vivekananda would return to the United States to lecture, the Vedanta movement spread thanks to efforts by successors such as Swami Abhedananda, who led the New York society; Swami Paramananda, who established societies in the Boston and Los Angeles areas; and Swami Trigunatita, who oversaw the construction of the first Hindu temple in the United States in San Francisco between 1905 and 1908. Virtually all of the early members of the Vedanta Society were European Americans, and the vast majority were women.

Members today tend to practice *jnana* yoga, the "discipline of wisdom" that invokes an impersonal Absolute, but their spiritual lives typically also incorporate *bhaki* yoga, the more popular "discipline of devotion" to a personal divinity. Many society temples include icons of Jesus and the Buddha alongside images of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda.

The nondualistic philosophy of Vedanta Society members affirms that Brahman, the impersonal Absolute, is ultimately indistinguishable from the individual soul, or atman. The goal of their spiritual practice, therefore, is to pierce the veil of maya (illusion) that promotes the separateness of God and humanity, and thus to realize that all people are essentially and equally divine.

The writers Aldous Huxley and Christopher Isherwood were adherents of Vedanta, drawn into the movement by Swami Prabhavananda of the Vedanta Society of Southern California. Isherwood's *My Guru and His Disciple* (1980), which was named one of the 100 Best Spiritual Books of the Century in 1999, did much to popularize Hinduism among European-American intellectuals. But the Vedanta Society's philosophical bent has prevented it from achieving widespread popularity. There are currently 19 active U.S. branches and likely hundreds of additional groups that trace their lineage to Swami Vivekananda's arrival in Chicago in 1893.

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Verot, Jean-Pierre Augustin Marcellin (1805–1876) One of the many French Sulpician priests who served the Roman Catholic Church (see Roman Catholicism) in the United States, Augustin Verot worked as vicar apostolic of Florida and bishop of Savannah and St. Augustine. In these positions, he struggled to revive Florida's moribund Catholicism and to encourage Roman Catholic evangelism among blacks (see African-American religion).

Born in Le Puy, France, on May 23, 1805, Verot attended the Sulpician seminary at Issy from 1821 to 1828, followed by two years as a teacher there. Sent to the United States in 1830, he spent 22 years as professor of mathematics at St. Mary's College in Baltimore. After serving six years as a pastor in several Maryland parishes, Verot was appointed vicar apostolic of Florida (consecrated April 25, 1858), to which position was added the bishopric of Savannah in July 1861.

A sympathizer with the Southern cause, he defended slavery, although he condemned abuses within the system. He approved of secession, yet was the only religious leader to send chaplains to work among the Union prisoners of war at Andersonville, Georgia. Believing that the defeat of the Confederacy was God's punishment on the South for the failures of the slave system, he argued against repeating the same mistakes following emancipation. He therefore initiated strong evangelistic work among the newly freed slaves and insisted upon integrated services as well as an end to racial prejudice. Concerned about education for blacks, Verot brought several Sisters of St. Joseph from France to organize schools for them.

Verot was one of the most active American bishops at VATICAN COUNCIL I, where his opposition to papal infallibility earned him the designation of enfant terrible. He also urged the council to publicly state that blacks had souls. When it became obvious that the vote on papal infallibility would pass, Verot, like many other American bishops, absented himself in order to avoid casting a negative vote. He managed to reconcile himself to the decision and ultimately defended the doctrine to his priests and parishioners. Appointed bishop of St. Augustine, Florida, in March 1870, he continued his efforts on behalf of blacks, the Seminole Indians, and the progress of the church until his death from a stroke on June 10, 1876.

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Vesey, Denmark (1767–1822) Leader of one of several slave revolts in the United States with distinctly religious roots, Denmark Vesey was born about 1767, probably on the island of St. Thomas, although some authorities claim Africa. Purchased by Captain Joseph Vesey of St.-Domingue in 1781, he became the captain's personal servant, traveling with him on African slave trade voyages. In 1783, Captain Vesey left the trade and moved to Charleston, South Carolina.

During the slave revolt in St.-Domingue in 1791, Captain Vesey's home became a relief center for slave owners fleeing the rebellion. At this time, Denmark Vesey absorbed the tales of the slave rebellion that would provide the model for his own uprising.

A winning lottery ticket enabled him to purchase his freedom in either 1799 or 1800 and to set up a carpentry shop. He soon became financially secure and a dominant force among Charleston's blacks, both freed and enslaved. He defiantly refused to step aside as whites walked by and chastised those blacks who did. An active member and lay preacher in the African Methodist Church of Charleston, he likened blacks to the ancient Israelites whom God had delivered out of bondage and so affected other members of the church that he was regarded as a prophet.

This religious element was strengthened by a confederate of Vesey's, Gullah Jack. Regarded as a sorcerer, Gullah Jack was believed to be invulnerable to bullets and to be able to produce charms that protected others. Late in 1821, a plan was developed for a revolt and July 14 established as the date. Many of the white residents would have left town for the summer, and the presence of large numbers of blacks from the country on a Sunday would attract little attention. By May, the number involved had grown to nearly 9,000.

One follower, ignoring Vesey's injunction against including house servants, caused the secret to be let out. Two leaders were arrested, but they were released when interrogation failed to produce any information. Vesey pushed the date ahead to June 16, but when another follower informed, the authorities flooded Charleston with troops. On June 17, 10 leaders of the insurrection were arrested, and one named Vesey as the organizer. This led to his immediate arrest. Convicted of plotting an insurrection, Denmark Vesey was hanged on July 2, 1822. In total, 37 blacks were hanged in connection with the thwarted revolt; 43 others were deported.

The foiled rebellion led to strengthened laws affecting slaves and free blacks in South Carolina. Instruction of blacks was outlawed, free blacks were forbidden to enter the state, and strict limits were imposed upon the unsupervised movement of slaves. Slaves could no longer congregate without white supervision, severely restricting black-led religious worship. In fact, Bishop Moses Brown of the African Methodist Church in Charleston was forced to leave the state.

Vesey became a model and martyr for black liberation during the 19th century. He supposedly inspired John Brown's plan for a slave rebellion, and during the CIVIL WAR Frederick Douglass urged blacks to enlist in the Union Army with the slogan, "Remember Denmark Vesey." And while white southerners attempted to use Christianity to produce quiescence among their slaves and free blacks, the actions of Vesey and his confederates revealed that blacks reinterpreted white preaching in light of their distinctive historical and social conditions. What in the eyes of white southerners produced social stability could, in the hands of oppressed slaves, produce rebellion. (See also ABOLITIONISM; AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; SLAVERY; TURNER, NAT.)

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Vietnam War Direct United States military involvement in Vietnam, extending from 1961 to 1973, produced enormous strain within American culture, damaging the national consensus of CIVIL RELIGION. For many, the war, fought in a South Asian country far from American shores, upset long-standing assumptions about the nation's identity as a champion of democracy and freedom abroad and a haven for equality at home. Vietnam certainly failed to conform to the pattern for making war that had come to predominate throughout American history (see AMERICAN REVOLUTION; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; COLD WAR). During the years of social turmoil sparked by the war, Americans took on and bitterly contested an enormous program of reform (see CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT; FEMINIST THEOLOGY; COUNTERCULTURE). Given the lasting tensions stemming from Vietnam, which continue to affect many aspects of American religious and cultural life, some have compared it to other watershed periods of social change.

American interest in Vietnam dates back to the closing months of World War II, when President Roosevelt entertained the idea of supporting Vietnamese postwar independence. In those early cold war days, American foreign policy embraced two goals that sometimes became contradictory in practice. As leaders of the "free world," presidents and their administrations saw their global role in the postcolonial era as encouraging national independence, human dignity, and free economic development. But at the same time, they found themselves having to confront communist aggression (see COMMUNISM). Thus, during the late 1940s and early 1950s, American leaders gave support to French colonial rule. Following French defeat in 1954, the United States found itself the chief ally of the newly created anticommunist South Vietnamese state. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson expanded John F. Kennedy's program of support for South Vietnam. Without a formal declaration of war, Johnson approved a bombing campaign over North Vietnam and then deployed an ever-increasing number of ground troops, reaching a cumulative total of more than 3 million. Johnson, although originally opposed to United States involvement and perhaps more committed to his own Great Society program to combat poverty at home, came to see Vietnam as the place where American national character would be defined.

Initially, support, reflected in bumper stickers like "America, Love It Or Leave It" and such popular songs as "The Ballad of the Green Berets," was strong among Roman Catholic leaders, and Protestant evangelicals such as BILLY GRAHAM. Both groups championed the anticommunist concerns motivating cold war United States foreign policy, as when Cardinal FRANCIS JOSEPH SPELLMAN in a 1966 visit to Vietnam referred to the war as a "war for civilization."

Public support for the war began wavering early, however, and eventually "doves" would outnumber "hawks." Opposition among college students and clergy spread widely, harnessing growing support for civil rights as well as the rather amorphous cultural dissatisfaction expressed by the counterculture. To many students involved in civil rights organizations, such as the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE and the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, America was thoroughly corrupt. Suspicion of the government's unwillingness to sufficiently address racial issues led to the conclusion voiced by student leader Robert Moses: "The country is unwilling yet to admit it has the plague, but it pervades the whole society." Accordingly, both the war's supporters and its opponents came to see Vietnam as a symbol of what was either right or wrong with the American way of life.

From their experience in the Civil Rights movement, students learned techniques of passive resistance, media mobilization, and picketing. Beginning with a student-faculty walkout and "teach-in" at the University of Michigan in March 1965, opponents used university campuses across the country to spark debate and at times confrontations over the war. While a national movement coalesced rapidly, members resisted the impetus to organize, in part because of the great ideological diversity among opponents. New Left Marxists, like the Students for a Democratic Society, saw the war primarily as an issue from which to build a general revolutionary movement. Black leaders debated the wisdom of diverting attention from the civil rights struggle, although MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., came out in full opposition by 1967, and champion boxer and Black Muslim Muhammad Ali (see NATION OF ISLAM) went to prison rather than face draft induction.

Religious and peace groups also splintered over the goals and tactics of opposition. Most dramatic among the religious opposition was the "Catholic Left" associated with the Berrigan brothers, Daniel and Phillip (see CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT). Catholic Workers burned draft cards, and one member, Roger LaPorte, immolated himself in front of the United Nations building in New York. The Berrigans and others began campaigns of sabotage, eventually staging raids of "symbolic witness" against Selective Service offices in Baltimore and Catonsville, Maryland, pouring blood on registration files and performing other ritual actions to subvert what they saw as American idolatry. Other more traditional pacifists associated with the American Friends Service Committee (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF; PEACE REFORM) objected to the Catholic Left's dramatic symbolic attacks on state property.

Beginning in 1968, the climate of dissent and frustration increased, all the while denounced by the government, which continued to escalate the war. The FBI began an extensive campaign to infiltrate the antiwar movement. Assassins struck down Martin Luther King, Jr., and presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy. Massive demonstrations erupted in New York and Washington and during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. At the same time, many other urban centers dissolved in violence, capped by riots in more than 100 cities on the night of King's murder.

In response to the increasing violence and unrest, many at home, though frustrated by the war, blamed the protesters. In support of a growing conservatism, President Nixon praised what he called "the silent majority" of loyal Americans, deliberately seeking to isolate the war's opponents. As animosities hardened, student support for radicals increased. According to a 1970 Harris poll, 76 percent of the nation's students thought the country required basic structural change. Strikes disrupted 448 campuses that spring; 286 of them were still shut down at semester's end. New York City construction workers held counterdemonstrations. Government officials spoke of students as if they were anarchists rather than citizens, leading to a use of force that culminated in the Ohio National Guard killing four students at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. Such reaction did little to quell the protest; in April 1971, more than 1 million opponents gathered in the national capital, at the time, the largest demonstration in United States history.

The war ended slowly. The last draftees were inducted in late 1972. United States troops had already been withdrawing, turning the ground war over to the beleaguered South Vietnamese army. Nixon increased bombing in North Vietnam during the same months in which negotiations proceeded in Paris, culminating in a settlement on January 27, 1973. The final United States withdrawal came in April 1975, as the North Vietnamese entered the streets of Saigon.

Religiously, the end of the war had an interesting effect on the United States. The thousands of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians fleeing the repression and persecution of the communist governments that seized power in those countries brought their own religious traditions with them. Many Catholic parishes were invigorated by the infusion of Vietnamese Catholics, where family traditions of sending one son into the priesthood continued. Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian BUDDISM expanded both the numbers and the variety of Buddhist practitioners in the United States, while the various *montagnard* peoples of these countries, particularly the Hmong, introduced their own traditional animist and shamanistic traditions.

Withdrawal from Vietnam did not end the conflict within American life. President Gerald Ford, taking the place of the disgraced Nixon, who resigned in 1974, put a benign view on the war's end, claiming "our long national nightmare is over." Ford was premature; the public divisions created by the war lasted well into the next three decades. Returning veterans found themselves treated poorly and experienced greater difficulty in readjusting to civilian life than did the veterans of earlier wars. Rumors of missing prisoners provided the fuel for a new national mythology. The vision of a defeated America led to a strong revival of conservative Protestant religion, which culminated in the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980 (see MORAL MAJORITY). Conservative voices called for the end of national self-doubt, dubbed "the Vietnam Syndrome." To that end, the administrations of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush placed renewed emphasis on military power to solve global political problems. The war also had an ongoing impact on American popular culture, as Hollywood movie studios took on the task of producing big-budget interpretations of the war and its aftermath.

Some antiwar protesters entered careers in universities, churches, politics, and the media and continued to question the goals of American foreign policy during subsequent years of nuclear buildup and intervention in Central America. Families and relatives, scarred by at least 58,022 American deaths (the number of names carved into the Vietnam War Memorial, constructed in 1982), have endured years of grief, aggravated by the frequently voiced doubts over the war's lack of purpose.

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Virginia (colony) The site of the first permanent British colony in the present-day United States, colonial Virginia had a complex and varied religious history. Beginning as a colony where strict religious observance was judicially enforced, it gradually became a place where dissenting Protestant and deistic views were increasingly important. As a result, Virginia's most apparent claim to religious fame is its position as the home of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, both of whom were instrumental in obtaining the passage of the FIRST AMENDMENT to the CONSTITUTION, which prohibited the establishment of religion by the federal government.

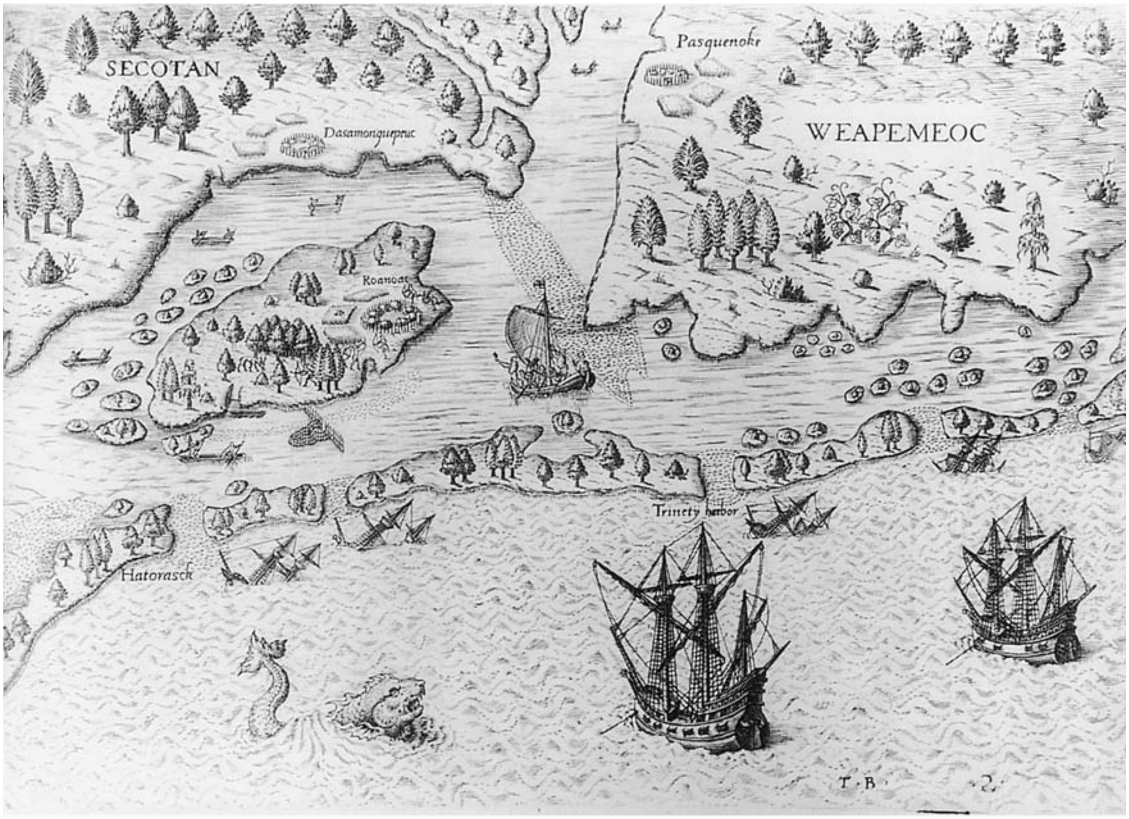
The life of the Virginia colony began on May 2, 1607, when three ships bearing 105 English colonists anchored at the mouth of the James River. Organized by a group of London and Plymouth businessmen as a joint stock company, the Virginia colony exhibited the combination of economic, political, and religious motives that fueled most European colonialism at this time. The English viewed their New World colonies as bulwarks against Spanish and Catholic expansionism—*Spanish* and *Catholic* being nearly synonymous—as well as opportunities to gain great wealth like that which Spain was extracting from its colonies in Mexico and South America.

As a result, the expedition's commander had been directed to find either a route to the South Sea (the Pacific), gold, or the lost colonists from Roanoke (see CAROLINAS [COLONIAL PERIOD]) or never return to England. Its organizers saw fit to ensure that an Anglican priest accompanied the expedition to establish the Church of England (see ANGLICANISM) in North America.

Although the priest attempted to fulfill his duty, offering Holy Communion the day after landfall, most of the colonists were more interested in easy money than religious observance or hard work. The colony, named Jamestown, faced many difficult years. Starvation and disease took their toll on the settlers, who were prepared to abandon the colony in 1610, when the arrival of supply ships led by the new governor, Lord De La Warr, convinced them to stay. Although De La Warr did much to strengthen the colony, another epidemic again reduced its population and nearly killed De La Warr, causing him to return to England. In 1611, the arrival of two more groups of colonists under Thomas Dale and Thomas Gates helped to solidify the colony and make it permanent.

As governor, Dale figured prominently in the history of colonial Virginia. His *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* ended the conflicts and instilled the discipline the colony needed. These laws, and their successors after Virginia received its own colonial assembly in 1619, required church attendance on Sundays, outlawed idleness and gaming, and punished immoderate dress, swearing, and disrespect for superiors. The assembly also set aside land for the support of the church and required each community to educate several Indians to prepare them for college. Although many of these laws were steadfastly ignored or impossible to realize in the colony's unsettled state, they provide a good view of the type of society the English desired.

Problems persisted for the colony, however. Conflicts among the directors and King James I's fear that the board was infected with PURITANISM led him to revoke the colony's charter in 1624. Following on the heels of an



John White's map depicts the arrival of Englishmen in America to establish a colony at Jamestown in 1607. *(Library of Congress)*

Indian war in 1622 that left hundreds of colonists dead, this brought turmoil to the colony that persisted until 1644, when another Indian war killed more than 500 colonists.

Religious life in the colony suffered from war and disease, although the colonists were well served by ministers such as Robert Hunt, Alexander Whitaker, and James Blair. Blair, who served in Virginia for 58 years, was responsible for the establishment of the College of William and Mary and also served as the overseer of the Church of England in the colony.

While the goal was to reconstruct in the colony the parish-based life of the Church of England, two factors mitigated against it. The first was the introduction of tobacco as a cash crop and the attendant development of slave labor. This led to the creation of large plantations separated from each other by vast distances. Such a social organization made it exceedingly difficult for people to travel to church services on Sundays and greatly increased the area for which one priest was responsible.

Even more significant, however, was the way in which the vestries, or church trustees, dominated parish affairs in Virginia. In the absence of a resident bishop and the ability to enforce church law, the vestrymen were capable of controlling the activities and even the salaries of priests. Many priests were never appointed to permanent positions but were kept on a temporary basis. This severely weakened their ability to enforce discipline, as they remained dependent upon the parish trustees for their livelihood. Simultaneously, the notorious stinginess of many vestries made service in Virginia, already a difficult proposition, even more unappealing to young priests.

Although institutional religion was weak, the colony was vigorous in its attempts to suppress dissent. This was particularly true following the Stuart Restoration. As early as 1643, the colony required all those not in conformity with the Church of England to leave, and by the end of that decade nearly a thousand Puritan colonists had migrated. In March 1661 (old style), the colonial assembly passed several severe laws against BAPTISTS and Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]) and in the following year expelled one of its own members for Quaker tendencies.

These laws had the intended effects. No evidence exists for any Baptist congregations in the colony during the 1600s, and while some priests appear to have had Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM) tendencies, none moved to visible dissent.

The Quakers, while maintaining a low profile, seem to have been only little deterred by the law. They arrived in the colony in the 1650s and by 1662 had a regular meeting. When George Fox, the movement's founder, toured the colony in 1672, he was warmly received and spoke to several large gatherings until he was deported to Maryland (see MARYLAND [COLONY]).

The 18th century saw a gradual change in this atmosphere. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 and changes in English law increased the pressure on the colonies to allow tolerance for nonconforming Protestants. This pressure bore some fruits, and Virginia became less hostile to dissenters.

Among the earliest were the Scots Presbyterians who settled in the Virginia up-country. They were soon followed by Baptists. The first Baptist congregations were formed in the 1720s. These early congregations were Particular (Calvinist) Baptist Churches (see CALVINISM), but they were soon joined by General (Arminian) Baptists whose evangelistic fervor resulted in great expansion (see ARMINIANISM). At the outbreak of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, these General Baptists had more than 3,000 members in nearly 40 congregations.

By the mid-18th century, these dissenters formed a significant power bloc within the colony, one willing to make common cause with deists and revolutionaries against both the entrenched political and ecclesiastical establishments. This alliance was felt during the Revolution when Baptists and Presbyterians strongly supported the colonial side.

The Revolution itself illustrated the deep divisions within colonial Anglicanism. On one hand, it was the bastion of those loyal to the British monarch and the existing social and political structures. On the other hand, much of colonial Anglicanism had been affected by the ENLIGHTENMENT, and many of the leaders of the American Revolution were, nominally at least, Anglicans. Many indeed were vestrymen who served as the trustees of their parishes. Enlightenment thought deeply influenced the ways that these men saw religion and the relationship between religion and the government. All were committed to religious tolerance and many to religious liberty.

The result was not only the alliance of deists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in support of the Revolution, but also an alliance that enshrined religious freedom in Virginia law. THOMAS JEFFERSON's "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom," strongly supported by Baptists and Presbyterians and aided by JAMES MADISON's *Memorial and Remonstrance,* became Virginia law in 1786. Three years before the adoption of the U.S. CONSTITUTION, Virginia had shown the way for what many have seen as the genius of American life and religion.

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Vivekananda, Swami (1863–1902) The cultivated orator from ostensibly "heathen" India who won over the crowds at the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS in Chicago in 1893, Swami Vivekananda was the first great Hindu missionary to the West (see HINDUISM). At the parliament and on subsequent lecture tours across the United States, Vivekananda insisted that all religions were manifestations of one sublime truth and that God had incarnated as both Krishna and Jesus. In 1894, he established the VEDANTA SOCIETY, the first major Hindu organization to take root on American soil.

Born Nerendra Nath Datta to a well-to-do Bengali family in Calcutta, India, Swami Vivekananda was destined by his birth into the Kshatriya caste for a life in either government or the military. In 1879, however, a devotee of the Hindu goddess Kali persuaded him to seek spiritual insight instead of political or military success.

Vivekananda received his B.A. degree at the University of Calcutta. He was also initiated into the ways of the Brahmo Samaj, a Hindu reform movement led by Rammohan Roy. His most important training, however, came from Ramakrishna, the Bengali mystic who taught him the principles of nondualistic Advaita Vedanta Hinduism. Chief among those principles are the affirmations that Brahman, or God, is impersonal and ultimately indescribable and that Brahman is the same as the atman, or soul, of the individual human being. The goal of Vedanta, therefore, is to realize that one's atman is indistinguishable from Brahman—that one's spiritual essence is one with Ultimate Reality.

After Ramakrishna's death in 1886, Vivekananda gathered his guru's devotees together. He then joined them in taking the vows of the sannyasin, or world renunciant, and took the name of Swami Vivekananda ("he whose bliss is in spiritual discrimination"). In 1893, Vivekananda traveled to the United States as a delegate to the World's Parliament of Religions, convened in Chicago in conjunction with the World's Columbian Exposition. There he impressed his listeners with his fluent English, his dashing good looks, and his intellectual bravado. Hinduism, he argued, was a great and ancient faith and Christian missions an immoral enterprise destined for failure.

After the parliament, Vivekananda lectured widely in the United States and England. He founded the Vedanta Society, the first Hindu organization in the United States, in New York City in 1894 and the Ramakrishna Mission, an outgrowth of the Ramakrishna Order that championed both monasticism and social reform, in India in 1897. Both organizations survived his death in India in 1902 and remain active today.

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Vodou (voodoo, Vodun) Forged in the slave plantations of 18th-century Haiti, Vodou (also known as Vodun and, in popular parlance, voodoo) is the religion of the majority of the people of Haiti and of a growing number of Haitian immigrants in American cities such as New York and Miami.

Rarely understood and frequently criticized, Vodou is, like the SANTERÍA tradition of Cuba, a creole religion rooted in the religions of West Africa. Unlike Santería, however, which mixes elements of West African religions with the beliefs and behaviors of Spanish Catholicism, Vodou blends West African religions and French Catholicism (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM).

Vodou, which became the national religion of Haiti in 1987, maintains a public face at botanicas that dot Haitian communities in American cities. These apothecaries sell votive candles, roots and stones, oils and alcohols, icons of saints and crosses of the crucified Jesus. But Vodou in the United States is practiced largely in the privacy of the homes of the neighborhood priest (*oungan*) and priestess (*manbo*), who are believed to possess the ability to heal not only the diseases but also the work and love woes of their largely poor clients.

Practitioners of Vodou affirm a high god but interact chiefly with ancestors and spirits who are more concerned with the troubles of individuals on Earth than the largely aloof deity on high. Each of these spirits, called *iwa*, are likened to Catholic saints. Ogou the warrior, for example, is represented as St. James. And the Virgin Mary appears in three guises: as Lasyrenn (the mermaid), as Ezili Danto (the solitary mother), and as Ezili Freda (a sexy and flirtatious spirit). Like the Catholic saints with whom they are identified, each of these spirits functions as a mediator who intercedes on behalf of an individual to bring extraordinary power to bear in the everyday world. These spirits, however, do not always act "saintly." They are permitted to get angry and, at times, to perform mischief. Papa Gede, a spirit not only of death but also of sexuality, is the greatest of the Vodou tricksters.

Vodou spirits make their way into the world through rituals of spirit possession. In these rituals, the spirit "mounts" and "rides" the priest or priestess who then speaks and acts on behalf of the spirit. These trance events provide opportunities for Vodou practitioners to interact with the spirits even as they demonstrate the exceedingly thin line that exists in Vodou between the sacred and the profane.

Because of its trance rituals, its cultivation of mystery, and its not-so-holy spirits, Vodou is often maligned as a religion bereft of ethics. But Vodou does affirm an ethic that centers on relationships of proper giving and grateful receiving. These relationships are cultivated by practitioners of Vodou between people and spirits and among people themselves.

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voluntaryism Voluntaryism refers to the circumstance in which churches and other religious institutions must rely on persuasion rather than state coercion to prompt individuals to join and support them. It is, therefore, an important corollary of the principles of religious liberty and the separation of CHURCH AND STATE.

At least since the appearance of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* in the 1830s, scholars have viewed voluntaryism as a distinguishing mark of American religion. Historians from Robert Baird (1844) to Sydney Ahlstrom (1972) described the voluntary principle as typically and uniquely American. If in Europe the state coerced individuals to join and support churches, these historians contended, in the United States, the churches were forced to enlist members through persuasion. Today scholars are less likely to see voluntaryism either as uniquely American or as the characteristic feature of American religious life, but most recognize its importance in shaping the country's religious ideas and institutions.

The American transition from religious establishments to voluntary churches was gradual. Some colonies, such as Rhode Island, operated from the beginning under the voluntary principle, but in most colonies, either ANGLICANISM or CONGREGATIONALISM was legally established. Although the FIRST AMENDMENT to the U.S. CONSTITUTION, which stipulates that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," prohibited a national religious establishment, it left state establishments intact. Not until 1833, when Congregationalism was officially disestablished in Massachusetts, were church and state legally separated in all states.

Theologians and philosophers in the West had believed for centuries that the cohesion of a society depends on the shared religious convictions of its citizens, so it was with some trepidation that Americans adopted the voluntary principle. Among the more celebrated opponents of voluntaryism was the Congregationalist evangelist LYMAN BEECHER, who argued vociferously that the demise of the "standing order" in Connecticut would lead, first, to widespread infidelity and immorality and, later, to the collapse of civilization itself.

Voluntaryism, however, apparently did just the opposite. Americans, rather than forgetting about religion and morality after disestablishment, emphasized both with enthusiasm. REVIVALISM brought new Christians into the churches and reinvigorated the piety of the already converted. Reformers and humanitarians organized to persuade Americans to do voluntarily the good deeds that would demonstrate their "disinterested benevolence" (and help to usher in the kingdom of God on Earth).

Voluntaryism spawned a number of important religious innovations in the United States. It made necessary new techniques for religious recruitment. Chief among these new techniques was a novel form of revivalism, which, unlike the revivalism of the colonial GREAT AWAKENING, emphasized the ability of individuals to choose freely to commit themselves to God.

Voluntaryism also popularized and politicized the churches and the ministry. Because ministers were as dependent on the consent of their congregations as politicians were on the votes of the citizens they governed, they were forced to appeal to the popular tastes of the people in their pews. This transformation makes sense both of Tocqueville's observation that in America "you meet with a politician where you expected to find a priest" and of the argument of historian Nathan Hatch that in the late 18th and early 19th century, American Christianity was radically democratized.

Another important development associated with voluntaryism was the proliferation of voluntary associations proper—organizations constituted by individuals freely gathering together to promote a specific end. In the 18th century, Americans had founded numerous local voluntary associations, but in the first decades of the 19th century, a myriad of national voluntary associations sprang up, including the American Education Society (established in 1815), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Colonization Society (1817), and the American Temperance Society (1826). These groups had different aims, but each hoped to extend the influence of the Christian churches into American society.

A final result of the shift from religious establishments to voluntaryism was the infusion of a spirit of interdenominational cooperation among Protestants of competing denominations. Because of their common commitment to the strategies of revivalism and the goal of Christianizing America, Protestants of the early 19th century were able to knit their disparate associations together into one vast "benevolent empire" (see EVANGELICAL UNITED FRONT). Leaders of this empire hoped to recover whatever cultural authority they had lost (or thought they had lost) by fashioning a "quasi-establishment" that would reestablish Protestant authority as a matter of fact if not a matter of law. Some historians believe that this effort to construct a "Christian America" was successful. They refer to the years leading up to the CIVIL WAR as the "era of republican Protestantism."

Because of the success that revivalists and reformers enjoyed in bringing individuals into the Christian fold and in Christianizing America in the wake of disestablishment, Lyman Beecher was happy to withdraw his objections to voluntaryism. As he looked back on his life in his autobiography, he referred to the end of religious establishment in Connecticut in 1818 as "the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut." "They say ministers have lost their influence;" Beecher wrote, "the fact is, they have gained. By voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than ever they could by queues, and shoe-buckles, and cocked hats, and gold-headed canes."

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Waco Known at one time primarily as the home of Baylor University, Waco, Texas, is now linked inseparably with the second-longest siege in the history of U.S. law enforcement, the murder of four federal agents, and the fiery deaths of 86 members of the Branch Davidian religious group.

While the roots of this story reach back to 1844 and the founding of the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS, its modern beginning is in 1935 when Victor Houteff, who had broken away from the Seventh-day Adventists, led a small group of followers to Waco, Texas. There he planned to gather the faithful before leaving for Jerusalem to await the second coming of Jesus. At this time, the group was known by the name of Houteff's magazine, *The Shepherd's Rod*. This name referred to Moses' staff, a symbol of God's power in delivering the Israelites and the source of prophetic power.

Although officially named the "General Association of the Shepherd's Rod Seventh-Day Adventist" in 1937, the demands of WORLD WAR II required that the group incorporate in order to obtain conscientious objector (CO) status for its members, who, since the Seventh-day Adventists did not recognize the group, were unable to avail themselves of the CO status automatically granted to Adventists. In 1942, it became incorporated as Davidian Seventh Day Adventist.

Houteff emphasized two doctrines that help explain the power David Koresh later exercised over his followers. The first was an emphasis on strict adherence to divine commands as interpreted by the prophet. The second was the belief that biblical interpretation and the biblical message varied according to the latest prophet and superseded previous interpretations. Those who failed to heed the latest prophet would be condemned. The prophet had the power to judge whether any behavior, thought, or idea was either of God or of Babylon.

When Victor Houteff died in 1955, leadership was assumed by his wife, Florence, who declared that Victor would be resurrected on April 22, 1959—some 1,260 days after his death. This prophecy was accompanied by the proclamation that all Davidians should converge on Mt. Carmel, their compound in Waco, to prepare for this return. Davidians, many of whom sold their possessions in preparation for the event, filled the compound.

The date came and went, leaving the Davidians in a quandary. Florence Houteff even asked Seventh-day Adventist headquarters for advice. The Seventh-day Adventists' insistence that the problem was created by the Davidians' "errors" led to the end of negotiations. Eventually, Florence Houteff disbanded the movement in 1962 with a warning that no one continue her husband's teachings.

This warning was ignored by Ben Roden, one of those who had come to Mt. Carmel in expectation of Houteff's resurrection. He declared himself the leader of the Davidians and Florence a false prophet, an act that, following Florence Houteff's dissolution of the movement, led to a series of court battles over the donated property and other assets. Roden eventually emerged victorious, leading the movement until his death in 1978, when he was succeeded by his wife, Lois. Another leadership struggle ensued, this time between Lois and her son. This led to another chaotic period in the movement's life, from which Vernon Howell, later known as David Koresh, who had arrived at the compound in 1981, emerged as the undisputed leader.

Howell was born in 1959 to a 14-year-old girl. During his early life, he apparently suffered abuse and neglect. He was an active Seventh-day Adventist, yet his intense questioning and speculation about its doctrine resulted in a conflict with his local church leaders. Teaching his views to the Seventh-day Adventist youths of Tyler, Texas, eventually led to his being disfellowshipped. This separation and his distress over the absence of a new prophet made him a religious seeker and open to the Davidians' teaching. For these reasons, he responded positively when he first heard of Lois Roden.

Howell was initially received with hostility at the compound by Lois and others, who found him arrogant. Despite this, he soon developed a following among those who sensed both his religious feelings and responded to his intensity.

By 1984, Howell had emerged as the leader of the Branch Davidians and apparently began his series of "marriages" to female members, especially those underage. Many former Davidians reported that the way Howell violated the religious laws with impunity added to his mystique.

Koresh (who legally changed his name in 1990) became increasingly authoritarian in his views. His actions alienated numerous followers, including one of his closest confidantes, who left the compound and began a campaign to discredit Koresh among the Australian members of the Branch. (The compound at Waco contained several Australian members.) This and a series of court battles over child custody involving Koresh and other members of the church resulted in rumors about his behavior becoming increasingly public. When Australian television's version of *A Current Affair* ran a story on the Branch Davidians and Koresh, a Dallas newspaper picked up the story, triggering an investigation by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) and eventually the siege and the final conflagration.

Based on information about Koresh's relationship with underage girls and the possession of illegal firearms, ATF agents attempted to execute arrest and search warrants against David Koresh at the Branch Davidian compound on Sunday, February 28, 1993. Gunfire erupted, killing four ATF agents and wounding 16. An unknown number of Davidians also were killed or injured that day.

This initiated the siege. It constituted a particularly complex challenge for the law enforcement agencies involved. Although committed to a peaceful resolution of the situation, they had little knowledge of or familiarity with the passionate religious commitment of the Branch Davidians. Additionally, the information they received was often erroneous and conflicting. Finally, they were aware that they were dealing with a violent individual who already had killed several law officers.

The handling of the siege worked on two levels, often poorly coordinated and serving different purposes. On one hand, Koresh and his followers were allowed to broadcast their religious views while negotiators worked to accommodate their religious timetable regarding divine prophecy, the biblical Seven Seals, and Passover. Simultaneously, they undertook a series of tactical measures that put increasing pressure on Koresh, ratcheting up the pressure as the siege lengthened.

Eventually convinced that a negotiated settlement was not possible, the FBI and other law enforcement agencies decided on an assault on the compound using armored vehicles to inject tear gas. Around 6:00 A.M. on April 19, federal officials warned the Davidians of an impending tear gas assault, informed them that they were under arrest, and ordered members to leave the compound. When Koresh refused to surrender, the assault began. As the vehicles injected tear gas into the building, the Davidians opened fire. Throughout the morning, the armored vehicles continued their work, despite being hampered by high winds and mechanical problems. They also breached the walls of the compound in hopes that the Davidians would escape. Around noon, however, the Davidians set fire to the compound, and the law enforcement officials heard gunfire from inside, giving the impression that the Davidians were killing themselves.

Attempts to suppress the fire were unsuccessful, and, although estimates vary, 86 people died. In the aftermath, there was a great deal of finger-pointing and criticism of the law enforcement agencies. One result was that these agencies began a concerted effort to improve their knowledge of religion and to cultivate a wider group of contacts with individuals in the field of religious studies to whom they could turn for advice in the future.

Court battles over the actions of the law enforcement agencies dragged on until 2000. In that year, a court issued a final judgment absolving them of responsibility for the fire. The court stated that the evidence conclusively showed that the fire had been set intentionally by members of the Branch Davidians. Such a judgment, however, provided little consolation for those who, in their search for holiness, became consumed by the religious vision of one man.

(See also NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS.)

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Wahhabism Wahhabism refers to an Islamist (see ISLAMISM; ISLAM) movement that emerged in the Arabian Peninsula in the mid-18th century. It draws its name from its founder, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92). Al-Wahhab preached a form of Islam that claimed to return to the "pure" Islam of the days of the prophet Muhammad and his early followers. This claim gives rise to one of their more preferred names, *salaf as-salih,* followers of the pious predecessors.

Wahhabism has three main points. These include a rejection of any innovation in religious practice. Any development within Islam after the time of the Prophet is unacceptable. This includes the veneration of Muslim holy men or women, praying at their tombs, or engaging in intercessory prayer. They also are strict literalists in their interpretation of the Qur'an. This literalism rejects the claim that the text includes metaphors. "God's mighty hand" means exactly that. They also are suspicious of any bases for interpreting the Qur'an other than the hadith, sayings of the Prophet. While they may use the four traditional law schools, they claim to reject their authoritative nature. Wahhabism also promulgates an exceedingly strict moral code and standards of behavior.

Perhaps the most distinctive component of Wahhabism is the lengths it will go to to affirm the singularity of God. In fact, a traditional name for Wahhabists can be translated as Unitarians. Anything that suggests that there exist other sources of spiritual power is strongly condemned, as is the veneration of any individual or religious object. This extends to Muhammad himself, and one of the first acts of the Wahhabis when they obtained power was the destruction of the tomb of Muhammad (and early Muslim leaders) in order to prevent acts of veneration that focused somewhere other than on God.

Wahhabism drew its strength from the writings of Ibn Taymiyya, who declared the need to return Islam to the days of the Prophet and to purify it of all innovations and non-Islamic elements. Although imprisoned for his beliefs, Ibn-Taymiyya left a legacy that would be developed by others, including Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, who articulated these views in his book *Kitab al-Tawhid* (Book of monotheism).

Although condemned early as heretical, Wahhabism found a supporter in the ibn-Sauds. With their successful conquest of the Arabian Peninsula and the creation of the Saudi kingdom, Wahhabism became solidly ensconced in the Muslim world. This would become of utmost importance with the discovery of oil and the increasing financial power of the kingdom.

The financial power of the kingdom dramatically transformed the fortunes of Wahhabism. This power, which the kingdom readily used to promote its version of Islam and to strengthen its supporters, gave Wahhabism an international reach. This reach has been felt strongly in the United States. The Saudis have played a major role in the funding of Muslim institutions in the United States and in the provision of educational materials for Islamic schools and mosques. While many argue over the amounts, conservative estimates suggest that since the mid-1970s, the Saudi government and members of the royal family have spent tens of billions of dollars supporting Islamic institutions in the United States. (The estimates run from $84 billion worldwide to $100 billion in the United States alone.)

More disturbing to many is the preponderance of Wahhabi-influenced educational materials in American mosques and Islamic schools. While estimates again vary significantly, it is conservatively estimated that 30 to 40 percent of the mosques in the United States are influenced markedly by Wahhabi religious views, if not under Wahhabi control. In a 2003 report, Freedom House noted that much of the religious material in these mosques and religious schools comes from Saudi Arabia. On issues related to interactions with non-Muslims, the non-Islamic world, and daily American life, many of these books and teachings seem to spread a message of separation from and dismissal (if not hatred) of non-Muslims. These materials increased some individuals' suspicion of American Muslims and raised the question of whether such materials may play a role in generating extremist and even violent views among some American Muslims. Such suspicion has reached serious levels in places such as Boston, where claims that the Islamic Society of Boston had ties to terrorism halted construction of a multimillion dollar mosque designed to play a major role in the revitalization of the Roxbury neighborhood.

Conflict over Wahhabism also has found its way into the internal life of American mosques. In 2001, a study of American mosques undertaken by the COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-ISLAMIC RELATIONS reported that 58 percent of American mosques had experienced internal conflict over religious issues within the previous five years, with 7 percent of the conflicts "very serious." Such struggles and reporting have increased the suspicion of American Muslims and particularly of some of their larger organizations, which have been accused of being too dependent on Saudi money.

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Walther, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm (1811–1887) Carl F. W. Walther, a German-born Lutheran minister, was chosen in 1847 to be the first president of the denomination now known as the LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD. His theological and biblical conservatism, strict adherence to traditional beliefs and values, and insistence on the central role of divine grace in salvation all remain distinctive characteristics of Missouri Synod Lutherans today.

Walther was born on October 25, 1811, at Langenchursdorf in Germany. For his undergraduate education, he attended the University of Leipzig. At Leipzig, he became increasingly disillusioned with the religious rationalism of 19th-century German Lutheranism. He was introduced at the same time to the pietist movement, which stressed individual spiritual renewal and attention to godly living. After carefully reading the writings of the great Protestant reformer Martin Luther, Walther dedicated himself to the revival of Lutheran orthodoxy. Following his graduation in 1833, he worked as a private tutor for two years. He was then ordained to the ministry and served as pastor of a parish in Braunsdorf until 1838.

Conflicts with members of his parish left Walther despondent about the state of religion in his native Saxony. As a result, he joined a band of Saxon emigrants traveling to the United States under the leadership of Martin Stephan. This group eventually settled in Perry County, Missouri, in 1839, and Walther assumed the pastorate of two churches there. After Stephan was expelled from the community for misconduct, Walther emerged as its leader. He was called in 1842 to his deceased brother's congregation in St. Louis, where he served for the rest of his life. In 1844, he began a popular periodical, *Der Lutheraner.* This journal, which adopted a conservative stance on church matters, won a loyal following and quickly became the leading theological voice of midwestern Lutheranism.

Walther and others attracted to his views formed the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States in 1847. Distrustful both of a centralized bureaucracy and of clerical authority, Walther's group developed a democratic polity for their church. They advocated the autonomy of local congregations and the need for laity to have a voice in church affairs. This placed the synod in opposition to other American Lutheran synods that gave primary authority to the clergy. With its pragmatic organization, the Missouri Synod soon became the largest of the immigrant Lutheran church bodies in the United States. Walther served as its president, first, from 1847 to 1850 and, later, from 1864 to 1878.

Walther's worldview combined seemingly contradictory emphases. On one hand, he preached fervently about the need for Christians to accept God's gracious forgiveness of their sins. On the other hand, Walther utterly opposed the American Protestant tendency to reduce faith to feelings. Upholding an objective rule of faith, he believed that the Bible and his denomination's doctrinal system contained all the essentials of salvation. Walther looked, therefore, to the Bible and to the confessional statements of Martin Luther both to foster personal piety and to combat heresy. His stress on the literal interpretation of the Bible, moreover, helped make INERRANCY a major theme of Missouri Synod doctrine in the 20th century.

Walther was instrumental in creating the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference in 1872. This organization united several independent German Lutheran synods in the Midwest. The principle of pan-Lutheran unity did not last long, however, and by the end of the 1870s, the conference split over theological questions. Although Walther defended what he conceived as the classic Lutheran position on the inability of sinners to choose faith for themselves, his emphasis on God's grace alone in saving sinners led him to be accused of "crypto-Calvinism." As a consequence of this abortive attempt at Christian reunion, the Missouri Synod refused to engage in prayer fellowship with other Lutherans.

Walther's organizational and intellectual contributions to the Missouri Synod were immense. He served as professor of theology at the denomination's Concordia Seminary in St. Louis from 1850 until his death. He was president of Concordia as well after 1854. In 1853, he founded the theological periodical *Lehre und Wehre*, which he also edited until he died. He wrote several books including *Die rechte Unterscheidung von Gesetz und Evangelium (The Proper Distinction Between Law and Gospel)*, his most widely read work, which was published posthumously in 1897. Walther's teaching and writings instilled a distinctively militant approach to Lutheran beliefs in the many students he instructed over the course of his long career. He died in St. Louis on May 7, 1887.

GHS, Jr.

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war and religion Religions can relate to war in three basic ways. They can oppose war completely, can view war as a positive good, or can understand war as an event that, while unfortunate or even bad, may at times be necessary. In the United States, as in the modern world more generally, there are few, if any, religions in which the dominant interpretation views war as a positive good, although numerous segments of the IDENTITY MOVEMENT see the anticipated "racial holy war" as a welcome event that will usher in a new age. While there are several denominations in the United States that historically are known as peace churches, the dominant view of most traditions has been toward war as a sometimes necessary occurrence, either for self-defense or to further the cause of good or oppose some greater evil. Throughout American history, religions have tended to move back and forth between a more negative view of war to a less negative view, depending on circumstances and often in response to failings regarding a previous armed conflict.

For the earliest Europeans to arrive in America, the wars they waged against both the native peoples and other Europeans had definite religious rationales (see NEW SPAIN; NEW FRANCE; MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY). Similarly, much of the Native Americans' resistance was driven by opposition to conversion as well as self-defense. As Europeans transferred their dynastic and religious wars to the Western Hemisphere, both the colonists and the Native Americans often became embroiled in them as well.

The political consequences of one of those led Quakers in the PENNSYLVANIA colony to remove themselves from active engagement in the colony's political life. Their commitment to pacifism led the Quaker-dominated colonial legislature to refuse funding for a militia or to assist in the defense of the colony during the French and Indian War. The military weaknesses of the colony, although eventually addressed partially by private subscriptions and by a levy of monies for the other colonies to use for defense, generated much hostility from the non-Quakers in the colony and from the rest of the colonies. The tensions experienced by the Quakers during this period would continue throughout American history. While the United States historically has tended toward legal accommodation of recognized peace churches, such as the Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, and Jehovah's Witnesses, the social opposition often has been great. The Selective Service Act of 1917 allowed religious exemptions only for individuals who belonged to religions with a doctrinal history of pacifism. Later acts allowed such exemptions for persons who had deeply held religious opposition to all war. Questions remained as to the extent to which this applied to individuals who were not conventionally religious or held such views as a result of philosophical convictions. Much of this was settled by the Supreme Court's decisions in *United States v. Seeger* (1965) and *Welsh v. United States* (1970). These decisions, drawing on the work of theologians such as PAUL TILLICH and making use of a wider understanding of religion, including nontheistic strands within BUDDHISM and even HINDUISM, expanded the exemption to anyone who opposed all wars on the basis of deeply held beliefs and convictions.

These decisions affected a relatively small group of individuals. The major problem remained for those traditions and those individuals who accepted war as sometimes necessary. The problem historically in the United States is that there has been a swing between uncritical support for particular wars to a hesitancy to accept the need for particular wars. The latter often has been driven by a reaction to the former experience. Additionally, religious traditions in the United States have struggled with confusing a particular understanding of America's moral mission in the world—to bring democracy, good governance, and freedom to everyone—with less noble political actions (see CIVIL RELIGION). With few exceptions, there has not been a critical reflection on the justice of particular wars but often an uncritical support for them.

No example reflects this more clearly than the Indian wars. Both during the period of European colonization and then during the expansion of the independent United States, most religions, and here we must speak predominantly of Christians, viewed the conflicts as between religion and heathenism, civilization and barbarism. While there were countervailing voices, and many deeply religious individuals committed their lives to serving various Indian peoples, the overwhelming position, whether stated explicitly or held implicitly, was that resistance from the various Indian tribes involved both an attack on Christianity and on the moral mission of the United States. It was an act against the divine will, as manifested by the successes of the country as it moved westward. The MANIFEST DESTINY of the United States was to conquer the continent.

Amid this steady march westward, there erupted an internecine conflict over the issue of slavery. The CIVIL WAR and the postwar reflection on it (see LOST CAUSE MYTH) illustrate clearly the way in which war and religion have intersected in powerful ways in the United States. For many in the North, the Civil War was a noble and religious cause fought on behalf of an enslaved and oppressed people by the forces of freedom and progress (see ABOLITIONISM; BROWN, JOHN; HOWE, JULIA WARD). For Southerners (see SOUTH), the war was a fight for tradition, nobility, and true religion against the forces of chaos, leveling, and oppression.

In the president of the United States at the time, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the United States also had one of its deepest religious thinkers and one of its most reflective exponents of public religion. Lincoln, although deeply committed to the war and the ends for which it was fought, was not inclined to believe that he knew clearly the mind of God on the reasons for the war nor that God was solely on one side or the other. Once when a group of ministers arrived in the White House to meet with Lincoln to inform him that they knew God's will for the nation, Lincoln is reported to have quipped that since he was the president, it might have been better for God to have informed him.

The depth of Lincoln's thought regarding both the war and America's purpose in the world can be seen in many places, including the Gettysburg address. But it probably is best seen in his second inaugural address. There Lincoln, like so few, saw the terrible complexities of war and the national interest when he said, "Both sides [North and South] read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes."

The horrors of the Civil War produced their own mythologies that soon became embedded in the civil religion of the United States, with Lincoln as the martyred president who gave up his life for the country. The ritual of commemorating the war dead, which eventually would evolve into the U.S. Memorial Day celebrations, entwined religion and memories of the war. Less uplifting, the Civil War dominated American national politics for decades as Republicans regularly waved the "bloody shirt" during election time to remind the electorate of the deaths that resulted from the Southern rebellion.

In the South, the Lost Cause Myth merged traditional religious symbols with the South's vision of itself as a martyred nation, prostrate beneath the feet of a Yankee nation driven by greed, power, and materialism. The myth was complex, and the South never could determine whether it lost its opportunity for freedom because of its lack of purity, or, as the bastion of true Christianity, the South has been ordained by Divine Providence to remain part of the larger nation in order to lead America back to God.

The next major war fought by the United States, the Spanish-American War, presented a markedly different religious face, in that it potentially could have had a major religious dimension. That it did not do so, at least domestically, is fascinating. The Spanish-American War pitted one of Europe's oldest monarchies, a Catholic one at that, against an upstart, democratic country predominantly Protestant but with a significant Catholic minority. From the leading prelates of the church in the United States to the people in the pews, this religious issue did not play any role in the response by Catholics to the war and their support for it. The overwhelming majority of American Catholics perceived themselves as *American* Catholics. This meant that individually and collectively they identified much more strongly with their fellow and sister citizens than with their coreligionists. Their experiences, despite some anti-Catholic attitudes, had convinced them that this was not a war of religion, of Protestant against Catholic. For American Catholics, as for most of their fellow citizens, it was a war of democracy and freedom against monarchy and oppression. It demonstrated the growing power and might of America and its struggle to project that power and its values across the world.

While this projection may have been fairly uncritically supported during the Spanish-American War, the responses of the churches and religious leaders during WORLD WAR I raised even more concerns. While most religious leaders, like most Americans, initially opposed American entry into the war, once it happened, they were vocal and uncritical supporters of the war. They uncritically accepted stories of German atrocities and saw visions of barbaric Huns storming across the world and destroying civilization.

The war did lead to sustained forms of practical ecumenism (see ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT; NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES) as the various religious bodies in the United States were forced to collaborate in the process of providing for the needs of the American soldiers, sailors, and marines. From the YMCA (see YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION) to the National Catholic Warfare Council (see NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE), religious organizations mobilized to serve doughnuts and coffee to hungry and cold servicemen, provide religious services, and assist in supplying medical care and treatment.

The war also had a major effect on the predominantly German churches in the United States. As a result of the war, many of the Lutheran synods and Reformed churches with German roots finally abandoned the use of German in religious services and instruction and adopted English. English Bibles and other religious texts, as well as translated hymns, replaced German-language ones. This would have the long-term consequence of ending many of the ethnic German denominations and enabling their merger with others.

Following the end of World War I, many religious people recoiled from the horrors of that war and the uncritical support for it provided by religious leaders. This response, combined with the disgust at the way that Europeans handled the peace, drove many religious leaders and movements toward pacifism and even isolationism. It also gave rise to one of the dominant theological movements of the 20th century, NEOORTHODOXY (see NIEBUHR, HELMUT RICHARD; NIEBUHR, REINHOLD; TILLICH, PAUL).

This pacifist trend, along with the economic depression and isolationism of the l920s and 1930s, made many Americans ignore the events that seized the European and Asian continents during the 1930s. As Fascism and Nazism moved across Europe and Japanese militarism drove into China and Korea, most American religious leaders refused to acknowledge the threats that these evils presented. Reinhold Niebuhr was one major exception and early in 1941 joined with several others to create the magazine *Christianity and Crisis* as a countervoice to the pacifist *Christian Century* and to argue for a concerted response to the growing threat of the Axis powers.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, dramatically changed the views of most Americans. Pacifism or opposition to the war automatically became viewed as support for those who had attacked the country and for those forces that had crushed one country and peoples after another. During the war, few religious voices were raised in opposition, with the exception of the historic peace churches, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT.

Support for the war and the manner in which it was waged, which many viewed as a war of national survival and particularly for the version of democracy that defined the United States, was (with the few exceptions mentioned above) almost universally uncritical. One exception was the statement by the bishops of the Catholic Church raising concerns about the carpet bombing of German and Japanese cities and the use of the atomic bomb, both of which they saw as possible violations of traditional Catholic just war doctrine.

The end of World War II and the expansion of the power of the Soviet Union into Eastern Europe, the victory of the Communists in China, and communist incursions elsewhere presented serious challenges to American religions. Communist brutalities and religious oppression as well as the real threat communism presented to the United States made many Christians uncritical supporters of anticommunist views. This position was particularly strong within Catholicism and among Protestant evangelicals and fundamentalists. It also had strength within much mainline Protestantism, as well as among Orthodox Jews who suffered under the Soviets. During the COLD WAR, American policies received significant support from most religious denominations in the United States.

This support, however, began to wane during the VIETNAM WAR, and criticism of American foreign policy grew. For many, the war increasingly seemed unjust, and criticism flowed from organizations such as the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to religious leaders such as WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN and DANIEL BERRIGAN and PHILIP BERRIGAN, as well as Reinhold Niebuhr. This growing religious opposition to the war played a major role in ending it.

Between the Vietnam War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, little creative religious thinking was done on the issue of war. The one exception was among Neoconservatives who, offended by the moral equivalency that many had painted between the United States and the Soviet Union, articulated a position of containing the spread of communism into places like South and Central America. In El Salvador and Nicaragua, the question of whether to support Marxist insurgencies against authoritarian dictators presented a series of moral challenges. Most could acknowledge that the dictators were bad, but some felt that the alternatives were even worse. The collapse of the Soviet Union ended much of these debates and, in the minds of many, vindicated the Neoconservatives' hard-line stance.

With the collapse of communism, the issue of when wars were morally defensible reemerged in light of the issue of third-party defense in the context of three situations: when innocent peoples were being targeted by an aggressor (such as the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina), to end gross human rights violations, and when a state had collapsed completely and had returned to a "war of all against all" (such as the situation that predominated in Somalia). This led many scholars and religious thinkers to reexamine traditional just war theory. They struggled with how to adapt the classical model, as developed by Augustine and Aquinas, and develop it to address these new realities. Many religious leaders could legitimize American-led NATO military actions in Bosnia and Kosovo on these grounds, as well as the failed international intervention in Somalia. Somalia demonstrated a serious truth about third-party defense. Regardless of whether it can be justified morally and religiously, American support dissipates quickly in the face of even minimal casualties when there is no identifiable national interest being defended.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (see SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, RELIGION AND), dramatically altered much of the conversation over war, and religion played a major role in the resulting responses. President Bush and most political leaders took care to articulate that the resulting responses to the attack were not part of a war against ISLAM and that Islam, as a religion, was not responsible for the attacks. The attacks were perpetrated, in this view, by those who had distorted and betrayed a glorious religious tradition. The resulting American attack against al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan did little to threaten this view, although the later attack against Iraq was criticized by many in the Muslim world as part of a wider attack on Islam.

The second Iraq War also led to serious disagreements between and within many American Christian denominations, particularly over whether it was a "just war." There existed serious differences about whether the war itself was a "just war." One of the most visible statements of support for the war was seen in the so-called "Land Letter" from its leading signatory, Richard D. Land, president of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. Signed by four other leading evangelicals including Bill Bright of Campus Crusade for Christ, the letter argued that a preemptive war with Iraq readily fell into the traditional Christian understandings of just war.

Not all agreed. While never issuing a formal statement on whether the war met the criteria of a just war, several leading Roman Catholic officials were outspoken in their condemnation, including the Vatican's prefect of the Council for Justice and Peace and its foreign minister. Additionally, the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES vociferously condemned the American invasion.

The relationship between religion and war in the history of the United States is a complex and twisted one. From support to opposition, from religious sanction to religious opposition, Americans have struggled with what are the appropriate religious responses to war, both individually and institutionally. As issues related to terrorism, the second Iraq War, nuclear proliferation, and complex humanitarian emergencies dominate the first two decades of the 21st century, it remains unlikely that these discussions will end any time soon.

EQ

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War for Independence See AMERICAN REVOLUTION/REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Warfield, Benjamin Breckinridge (1851–1921) Benjamin B. Warfield was a Presbyterian minister and theologian at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey. The greatest contribution he made to American religious thought was his insistence that God was the author of every statement contained in the Bible. This belief, known as the doctrine of INERRANCY, has served as the intellectual foundation of conservative Protestant theology from the late 19th century to the present day.

Warfield was born near Lexington, Kentucky, on November 5, 1851. He graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1871 and from Princeton Seminary in 1876. As a seminarian, he studied with CHARLES HODGE, the greatest Presbyterian theologian of that time. After traveling and studying in Europe, Warfield was ordained and served for a year as assistant minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore. He left his parish work in 1878 to teach New Testament studies at Westminister Seminary in Allegheny, Pennsylvania. When A. A. Hodge, with whom he had earlier collaborated, died in 1887, Warfield succeeded him as professor of didactic and polemic theology at Princeton.

Warfield defended the literal truth of the Bible against assault on two fronts: first, against liberal rationalists who wished to substitute human reason for God's self-revelation in the words of Scripture; and second, against conservative "perfectionists" who preferred individual experiences of revelation to the objective standards of the biblical text. In Warfield's mind, theology ought to be grounded not on human reason or experience, but solely on a grammatical analysis of the self-interpreting statements the Bible contains. Denying the modern contention that the past is largely irretrievable, Warfield upheld the philosophical positions of SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM, which taught that facts about the past are immediately available to the understanding of present-day observers. He acknowledged that current scriptural texts include mistakes and discrepancies but asserted that the original edition of the Bible had been wholly free of error.

Warfield trained an entire generation of Presbyterian clergy in Princeton's conservative theology. His ideas, moreover, dominated the denomination's General Assembly in the late 19th and early 20th century. Over that period, the General Assembly declared on several occasions that belief in the inerrancy of the original manuscript of the Bible was necessary for membership in the church. Warfield also insisted that the Westminster Confession, the classic statement of English-speaking CALVINISM, was the finest statement of Christian theology ever composed. As a consequence, he resisted all attempts by liberals to modify or modernize the wording of the confession.

Warfield published numerous books on the textual criticism and authority of the Bible, as well as many articles and book reviews. His 1881 article "Inspiration," written with A. A. Hodge, contained his most critical affirmation of biblical inerrancy. He also edited *The Princeton Review* between 1890 and 1903. Warfield's thought had a tremendous influence on the development of FUNDAMENTALISM in the 20th century. His mantle was eventually assumed by his student J. GRESHAM MACHEN, who became the chief spokesman for conservative Presbyterians in the 1920s.

Warfield remained for over three decades in his post as professor of theology at Princeton. He died there on February 17, 1921.

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Warner, Daniel Sidney See HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

Washington, Booker T. (1856–1915) The leading black American of his day, Booker T. Washington worked tirelessly on behalf of African Americans. Yet it is difficult to judge the effects of his work. Accused by critics of dooming blacks to perpetual second-class citizenship, his program of black economic independence appealed to later black nationalists such as MARCUS GARVEY. Although Washington argued that blacks should avoid political agitation, he was a significant political force during the presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft. Publicly opposed to the judicial maneuvering of the NAACP, he surreptitiously aided several major court challenges to segregation laws. Throughout all of his work, Washington was driven by the view that moral development was integral to economic and political improvement. He strove to teach Christian values as well as economic skills to his students. This commitment would link Washington closely with those whose commitments to ABOLITIONISM prior to the CIVIL WAR and the education of blacks afterward were related to strongly held religious convictions.

Born on April 15, 1856, in Hale's Ford, Virginia, of a slave mother and a white man from a neighboring plantation, Booker (he would choose the name Washington himself at a later date) spent the first nine years of his life in bondage. Following the end of the Civil War, his mother moved to Malden, West Virginia, where Washington attended school while working at a salt furnace and in coal mines. Overhearing two miners talking about a new school for blacks, he resolved to attend. In 1872, he traveled to Hampton Institute. Walking most of the distance, Washington arrived penniless and dirty. Washington worked his way through Hampton as a janitor, learning the trade of brick masonry. Graduating in 1875, he returned home to West Virginia, where he ran a school for blacks until 1878, when he entered Wayland Seminary in Washington, D.C.

The academic year of 1879 saw Washington back at Hampton, where he was placed in charge of the school's program for American Indians and served as secretary to Hampton's president, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. The connections he made with northern philanthropists while holding this position would serve him well in the future.

In May 1881, he was asked to head Tuskegee Institute, a Negro normal school recently chartered by the state of Alabama. As head of this school, Booker T. Washington emerged as the dominant black leader in the United States, a position he retained until his untimely death on November 14, 1915. From a school with 40 students and one building, Washington transformed Tuskegee Institute into a leading black institution of 2,000 students. Concerned with providing blacks with the skills to make their way in the world, Washington emphasized economic development and trades at Tuskegee, often speaking disparagingly of black liberal arts colleges and blacks who could speak French but could not make a living.

A popular public speaker, Washington gave his most important address on September 18, 1893, at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. There he argued that blacks and whites should "cast down their buckets" in working to improve their lives. He also suggested that social integration and equality were not necessary. "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." The speech was interpreted as a public acceptance of segregation and second-class citizenship. Some thought Washington often sounded as though the overcoming of legal and social barriers was the obligation of blacks and not of those who discriminated against them.

This brought him into conflict with other black leaders, most notably W. E. B. DuBois, who argued that Washington was consigning blacks to manual labor and political insignificance. This was reinforced by Washington's tendency to speak disparagingly of ignorant blacks in public addresses and to claim that agitation in favor of the franchise was folly. On the other hand, Washington publicly criticized the inferior quality of black schools and felt that laws limiting suffrage should be applied to all unqualified persons, whites as well as blacks.

Although recent research suggested that Washington was not as politically quiescent as previously supposed, Washington's faith in the eventual white acceptance of black political development was misplaced at best. While undoubtedly his goal was black self-sufficiency, the charge that he was educating a black underclass to operate the white economic machine seems valid. Despite the failure of his goal of black economic security, it is important that Washington be recognized, a major African-American leader, as clear on the problems facing southern blacks and desirous of providing immediate solutions to those problems. His solutions, based on black self-reliance and economic security, drew increased attention as political equality failed to ease the chains of racism binding blacks to an inferior condition.

(See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.)

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Watchtower Bible and Tract Society See JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES.

Watts, Alan Wilson (1915–1973) One of the most important popularizers of ZEN in the United States, Alan Watts was born into a middle-class home in Kent, England, in 1915. As a young man, he introduced himself to BUDDHISM through books, especially the works of the Japanese Zen expert D. T. SUZUKI. At the age of 15, the already independent-minded Watts repudiated Christianity and proclaimed his conversion to Buddhism.

He moved to London, where he discovered a small but active contingent of British Buddhists centered around the Buddhist Lodge. At the age of 19, he wrote his first book on Zen. Soon he was also editing *The Middle Way*, a Buddhist magazine.

Watts entered into the first of his three marriages in 1938, when he wed Eleanor Everett, the daughter of the prominent Zen Buddhist Ruth Fuller Everett. Watts and his wife moved to New York City, where Watts joined the First Zen Institute of America (then the Buddhist Society of America). He also took up Zen study with that society's founder, Sokei-an, a teacher of Rinzai Zen (a form of Zen that emphasizes wrestling with koans, or paradoxical riddles).

While in the United States, Watts reacquainted himself with the Christian tradition and gradually came to believe that Buddhism and Christianity were mutually compatible, perhaps coequal, religions. He enrolled in the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary at Northwestern University and emerged in the mid-1940s as an Episcopal priest (see EPISCOPAL CHURCH). He worked for a time as a chaplain at Northwestern but quit in 1950. That same year he also left his wife. In 1951, he moved to the West Coast, joined the faculty of the American Academy of Asian Studies, and recommitted himself to Buddhist work. Through his writing and lecturing, Watts helped to spawn the Zen vogue of the 1950s and 1960s.

Watts was a prolific author who wrote 25 books—including his widely read autobiography, *In My Own Way* (1972)—on topics ranging from Zen to Christian spirituality to mysticism to psychotherapy. In a short book called *Beat Zen, Square Zen and Zen* (1956), Watts chastised BEAT MOVEMENT writers such as Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac for flirting with Zen rather than devoting themselves to its disciplined practice. But Watts, who once described himself as a "genuine fake," might as well have been criticizing himself. He left Sokei-an (also known as Shigetsu Sasaki) after only two weeks when he became frustrated with koan study, and his attempts at psychotherapy were equally short-lived.

After his death in California in 1973 at the age of 58, Watts's friends gave him a new name, "Profound Mountain, Subtle Light," and a new title, "Great Founder, Opener of the Great Zen Samadhi Gate." The Society for Comparative Philosophy (established in 1962) keeps alive his legacy by discussing his work at seminars and publishing the *Alan Watts Journal*. Watts stands with D. T. Suzuki as one of the two most important popularizers of Zen in America.

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Webb, Muhammad Alexander Russel (1846–1916) Muhammad Alexander Russel Webb was the first European American to convert to ISLAM. Born into a family of Presbyterians in Hudson, New York, in 1846, Webb repudiated Christianity at the age of 20. After an American career as a journalist and newspaper editor, Webb moved to Manila in 1887 to serve as United States consul to the Philippines. There he was introduced to Islam, which appealed to him as a religion that, unlike Christianity, did not contravene either reason or science.

In the Philippines, Webb submitted to Allah and became a Muslim. He resigned his federal appointment in 1892 and departed for a lecture tour that took him first to India and later to the United States. While in India, Webb stated that he was not only a Muslim but also a Theosophist (see THEOSOPHY). After returning to New York, he issued Muslim tracts through his Oriental Publishing Company, published a short-lived periodical entitled *Moslem World,* and organized a short-lived mosque.

Webb achieved international recognition as an Islamic delegate to the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS held in Chicago in 1893. There he ruffled the feathers of many Christians with his strident defense of Islam against its missionary despisers and created a stir among women's rights advocates when he aired his views affirming the traditional role of women in Islam.

Unlike the Hindu missionary SWAMI VIVEKANANDA and the Buddhist reformer ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA, both of whom founded enduring organizations in America following their appearances at the parliament, Webb was not able to organize an abiding Muslim society in America. When he died in Rutherford, New Jersey, in 1916, his American Islamic Propaganda Movement (established in 1893) died with him. However, Webb did leave behind three books, including *Islam in America* (1893), which introduced Americans to the Islamic faith.

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Weld, Theodore Dwight (1803–1895)

Theodore Dwight Weld was a revivalist and one of the most active early antislavery advocates. He helped organize famous debates over slavery at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati and was part of the first group of students at Oberlin College in Ohio, a school founded on the principles of religious and moral reform.

The son of a Congregational minister, Weld was born in Hampton, Connecticut, on November 23, 1803. He studied at Hamilton College, where, in 1825, he came under the influence of revivalist CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY. After several years of leading revivals and lecturing on temperance and antislavery, Weld enrolled at Lane Seminary in 1832. In the spring of 1834, he convinced the majority of students at Lane to join the abolitionist cause. Although his extremism caused the school's trustees to expel him, Weld and others (labeled the "Lane Rebels") departed for newly opened Oberlin College, where they were able to continue their work unhindered. Oberlin, under the leadership of Finney and with financial backing from wealthy social reformers Arthur and Lewis Tappan of New York, soon became a center for both ABOLITIONISM and REVIVALISM.

Weld served as an agent of the new American Anti-Slavery Society. His emphasis on moral suasion and the necessity of immediately renouncing slavery as a sin, characteristics of the revivals he led, placed him in the forefront of the abolitionists' ranks. Weld eventually trained a number of disciples, including his future wife, ANGELINA GRIMKÉ, and sent them out to proclaim the radical message he championed. When his voice was damaged, he turned his energies to tracts and composed *The Bible Against Slavery* (1837) and *American Slavery As It Is* (1839). These works won many to his cause, most notably, HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, later author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Weld also assisted the antislavery faction of the Whig Party in Washington, D.C.

Weld's career with the American Anti-Slavery Society came to a sudden halt in 1840. After that organization split over both the propriety of advocating women's rights and abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison's insistence on nonpolitical moral suasion, Weld chose to retire from public life. He worked as a farmer in Belleville, New Jersey, from 1840 to 1854, then taught school in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and in Lexington, Massachusetts, between 1854 and 1867. Weld retired to Hyde Park, Massachusetts, in 1867, and although he lived for 28 more years, he rarely participated in reform activities again. He died at Hyde Park on February 3, 1895.

GHS, Jr.

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Wesleyan Church See METHODISTS.

Wesleyan tradition The Wesleyan tradition refers to a type of Protestantism that traces its historical and theological roots to the 18th-century Anglican clergyman John Wesley. Organized at first as societies under lay leadership within the Church of England, Wesleyanism developed into a separate denomination after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. This tradition finds its primary institutional expression today among METHODISTS in the United States. Wesleyan emphases appear as well within HOLINESS MOVEMENT churches, which emerged out of Methodism in the late 19th and early 20th century.

John Wesley (along with his younger brother Charles, a famed writer of hymns) was the son of Anglican priest Samuel Wesley. Born in Epworth, Lincolnshire, England, in 1703, John was educated at Oxford University and ordained a priest of the Church of England in 1728. He served briefly as an assistant to his father, then returned to Oxford in 1729, where he joined a small group of students seeking to deepen their religious faith. Calling itself the "Holy Club," though also known derisively as "Methodists," Wesley's society held its members accountable to one another for a daily devotional life, regular attendance at worship, and acts of charity. Wesley met with the group and directed their activities for the next five years.

In late 1735, Wesley left England and traveled to the newly established colony of Georgia, where he worked as a missionary of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS. His stay in Georgia provided him important opportunities to experiment with practices that soon distinguished the Methodist movement: extemporaneous prayer, outdoor preaching, and hymn singing. There he also encountered MORAVIANS, members of a German pietist sect who stressed the need for personal conversion. As a whole, however, Wesley's missionary tour in Georgia was a disaster. Following a bungled love affair with the niece of a prominent official, he had to flee the colony to avoid a lawsuit. Depressed and spiritually confused, he returned to England in 1738.

The humiliating failure in Georgia proved to be a prologue to the dramatic conversion that ever afterward impelled Wesley's ministry. Wesley was in turmoil, seeking pardon for his sins. On his way to a Moravian service on Aldersgate Street in London on May 24, 1738, he felt what he had never known before: a heart "strangely warmed." While reading a passage from the great reformer Martin Luther, Wesley sensed for the first time that God truly loved him. "I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation," he wrote in his journal for the day, "and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine,* and saved *me* from the law of sin and death." When Wesley returned home that evening, he declared simply to his brother Charles, "I believe."

A few weeks later, Wesley left for Germany to visit the Moravian headquarters at Herrnhut. After he returned to England, he read with approval American theologian Jonathan Edwards's account of the spiritual awakening at his parish in Massachusetts. Meanwhile, both John and Charles began to travel about and preach in fields, in prisons and workhouses, and at public executions. The style they adopted differed profoundly from an ordinary Anglican clergyman's concern for order and decency in worship. Even John himself worried initially about the propriety of his actions, admitting he had "submitted to be more vile." Despite opposition to his novel practices, Wesley became convinced that his course was correct.

Wesley preached and organized revivals throughout the British Isles. He became a successful leader who claimed to regard "all the world as my parish." He was clearly not a systematic theologian, but a busy itinerant minister who considered religious dogmas to be the least essential aspect of Christianity.

The Wesleyan movement has always been marked by an emphasis on the theological doctrine of sanctification and by the activistic style and concern for holiness that Wesley embraced. He taught that genuine Christians would lead lives of visible sanctity, continually manifesting to others the divine love in which they professed to believe. They might even reach a state of moral perfection (see Perfectionism), he said—not complete sinlessness, certainly, but free from all conscious sin—in the present life.

Another significant aspect of the Wesleyan tradition is the organization that evolved to support Wesley's desire of reforming his nation. Since his movement arose within the institutional framework of the Church of England, Wesley urged Methodists to attend Anglican services as well as their own religious meetings. He also organized "bands," later called "classes," small groups that met regularly for mutual support under the leadership of a lay person. Above the class was the "circuit," a collection of societies within a particular geographic region. A lay itinerant preacher, or circuit rider, visited each class every month or two. Finally, a "conference," which eventually included all the itinerant preachers and met annually, was formed in 1744.

John Wesley's emphasis on saving grace and the possibility of attaining perfection quickly took root in the fields and forests of 18th-century frontier territories.

An enthusiastic and committed lay leadership was absolutely essential to the early Methodist movement. Wesley did not wish to challenge the Anglican hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons, and so his preachers were not clergy but simply laity with extraordinary administrative and pastoral oversight. Wesley traveled extensively, setting up and maintaining this lay organization in England. He also sent missionaries, the most prominent being Francis Asbury, to strengthen Methodism among American Anglicans. Although Wesley eventually violated Anglican procedure by ordaining Methodist clergy for service in America, he remained a priest of the Church of England throughout his life.

Other Methodists, however, were not so loyal to their Anglican roots, and a new denomination soon was organized out of the movement he inspired. The first formal rift between Methodists and Anglicans occurred in America at the "Christmas Conference" of December 1784. At that meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, Methodist preachers assembled for their annual conference established a new denomination, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and elected Asbury and THOMAS COKE to be the church's first superintendents (a title changed to "bishop" in 1787). Despite disobeying Wesley's wish that they stay within the Anglican fold, those assembled at the Christmas Conference approved a statement of purpose otherwise consistent with their leader's religious aims: "To reform the continent, and spread scriptural holiness through these lands." After Wesley's death in 1791, English Methodism followed the pattern that had developed in the United States, emerging as a movement entirely separate from the Church of England.

By the mid-1800s, Methodists had become the largest American Christian denomination. Although issues relating to race and slavery divided the Methodists both racially (the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH was organized in 1816, and the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH formed in 1821) and regionally (the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, separated in 1845), the Wesleyan tradition remained strong in the United States throughout the 19th century.

The quest for personal holiness, a concern that has consistently characterized Wesleyanism, led to a prolonged theological debate within Methodism in the 1870s and 1880s. While most Methodists believed that sanctification was a gradual process, lasting over a lifetime, others insisted that holiness was really an instantaneous experience, a "second blessing" received from God in the aftermath of a person's conversion. Because of Wesley's own stress on Christian perfection, Methodist advocates of holiness believed they were justified in separating from the more "worldly" members of their churches. The so-called Holiness movement soon inspired the formation of several new denominations, including the SALVATION ARMY and the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE.

The largest Methodist denomination in the United States today is the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, with 8.3 million members. It is third in size of all American Christian denominations (behind the Roman Catholic Church and the Southern Baptist Convention). The African Methodist Episcopal Church is the leading black Methodist denomination, and the Church of the Nazarene is now the largest Holiness denomination in America.

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White, Alma Bridwell (1862–1946) The first verifiable female bishop in Christendom and the founder of a Holiness church called the Pillar of Fire, Alma Bridwell White stands alongside AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON as one of the most influential women in the Holiness-Pentecostal movement in the United States (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT; PENTECOSTALISM).

Born on a farm in Louis County, Kentucky, in 1862, White was raised in the Methodist church (see METHODISTS). She began her march in the direction of the Holiness movement in 1878, when she was converted at a revival conducted by preacher W. B. Godbey. In the midst of this conversion experience, she discerned a call to the Christian ministry but initially pursued a career as a teacher instead. She studied at Vanceburg Seminary and Millersburg Female College, both in Kentucky, and subsequently took a teaching job at Bannack, Montana. There, in the winter of 1882–83, she met Kent White, who was studying at the time for the Methodist ministry. The two married in 1887. When Kent White was called to the pastorate of a small church in Lamar, Colorado, his wife took a secondary but increasingly controversial role in that church's congregational life. Her conspicuously public work as both a songleader and lay exhorter struck many church members as inappropriate for a woman.

In 1893, Alma White received the "second blessing" of SANCTIFICATION that characterizes the Methodist and Holiness traditions. Remembering her earlier call to the ministry and weary of the objections to her prominence in her husband's church, she struck out on her own, becoming an itinerant preacher. She derived her theology from dreams, visions, and esoteric interpretations of biblical prophecy. Her exhortations focused on denouncing the heartless sort of piety that she had seen in her own parents and commending a more rigorous and enthusiastic faith originally preached and exemplified by the founder of the Methodists, John Wesley (see WESLEYAN TRADITION).

Alma White's successes on the evangelistic circuit caused her husband to leave his church ministry and to join his wife on the road. From their center in Denver, they conducted camp meetings and revivals in western states such as Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. This time, however, she was in charge, and he was her helper. In 1901, the Whites left the Methodist Episcopal Church to found the Pentecostal Union Church. White became an elder in her new church in the year of its establishment. When she was ordained to the episcopate in 1918, she became the first verifiable female bishop in the history of the Christian tradition. Following a series of successful revivals in England, which began in 1904, she transferred her church's headquarters to Zarephath, New Jersey. Her association came to be known as the Pillar of Fire after 1917.

White's church shared much with other Holiness sects. Members were forbidden to smoke tobacco or consume alcohol and were called to act and dress modestly. Preachers emphasized the imminence of the second coming of Jesus Christ and practiced spiritual healing. Her church distinguished itself from mainstream Holiness groups, however, by its strict Wesleyan discipline and the military-style uniforms of its members. White and her followers generally regarded mainstream Holiness denominations such as the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE as backsliding accommodators to modernity. Not surprisingly, they ordained both male and female ministers.

White's church also resembled Pentecostal churches in many respects. It, too, attracted everyday folks and made a place in its worship services for strong emotions and loud music. But White herself was a strident critic of the Pentecostal movement; "spiritual gifts" such as speaking in tongues she denounced as sorcery.

Like other 20th-century evangelists, White utilized the mass media to great effect. Shortly after her Pentecostal Union Church was founded, White was publishing the *Pentecostal Union Herald*, which after 1904 appeared as *The Pillar of Fire*. Another publication, *Woman's Chains*, argued for women's rights from a biblical perspective. In addition to these and other periodicals, White's church also produced numerous books and tracts and maintained two radio stations. Among the many books that White published were *The Story of My Life*, a six-volume autobiography that appeared from 1919 to 1934, and a controversial tome, *The Ku Klux Klan in Prophecy* (1925). In the latter book, White argued for a populist theology in which anti-Catholic NATIVISM was presented as both scriptural and American.

White was aided in her evangelistic efforts not only by her husband but also by two sons, Arthur Kent White and Ray Bridwell White, who both served as ordained ministers for the Pillar of Fire. Her husband, however, eventually separated from both his wife and her church, becoming a Pentecostalist and joining the Apostolic Faith Church, based in Great Britain. Alma Bridwell White died in 1946 in Zarephath, New Jersey, at the age of 84, leaving her sons to continue her ministry.

SRP

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White, Ellen Gould (Harmon) (1827–1915) Ellen Gould White, née Harmon, was the principal founder of the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH.

As a teenager, she accepted the predictions of WILLIAM MILLER that the second coming of Jesus Christ was to occur in 1843. Although the reign of Christ failed to materialize as Miller foretold, White refused to be discouraged. She soon experienced the first of more than 2,000 spiritual visions that brought her to prominence. She began to write and teach about what she believed were the true tenets of the faith, including the observance of Saturday as the Christian Sabbath and the practice of health reforms such as vegetarianism.

Harmon was born in Gorham, Maine, on November 26, 1827. Her father was a hatmaker, farmer, and lay preacher in a Methodist church in nearby Portland. After William Miller passed through that city in March 1840 and warned of the coming of Christ, Harmon counted herself among the converted. Following the eventual uneventful passing of October 22, 1844, Miller's revised date for the approaching cataclysm, she became extremely ill with what was reported to be tuberculosis and heart disease. At a prayer meeting in December, however, she felt "surrounded by light" and reportedly received a vision that became the basis of her call to prophesying.

Harmon began next to travel among the various Millerite groups. She met her future husband, James White, an Adventist preacher, who worked with her in consolidating their movement. They married in 1846. Both Whites became convinced that Saturday ought to replace Sunday as the day for Christians to worship, and they influenced others to adopt this practice. Although Ellen had received little formal education, she produced numerous publications interpreting the Bible and explaining the revelations God had made to her. James started publishing the *Review and Herald* in 1850, and Ellen's major work, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan during the Christian Dispensation*, appeared in 1888.

The Whites moved from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1855, and the new location became the Adventists' headquarters. The name *Seventh-day Adventist* was accepted as the denominational title in 1860, and in 1863, separate Adventist churches were gathered into a general conference. Ellen White's struggle with illness was instrumental in assuring that health would be one of the new denomination's central concerns. Through her efforts, the Western Health Reform Institute, a prototype of many later sanatoriums, was established in 1866. She also advocated vegetarianism and opposed the use of coffee, tea, and alcohol, while John H. Kellogg, one of her disciples, was eventually to make Battle Creek the breakfast cereal capital of the United States.

Mrs. White believed strongly in education, and she oversaw the founding of Battle Creek College (later Andrews University) in 1875 and the College of Medical Evangelists (later Loma Linda University) in 1906. After her husband died in 1881, she traveled extensively in both Europe and Australia. On her return to the United States, she settled in California in 1900. Active until the very end of her life, White was instrumental in moving the denomination's central offices to the outskirts of Washington, D.C., in 1903. She continued to write extensively until her death on July 16, 1915, at St. Helena, California.

GHS, Jr.

Bibliography: Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: Ellen G. White and the Origins of Seventh-Day Adventist Health Reform*, rev. ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992).

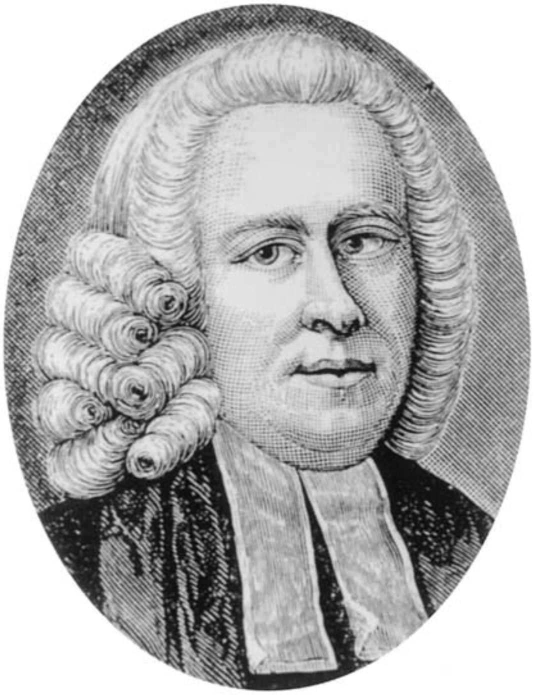
Whitefield, George (1714–1770) George Whitefield, an Anglican clergyman known as the "Grand Itinerant," was unquestionably the most famous revivalist in America during the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century.

He journeyed from England to America on seven occasions between 1738 and 1770. In the course of those evangelistic preaching tours, Whitefield traveled tirelessly throughout the American colonies between New Hampshire and Georgia.

Whitefield was born on December 27, 1714, in Gloucester, England. He studied at Pembroke College at Oxford University, where he befriended the brothers John and Charles Wesley, later founders of the Methodist denomination. Although he remained a Calvinist (see CALVINISM) and rejected the Wesleys' emphasis on the freedom of the human will, Whitefield absorbed their ideas about the need for heartfelt piety and spiritual regeneration. After graduating from Oxford, he was ordained into the ministry of the Church of England in 1737 and began his life's work as an evangelist.

Rejecting the formalistic theology and practice of the established church, Whitefield was a successful preacher. He played down his connection to the Church of England and focused instead on the availability of God's grace to people of all denominational affiliations. When many Anglican churches were closed to him as a result of this message, Whitefield resorted to preaching in fields. The novelty of this approach, combined with his extemporaneous style and reliance on direct inspiration, attracted thousands of hearers wherever he went. He seldom remained long in one town or region but moved about, always seeking newer congregations and audiences.

Whitefield's restlessness and religious enthusiasm inevitably led him to North America and his greatest triumphs. His first American trip to Georgia in 1738 was a modest success despite the opposition of Anglican officials in the colony. His second tour of America, however, which lasted from 1739 to 1741, established the reputation he now holds as a revivalist. Then just 25 years old, Whitefield hurried from town to town, from crowded church to busy market, wherever people would listen to his message. He estimated that 20,000 people heard him preach on Boston Common in October 1740. At Northampton, Massachusetts, his preaching



Anglican missionary George Whitefield.

made JONATHAN EDWARDS, the minister who had begun the awakening in New England in 1734, weep. And at Philadelphia in November 1740, he preached to thousands in an auditorium specially built for his visit.

Despite the positive response Whitefield elicited, many clergy in America resented his mission. Timothy Cutler, an Anglican minister in Boston, complained that the enthusiasm he generated amounted to madness. Whitefield's evening sermons, he said, were "attended with hideous yellings, and shameful revels, continuing . . . till break of day." Worst of all, Cutler reported, Whitefield encouraged laity in the colonies to turn against their proper leaders and question established religious beliefs and customs. Another opponent, Congregationalist CHARLES CHAUNCY, leader of the antirevival Old Light (see NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS) faction in New England, openly criticized the revivals. He led the faculty of Harvard College to reject Whitefield's work in 1744.

Whitefield came to America again on five occasions: 1744–48, 1751–52, 1754–55, 1763–65, and 1769–70. Over that period, controversy gradually subsided, and by the end of his life, he was widely respected as the greatest Anglo-American preacher of the day. No other clergyman had his gift for addressing people of every social class and moving them spiritually. Whitefield died while in Newburyport, Massachusetts, on September 30, 1770.

GHS, Jr.

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Whitman, Walt (1819–1892)

Walt Whitman—journalist, poet, and tramp—exerted an enormous influence on the shape of modern literature, although in his own lifetime his poetry was generally greeted with derision. He was regarded by his earliest admirers as the founder of a new, truly modern religious vision, focusing on the potential of a divinely infused democratic America. In the years since his death, he has inspired many who continue to see America as a land of infinite possibilities.

Whitman, born to a farming family on New York's Long Island on May 31, 1819, moved to Brooklyn with his parents while still young. He grew up with little formal schooling, which ended when he was 11 years old, but his access to the fields and beaches of Long Island instilled in him a deep appreciation of the natural world that would mark his poetry. His first job, serving as a local lawyer's errand boy, enabled him to spend considerable time in the library. Considered indolent by several of his elders, Whitman had little in the way of material ambition, or what he later called "the mania of owning things."

He learned writing through apprenticeships to various newspapers in Brooklyn and New York City, where he lived periodically from 1835 onward, intrigued with the textures and sights of the city. Journalism, which he eventually abandoned as a full-time pursuit after two years as the editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle* (1846–48), enabled him to set aside the clichés that he came to see affecting American poetry at the time. Like a newspaper, his own poetry recorded the plethora of sights, sounds, ideas, and people of an America infused with a divine spark.

Whitman composed his great work, *Leaves of Grass,* first published in 1855 at his own expense, while working part time as a carpenter for his father. Read at first primarily by transcendentalist intellectuals (see TRANSCENDENTALISM) such as Emerson and Thoreau, Whitman developed a revolutionary literary form, a coarse, sensual, direct poetry celebrating the ordinariness of American life as well as what he saw as its unique democratic promise. In subsequent years, while working on revisions and expansions of *Leaves,* he often subsisted hand to mouth. During the Civil War, he volunteered in a hospital in Washington, D.C., and remained there, working in government offices, until 1873. Suffering a stroke, he remained disabled the rest of his life, although still capable of an occasional public reading or lecture. In the 1880s, having found a publisher for *Leaves*, Whitman finally attracted enough readers to enable him to buy a small house in Camden, New Jersey, which became a place of pilgrimage for those who valued his poetic vision. Ravaged by tuberculosis and a number of other ailments, Whitman managed to oversee the 10th edition of *Leaves* before his death on March 26, 1892.

Whitman's work has been analyzed from a number of perspectives, most recently in light of his appreciation of the body and his articulation of an ambiguous sexuality. His poems, glorifying working-class lives and expressing a mystical view of both self and society, were taken by early readers as the core of a new religious vision for a truly democratic people. Whitman strove to express the American genius, which, as he emphasized in the preface to the first edition, lay not in leaders, but "always most in the common people." Viewing America in a post-Christian light, his faith in a democratic future nevertheless shared much in common with the postmillennialism of the mid-19th century, which he heard preached by Henry Ward Beecher and others.

But Whitman's own religious influences also came from sources outside the evangelical Protestant mainstream of his day. Brought up in a liberal Quaker (see Friends, Religious Society of) household, Whitman also learned from his father's appreciation of the deist (see Enlightenment) ideas of Tom Paine to distrust authority and orthodoxy, to have faith in human nature, and to respect non-Christian religions. As an adult, Whitman was attracted to various forms of harmonial religion. Reading Emerson's transcendentalism and the Spiritualism of Andrew Jackson Davis provided much of the philosophical foundation for the immanent view of divinity, incarnate in the experience of the American people, that he developed in his poetry.

Walt Whitman, the great poet of the American spirit. *(Library of Congress)*

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Wicca Wicca is a neopagan (see neopaganism) religion that claims to recover the ancient religion of the Celts. Although there is wide variation within the practice of Wicca, most Wiccans accept the denomination of themselves as witches. They reject, however, the popular view of witches as evil and servants of the devil.

Like other forms of neopaganism, Wicca is difficult to describe authoritatively since it has no creed and numerous variants. The word appears to have been used first in a 1954 book written by Gerald Gardner. Originally spelled *Wica* and later regularized to *Wicca*, the word was used to refer to the practitioners of the religion that Gardner always referred to as witchcraft. Gardner, an Englishman, claimed to have been initiated into the knowledge and practices of an existing coven that had practiced the "Old Religion" from before the time of Christianity. In his books *Witchcraft Today* (1954) and *The Meaning of Witchcraft* (1959), Gardner described witchcraft as a complex, secretive, and hierarchical religion. This version of Wicca, often referred to as Gardnerian or Lineaged Wicca, has been surpassed in the United States by other forms of Wicca (Eclectic Wicca), many of which, while claiming some connection to ancient traditions, often are invented traditions merging many different strands of Lineaged Wicca, nature religions, and wider forms of neopaganism. The publication in 1979 of Margot Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today* played a major role both in the expansion of Wicca (and neopaganism in general) in the United States and in extending the varieties of practice.

Most Wiccans consider their religion to be a true and ancient tradition. They focus on the powers of nature, and most emphasize a goddess figure and, in some variants, her consort, the horned god. More feminist forms of Wicca have dispensed with the horned god to focus on what they consider to have been ancient Europe's matriarchal religion. Wiccan rituals emphasize natural forces, the goddess, and, depending on the tradition, her consort. They usually gather inside a ritual circle to honor these forces and to ask them for aid in their daily lives. One element that has drawn much attention is the perception that Wiccans perform their rituals in the nude, or skyclad, in the formal language. While this does happen on some occasions and with some practitioners, it is not a universal practice. Neither is it out of keeping with Wicca's emphasis on physicality and the body's sacredness.

Since Wiccans, reasonably or not, connect themselves with the history of witches in Europe, they view witch trials as religious oppression and part of a concerted effort by Christian authorities to destroy the ancient knowledge (see SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS). For them, this history explains the secrecy associated with Wicca and why knowledge of its continuous practice is so little known. Additionally, Wiccans claim that the true number of practitioners in the United States is unknown because of fear of persecution.

Some of these fears are not unreasonable. Wiccans often have been connected with SATANISM, and rumors of ritual satanic abuse continue to haunt many neopagan movements. Cultural stereotypes of witches and their practices also play a role in this suspicion. In the United States, the courts have ruled formally that Wicca is a religion, and its practitioners are entitled to all of the protections granted to all religions under the CONSTITUTION. This has not stopped some politicians from attempting to make political capital out of the issue. In the mid-1980s, several attempts were made in Congress to prevent Wiccan organizations from obtaining the tax-exempt status granted to religions. Offered as amendments to major bills, these attempts died in committee.

The other issue that has generated some attention involves Wiccans in the military. Following repeated requests, the U.S. military recognized Wicca as a religion and allowed Wiccan rituals to be undertaken on U.S. military bases. This generated significant resistance among conservative Christians. In 1999, they formed an organization designed to promote a boycott of the military among conservative Christians as long as the armed services allowed Wiccan practice. This attempt soon became moribund.

On one practical level, the military delayed making a decision on the use of the Wicca pentacle, or five-pointed star, on tombstones in military cemeteries. Requested on behalf of a Wiccan soldier killed in Afghanistan, the military initially made no recommendation. The failure to approve use of the symbol resulted in a lawsuit filed by Americans United for Separation of Church and State in late summer 2006. In April 2007, the lawsuit was settled, and the symbol was approved for use in military cemeteries.

For numerous reasons, the number of Wiccans in the United States cannot be stated with any definiteness. Many practitioners point to fear of persecution as the reason why many individuals fail to identify as Wiccans (this is compounded by the commitment to secrecy among some forms of practice) and claim the number to be nearly 1 million. The American Religious Identification Survey estimated that in 2001 around 135,000 adults self-identified themselves as Wiccans.

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Wilkinson, Jemima (1752–1819) The first American-born woman to found a religious society, Jemima Wilkinson was one of the most notable and controversial religious innovators of the revolutionary and early national eras. Born and raised on a farm in Cumberland, Rhode Island, Wilkinson was the eighth of 12 children born to Amey and Jeremiah Wilkinson, the latter a well-to-do farmer and member of the Society of Friends (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF). Her mother died when Jemima was 12 years old, and the young woman thereafter immersed herself in reading the Bible and the works of George Fox and WILLIAM PENN, well-known Quaker leaders.

The tumultuous political and religious events surrounding the Revolutionary War had a tremendous impact upon the young woman. Her family became embroiled in the battle against Britain; two of her brothers joined the militia and were consequently suspended from the local Society of Friends meeting. Jemima's own spiritual questioning led to her involvement with the "New Lights" (see NEW LIGHTS/OLD LIGHTS) in the region, evangelicals who promoted revivalism and an intense form of religious devotion. In 1776, the Quaker meeting expelled her from membership for not attending meetings and for not using plain language, presumably a result of her leanings toward the evangelicals.

During this period of psychological and communal upheaval, Wilkinson took to her bed with a fever for a period of several weeks. Shortly after her recovery, she claimed that she had experienced physical death and that her body had been resurrected as a new spirit sent from God to fulfill a special earthly mission. Although she herself never asserted that she represented the prophesied return of Christ, many of her believers apparently interpreted her ordeal in this way. Calling herself the "Publick Universal Friend," Wilkinson began traveling as an itinerant, preaching a message that combined biblical axioms, prophecies, dream interpretation, and faith healing. Self-consciously avoiding doctrinal disputes, Wilkinson nonetheless drew both upon the New Light themes of repentance and future judgment and on the Quaker rejection of predestination and election. She also donned dress that mirrored both evangelical and

Quaker patterns: She traveled in long, loosely flowing gowns akin to clerical garb and wore a large-brimmed fur hat like those worn by male members of the Society of Friends. The overall effect was described by observers as "masculine" in appearance.

In the late 1770s and 1780s, Wilkinson attracted growing numbers of New Englanders with her simple, direct preaching style and her creative blending of popular beliefs. Many of her followers came from Quaker backgrounds, like herself, and a significant number were quite wealthy and financed her work. After 1782, when she took her message into Pennsylvania and western New York, she increased her following considerably, but she also faced mob violence and charges of blasphemy in Philadelphia. By 1785, she and a group of loyal supporters made plans to establish a separate community in the Genesee region of New York. In 1790, she joined some 260 settlers in a community based on independent landholding and a devotion to her teachings. "New Jerusalem" was the largest communitarian settlement in western New York in its day. Wilkinson remained there for the rest of her life, although an on-going legal battle over land rights, as well as her encouragement of celibacy, prompted a gradual decline in membership. After her death, the movement died out, but she continues to occupy an important role in American religious history as a creative and dynamic spiritual leader who appealed to the popular spiritual yearnings of her contemporaries.

LMK

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Willard, Frances Elizabeth Caroline (1839–1898) Frances Willard, the "Queen of American Democracy" according to noted British reformist William T. Stead, became one of the best-known activists of the 19th century. She used her position as president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to cement support for a number of reform issues: TEMPERANCE, women's suffrage, labor reform, the improvement of family life, as well as the socialist views of Edward Bellamy (1850–98), Henry George (1839–97), and the Knights of Labor. Her political skills contributed to the growth of the Prohibition Party as a potential third force in American politics during the presidential elections of 1884 and 1888.

Born on September 28, 1839, near Rochester, New York, Willard grew up on a farm near Janesville, Wisconsin, where her family had moved. Willard went away to school in Milwaukee and Evanston, Illinois, and upon graduation taught school, traveled abroad, and served as secretary of the Methodist Centenary Fund. She became president of Evanston College for Ladies in the early 1870s and was then appointed dean of Northwestern University, resigning in 1874 after conflicts over the extent of her authority.

Willard rose to political prominence after accepting a position of secretary of the WCTU later in 1874. At the time, the organization was divided between theological conservatives and liberals, with the conservative group supporting a narrow focus on the Prohibition issue. Willard left the WCTU over these disputes and moved on to work for evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY's ministry in Boston. Again she found the theological orthodoxy confining, returned to Evanston, and was elected president of the Illinois chapter of the WCTU. From there, she moved to the national presidency in 1879 and held that post until her death in 1898.

As president, Willard was responsible for making WCTU the largest women's organization in the country. Though allied with various church groups active in the temperance cause, the WCTU remained independent of denominational, and male, control. Willard's own theology was eclectic, but she was quite

As president of the WCTU, Frances Willard expanded the union's concern to a wide range of social issues, including women's suffrage. *(Library of Congress)*

willing to work within the fold of evangelical Christianity, igniting in thousands of conservative churchwomen a desire to undertake public action in the name of broad-reaching social reforms. She urged her followers to "Do Everything," launching effective campaigns for prison reform, child care, job training for the young, and social welfare. Toward the end of her career, she championed world peace and what she spoke of as "Christian Socialism." Part of her genius must be attributed to her ability to make use of the rhetoric of domesticity. She portrayed the enormous social costs accompanying America's transformation into an industrial, corporate society as a threat to home, motherhood, and family life, thus making it possible for women to exert effective political power without having to contradict the accepted notion of women's domestic role.

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Williams, George M. See SOKA GAKKAI INTERNATIONAL-USA.

Williams, Roger (1603–1683) Remembered today as the founder of Rhode Island and a proponent of religious freedom, Roger Williams was seen by his contemporaries as an inveterate troublemaker and a threat to the political and social order. Born in London, probably in 1603, Williams attended Pembroke College, Cambridge, receiving his B.A. degree in 1627. He continued for two years of postgraduate work, during which time he also took religious orders. After leaving Cambridge, he served as private chaplain to the family of Sir William Masham of Essex.

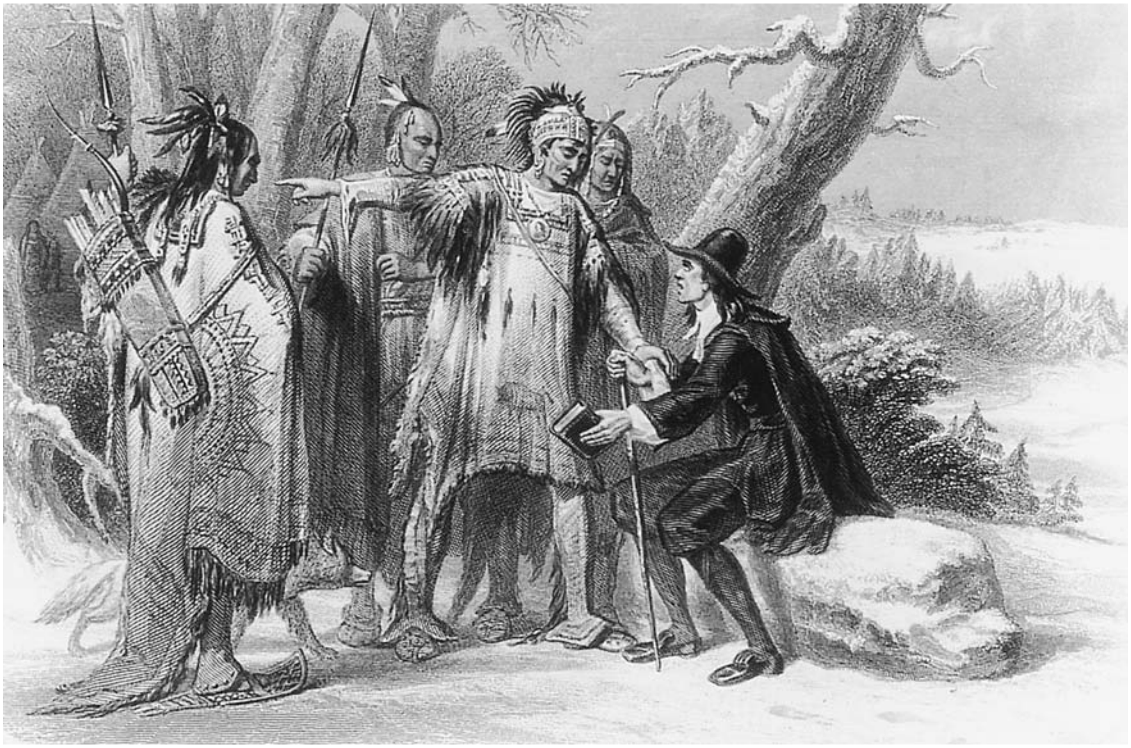
Although involved in the planning of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, Williams did not come to America until 1631. Welcoming the bright, personable, and charming young minister, the Boston church asked Williams to replace its minister while he returned to England for his family. Williams refused, claiming that the Boston church was not pure. He already had moved beyond PURITANISM and embraced separatism. Since all Massachusetts churches, including the Boston church, considered the Anglican churches to be true churches, they were corrupt in Williams's eyes, and he refused to serve in them.

Despite these dangerous ideas, his standing in the colony remained high. In Salem, he found a church more willing to adopt his ideas on separation and accepted their offer to serve as teacher. Only the intervention of Governor JOHN WINTHROP, who feared the divisiveness separatism might create, caused the offer to be withdrawn.

After this incident, Williams left for the separatist colony of Plymouth, expecting the PILGRIMS to be more receptive to his views. They were not, and in 1634, Williams returned to Massachusetts Bay. By this time, he had developed ideas even more dangerous than separatism. Williams denounced the colony's charter as illegal, claiming the king had no right to give the land away. This threatened the existence of the colony, and under pressure, Williams was forced to back down.

This respite was temporary, however, and soon Williams was expressing the same view. To this, he added rejection of the charter's description of Europe as Christendom, objection to oaths, and a claim that the colony should return the charter to the king, asking him to correct it.

If that were not bad enough, Williams also declared that the civil law had no right to enforce religious behavior. These views were too much for the colony's leaders, who ordered Williams to appear before the General Court. At this hearing, he refused to admit his errors and was banished from the colony in October 1635. The sentence was stayed until spring on the condition that he remain silent. This Williams was unwilling to do. After he resumed his speaking, several of the colony's administrators schemed to ship him back to England. Forewarned by John Winthrop, Williams escaped into the country, where he took up with the Narragansett Indians. From them, he



Exiled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for his radical religious views, Roger Williams found asylum among the Narragansett Indians. *(Library of Congress)* bought land for his own colony. This colony grew quickly, and in 1643–44 he traveled to England to obtain official recognition for it.

While there, he published his first book against religious persecution, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*. This book, to which JOHN COTTON published a rebuttal, was followed by a sequel in 1652. In these books, Williams rejected the commonly held view that religious uniformity was necessary for social peace. Many states maintain civil peace without true religion, he argued, and many states claiming to have true religion are in constant conflict.

Williams argued that the enforcement of religious beliefs by civil law was both unnecessary and dangerous. If the spiritual realm were to maintain its purity, it must be separate from the civil realm. The use of material weapons in waging the battles of the spirit only sullies religion. Christ came to save men's souls, not to destroy their bodies. Spiritual weapons are sufficient for fighting spiritual battles.

Despite these views, Williams did not believe all religious views were equally acceptable. Williams particularly opposed Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]) and Catholics (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM), but both groups were welcome in the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Jews, BAPTISTS, and refugees from Massachusetts Bay also found homes in the colony. All were allowed to practice their beliefs as long as they did not violate the civil peace.

At the time of his death in March 1683, Williams had spent four decades as a seeker. He had left all established denominations and despaired of finding the pure church on Earth. While he died without finding his pure church, he helped to enshrine religious liberty in America, and for this, he has earned the respect of many Americans.

(See also CHURCH AND STATE; COLONIAL PERIOD)

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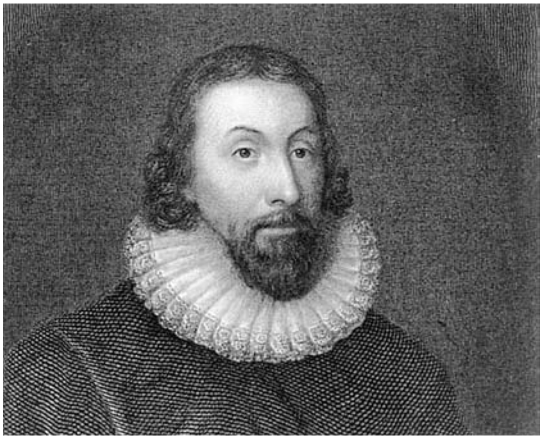
Winthrop, John (1588–1649) John Winthrop, the first and oft-reelected governor of MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, was born in Edwardstone, England, at Groton Manor on January 22, 1588. In 1603, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge. While at Cambridge, he came under Puritan influence and soon was completely committed to PURITANISM.

Winthrop left Cambridge in 1605 without receiving a degree. In that year, he married and became justice of the peace for the area around his ancestral home. Eight years later, in response to the increasing financial pressures of his large family, Winthrop turned to the law to increase his income, entering Grays Inn, one of the Inns of the Court where gentlemen studied law, in October 1613. By 1619, Winthrop was a successful lawyer, dividing his time between the family estate at Groton Manor and London, where he had a law practice.

Following the accession of Charles I in 1625, the situation for Puritans worsened. The Puritans, who rejected both bishops and royal absolutism on religious grounds, found themselves at odds with the king, who favored both. For an ambitious and able man like Winthrop, who as a Puritan found doors to advancement closed to him, England became



John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. *(Boston Public Library)*

a hostile place. Facing increasing persecution, many Puritans, including Winthrop, began to consider planting a colony in America.

Using their remaining influence at court, a group of Puritans obtained a charter from the king for an American colony. Winthrop, a leading member of the corporation that organized the colony, led the first group of colonists. They left England aboard the *Arbella* on April 7, 1630, arriving in New England on June 12. While still on board the *Arbella*, Winthrop spoke to the new colonists about their obligations to God and each other. This sermon, "A Modell of Christian Charity," reminded the emigrants that social distinctions were ordained by God. In the New World, these distinctions must be observed even more strictly to decrease the possibility of failure. These distinctions, however, did not mean that there were not mutual duties and obligations. All the colonists must work together for the good of the whole. They would be as a "city upon a hill" where all the world could see whether they succeeded or failed.

Winthrop served as governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony through 17 one-year terms between 1629 and 1649. In 1635, he lost the election due to his leniency toward violators of the colony's ordinances. Winthrop felt that harsh dealings with offenders invited division and conflict in a new colony. Leniency, however, was to be extended only to those who admitted their errors. Persisting in error was punished with severity.

ROGER WILLIAMS and ANNE HUTCHINSON learned this when they were banished for violating the religious and civil peace of the colony. The threats they posed were, in Winthrop's mind, too great for leniency, especially given their refusal to admit their errors and to cease teaching them. In Williams's case, Winthrop exercised some leniency, informing Williams of a plan to ship him back to England and advising him to leave the colony. Although active in pushing for Williams's banishment, Winthrop retained his friendship, and the two remained correspondents until Winthrop's death.

While Winthrop could be self-righteous and vindictive, as in the case of Anne Hutchinson, he was also forgiving of human foibles, a tireless organizer, and an unselfish laborer for the good of the colony. When he died on March 26, 1649, he was governor again, and Massachusetts was a thriving colony, secure in its economic and political life. Much of this security was due to Winthrop's leadership. He had given of his time, wealth, and life to insure that the Massachusetts Bay Colony would not only survive, but prosper as a model of a God-centered society.

(See also COLONIAL PERIOD.)

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Wise, Isaac Mayer (1819–1900) Isaac Mayer Wise was one of the most important figures in American JUDAISM. While the intellectual content of REFORM JUDAISM owes more to men such as DAVID EINHORN and KAUFMANN KOHLER, the institutional structure of the movement must be credited largely to Wise. His organizational bent, along with his unrelenting drive to create a modern and American Judaism, means that Wise more than anyone deserves the title "founding father" of American Judaism.

Born in Steingrub, Bohemia, on March 29, 1819, Isaac Mayer Wise grew up in a freer atmosphere than that of most central European Jews. Dissuaded by a teacher from reading the texts of the kabbala (Jewish mystical literature), he immersed himself in German literature and philosophy. He studied at various yeshivas (religious schools) in Prague, Jenikau (Bohemia), and Vienna and in 1843 became rabbi in the Bohemian town of Radnitz.

By this time, Wise had become increasingly discontented with traditional Judaism and with Europe. He saw the United States as a place where a reformed Judaism could take root and where Jews could live free from prejudice and tradition. He became, in his words, "a naturalized American in the interior of Bohemia."

Arriving in the United States with his family in 1846, Wise first lived in Charleston, South Carolina. After several months of traveling, however, they finally settled in Albany, New York, where Wise became rabbi of Congregation Beth-El.

Wise's efforts to move Beth-El toward reform were controversial. The hostility between the traditionalists and reformers became so great that one year at High Holiday services, Wise was assaulted in the synagogue. The arrival of the sheriff and a posse failed to end the fighting between his supporters and opponents. As the violence moved outside, Wise found himself arrested by the constable and charged with leading a mob. He had been set up by his opponents.

In 1850, Wise resigned and led part of his congregation in founding Anshe Emeth. There he remained until 1854, when Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in Cincinnati, Ohio, called him as their rabbi. In the west, Wise found the openness to new ideas he desired. Soon, under his leadership, Cincinnati became the center of Reform Judaism in the United States.

An ardent Americanizer, Wise began publishing an English-language newspaper, the *Israelite,* designed to spread the views of Reform Judaism. Recognizing, however, that most of his audience was German, he also published a German-language weekly, *Die Deborah.* In 1857, he issued a revision of the prayer book, *Minhag America* (American ritual), in which

Isaac Mayer Wise, an ardent advocate of Reform Judaism who helped found and became the first president of Hebrew Union College in 1875.

he shortened many of the prayers, eliminated others, and tried to bring the service more in line with the times.

Wise's vision of Judaism and religion drove his reforming activities. He wanted to remove from Judaism everything that did not elevate it or that opened it to ridicule. He taunted Jews who followed the dietary laws, calling them "overseers of the kitchen" and "taskmasters of the stomach." Judaism, for Wise, did not reside "in victuals," but in "fear of the Lord and the love of many in harmony with the dicta of reason." He believed that "only such observances and practices which might and should become universal because they would be beneficial to all men, are with us inherent elements of Judaism."

With this language, and when speaking of God as the "central Vital Force," Wise sounds little different from any liberal religionist (see LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL) of the late 19th century. The same Wise, however, firmly believed in the revealed character of the Torah and refused to allow the teaching of higher biblical criticism (see BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION) at Hebrew Union College while he was president—even to the point of firing a professor for doing so.

Wise was a practical man. As he put it, "Reform was never an end in itself; I considered it only a necessary means to clarify the teachings of Judaism, and to transfigure, exalt, and spread those teachings." His practicality showed itself in his organizational abilities. He was the prime force behind the creation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) in 1873 and Hebrew Union College in 1875. Wise served as the college's president until his death on March 26, 1900, carefully shepherding the school through its early years and enabling it to become the first permanent center of Jewish higher education in the United States.

Although the UAHC and Hebrew Union College were designed to serve traditionalists and reformers, the differences were too great. Alienated by Wise's indifference to dietary laws and by the radical statement of Reform principles enunciated in the PITTSBURGH PLATFORM of 1885, traditionalists abandoned the school and the UAHC, leaving both to the reformers. By 1889, when the third basic institution of Reform Judaism, the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), was created, the Reform movement dominated American Judaism. This dominance owed much to Wise's skills as an institutional builder and a popularizer. Although others may have been better at developing Reform Judaism's theological principles, none could match Wise's ability to turn those principles into organizations.

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Wise, Stephen S. (1874–1949) Rabbi, social reformer, and Zionist (see ZIONISM), Stephen Wise was a leading figure in American JUDAISM during a long and distinguished career. Born in Budapest, Hungary, on March 14, 1874, Wise came to America as a young child. After receiving his B.A. degree from Columbia University in 1892, he studied privately for the rabbinate in New York, Oxford, and Vienna. Between 1893 and 1906, Wise served pulpits in New York and Portland, Oregon, while completing his Ph.D. at Columbia. In 1906, Wise, who had moved away from the orthodoxy of his youth to embrace REFORM JUDAISM, accepted the position of rabbi at New York's Free Synagogue, where he served until his death on April 19, 1949.

An unabashed activist, Wise was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909), the American Civil Liberties Union (1920), the American Jewish Congress (1916), and the World Jewish Congress (1936). He was a vocal opponent of governmental corruption, and with John Haynes Holmes, minister of the independent Community Church in New York, exposed political corruption in New York City.

Of all the causes in which he was involved, none consumed Wise as much as Zionism. One of the few leaders of Reform Judaism to embrace the Zionist movement, Wise was active in all the major Zionist organizations. To combat the anti-Zionism of Hebrew Union College while maintaining Reform Judaism's liberalism, in 1922, Wise founded the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. He was a forceful proponent of Jewish rights and one of the first public figures to warn against Hitler's anti-Semitic policies (see ANTI-SEMITISM).

His vigor, commitment, and rhetorical skills made him a powerful religious figure in his day and a major influence on the development of Reform Judaism.

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witchcraft See NEOPAGANISM.

Witherspoon, John (1723–1794) Presbyterian minister, president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), and the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence, John Witherspoon exemplified the interests and abilities of nonconforming clergy in the 18th century. Witherspoon was born in Gifford, Haddingtonshire, Scotland, on February 5, 1723. His father, also a Presbyterian minister, inculcated his son with a disciplined mind and a commitment to plain living and diligent work.

As a young boy, Witherspoon attended the local grammar school, where he excelled, and at the age of 14 entered the University of Edinburgh, receiving his M.A. in 1739. He continued his studies in divinity until the age of 21, when he entered the ministry. For the next several years, Witherspoon was a successful minister, moving to a large parish and writing three highly praised books of theology. In recognition of his skills and learning, the University of St. Andrews awarded Witherspoon an honorary doctorate in 1764.

In 1766, a group of Americans approached Witherspoon about accepting the presidency of the College of New Jersey. His wife's concern about leaving family and an established position led him to decline the offer. Between 1766 and 1767, however, Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, who was attending the University of Edinburgh, befriended the family. Apparently, his appeals to Mrs. Witherspoon convinced her that America was not completely a howling wilderness, and, with her assent, Witherspoon let it be known that if the position were offered again, he would accept. The trustees promptly elected Witherspoon president in December 1767.

The Witherspoons left for Britain's American colonies the following summer. They arrived in Philadelphia in August along with their five children (five others had died in infancy and childhood) and 300 books for the college's library. From Philadelphia, they proceeded to Princeton, where on September 28, Witherspoon was formally installed as president of the college.

Witherspoon found a school in deep financial distress with questionable academic standards. His diligence in traveling on behalf of the school greatly increased its enrollment and eased the school's financial situation. He also preached regularly, usually twice on Sundays. His sermons were widely admired for their coherence, for precision of speech, and for being, in the words of Benjamin Rush, "loaded with common sense."

As president of the college, Witherspoon also had a substantial responsibility for teaching students. After arranging for the appointment of a professor of mathematics and natural sciences, Witherspoon still found himself responsible for lectures in moral philosophy, divinity, rhetoric, and history. He also taught French to those desiring it.

Through education and conviction, Witherspoon was firmly committed to ENLIGHTENMENT ideas and was particularly influenced by SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM. He was not averse to introducing students to controversial ideas, and he greatly expanded the college's library holdings.

Convinced of John Locke's philosophical and political views, he was a staunch advocate of traditional British liberties, which he saw being threatened by the policies of the British government in North America. John Adams, on his way to a meeting of the Continental Congress in 1774, stayed with the Witherspoons and, after this meeting, declared the college president to be "as high a Son of Liberty, as any Man in America."

The outbreak of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION had a devastating effect on the College of New Jersey. Witherspoon was forced to close the college and send the students home. The British eventually destroyed most of the school's buildings. During this time, Witherspoon was anything but inactive. Elected as one of New Jersey's delegates to the second Continental Congress, he arrived during the debate on the Declaration of Independence. Witherspoon vocally supported its adoption. When an opponent declared that the country was not yet ripe for independence, Witherspoon is said to have declared that, in his opinion, the country was "not only ripe, but rotting."

Witherspoon, despite repeated attempts to retire from public life, would continue to be reelected to Congress. He eventually resigned from the Continental Congress in 1782 with the close of the American Revolution. The war had cost him his college and the life of one of his sons at the Battle of Germantown. Following the end of the war, Witherspoon devoted his energy to rebuilding Princeton. These energies included a 1783 fund-raising trip to Europe that took a heavy toll on the 60-year-old clergyman and failed in its goal.

Returning to America the following year, Witherspoon increasingly began to hand over his duties to his son-in-law, Samuel Stanhope Smith, and left the president's home for an estate in the country. His wife died in 1789. His remarriage the following year to a 24-year-old widow generated perhaps the first critical remarks on Witherspoon in his life.

Despite this fact, he was elected to the New Jersey Convention, held to determine whether to ratify the Constitution. There he played the role of strong supporter of ratification and helped sway the delegates to such a vote. Additionally, he was actively involved in the establishment of an independent American Presbyterian Church, presiding over the General Assembly until the election of a moderator in 1789.

The last few years of his life saw Witherspoon in declining health. By 1792, he was completely blind and had to be led into the pulpit to deliver his sermons. He died on November 15, 1794, and was buried in Princeton's cemetery.

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womanist theology A *womanist*, according to novelist Alice Walker, who popularized the term in the 1980s, refers to "a Black feminist or feminist of color" who engages in "outrageous, audacious, courageous, or willful" behavior. Womanist theology is, therefore, the courageous and sometimes audacious theology of contemporary black feminists and feminists of color.

Womanist theologians such as Delores Williams, Jacquelyn Grant, and Katie Cannon criticize FEMINIST THEOLOGY as racist and black LIBERATION THEOLOGY as sexist. They view feminist theology as white theology and black liberation theology as male theology. Though womanist theologians clearly aim to correct what they view as the racism of white feminist theology, they stand alongside rather than against the feminist theological tradition they hope to reform. To borrow language from Walker, womanist theology is to feminist theology not as black is to white but as "purple" is to "lavender."

Womanist theology shares with feminist theology a critique of the sexism of dominant theologies. It also criticizes the male-centered symbols and rituals of the Christian church. Like feminist theologians, womanist theologians aim to construct theologies that present positive images of women, that celebrate the role of women in religious history (or "herstory"), and that aim to construct nonsexist religious institutions as alternatives to dominant androcentric ones. But womanist theology differs from feminist theology in four significant ways.

First, womanist theology draws heavily on black folklore and black women's literature. Thus, the womanist ethicist Katie G. Cannon, for example, searches for moral wisdom not in the ethical theories of male thinkers of the past but in the practical moral admonitions passed down over the generations by black women to their daughters and preserved today in the literary traditions of black women.

Second, womanist theology resists the separatist strain prominent in some feminist theology. Black women typically see themselves as engaged with black men in a common struggle, and they eschew more radical critiques of men as disruptive of the African-American community.

Third, womanist theologians tend to emphasize class issues more than their feminist counterparts. Jacquelyn Grant, for example, has argued that while feminist theologians have been preoccupied with bourgeois concerns such as self-fulfillment, womanist theologians have been tackling more basic issues such as the economic survival of the African-American community.

Fourth, womanist theologians are typically more reluctant than their white feminist counterparts to jettison the religious traditions in which they have been raised. Though they willingly criticize portions of the Bible (or dominant interpretations thereof) as oppressive, they are not willing to get rid of Christian Scripture altogether. Its God they typically view as a comforter and liberator who leads God's people out of bondage and into freedom; its Jesus they see as a divine incarnation who suffers with the oppressed even as he redeems them from that oppression. Recognizing the historical importance of the black church as both a place of personal refuge and a rallying point for political action, womanist theologians are reluctant to move outside the Christian community to the sort of "post-Christian" feminist thinking commended by MARY DALY and others.

Like feminist theology, womanist theology begins with the experience of contemporary women rather than the inherited dictates of ancient men. What distinguishes womanist theology is its origins in the experience, both in church and in society, of black women and women of color.

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Woman's Bible *The Woman's Bible* (1895 and 1898) is an early and influential commentary on the Bible written by ELIZABETH CADY STANTON and a committee of 19th-century women's rights reformers. Focusing on biblical passages pertaining to women, it attempts both to criticize the degradation of women in the Bible and to offer alternative, woman-affirming readings of key biblical texts.

Officially written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and what came to be known as the Revising Committee, the first volume of *The Woman's Bible*, which focused on the Pentateuch, was published in 1895. The second volume, which commented on later biblical books, came out in 1898.

In her effort to staff the Revising Committee, Stanton wrote many women asking them to participate, but only a few were willing. Some responded that the Bible was too sacred to criticize; others believed the Bible was too hostile to women to revise. Susan B. Anthony was sympathetic to the latter group, but she believed that a rereading of certain biblical stories traditionally used against women would help to improve women's place in the church. Despite the difficulties she had in recruiting willing commentators, Stanton was able to bring into her Revising Committee scholars in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. *The Woman's Bible* they produced thus drew on the best historical critical scholarship of the time.

Stanton's main interest was tracing the roots of woman's 19th-century bondage to biblical passages. Rather than arguing, as have some contemporary feminist theologians (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY), that the Bible teaches the equality of men and women, Stanton contended that the Bible does not "exalt and dignify woman." Though she celebrated the virtuous and heroic women in the Bible, she concluded that, on the whole, the text functioned to enslave rather than to liberate women.

Because of her conviction that God would not inspire inequality, Stanton rejected the doctrine of the divine inspiration of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. But she did find some hope for women imbedded in those texts. For example, she and her colleagues reread the creation myth in Genesis as a story that exalts Eve as the original matriarch and contains no direct commandment for men to rule over women. Stanton also found some biblical warrants for envisioning God as both heavenly Father and Mother, as did Christian Scientist MARY BAKER EDDY.

Reviews of *The Woman's Bible* were both positive and negative, but the book sold widely. Conservative participants in the women's suffrage movement objected to the commentary, and some thought that dealing with the Bible only diverted energy from more important issues. Ultimately, the National American Suffrage Association passed a resolution disassociating itself from *The Woman's Bible*, even though Susan B. Anthony gave a speech in support of the work. What divided Stanton from some of her fellow suffragists was her conviction that women could not fight the battle for equal rights simply on the political front. Religious questions, she was convinced, also had to be raised.

At least some of today's feminists apparently agree with Stanton. They produced two feminist biblical commentaries commemorating the 100th anniversary of Stanton's work.

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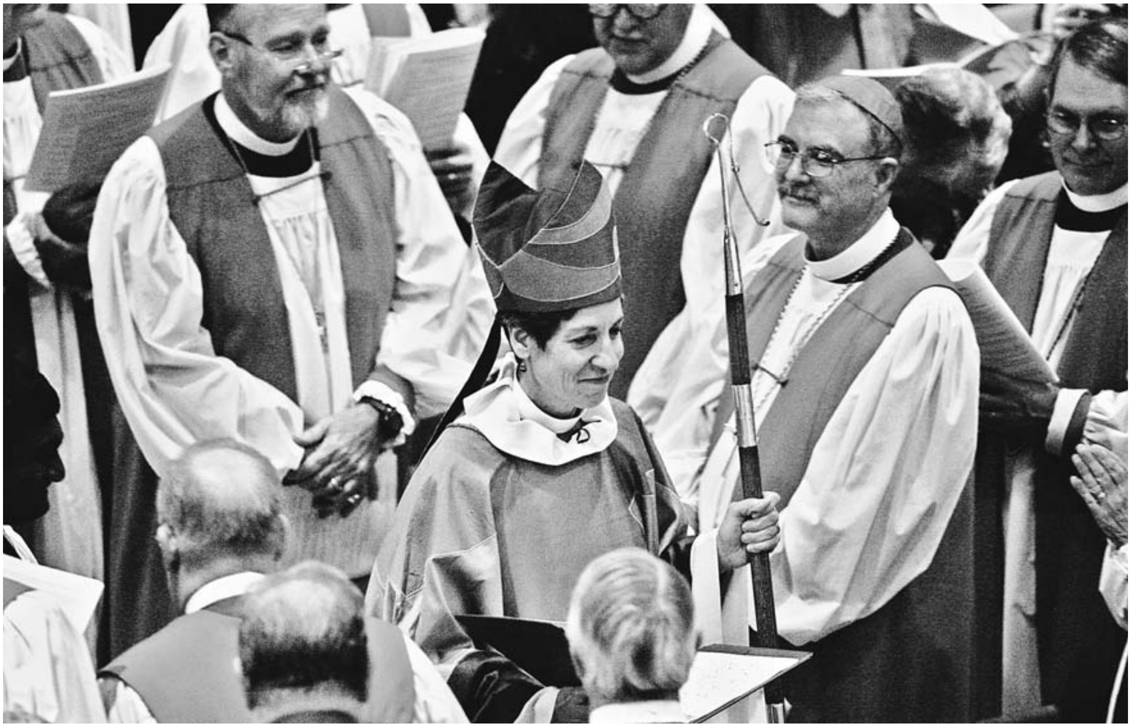
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman's Bible* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1999).

women, religion and The role of women in American religious history has been important, if relatively hidden. That said, women also have played an important role in religion's public life, including founding at least three American denominations. The history of women in American religious history is, therefore, the history of American religion. It also is, however, the story of what is (or ought to be) the role of women in American religion and, to some extent, of the nature and meaning of gender and its relationship to religion.

The history of women in American religion is as old as the arrival of the first Americans. Unfortunately, little is known of the role of women in pre-Columbian times, and the first bit of awareness comes with the arrival of European colonizers. In NEW SPAIN and NEW FRANCE, the relative absence of European female settlers and families meant that women played a relatively small role in the regions' religious development. On the other hand, the proselytizing work of the French and Spanish missionaries did have some successes, including the conversion of KATERI TEKAKWITHA, the first Native American saint.

In the more settled colonies of British North America, particularly in the New England colonies, we begin to get better knowledge of the role and activities of women in American religion. The Puritan (see PURITANISM) colonies and the PILGRIMS at Plymouth were notable for immigrating to the Western Hemisphere as family units, and the population disparity between men and women was much less than in most of the early colonies, whether British, French, or Spanish.



Katherine Jefferts Schori installed as presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church. *(Getty)*

Additionally, given their approach to religion and the Bible, the Puritans also had a much greater commitment to female literacy than other groups. Women, just like men, were encouraged to read the Bible and to think about religious issues, albeit in a manner that remained embedded within the ordered and hierarchical society that constituted the Puritan ideal.

It was, however, difficult to constrain what women (and indeed anyone) would do with religious knowledge once they engaged it. Some, like ANNE BRADSTREET, remained within the limits of Puritan Orthodoxy, while pushing against its limits on women. Others, like ANNE HUTCHINSON and MARY DYER, pushed harder than the limits allowed and suffered for it. Hutchinson provides an interesting case, because to a great extent, the opposition to her partially was driven by her gender.

Dyer's life also shows the shifting nature of religion's relationship to women. Dyer, who started out as a Puritan, eventually became a Quaker and, after repeated arrests, was hanged by the authorities in MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY. Quakers took the claim of equality under God to a reasonable conclusion and tended toward an equality of the sexes in religion and worship, achieving this to a much greater degree than any other religious group in the American colonies.

That the first American denomination to be created and established by a woman had its roots in Quakerism is not surprising. The SHAKERS or, to use the formal name, the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming, were established in America in 1774 by ANN LEE (Mother Ann Lee). Lee had received a revelation from God that the source of all human sinfulness was sexual intercourse. Additionally, the Shakers taught that God had both a female and a male element, both of which were necessary for completeness. Shakers tended toward equality of the sexes in the ordering of their communities. While much of the work fell along traditional gender lines, the decision-making process and the administration of their communities was much more equal. In many ways, it could be said that in Shaker communities women may have played the more significant social and administrative roles.

The Shakers reached their height during the early 19th century, a time when the fervor created by American independence, the movement into the frontier, and religious enthusiasm (see GREAT AWAKENING; BURNED-OVER DISTRICT) opened the way for people to rethink religious and social categories. Many did, and, as a result, the century saw a marked increase in the creation of new religious forms and models, several of which challenged traditional understandings of women and their roles.

In terms of women and religion, the 19th century saw two major developments, which at different times and among different individuals either proved to be mutually reinforcing or contrary. These were a movement toward social reform that included women's rights and the cult of domesticity.

While these movements had numerous variants, the latter tended to see women as having special skills and abilities as nurturers, educators (particularly in terms of religion), and bearers of morality. Because of these special gifts and their centrality to civilization, women needed to be protected and enclosed, for if these gifts were warped or not exercised, the entire ground of society would be at risk. This role, rather than limiting or demeaning women, the argument went, recognized the higher significance of their work and roles. At its purest, this argument truly believed that, "The hand that rocked the cradle is the hand that rules the world."

The movement for women's rights in the history of 19th-century reform did not, in many ways, reject this position. In fact, the very centrality of women's sensibilities to the health of civilization meant that their voices needed to be heard and attended to. These voices overwhelmingly came from a religious source and, in the public realm at least, an overwhelmingly Protestant one. Rooted in the ideas of PERFECTIONISM that grew out of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, many began to see the need (and ability) to perfect the world through moral suasion.

American movements for abolition, TEMPERANCE, and women's rights (see ABOLITIONISM; WOMEN, RELIGION AND) had their roots in this ethos. God made men and women new, and through their actions, the social order could be perfected. Nothing in God's law limited the role of women in doing this. The reformers then embraced women's role, and some of the leading reformers and abolitionist speakers, such as the Grimké sisters (see GRIMKÉ, ANGELINA AND EMILY) were driven by this view. During the mid-1800s, many antiabolition women also began to agitate for women's rights. This agitation found its most visible expression in the Seneca Falls statement in 1848. Several sections of the statement expressly deal with religion. These state that "[man] allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church" and "He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God."

The conference was organized by women like ELIZABETH CADY STANTON and Susan B. Anthony, who had much of their sensibilities created by their religious upbringing. In the early 1890s, Stanton directed the Revising Committee that produced the *WOMAN'S BIBLE* (1895, 1898), which was designed to undertake a critical analysis of biblical passages demeaning to women and to offer a woman-affirming interpretation of Scripture. Although raised a Presbyterian and educated in private religious schools, she criticized the role organized Christianity played in the "enslavement" of women. She was drawn to SPIRITUALISM because it was the only religion that "recognized the equality of woman."

One of the major sources of Spiritualism's appeal was that it lacked a strict hierarchy. Mediums were not determined by a group of individuals but by the "spirits" themselves. Women were considered to be much more likely candidates to be mediums because of their perceived greater sensitivity and emotional nature. This illustrates how the convergence of advocacy for women's rights and women's "special nature" readily could fuse. To a great extent, the temperance movement also grew out of that perception. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (see WILLARD, FRANCES ELIZABETH CAROLINE) was driven by women who undertook an active public role, but it was rooted in the reality that drunkenness destroyed and impoverished families, created widows and orphans, and resulted in abandoned wives and mothers. When drunkenness afflicted women, it undid all the boundaries of morality and decency necessary for civilization. Interestingly, despite the eventual success of Prohibition, prohibition parties had little success at the polls, mostly because of their vocal support for women's suffrage.

Drunkenness was not the only issue that affected women's lives, health, and sense of well-being in the 19th century. Repeated pregnancies, death in childbirth, deaths of children, and the difficulties of life on the frontier particularly affected women and also their approach to religion and society. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, a descendant from a long line of ministers and sister and wife of others, put all these elements into her book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. That book resonated with many readers because Stowe could call upon shared experiences, particularly the death of a child and what a mother would do to prevent it and what effect it would have on her. In the book, political evil (slavery) was a moral evil, and women themselves could understand this most readily both because of their personal experiences and because of their distinctive moral and religious natures.

The physical and mental suffering distinctive of women not only could be turned to political questions but also to religious ones. The intersection of religion and health was at the center of two other denominations founded by American women, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE and the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH. In both these denominations, appropriate religious practice led to good health. For Seventh-day Adventists, good health depended on a good diet. For Christian Scientists, it depended on right thinking, rejecting the illusion of materiality that led to all forms of human illness. While Seventh-day Adventists tended to be more traditional in their approach to gender, Christian Scientists moved in a much more egalitarian direction, and it historically has been a denomination in which women predominated as members, teachers, and healers.

In the Roman Catholic immigrant churches, women continued to operate in the roles of nuns and laywomen that they had known in Europe. One major difference was that the need to create an environment conducive to the needs of Roman Catholics (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM) in the United States in the absence of a church-supporting government gave women religious much wider room for their work. In many ways, it also gave them much more independence. Women's religious orders were central to the creation of Catholic schools, colleges, and hospitals. To a great extent, nuns took the lead in tending to the poor and unfortunate. Their importance in so many of the Catholic Church's leading institutions would have major significance in the following century.

If the 19th century saw movements for change in religion among some women, the 20th century, particularly its latter half, would experience a dramatic shift in the role women would play in American religion. A combination of political, social, and cultural issues operating in that century resulted in a major transformation.

The sources of this transformation were several. First, the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT provided a model for the struggle for social and political equality that had a major influence on the women's movement. These popular movements for equality eventually found themselves enshrined in laws easing women's access to education. Social and cultural movements that eased or ended some sexual taboos and contraception that minimized unwanted pregnancies and allowed women freedom in the ways in which they structured their lives also played major roles. Additionally, social changes that provided greater physical and social mobility opened up opportunities for women.

One result of this was greater agitation for women's ORDINATION, the desire that women be empowered to lead congregations. During the last half of the 20th century, the number of women ministers, rabbis, and (Anglican) priests increased dramatically. In many denominations, their presence rarely raised much notice. On the other hand, many have found themselves hitting a stained glass ceiling, excluded from some of the most prestigious pulpits. Even religions like BUDDHISM have not been immune from these developments. In the United States, there have been independent movements for the ordination of female Buddhist priests and the DALAI LAMA has ordered a historical review of the role of women in Tibetan Buddhism as a way of examining the issue of women's ordination.

The role of women in American religion in the 20th century not only involved practical issues such as ordination, it moved into theology as well. Both FEMINIST THEOLOGY and WOMANIST THEOLOGY (see MARY DALEY) have undertaken to do theological reflection from the perspective of women and their distinctive situation. Feminist biblical critics have picked up from where the authors of the *Woman's Bible* left off, attempting to unpack the true religious message of human equality and liberation from cultural accretions. Additionally, NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, particularly neopagan movements (see NEOPAGANISM) and WICCA, often have strong feminist elements.

While the general societal movement has been toward greater equality for and participation of women in religious affairs, including official leadership, the movement has not been universal. Some denominations, such as the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches and many conservative Protestant denominations, continue to refuse to ordain women. Still others find the movement toward greater political and social equality between women and men to be an attack on the divinely ordained structures of the universe. Such individuals view abortion (see RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT), changing sexual mores including greater acceptance of HOMOSEXUALITY, and women's rights as undoing everything that is morally and religiously right.

Despite such positions, the general movement has been toward greater equality and participation of women in America's religious landscape. As women more regularly take their places in synagogues, churches, and temples and as professors in seminaries and religious studies departments (see ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION), the recognition of their centrality to American religion will only increase.

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Woolman, John (1720–1772) A leading American Quaker (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]) and a staunch opponent of SLAVERY, John Woolman was born on October 19, 1720, in Rancocas, New Jersey. Woolman originally supported himself as a shopkeeper in Mt. Holly, New Jersey, but felt that the wealth he gained from the work distracted from his spiritual development. He took up tailoring instead, since that trade provided him sufficient time to reflect upon spiritual matters.

A minister in the Society of Friends, Woolman spent much of his time traveling up and down the Atlantic Coast and to England speaking about Quaker principles. Woolman not only preached these principles but tried to live them as completely as possible. In order to open himself fully to the inner divine light, he attempted to avoid worldly distractions. An outspoken pacifist, he refused to pay taxes to support the French and Indian War of 1755. Convinced that governmental service forced people to violate their consciences, he advocated that all Quakers resign from colonial assemblies.

Woolman was one of the earliest and most vocal American opponents of slavery, publishing the first part of his *Considerations on the Keeping of the Negroes* in 1754. During his trips through the colonies, he often visited slave owners and attempted to convince them of the immorality of their actions. Symbolic of his refusal to recognize the validity of slavery was the fact that he always paid slaves for the services done him on these visits.

His efforts bore some fruit. In 1758, the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends passed a resolution urging Quakers to free their slaves and threatening to expel any Quaker involved in the slave trade. In 1776, four years after Woolman died while traveling in England (October 7, 1772), the Quakers became the first denomination to make slave owning a bar to membership. No more fitting memorial to Woolman could have been devised.

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World Council of Churches (WCC)

The World Council of Churches is the international, institutional expression of the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. Founded in 1948, the World Council was the result of the 1938 merger of two organizations—the Committee on Life and Work, which focused on bringing churches together for Christian action, and the Committee on Faith and Order, which focused on addressing doctrinal and ritual differences—into a group called the World Council of Churches in the Process of Formation. With the outbreak of WORLD WAR II, that process of formation would take 10 years. Finally, in Amsterdam on August 23, 1948, the World Council of Churches officially was constituted. The work of the council was advanced in 1961 when the International Missionary Council merged its interdenominational work into the WCC, becoming its Committee on World Missions and Evangelism.

At its founding, the World Council consisted of 150 member churches. The original constitution of the World Council defined itself as "Composed of churches which acknowledge Jesus Christ as God and Savior." This definition was refined at the council's third assembly in New Delhi in 1961: "The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of Churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

The World Council has never understood itself as a superchurch or an organization to supplant existing denominational organizations. Its primary goal is to serve churches themselves and to facilitate interdenominational cooperation. The World Council, however, has continued the work of the old Faith and Order Conference in its ongoing discussion of the doctrinal and theological differences that separate the various denominations.

Perhaps the most courageous and most controversial work of the World Council has been related to the so-called younger churches in Asia and Africa. As a world body, the council was sympathetic to criticisms of the West and the heritage of imperialism. The creation of the Program to Combat Racism at the council's 1968 assembly in Uppsala, Sweden, illustrates that concern. As a result, the World Council was criticized because of its monetary grants to organizations struggling against oppression, especially in Africa, that many viewed as communist-infiltrated and fomenters of violence.

The WCC's work has been weakened by the refusal of the Roman Catholic Church to join. Still, the Catholic Church has participated in the council's activities. It has sent observers to every assembly since 1961 and is an official participant in the Commission on Faith and Order.

In the last two decades of the 20th century, the WCC also lost much of its importance because of strong growth in evangelical and Pentecostal Protestant churches that had little interest in, if not active hostility to, the theology and politics of ecumenism. Additionally, a cultural shift toward the local led to decreased interest in the WCC and its work.

Like the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the World Council has decreased in relevance and importance for most American Christians since the 1980s. Part of this has been political, including the serious disconnect between the World Council's policies on Israel and those of the vast majority of Americans. Many also have viewed the World Council as turning an ideological blind eye to some of the most egregious and oppressive dictatorships of the 20th and 21st centuries, particularly the Zimbabwe African Nation Union that the World Council had funded during its struggle against the white-controlled government of what was then Rhodesia.

In 2006, the World Council of Churches had around 340 member denominations representing 550 million Christians in more than 100 countries. While it has not managed to increase its denominational membership, the individual numbers have increased dramatically due to population growth in Asia and Africa and the growing number of religiously affiliated individuals in the former communist countries.

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World's Parliament of Religions The World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in September of 1893 in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition, was a watershed event in the history of American religion. By paving the way for Asian religious traditions in the United States, the parliament functioned as a rite of passage from a predominantly Judeo-Christian to a more religiously plural America (see PLURALISM).

Before the parliament, Christian missionaries and academic Orientalists represented (and misrepresented) Asian religions without much input or correction from Asians themselves. At the parliament, well-educated Asian missionaries arrived in the United States and for the first time publicly made a case for their respective traditions and, in many cases, against Christian missions. After the parliament, those pioneering Asians established enduring institutions in their wake.

Inspired by Charles C. Bonney, a Chicago attorney and lay Swedenborgian (see SWEDENBORGIANISM), the parliament was organized by John Henry Barrows, a liberal minister at the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago. Bonney and Barrows promoted the event as the greatest ecumenical gathering in world history, and a wide array of delegates attended. Christians and Jews were joined on the parliament's podium by 12 Buddhists (see BUDDHISM), eight Hindus (see HINDUISM), two Muslims (see ISLAM), two Zoroastrians, two Shintoists, two Confucians, one Taoist (see TAOISM), and one Jain (see JAINISM). The parliament was attended, for the most part, by liberal religionists. Among those who joined the sultan of Turkey and the archbishop of Canterbury in declining to commingle with the "heathen" were numerous Protestant evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM), orthodox Jews (see ORTHODOX JUDAISM), and conservative Catholics (see ROMAN CATHOLICISM).

The parliament did not conclude without a number of ironies. On the morning of its opening day, the Columbian Liberty Bell tolled 10 times (once for each of the 10 great religious traditions), but the parliament itself began with the Lord's Prayer and ended with "America the Beautiful." Barrows admitted after the parliament that he had secretly hoped that the event, which he had billed as an ecumenical gathering, would, in the last analysis, serve to promote Christianity. By most accounts, the parliament did just the opposite, contributing to what historians have termed "the spiritual crisis of the Gilded Age" by promoting Asian religions as legitimate alternatives to Christianity.

When the archbishop of Canterbury declined his invitation, he wrote that he did not see how anyone could take part in the festivities without presupposing (as many delegates did) the equality of religions. And the parliament does seem to have advanced the cause of the "all religions are one" school. Delegate after delegate underscored the commonalities rather than the differences between Christianity and other religions. At least a few blasted the overseas Christian missionary effort as immoral.

Following the parliament, two of its most celebrated delegates, the Hindu reformer SWAMI VIVEKANANDA and the Theosophical (see THEOSOPHY) Buddhist ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA, traveled around the United States on lecture tours. Vivekananda brought the work of his Ramakhrisna Order to the United States in the form of the VEDANTA SOCIETY, while Dharmapala transplanted his Maha Bodhi Society to American soil. A third Asian delegate, the ZEN master Soyen Shaku (1859–1919), returned to his homeland shortly after the parliament. But he dispatched to America his student and the translator of his parliament speeches, and that student/translator, D. T. SUZUKI (1870–1966), became the most important popularizer of Zen in the modern West.

Although the parliament was not, as one witness claimed, "the greatest event so far in the history of the world," it did play an important role in undermining the exclusivism that had previously marked the Christian missionary effort and in making a place for Asian religions in the American landscape. The parliament also provided important models for the contemporary movement for interreligious dialogue. That inspiration was evident in 1993, when liberal religionists from around the world gathered once again in Chicago to celebrate the centennial of the original parliament.

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World War I America entered "The Great War" on April 6, 1917, two and a half years after the conflict began. During the war, Americans drew upon their religions to mobilize the resources necessary for support of the troops and the patriotic spirit necessary to sustain war. Some Americans also drew on religious resources to resist the war. Many American religious groups emerged from the war with a greater cooperative spirit for ministry and a new vision of America as a world leader.

Traditionally, most Americans were ambivalent about involvement in European conflicts. In the early 20th century, peace groups had grown in membership, leading billionaire Andrew Carnegie to offer a $2-million endowment to establish the ecumenical Church Peace Union in early 1914 (see PEACE REFORM; PHILANTHROPY). Even though Woodrow Wilson was elected president in 1916 under the slogan "He kept us out of the war," isolationism declined sharply following the sinking of the liner *Lusitania* by a German submarine on May 7, 1915. Americans, particularly those of Anglo-Saxon heritage, began mobilizing in support of the war effort.

With Wilson's declaration of war on April 6, 1917, American religious groups established organizational settings for the home front effort as well as a means of providing the troops with supplies, morale, and chaplains. Like the outbreak of other wars (see CIVIL RELIGION), the beginnings of World War I created an opportunity for Americans to find common cause, in particular tabling the bitter religious differences wracking the society in the early 20th century (see MODERNISM; FUNDAMENTALISM). The Federal Council of Churches (FCC) quickly established a General Wartime Commission, chaired by Presbyterian Robert E. Speer, to coordinate the efforts of more than 30 different denominations and organizations, such as the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION and the American Bible Society (see BIBLE SOCIETIES). The commission established a Committee of One Hundred, including notable clergy, such as HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK and lay leaders like the YMCA's JOHN MOTT, to serve as liaisons between the churches and the government. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Red Cross, and the SALVATION ARMY all served as distribution centers for the tons of Bibles, tracts, and other literature sent by Protestant denominations to training camps across the country.

Catholics and Jews also gave unstinting support to the war. Without any institutional body corresponding to the FCC, they turned to existing organizations such as the Knights of Columbus and the Young Men's Hebrew Association to provide logistical means to further the war effort. Catholics, under the leadership of JAMES GIBBONS, gave official form to their wartime ministry by forming the National Catholic War Council (later reorganized into the NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE), however, which provided the spur to involve the previously neutral bishops in questions of public policy (see AMERICANISM; ROMAN CATHOLICISM; RYAN, JOHN). Coordination of support efforts led to a level of cooperation among Catholics, Jews, and Protestants previously unknown and also provided Catholics and Jews with the opportunity to demonstrate their American loyalty.

In addition to religious groups supplying chaplains, civilian aides, supplies, and morale to troops, Americans also drew upon religious symbolism to articulate their rationales for participation in the war and to mobilize public opinion. Countless broadsides, books, and sermons echoed Woodrow Wilson's contention that America, "the disinterested champion of right," had to enter the fight. The son of a Presbyterian minister, Wilson saw America as a redeeming force in history and drew on millennial themes (see MILLENNIALISM) in rallying the nation to struggle "for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world free at last." While Wilson saw no other choice than entry into the conflict, he did so with apprehension, confessing his fears to one journalist that "the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into the very fibre of our national life, infecting congress, the courts, the policeman on the beat, the man in the street."

Ministers and theologians of all persuasions were able to extend Wilson's view of America's unique moral status among nations, and for some the war became a holy war. "It is Christ, the King of Righteousness, who calls us to grapple in deadly strife with this unholy and blasphemous power," claimed one. Religion provided many Americans with the means to depict the enemy as especially demonic, contributing to a hostile anti-German climate across much of the country. A professor at Yale Divinity School urged YMCA staff members to exhort inductees with the thought: "I would not enter this work until I could see Jesus himself sighting down a gun barrel and running a bayonet through an enemy's body," hence making Christ a fellow divinely inspired warrior doing God's work. SHAILER MATHEWS, epitome of theological MODERNISM, said in *Patriotism and Religion* (1918) that it was un-Christian for Americans to refuse service. At the same time, opponents of modernism, such as BILLY SUNDAY, also lent their rhetorical services to the cause, some finding in biblical prophecies proof that Germany was the Antichrist. Others, such as the famed CYRUS SCOFIELD, though supporting the war, doubted Wilson's millennial linking of the war and the creation of a permanent peace, finding biblical warrant only for the view that the war foreshadowed a catastrophic end to history (see PREMILLENNIALISM).

The peace movement, which had been so active prior to the war, was not completely stilled, although reduced to its bare-bones contingent of Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF), MENNONITES, and other members of "historic peace churches." Though legally allowed alternative forms of service, leading to the formation of the American Friends Service Committee in 1917, pacifists were frequently subject to public abuse. One Methodist minister told the local Rotary Club, "If you have one (a pacifist), shoot him." Given the tenor of the times, expressed in Congress's passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts, pacifists were forced to keep their dissent quiet.

The war's end found Americans confronted with a changed world and an uncertain future. The unity produced by the war effort dissolved, as the 1920s brought Americans back into conflict with one another over economic and cultural issues, particularly the challenges posed by the continued waves of immigrants and the growing influence of SECULARISM (see NATIVISM; SCOPES TRIAL). Denominations now possessed much greater organizational capability and political muscle than they had earlier, which many religious leaders sought to use in charting the way ahead. Some of the revivalistic excitement generated by the cause of war remained, enabling religious organizations to finally make headway with the TEMPERANCE issue.

The sense of global responsibility heightened by the war also soon dulled, though the idea that America's destiny involved a readiness to exert moral force on international affairs did not evaporate completely. Many liberal Protestant and Catholic religious leaders supported Woodrow Wilson's internationalism in the establishment of the League of Nations, and in the ensuing years, they established relief agencies for the Belgians and French and became quite active in the work of postwar reconstruction.

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World War II In fighting their second global war in a little more than two decades, Americans again drew on religion, as they had during WORLD WAR I, though without quite the same fervor. Again, Americans used religious symbolism to mobilize patriotic sentiment and religious organizations to supply troops with spiritual sustenance (and, in some circles, to resist the war itself). Ironically, the less strident religious participation in the war effort yielded a much more enduring equation of nationalism and religion than emerged from World War I, one enabling the population to readily accept America's postwar role as global leader in the COLD WAR. In addition, the unity of national purpose created by the war carried over into a sustained postwar religious revival.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, hurled America into a war that had been raging across Europe since 1939 and Asia since 1937. Prior to the attack, Americans viewed events on the other continents from the comfort of their geographic and ideological isolation. Indeed, a great number of American religious groups and public opinion leaders responded to German, Italian, and Japanese military actions during the 1930s with little concern over reported atrocities. In large measure, such restraint was a self-imposed effort to avoid the bloodthirsty rhetoric by which some American preachers had rallied the nation during World War I. Pacifism had been especially pronounced during the 1920s and 1930s, not only among Quakers (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF) and members of "historic peace churches" (see PEACE REFORM), but also among SOCIAL GOSPEL liberals such as HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK and socialists, including Norman Thomas. Admittedly, some American religious figures, such as the Niebuhr brothers (see NIEBUHR, HELMUT RICHARD; NIEBUHR, REINHOLD), concerned by Hitler's demolition of democracy in Germany and Japan's invasion of China, were suspicious of what they saw as the easy convenience of pacifism. The widespread confusion over America's response to the war even led to alliances in the "America First" neutrality campaign between isolationists such as Charles Lindbergh, Christian socialists, and anti-Semites like Father CHARLES EDWARD COUGHLIN (see ANTI-SEMITISM).

The soul-searching confusion of America's religious leaders vanished immediately after Pearl Harbor. While Americans could not agree on the moral need to enter a war to deter aggression against others, they united around what appeared a treacherous act against their own "peace-loving nation," as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt put it in his address to the nation on December 8, 1941. Unlike the earlier war, in which America's sacred soil had not been threatened, the attack on Pearl Harbor symbolized just how vulnerable America was in an era of technologically advanced weaponry. Accordingly, mobilization proceeded rapidly. Industry geared up to produce "the arsenal of democracy" called for by Roosevelt,

Despite the pacifist trend after World War I, most churches and synagogues unreservedly supported the American war effort after Pearl Harbor. *(Library of Congress)* roughly 120,000 Japanese-Americans were herded off to relocation camps (though with some protest from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, other pacifist groups, and the journal *The Christian Century*), and the population embarked on an energetic, sacrificial campaign to ration and recycle materials needed for wartime production.

There are some obvious parallels in the role played by religious groups and religious symbolism between the First and Second World Wars. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious groups created a supply of approximately 8,000 military chaplains for the troops and marshalled inspirational resources such as Bibles and other literature. Congregations were urged to respond to extensive wartime rationing with the attitude of cheerful sacrifice. The extensive network of interchurch agencies created during the previous war and the Great Depression remained in place and easily mobilized their efforts for the new war. But the new war also produced new conditions calling for religious response.

One key difference in the role played by religion in the wars stems from the loss of cultural authority by the churches during the 1920s and 1930s (see EVOLUTION; FUNDAMENTALISM; MODERNISM; SCOPES TRIAL). Churches had been crucial carriers of the patriotic message during the previous war. But by World War II, the Protestant unity of the TEMPERANCE and Social Gospel period had dissolved. In addition, the war sparked considerable tension between Protestants and Catholics, as when the Federal Council of Churches (see NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES) in 1944 denounced Washington's establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

A further indication of conflictual interreligious relations was the American response to Hitler's persecution and extermination of European Jews (see JUDAISM). Prior to America's entry into the war, the Roosevelt administration was ambivalent about Jewish immigration, even prohibiting some 700 Jewish refugees on the liner *St. Louis* from landing in United States harbors during the spring of 1939. Although eventually allowing more Jewish immigration during 1941, and even though some Protestants criticized government inaction, administration officials were still primarily concerned that highlighting the Jewish plight would increase public support for the ravings of Father Coughlin and other anti-Semites.

American Jews themselves were divided over how the United States should respond to German persecution of European Jews, particularly in the period prior to Hitler's 1942 decision to send the Jews to death factories. The Reform rabbi STEPHEN S. WISE urged Jews to uphold British blockades of Nazi Europe and to stop their shipments of aid to Polish relatives. Other Jews, particularly the Orthodox, protested United States inaction throughout the war. A group of 400 Orthodox rabbis marched on the White House on October 6, 1943, "to protest the silence of the world when an entire people is being murdered." As it was, Roosevelt chose to focus on defeating the Nazis, and naturally Jews were supportive of this goal. But many continued to question Roosevelt's passive acceptance of the mass murders. In the end, Roosevelt mentioned the Jews only once during the course of his wartime speeches and vetoed several plans to rescue Jews from the death camps.

Thus, although there was broad ideological support for the war among many religious leaders, interreligious conflict, combined with the country's shifting intellectual climate, tended to reduce the extent to which the religious groups themselves were seen as centers of moral leadership. Even though the Niebuhrs and other neoorthodox theologians (see NEOORTHODOXY) played a notable public role during the war years, their influence was far from dominant.

Instead, the growing national popular culture, centered in the media of radio, film, and weekly news magazines, as well as a more secular group of intellectuals (see SECULARISM), served to define American norms and values, as can be seen in the shifting symbolism of war rhetoric. Americans adopted a new approach to the propaganda task in their Voice of America radio broadcasts to Europe. The Roosevelt administration abandoned the moralism of Woodrow Wilson or the outright sensationalism of German and Japanese propaganda in favor of news broadcasts emphasizing "facts and figures" and incorporating the public opinion and marketing research of contemporary social scientists. By such an approach, Americans became inspired by the thought not primarily of their moral superiority, but of their productive superiority, such as turning 48,000 airplanes out of American factories in one year.

Another difference between the wars lies in the sort of moral justifications advanced by the war's supporters. While the righteous indignation over Pearl Harbor never left American war rhetoric, Americans were more likely to speak of their task as laboring for the bare survival of "Christian civilization," leaving behind the triumphalism of "the Great War." In popular music, the tone shifted from the early patriotism of Kate Smith's "God Bless America" and Danny Kaye's "Remember Pearl Harbor" to the more practical, can-do "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition." After 1942 and a few American victories in the Pacific islands of Midway and Guadalcanal, outright patriotism took a back seat to songs of love, longing, and commitment, such as "In the Mood" and "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree With Anyone Else But Me." Hollywood and Tin Pan Alley were evidently more effective channels for such patriotic mobilization than the churches.

Broadly speaking, Americans were more tolerant of individuals who refused to support the war than they were in World War I, during which all objectors were inducted and then imprisoned. The Selective Service Act of 1940 provided grounds for refusal to serve for anyone who "by reason of religious training and belief is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." While this created problems for those whose objection did not stem from any recognized religious tradition, it paved the way for alternative service programs run by churches themselves. Approximately 4,000 MENNONITES, 1,000 Quakers, and members of the CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN engaged in alternative service, while 5,000 JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES chose prison. Surprisingly, nearly 90 percent of the draft-eligible Quakers and Church of the Brethren members actually enlisted.

In addition to the tolerance of conscientious objection, Americans were also more willing to allow dissent. While there was significant censorship of war reporting, the costs of the Allied effort to smash Germany did lead many religious leaders to question military policies in ways unthinkable during World War I. Catholics largely opposed the bombing of Rome, and the saturation bombing of Germany and Japan, in which many hundreds of thousands of civilians died in urban infernos, reduced the extent to which Americans could argue that their own form of war-making was morally superior to that of their enemies. The prominence given to Reinhold Niebuhr's writing, with its emphasis on sin and the critique of moral self-delusion, at least dampened the rhetorical excesses of those Americans who viewed the war as God's work. Niebuhr's active pen, in journals such as *Christianity and Crisis,* produced countless cautionary exhortations: "If we should give ourselves to the illusion that this war was a simple contest between right and wrong, and that the victory was a simple triumph of right over wrong . . . we shall be bound to corrupt the peace by vindictiveness."

With the war's end in August 1945, American life was transformed completely. As a result of wartime mobilization, America had emerged as the world's economic and military giant. Willingness to use that power to pulverize totalitarian enemies gave new life to the longstanding Puritan (see PURITANISM) faith that America was morally superior to other nations, though now it was expressed in ways that were self-consciously "mature" and "realistic." Finally, Americans emerged from the war with a heady mixture of confidence and anxiety, responsive to the pull of a national popular culture—conditions that impelled them into full-fledged religious revivals during the postwar years and the most dramatic church growth in American history.

(See also GRAHAM, BILLY; MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM; REVIVALISM.)

MG

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Worldwide Church of God Founded in Oregon in 1933 by Herbert W. Armstrong (1892–1986), the Worldwide Church of God is best known for its magazine, *The Plain Truth*.

Members of the Worldwide Church of God traditionally echoed Protestant evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM) and fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM) in affirming the divine inspiration of the Bible and denying the theory of EVOLUTION. But they distinguished themselves by denying the Trinity. Their most controversial belief was that Anglo-Saxons are descended from the lost tribes of Israel and thus inherit both the promises and the responsibilities that issued from the covenant established between God and the ancient Israelites. Members of the Worldwide Church of God also observed the Sabbath on Saturday (see SABBATARIANISM), kept Jewish holy days such as Passover, and denounced as pagan such holidays as Christmas and Halloween. Like practitioners of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, they refused to go to doctors or take medicines. Because of their belief that Anglo-Saxons rather than Jews are the rightful inheritors of God's promises and commandments, they have been charged with ANTI-SEMITISM and attracted sympathy from the KU KLUX KLAN and neo-Nazis. These unsavory connections prompted denunciations from the Anti-Defamation League and allegations that the church is a dangerous "cult."

Herbert W. Armstrong was born into a Quaker (see FRIENDS, RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF [QUAKERS]) family in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1896. He was ordained a preacher in an Adventist sect shortly after moving to Oregon in 1924. In 1933, he struck out on his own, founding a media-driven religious empire that he took to Pasadena, California, in 1947. In 1968, Armstrong's creation would come to be known as the Worldwide Church of God.

The church has endured scandals and dozens of schisms. In 1974, allegations of sexual improprieties among church leaders and a bitter controversy regarding the remarriage of divorced church members precipitated splits into several independent churches. The most notable schismatic was Garner Ted Armstrong, Armstrong's son and one of the church's most popular preachers, who separated from his father's church and founded the Church of God International in 1978.

Following the death of founder Herbert W. Armstrong in 1986, Joseph Tkach ascended to leadership of the Worldwide Church of God. Over the next decade, Tkach slowly took the organization in the direction of mainstream Protestant evangelicalism. In the late 1980s, he allowed members to observe birthdays, see doctors, and take medications. In the early 1990s, he led the group to formally embrace the doctrine of the Trinity and to discontinue observance of Hebrew Bible dietary laws. Member churches did continue, however, to worship on Saturdays. Conservative church members opposed to Tkach's changes struck out on their own, forming the Philadelphia Church of God in 1989, the Global Church of God in 1993, and the United Church of God in 1995.

Tkach died in 1995 and was succeeded by his son, Joseph Tkach, Jr., who continues to push the church toward mainstream Protestant evangelicalism. The changes instituted by the Tkachs had a major effect on the church. Membership in the church decreased dramatically, and income fell precipitously. By the denomination's own admission, its international membership had declined to 64,000 worldwide. Circulation of *The Plain Truth*, its name changed to *Christian Odyssey*, has fallen from 8 million to 20,000. The church had to sell off many of its properties in order to offset financial losses.

The Worldwide Church of God has acknowledged and addressed these events directly. It carefully and clearly discusses its doctrinal shifts and the effect they have had on the church and its life. Additionally, they do not deny its history, but acknowledge Armstrong's errors and their reasons for moving the church toward more traditional Christian doctrines. Such changes have not gone unnoticed by conservative Christians, who have welcomed the denomination into the fold. In 1997, the Worldwide Church of God was accepted as a member organization of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS.

SRP

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Wovoka (ca. 1856–1932) Wovoka, a Paiute religious leader, received visions leading to the development of a new religion in the late 19th century. Beginning with his own people, Wovoka's teachings of a new world spread among many Native Americans across the American West.

Wovoka, born between 1856 and 1858 in the Walker River country of western Nevada, lived in a world that had been radically altered in the years since Americans began streaming across the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah in search of gold. Great Basin Native Americans (see NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGION: INTERMONTANE/CALIFORNIA) had developed successful strategies for surviving in balance with the fragile environment of the arid region. Archaeological evidence indicates that tribes had dwelt in the basin for several hundreds, or in some cases, thousands, of years. But after the California gold rush, massive influx of whites, exposure to new diseases, war, and expropriation of tribal lands placed severe economic and cultural constraints upon the Paiute and other basin native peoples. Wovoka himself spent most of his life in Mason Valley, Nevada, working as a hand on the Dick Wilson ranch.

Wovoka's father, Tavibo, was influenced by an earlier Paiute dreamer, Wodziwob (some reports state that Tavibo and Wodziwob were the same person). In the early 1870s, Wodziwob had dreamed of an imminent end to the world, followed by a renewal of life for native people in a lush, plentiful land. Wodziwob's message spread among both basin tribes and whites, receiving support from Mormons such as Orson Pratt (see CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS). Wodziwob's vision had included a version of the traditional Paiute round dance, which became known as the GHOST DANCE.

Apocalyptic expectations diminished somewhat among the Paiute as the years went by. But throughout the region, millennial fears and hopes frequently surfaced among many tribes, as they did among the dominant culture. Wovoka learned from his father both the traditional Paiute creation story, which speaks of the renewal of human life and a blooming of the desert, and the similar teachings of Wodziwob. Evidence suggests that he also may have come in contact with disciples of John Slocum, a Squaxin prophet and founder of what is now the Indian Shaker Church, who combined traditional and Christian themes to speak of cultural rebirth by adhering to a strict moral code.

By the mid-1880s, Wovoka, who claimed to have inherited his father's dreaming powers, had already been taken to heaven in a vision and given miraculous powers, such as prediction and control of the weather. A bout with scarlet fever in late 1888 left him near death until he made a dramatic recovery on January 1, 1889, at the same time as the sun was emerging from a total eclipse. Wovoka then announced a new vision, which rapidly spread across the basin, into California, and eastward across the plains.

In his vision, Wovoka talked with God. He saw the dead in a pleasant land, looking young and engaging in traditional activities. God told him the world would be renewed. The dead would rise, game would be plentiful, the Earth green. He must prepare his people by encouraging them to live morally upright lives. They were to love one another, avoid war with the whites and fighting with each other, and be honest and hardworking—accepting work with the whites. God gave Wovoka a dance that the people were to perform monthly for four consecutive nights and the morning of the fifth day. The dance would help hasten the time of world renewal and bring the people happiness by providing contact with their dead relatives.

Throughout 1889 and 1890, Wovoka received delegations from many tribes, who took messages from the prophet back to their homes. As the new religion spread among tribes, its adherents incorporated Wovoka's teachings along with their own religious symbols, rituals, and sacred stories. In the wake of the massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on December 29, 1890, in which approximately 200 Lakota were killed, the pacifist Wovoka urged people to stop the dancing. While many did, the dance continued in recognizable forms into the 20th century. Wovoka worked on the Wilson ranch for many years and served as a holy man among the northern Paiute. He died on September 20, 1932, in Yerington, Nevada.

MG

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Y

Yoga Bhajan See Sikhism.

Yogananda, Swami Paramahansa (1893–1952) The man who would go on to found the Self-Realization Fellowship began his life as Mukunda Lal Ghosh. Born in 1893 to a wealthy Bengali family in Gorakhpur in northeastern India in the shadows of the Himalayas, he made a pilgrimage as a young man to Benares, where he took a guru named Sri Yukteswar Giri (1855–1936). Yukteswar initiated him into *kriya* yoga, a tantric spiritual discipline in which a student, under the direction of a qualified guru, seeks to "awaken" his or her kundalini, or spiritual power, by arousing it from its "sleep" at the base of the spine and then drawing it up to the spiritual center at the top of the head. Such an awakening is said by practitioners of *kriya* yoga to culminate in *moksha*, or the spiritual liberation that comes from union with the divine.

Around the time of his graduation from Serampore College of Calcutta University in 1914, Yogananda took the ascetic vows of a *sannyasin*, or world renunciant, and became a member of Yukteswar's monastic order. His guru then gave him the name of Swami Yogananda ("he who takes his bliss in spiritual discipline").

Yogananda burst onto the American stage in 1920, when he came to Boston to address the International Congress of Religious Liberals on "The Science of Religion." Unlike his predecessor, Swami Vivekananda, who returned to India after attending the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, Yogananda decided to stay on. He lectured widely, often before thousands. In his lectures, he embraced Jesus as an avatar, or divine descent of God, and taught the essential unity of the world's religions. In smaller groups, he taught the techniques of *kriya* yoga, which he described as "the scientific technique of God-realization." Yogananda attracted a number of prominent students in the literary and performing arts. In 1927, he was invited to the White House, where he shook the hand of President Calvin Coolidge. During a tour of Europe and India in 1935, he met with Mohandas Gandhi.

The organizational vehicle for Yogananda's American success was initially the Yogoda Satsanga Society, which he had founded in India in 1917. That organization gradually developed into the Los Angeles-based Self-Realization Fellowship, which was incorporated in 1935 and soon went on to surpass the Vedanta Society as the largest Hindu organization in the United States. Yogananda's belief in the unity of all religions achieved institutional shape with the opening of his Church of All Religions in Hollywood, California, in 1942.

What brought Yogananda fame, however, was his *Autobiography of a Yogi*, which was carried around in the back pockets of many eastward-looking hippies during the heyday of the counterculture in the 1960s and 1970s. Published in 1946, that book was named one of the 100 Best Spiritual Books of the Century in 1999.

SRP

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Young, Brigham (1801–1877) The second president of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (LDS Church), Brigham Young was responsible for transplanting Mormonism to the American West. After JOSEPH SMITH, JR., he stands as the most influential figure in Mormon history. While the charismatic Smith lorded over the founding of the church and its early growth on the FRONTIER, Young led that church on its trek to the West and its pioneer period in modern-day Utah.

Young was born in 1801 in Whitingham, Vermont. Over the course of his life, Young would move frequently—with his family in search of economic advantage and with his church to escape persecution. The ninth of 11 children born to John and Abigail Howe Young, he moved with his family from Whitingham to Sherburn in central New York in 1804. He was raised, therefore, in the BURNED-OVER DISTRICT, so called after the fires of religious enthusiasm that were scorching the area at the time.

Young was raised in a strict Reformed Methodist household, and many of his brothers eventually became leaders in Methodist congregations. But Young mistrusted the emotionalism of frontier revivals and did not join the Methodist Church until he was 23 years old. At the age of 16, he struck out on his own in Auburn, New York. There Young, who had received little formal education, served as an apprentice and learned the carpentry, glazing, and painting trades. Following his marriage in October 1824 to Miriam Angeline Works of Aurelius, New York, Young continued his peripatetic ways. He relocated in 1829 with his wife and his first child, Elizabeth, to Mendon, New York, only 40 miles from where Joseph Smith, Jr., was putting the final touches on what would become the BOOK OF MORMON.

After studying Smith's controversial translation of the ancient gold plates he claimed to have discovered buried in the Hill Cumorah near Manchester, New York, Young determined, along with many of his closest relatives, that the Book of Mormon was indeed divine writ and that Smith was the prophet he claimed to be. Young was baptized into the LDS Church and ordained an elder in Mendon on April 15, 1832. Tragically, his first wife died that same year of tuberculosis. Young responded to the misfortune by devoting himself wholeheartedly to the Mormon cause.

During his early years with the LDS Church, Young served as a missionary in the United States and Canada and as a volunteer in Zion's Camp, a Mormon militia organized by Smith to defend Mormons from persecution. Because of his success in bringing converts into the Mormon fold and his zeal in defending his Mormon brothers and sisters, Young quickly became one of Smith's most valued advisers. In February 1835, when Smith formed the Council of the Twelve Apostles as a governing body just below the First Presidency of the prophet himself, Young was in its ranks. And when Smith was imprisoned and needed someone to organize the Mormon evacuation of 1838 from Missouri to Illinois, he turned to Young.

Following his appointment to the Council of the Twelve Apostles in 1835, Young faithfully served Smith in many different capacities. In 1840, the same year he would ascend to the presidency of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, he led a Mormon mission to England. And in 1841, he followed Smith's lead and became a Mason (see FREEMASONRY). Finally, after Smith's announcement of his candidacy for the U.S. presidency in 1844, Young campaigned vigorously for Smith across the country.

In the aftermath of Smith's murder in a jail cell in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844, Young struggled for and won his mentor's mantle as the spiritual and political leader of the LDS Church. But that victory did not come without a cost. A significant minority, which objected to polygamy and insisted that Smith's successor come from his bloodline, refused to recognize Young's leadership. In 1860 they formed, under the leadership of Joseph Smith III, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, now centered in Independence, Missouri.

Young's most celebrated action as president of the LDS Church was leading the Mormon exodus (1846–48) from the persecution that had been their lot in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois to a new Mormon "Zion" in the Great Salt Lake basin. Because this act is seen by many Mormons as a modern-day recapitulation of the Hebrew exodus out of Egypt, through the wilderness, and into the promised land, Young has been described as an "American Moses," leading God's "chosen people" from persecution to freedom.

From the new Mormon base in Utah, Young built a vast Mormon empire in the American West, overseeing the establishment and maintenance of hundreds of LDS settlements as far away as San Bernardino, California. In Utah, Young organized missions to the Indians, negotiated contracts that led to the completion of the transcontinental telegraph and the transcontinental railroad, and founded a university in Salt Lake City that would become the University of Utah. Elected governor of what was then the independent state of Deseret in 1849, he was appointed, after the incorporation of the Utah territory into the United States in 1850, territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs.

Young was a controversial leader whose theocratic rule many denounced as an affront to American political traditions. His 1847 ban on ordaining African Americans to the priesthood and his successful campaign to legalize slavery in the Utah territory dissuaded blacks from joining the Mormon Church in significant numbers. But Young's most controversial practice was his polygamy. Though he had initially resisted Smith's 1841 revelation affirming what Mormons refer to as "plural marriage," Young had been among the first Mormons to follow Smith's teaching on the subject. Young took his first "plural wife," Lucy Ann Decker, in 1842. He would eventually marry 55 times, and his wives would bear him a total of 57 children.

Mormons practiced polygamy for more than a decade before Young proclaimed publicly Smith's revelation on plural marriage in 1852. Utah had become a United States territory in 1850, so this announcement led to a series of clashes with federal officials. In 1857, President James Buchanan, a Democrat, responded to demands by the newly formed Republican Party to outlaw in American territories "those

The successor of Joseph Smith, Jr., Brigham Young led the great exodus of Mormons to flee persecution in the Midwest and establish a new Zion in Salt Lake City, Utah.

twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery" by deciding to replace Young with non-Mormon administrators. The president then mobilized 2,500 U.S. troops to enforce his decision. Young responded by considering yet another Mormon exodus, this time to places as far away as Central America or Russian Alaska, but in the end, he decided to stand his ground. In September of 1857, the resolves of Buchanan and Young conspired to create a slaughter that haunted the LDS Church for decades. In what came to be known as the "Mountain Meadows Massacre," Indians and Mormons killed 120 non-Mormon emigrants in a dispute over provisions.

Buchanan did relieve Young of his governmental responsibilities in Utah, but the Mormon leader remained the most powerful man in the American West. In 1861, Congress aimed to undercut both Young's power and his church's most controversial practice by passing the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Bill outlawing polygamy. Young himself was arrested on bigamy charges in 1863 and again in 1871. Following a Mormon challenge on FIRST AMENDMENT grounds, the Supreme Court upheld the law in *United States v. Reynolds* in 1879. Like Young's arrests, however, that action only served to solidify Young's authority among his Mormon followers.

By the time of Young's death at the age of 76 on August 29, 1877, in Salt Lake City, the LDS Church claimed approximately 150,000 members. Young is still criticized by opponents of Mormonism as a lecher and a tyrant. But he is remembered by his followers for steering the Mormons through the difficult period of their founder's death, for transplanting the Mormon church to a new "Zion" in the desert West, for sustaining that church in the face of massive persecution, for heading one of America's most influential families, and for spearheading the highly successful worldwide mission work of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

SRP

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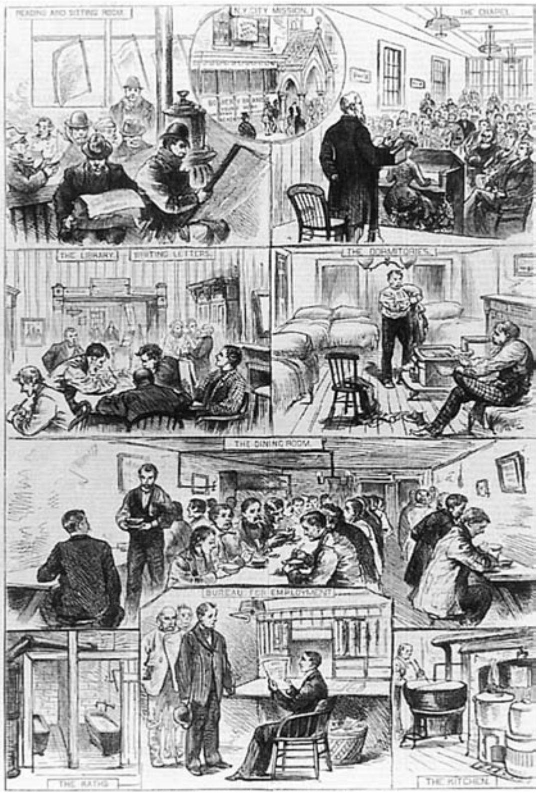
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) The YMCA has grown from an evangelical mission to the newly urban middle class into a worldwide ecumenical organization with associations in many countries concerned with breaking down barriers of understanding between people of all races and religions.

The original YMCAs emerged out of the wave of evangelical reform stemming from the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING of the early 19th century. The initial idea for a voluntary society (see VOLUNTARYISM) devoted to the welfare of young urban men was English, developed by George Williams in 1844. Brought to Boston in 1851 by T. V. Sullivan, who had encountered the English forerunner during a visit to the London World's Fair, the earliest YMCAs were allied with the city's Protestant churches. Eventually, YMCAs became autonomous, each association funded independently and with lay leadership frequently drawn from the local business community. Expansion came rapidly. An 1854 international convention held in Buffalo, New York, had representatives from 40 American associations, and by 1860, there were 205, enrolling 25,000 members. Early associations provided room and board for youths moving into urban areas and various programs that contributed to their educational and spiritual well-being. While the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR disturbed the movement, YMCAs provided religious literature to soldiers and expanded their operations to include campus associations by 1857.

After the war, the YMCA responded to rapid growth in American cities, establishing chapters across the country. Under the leadership of men like Chicago revivalist Dwight L. Moody (see revivalism), the YMCAs had placed particular significance on religious development through Bible studies and evangelistic meetings. By the 1870s, however, YMCAs were being built with residential facilities, gymnasiums, and swimming pools in an effort to minister to the "wholeness" of life and to compete with saloons and other urban temptations. The triangular symbol adopted by the YMCA in 1895 emphasized the unity of body, mind, and spirit. Increasingly, the YMCA projected an ideal of character-building, healthy Christianity, and in the crowded, tumultuous environments of a burgeoning urban America, the YMCAs became islands sheltering white, middle-class Protestant youths moving into the cities in search of opportunity. One YMCA member in the 1870s, Connecticut dry-goods salesman Anthony Comstock, began a national campaign to eradicate obscene literature, funded by upper-class business leaders on the national YMCA's board, that culminated in federal legislation suppressing obscene materials.

The YMCA spread worldwide by the turn of the century, under the leadership of John R. Mott. In the United States, the YMCA continued to serve the interests of middle-class Protestants, largely sequestering youths from contact with immigrants, blacks, and the urban lower class. At the same time, black YMCAs were beginning to be founded. Within the context of the times, the separate-but-equal facilities, which remained until the 1940s, were often seen as the high point in racial equality.

During World War I and World War II, the YMCA, already nationally organized, played an important auxiliary role both in training camps and overseas at the request of the War Department (staffing 1,397 stations in France during World War I), providing lay ministers and religious literature, aiding prisoners, and serving as part of the United Services Organizations (USO) during World War II.



Beginning in the 1870s, the YWCAs and YMCAs served young people in cities. *(Billy Graham Center Museum)*

In the years since World War II, the YMCA has continued to grow in membership, totaling about 21 million, serving more than 10,000 communities in 2008. Responding to changing social conditions, YMCAs grew increasingly concerned about providing services for lower-class urban youths in the 1960s and abolishing sex barriers as well. Organizational goals have shifted from making a home away from home for middle-class Protestants in the cities to meeting the goal of enhancing global cooperation and world peace by developing Christian personality and building a Christian society through cultivating spirit, mind, and body.

MG

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Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) Originally founded to provide single women with a safe haven in growing American cities, the YWCA has expanded worldwide and now serves nearly 3 million members and associates in the United States. Though rooted in the 19th-century evangelical reform movement, the YWCA is now an ecumenical organization focusing its efforts on a wide variety of social problems in addition to its traditional goal of providing spiritual, educational, and physical nurture to girls and young women.

Like its counterpart, the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, the YWCA was originally an expression of the reform-minded EVANGELICALISM that dominated American life in the decades prior to the CIVIL WAR. Both organizations began in the efforts of British evangelicals to improve the conditions of young people moving into the cities to find wage-labor in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. The YWCA came out of an 1855 merger of two earlier efforts, the Prayer Union established by Emma Roberts and the General Female Training Institute established by Mary Jane Kinnaird.

The first American Ladies' Christian Association formed in 1858 at New York University for the "temporal, moral and spiritual welfare of the self-supporting young woman." However, the movement did not begin to spread until after the Civil War, when the first YWCA was established in Boston. The various associations began not only to supply shelter and spiritual instruction, but also to meet educational needs, offering practical classes in bookkeeping and domestic arts and in such subjects as astronomy and physiology.

As the number of associations grew, expanding into midwestern cities during the 1870s, the YWCA continued to model its approach on the YMCA when possible. Following the YMCA lead, the new YWCA facilities were also constructed with goals of physical education in mind. Regular Bible classes drew many women as well. Expanding onto campuses in the 1870s, associations were established at several normal schools—devoted to training teachers—and women's colleges. Under the leadership of Emily Huntington and Grace Dodge, the YWCA continued to expand its emphasis on domestic education.

Prior to the 20th century, the YWCA did little work with younger girls. In response to changing social conditions, middle-class children under 16 became the focus of reformers eager to insure that changing economic conditions would not disturb sex roles seen as God-given. In 1909, the YWCA expanded its program of domestic arts and athletic activities to serve young girls. Veteran YWCA and YMCA workers Dorothy and Luther Gulick began the Camp Fire Girls in 1912. While the program was obviously patterned upon the new Boy Scouts of America, the Gulicks believed that a direct copy would be "fundamentally evil," since girls needed to learn how "to be womanly." While YMCA workers saw their task as steering boys toward careers in business, YWCA leaders strove to inculcate a spirit of self-sacrifice in girls, encouraging them to take up domestic and service roles, "to be happy" as the Camp Fire Girls' final law put it. YWCA workers were also concerned to ward off "moodiness" and dissatisfaction, while YMCA staff, seeking to channel frustrations into successful economic endeavor, paid little attention to the moods of boys other than to diffuse what they saw as rampant adolescent SEXUALITY.

Like the YMCA, the YWCA over the 20th century expanded both geographically and in terms of its perceived mission in American life, taking an active part in providing support services during WORLD WAR I and WORLD WAR II. Responding to the longstanding demands of black women to end the YWCA's policy of segregation, the YWCA came to see itself as an ecumenical organization, open to all, concerned with ending institutional racism on a global scale as well as establishing a network of understanding to increase the potential for world peace. In 2007, the group claimed to serve roughly 2.6 million women and girls in more than 300 sites across the United States.

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Z

Zen Zen came to the United States in the 19th century from Japan via China and India. The term *Zen* is a Japanese transliteration of the Chinese *ch'an*, which itself is a Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit term *dhyana*. Each of these words means "meditation." Zen is an outgrowth of Mahayana ("Great Vehicle") BUDDHISM, one of the three major Buddhist schools and the dominant form of Buddhism in East Asia. Zen practitioners often seek satori, or sudden, immediate, and intuitive enlightenment, through meditation. In the United States as in Japan, they also have cultivated arts such as the tea ceremony, flower arranging, and calligraphy.

Zen is typically divided into two schools: Rinzai Zen, founded by Eisai (1141–1215) in the 12th century, and Soto Zen, founded in the 13th century by Dogen (1200–53). One key difference between these two schools is that while Rinzai Zen masters emphasize koans (paradoxical word puzzles), Soto Zen masters stress a form of sitting meditation called *zazen*. Both schools are represented in the hundreds of Zen centers scattered across the United States.

Just as Zen practitioners in Asia credit Bodhidharma, the first Zen patriarch, with bringing Zen from India to China, American practitioners credit Soyen Shaku (1859–1919) with giving Zen to the West. It was he who introduced Americans to Zen by addressing the WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS in Chicago in 1893 and by instructing the first non-Asian American Zen practitioner, Mrs. Alexander Russell of San Francisco, in *zazen* and koan study some years later.

The most important figure in American Zen, however, is not Shaku but his lay student and translator, D. T. SUZUKI (1870–1966). By translating its scriptures into English and its practices into American cultural idioms, Suzuki made Zen accessible to ordinary Americans. Suzuki's presence as a professor at Columbia University in the 1950s also helped to precipitate the Zen boom of the 1950s and 1960s.

During those decades, Beat poets and novelists, among them Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Gary Snyder (see BEAT MOVEMENT) popularized Zen even as they integrated its ideas and practices into their lives and literature. Though another Zen sympathizer, ALAN WATTS, eventually dismissed Beat Zen as "phony Zen," the Beats did much to arouse popular interest in Zen in the 1950s and 1960s.

If Suzuki can be credited with introducing Americans to Zen thought, much credit for introducing Americans to Zen practice must go to Philip Kapleau (1912–2004), an American businessman turned Zen priest who spent more than a decade in a Zen monastery in Japan. In *The Three Pillars of Zen* (1965) and other books, Kapleau supplanted what he saw as Suzuki's intellectual approach to Zen with an emphasis on three key Zen acts: *zazen*, or sitting meditation; *dokusan*, or the student's private encounter with the Zen master; and *teisho,* the master's commentaries. Kapleau institutionalized his approach to Zen in 1966, when he founded the Zen Meditation Center of Rochester.

Additional contributors to American Zen include, on the side of Rinzai Zen, Shigetsu Sasaki, or Sokei-an (1882–1945), and his wife, Ruth Fuller Sasaki (1893–1967) and, on the side of Soto Zen, Shunryu Suzuki (1904–71) and HAKUYU TAIZAN MAEZUMI (1931–95).

The Japanese-born Sokei-an first came to America in 1906. After a failed farming experiment in northern California, he made his way to Seattle and then, in 1916, to New York City. There he founded in 1931 the Buddhist Society of America (later renamed the First Zen Institute of America). He also edited a Zen magazine, *Cat's Yawn,* until he was imprisoned, along with many other Japanese Americans, in a wartime internment camp. During his year-long confinement, Sokei-an married Ruth Fuller Everett Sasaki, an American-born member of the Zen Institute who was an important contributor to American Zen in her own right. After his death in 1945, Ruth Fuller Sasaki continued her husband's work, helping turn Zen into what she called "the magic password at smart cocktail parties" in postwar New York. She lived out her last years in Japan, where she was ordained and translated Zen texts into English.

Shunryu Suzuki, a Soto Zen master, came to America in the late 1950s and established the San Francisco Zen Center (SFZC) in 1962. In 1966, he purchased a resort south of San Francisco called Tassajara Hot Springs. Soon he transformed that resort into the Tassajara Zen Mountain Center, the first Zen monastery in the United States. Upon his death in 1971, Suzuki handed over leadership of his organization to an American-born teacher, Richard Baker, who added Green Gulch Farm in nearby Marin County to the SFZC empire. In 1983, Baker resigned as abbot after allegations of sexual misconduct. But the SFZC lived on as one of the most innovative and influential Zen communities in the United States. Suzuki's influence lives on, too, both in the many European American students he trained and in his book, *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind* (1970), an American Zen classic.

Practitioner of Zen Buddhism at the Zen Center, Providence, Rhode Island. *(Pluralism Project of Harvard University)*

Like Shunryu Suzuki, Hakuyu Taizan Maezumi was the son of a Japanese Zen priest. He arrived in the United States in 1956 and established the Zen Center of Los Angeles (ZCLA) in 1967. Again like Suzuki, Maezumi trained an array of American-born students who have gone on to become influential Zen teachers. Bernard Tetsugen Glassman, for example, established the Zen Community in New York (ZCNY), while John Daido Loori founded Zen Mountain Monastery (ZMM) in New York State's Catskills region. Those teachers and their centers have been organized since 1995 in an umbrella organization called the White Plum Sangha.

Zen masters and students in America have conspired in numerous ways to Americanize Zen. Like Jack Kerouac's *Dharma Bums* (1958), which preceded it, Robert M. Pirsig's best-seller, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974), forged Zen insights into a new vision that incorporated, among other things, the American myth of the self-reliant man on the open road. A less masculine but equally innovative adaptation of Zen was effected by the British-born Soto Zen master JIYU KENNETT (1924–96). The founder of the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives and the Shasta Abbey monastery in northern California, Kennett worked until her death in 1996 to divorce Zen from Japanese culture and to wed it to American cultural forms, including feminism.

In addition to being Americanized, Zen has also been Christianized by sympathizers eager to find common ground between Christianity and Zen. Books that attempt this difficult task include *Mystics and Zen Masters* (1967) by the Roman Catholic monk THOMAS MERTON and *Zen Catholicism* (1963) by another Roman Catholic, Dom Aelred Graham.

By Westernizing Zen, American Zen practitioners have made an exceedingly elusive religious tradition more accessible to everyday Americans. But despite these efforts, Zen is studied and practiced in the United States almost exclusively by students and intellectuals. Its influence in American culture is far greater, however, than the numbers of converts to Zen. In both its syncretistic and its more pristine forms, Zen continues to profoundly influence American literature and popular culture. In 1999, the publishing house HarperSanFrancisco selected 100 titles as the Best Spiritual Books of the Century. Five books on Zen—Jack Kerouac's *Dharma Bums*, Robert Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, Paul Reps's *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones*, D. T. Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, and Shunryu Suzuki's *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind*—made the list.

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Zinzendorf, Nicholas Ludwig von (1700–1760) An important Moravian leader on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf gave the Renewed Moravian Church its missionary fervor, its emphasis on ecumenism (see ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT), and many of its distinctive hymns.

Born in Dresden, Saxony, on May 26, 1700, into an aristocratic family, Zinzendorf was the godson of Philipp Jakob Spener, the so-called father of PIETISM (a 17th-century movement stressing heartfelt religious experience). He studied theology under August Hermann Franke, Spener's most important pupil. Zinzendorf's roots in Lutheran pietism are as impeccable as they are well established. But he initially opted, apparently at the urging of insistent parents, for a career in law rather than religion. He obtained a legal education at Wittenberg, then went to work in 1721 at the court in Dresden. There he first encountered the MORAVIANS, members of a pietistic Protestant sect rooted in the Hussite movement of 15th-century Moravia. Drawn to the Moravians' Christocentric "heart-religion" and concerned about their persecution in Bohemia and Moravia, Zinzendorf offered a group of Moravians sanctuary at his estate in Saxony. There in 1722, they established a religious settlement called Herrnhut.

The success of this experiment prompted Zinzendorf to leave behind his legal career and take up a post at the helm of the Moravians' Unitas Fratrum, or "Unity of Brethren." Zinzendorf converted to the Moravian tradition, but following his conversion he devoted as much of his energy to attempting to introduce his Moravian brethren to his style of Christocentric Lutheran piety as he did to trying to make Moravians out of his Lutheran kin. Zinzendorf's major project, in fact, during his early years at Herrnhut was to find common ground between Moravians and Lutherans, and indeed among all Protestants. This project met with some success. Zinzendorf, who was ordained to the Lutheran ministry in 1734, persuaded the Herrnhut Moravians to join the local Lutheran parish. But Lutheran authorities remained wary of the Moravians' almost erotic emphasis on the bodily passion of Jesus Christ. When Zinzendorf announced his appointment as a Moravian bishop in 1737, the understanding of local Lutheran leaders came to an end.

In addition to attempting to foster close relations between Lutherans and Moravians, Zinzendorf worked to instill in his brethren at Herrnhut a commitment to Christian missions. Ultimately, this missionary work met with more success than Zinzendorf's ecumenical efforts. As early as 1732, the Moravians had sent missionaries to the Caribbean to minister to slaves. Soon they expanded their missionary field to include Africa, India, and North and South America.

Banished from Saxony in 1734, Zinzendorf came to America in 1741. He assisted in founding the Moravians' settlement at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, that same year and subsequently founded the First Moravian Church in Philadelphia. During his New World sojourn, Zinzendorf also contributed to the establishment of missions among Native Americans as well as semicommunal Moravian settlements from Maine to the Carolinas.

While in America, he also continued to pursue his ecumenical vision, especially among the German-speaking "Pennsylvania Dutch." In the 1740s, Zinzendorf succeeded in enlisting pastors from the German Reformed, Lutheran, and Moravian traditions into an ecumenical community of Christians called the "Congregation of God in the Spirit." Seven times he brought together members of his "Pennsylvania synods," but eventually that unstable union, which emphasized the experience of conversion over doctrinal correctness, collapsed under the weight of creedal and liturgical differences.

Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony was lifted in 1747, and he returned to his homeland long enough to effect a rapprochement between Moravians and Lutherans there. That short-lived union, however, was unable to survive Zinzendorf's death at Herrnhut in 1760.

Zinzendorf is rightly remembered as a pioneer in both ecumenism and missions. He was also a prolific writer of hymns. The Moravian Church in America has perpetuated his legacy by continuing to sing his music and to support missions across the globe. Zinzendorf's ecumenical vision persists, also. The Moravian Church in America was one of the founding members of both the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

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Zionism Zionism, the movement for the reestablishment of a Jewish state in the historical land of Israel, has had a complex and ambiguous existence in the United States. It has involved both Christians and Jews, national policy and individual feelings, hostility and support. More than anything, its religious significance has greatly complicated people's views and understanding of Zionism.

To some extent, Zionism began with the failure of the Jewish revolts against Roman rule in 70 C.E. and 125 C.E. The former led to the destruction of the Jewish temple and the end of Jewish worship there. The latter resulted in the expulsion of all Jews from Jerusalem. Both of these events furthered the diaspora, or dispersal, of the Jews throughout the world that had begun with the Babylonian captivity in 586 B.C.E. The dispersal of the Jews, the loss of their homeland, and the destruction of the Jewish temple gave birth to Jewish hopes for the reestablishment of Israel and the rebuilding of the temple with the coming of the Messiah. The restoration of Zion to those whom God had given it became part of the religious life of the Jewish people.

For 1,700 years, it remained just a hope. Although Jews individually and in groups returned to the Holy Land, many to die and be buried there, there was no movement for the creation of a Jewish state. Roman, Byzantine, Muslim, Christian, and (again) Muslim rulers in succession dominated the land, with the fortunes of Palestine's Jews waning or waxing according to the whims of the various rulers.

The 19th century saw the emergence of various schemes to reestablish a Jewish homeland. While some, like that of the American Mordechai Noah, involved locations other than Palestine, most centered on the historic land of the Jews—at the time a part of the Ottoman Empire. These schemes had various sources and supporters. The romantic vision of uniting a people with their land was one such source. In England, it was seen as a means of furthering British influence in the region, in preparation for the demise of the Ottoman Empire.

Others viewed the establishment of a Jewish state as a necessity, given ANTI-SEMITISM and religious persecution. Events such as the 1894 treason trial of Alfred Dreyfus in France on trumped-up charges made Jews realize that their fates were not completely secure. In eastern Europe, especially in the Russian Empire, violent persecutions made many Jews view flight as the only alternative. For most, this flight was to the United States, but others looked toward the establishment of a Jewish state, where Jews would not be dependent on Gentile sufferance.

A variety of Zionist organizations emerged in the late 19th century. Some emphasized the cultural and spiritual elements of such a state; a Jewish return to Israel would allow for a flowering of Jewish culture, freed from the oppression of Christian Europe. Others desired the formation of a socialist utopia. Still others sought a state run according to religious laws with rule by the high priests.

All these views were transformed in 1896 with the publication of *Die Judenstaat*. Author Theodor Herzl—an accomplished satirist, journalist, and playwright—previously had shown little interest in Jewish affairs. His newfound commitment to the establishment of a Jewish state, preferably in Palestine, became his life and led to the creation of political Zionism, which in 1948 resulted in the establishment of the state of Israel.

Zionism in the United States has had a less tumultuous history resulting from the view that the United States is a qualitatively different place for Jews and Judaism. Whether valid or not, this view developed early, and in the 19th century, one could find Jews of all stripes claiming that the United States was the new Holy Land. Although traditionally religious

Jews did not abandon their hope for the restoration of Israel and the temple, as did their Reform counterparts, both groups viewed the United States as particularly suited for the revitalization of Judaism.

With Herzl's establishment of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) in 1897 and the emergence of political Zionism, the relationship between American Jews and Palestine became even murkier. The dominant movement in American Judaism at that time, REFORM JUDAISM, opposed it vigorously, having officially renounced any desire for the restoration of the Jewish state and removed the prayers for the restoration of Zion from their services. In the same year as the first World Zionist Congress (1897), the CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS (CCAR)—the Reform rabbinical conference—issued a statement denouncing Zionism. This opposition was reaffirmed in 1917 and 1919, when the CCAR and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) denounced the British government's Balfour Declaration, which committed the British government to a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Reform's opposition to Zionism was more than a statement of policy. It was a statement of theology, rooted in their view of Judaism's mission to the world. To disagree was heresy, and several professors at Hebrew Union College (HUC) were fired for their Zionist inclinations.

Some Reform rabbis resisted the norm, most notably Abba Hillel Silver and STEPHEN WISE, both of whom served as president of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA). These men assailed the Reform rejection of a central tenet of Judaism, as well as what they saw as a failure to recognize the needs of persecuted Jews. Silver's and Wise's activities on behalf of Zionism were aided greatly by the public support given the movement by Louis Brandeis. A respected lawyer and later a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Brandeis made Zionism respectable.

While Silver and Wise, along with others, helped keep the idea of Zionism alive within Reform Judaism, the rise of Nazism made it dominant. The persecution of the Jews in Hitler's Germany forced both the CCAR (1935, 1937) and the UAHC (1937) to reverse their historical positions and urge all Jews "to unite in the activities leading to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine."

The response of ORTHODOX JUDAISM to Zionism was even more complex than that of Reform. Though theologically committed to the restoration of their ancestral homeland, many believed that it would be brought about through the supernatural intervention of God. To them, political Zionism was a blasphemous attempt to force the hand of the Messiah.

For the Orthodox Jew, an Israel without the religious law would be like a body without a soul. Seeking to counter the secular influence within the WZO, Orthodox Jews in Europe founded Mizrachi, one of the constituent members of the organization. The foundation of Mizrachi in the United States dates from 1903, when the Orthodox-dominated United Zionists of America affiliated with the wider European movement. Now known as RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA (RZA), it is the dominant Orthodox Zionist organization in the United States. Affiliated with Israel's National Religious Party, the RZA looks toward the implementation of religious law within the land of Israel. It demands the cessation of public transportation on the Sabbath, the serving of only kosher food in public accommodations and institutions, and religious dominance in matters of marriage and divorce. Although they are a minority in Israel, the nature of Israeli politics gives them disproportionate clout, and they have achieved several of their goals.

The complexity of the relationship between Orthodox Judaism and Zionism is illustrated by the existence of Agudath Israel. An international organization of Orthodox Jews, this group is non-Zionist in orientation. This group rejects the establishment of a secular state in the land of Israel, yet exists as a political party in Israel and has on occasion joined in the coalition governments. Much smaller than the RZA, Agudath Israel has a noticeable presence in the United States. Organized in 1922, Agudath Israel of America is strongest among the ultra-Orthodox who came to the United States after World War II. Although numerically insignificant, it illuminates the difficulty Orthodox Jews have in coming to terms with the existence of the entity for which they pray.

There is no such difficulty among the Satmar Hasidim (see HASIDISM). To them, Zionism is an unmitigated evil. After arriving in the United States in the 1940s, Joel Teitelbaum, Satmar's founder, continued the anti-Zionist diatribes he had begun decades earlier. Teitelbaum, who ironically owed his wartime survival to the actions of the Zionists, believed that Zionism and secular Jews caused the Holocaust. Their blasphemous behavior engendered God's anger and brought punishment upon the Jews. Numbering 130,000 in the United States and Israel, the Satmars keep up a constant harangue against the state of Israel.

If there has been one segment in American Judaism consistently in the Zionist camp, it has been CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. The leading proto-Conservatives—ISAAC LEESER, HENRY PEREIRA MENDES, and SABATO MORAIS—engaged in early Zionist activities. The founder of Hadassah (the Women's Zionist Organization of America), HENRIETTA SZOLD, was the daughter of a Conservative rabbi, and several Conservative leaders were founding members of the ZOA.

SOLOMON SCHECHTER, president of Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), was responsible for bringing Conservative Judaism into the Zionist fold. Although more concerned with the cultural and religious aspects of Zionism and suspicious of secular Zionists, he argued that Zionism "recommended itself as a great bulwark against assimilation . . . loss of identity, and disloyalty to Israel's history and its mission." This announcement in December 1905, coupled with Schechter's membership in the ZOA, had immediate repercussions. Jacob Schiff, a major contributor to the school, published a letter in the *New York Times* accusing Schechter of dual loyalty. However, Schechter prevailed, and JTS and the Conservative movement were committed to Zionism.

The increasing secularism of political Zionism and the WZO/ZOA after the death of Schechter disturbed many faculty members at JTS. Although CYRUS ADLER, Schechter's successor at JTS, resigned from the Federation of American Zionists (the precursor of the ZOA) because of its secular orientation, he actively supported colonization schemes. The conflict between political and religiocultural Zionism dogged the seminary, and until the creation of the state of Israel, the faculty was split over the issue. After 1948, a change in the school's administration brought it openly into support for the Jewish state.

With the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the debate over Zionism changed dramatically. For many Jewish Americans, Israel's creation seemed to be the actualization of Zionism, so the movement no longer seemed necessary. Membership in the ZOA waned. Israel was a welcome but inconsequential reality for much of American Jewry. Indeed, a symposium on Jewish belief sponsored by the magazine *Commentary* in 1966 saw little emphasis on Israel or the Holocaust. The Arab-Israeli war of 1967 changed all that, dramatically transforming Israel's significance within American Judaism. Arthur Hertzberg, writing in the *American Jewish Year Book, 1968*, noted this change: "The immediate reaction of American Jewry to the crisis was far more intense and widespread than anyone could have foreseen. Many Jews would never have believed that the grave danger to Israel would dominate their thoughts and emotions to the exclusion of all else."

Many Jews of all denominations in the United States have been critical of Israeli governmental policy and have called upon the Israeli government to show more flexibility in dealing with both the Palestinians and the Arab governments. This criticism increased following the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and continued through the years of Likud political power until the turn of the century. Leaders of American Reform Judaism have been the most active in calling for a negotiated settlement and trading land for peace. Although Reform Judaism strongly supports Israel, political and religious conflicts have exacerbated the tensions between secular and Reform Jews in America (who provide substantial sums to the Zionist cause) and certain segments of Israeli society.

One of the most important developments was the growth of Christian Zionism in the 1980s and 1990s, as evinced in such organizations as the International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem and Christians United for Israel. While most Americans have been relatively supportive of the state of Israel since its establishment, these decades saw a marked increase in the support for Israel by American evangelical Protestants (see EVANGELICALISM). Much of this support has been driven by premillennialist (see PREMILLENNIALISM) views about Christ's second coming and the role that the "ingathering of the exiles" (the Jews) would play in that event. The nature of the support, however, is much more complex than merely seeing the Jews as instrumental to the Christian story. For Christian Zionists, the right of the Jews to *eretz Yisrael* (the land of Israel) is a biblical mandate, and their relationship with God is not something that can or will be undone. It is, in fact, an "everlasting possession." Additionally, more reflective Christian Zionists, recognizing the wrong done to the Jewish people by Christians in the past, view their support for the Jewish people and their historical homeland as a means of atoning for past sins.

Within Israel, and to a lesser extent in the diaspora, the last quarter of the 20th century saw the emergence of what Israelis called "post-Zionism," an intellectual rejection of the Zionist project. Outside of Israel, while the Arab world always had rejected the legitimacy of Israel, in the wider non-Jewish world, particularly in Europe, opposition to Israel increased during the 1990s and 2000s. It often was linked to rising anti-Semitism throughout Europe. Anti-Zionism also had a foothold among a minority of archaeologists, who tended to minimize the historicity of the biblical narratives, despite the fact that, on the whole, archaeology has tended to validate at least the skeleton of much of that narrative.

All these events and movements have affected American Jewry, many of whom are uncomfortable with the control Israel exercises over the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. At the same time, the refusal of the Palestinians and most Arab states (with the exceptions of Egypt and Jordan) to recognize Israel as a state and to sign peace agreements with it hinders Israel's ability to relinquish that control. Terrorist attacks on Israelis are viewed as attacks on all Jews, and when Palestinian leaders speak of obliterating Israel, American Jews see calls for their annihilation as well.

Despite differences in their approaches to Israel and Zionism, therefore, American Jewry does not seem likely to end its support for Israel. Linked to Israel by ties of culture, religion, and often family, Jewish Americans are committed to its security and existence. While occasionally in disagreement with Israeli attitudes and policy—a reasonable occurrence given differences in experience—Israel is a constant source of revitalization for Jewish culture and religion in the United States.

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