The Church in America
The Later Nineteenth Century

In our previous section, *The Church in America, From the Revolutionary Period Forward*, we had proceeded well into the Nineteenth Century. The concluding section of that study examined the origins, doctrines, and history of movements and religious groups that were born in the first half of the Nineteenth Century and which, in some form, continue in prominence in the Twenty-first Century:

- The Cane Ridge revival
- The camp meeting movement
- The Campbell-Stone Restoration movement
- John Nelson Darby and the birth of Dispensationalism
- The Mormons
- Nineteenth Century Millenialism, which produced the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah's Witnesses

We begin our present study by returning to the early years of that century to examine what became the largest expression of Christianity in America – Roman Catholicism.[1] We will continue our study by turning to the history of other denominations and movements as they grew and changed during this century. Indeed, the Nineteenth Century was a century of growth and change for almost all religious groups in the United States.

Nineteenth Century Changes in the Status and Nature of Roman Catholicism

Before beginning our study of Roman Catholicism in America in the Nineteenth Century, we need to be cognizant of the changes experienced by Roman Catholicism during that century. In the period between 1789 and 1914 Roman Catholicism experienced a dramatic shift of status, and even some restatement of dogma.

The French Revolution (1789-1799) had a decided effect upon the church. Encouraged by the successful English Revolution of 1689 and the American Revolution of 1776, and fueled by the writings of the French *philosophés,* Rousseau, Montesquieu, Diderot, and François M. Arouet (better known by his *nom de plume,* Voltaire), an ideology arose in France that rationalized the

[1] See ADDENDUM A for a summary of Roman Catholic beliefs and practices.

right of popular revolution against Louis XVI. These men were not intending to foment a revolution, but rather, reform. However, revolution was the fruit of their labors.

Rousseau and Montesquieu provided the political philosophy but Voltaire focused on the role of the Roman Catholic Church in France. The Roman Catholic Church had significant French land holdings. The revenue from these properties was used to support the upper tiers of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Voltaire attacked the church and advocated a religion based upon reason rather than teachings and dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church.

In November 1789, the National Assembly of France declared that all church lands were public property. The Assembly issued bonds that could be redeemed for portions of this public property. For a time, these bonds were circulated as money, backed by the former Catholic real estate.

The next year (1790) significant moves were made, circumscribing the Roman Catholic Church.

- All monasteries were closed and a law passed making monasteries illegal.
- The Assembly passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, including the following:
    1. The number of French bishops was reduced to 83 (the number of provinces in France, at that time).
    2. All bishops were to be elected by the same electorate that elected civil officials. The Pope was to be informed of the choice of the electorate, and was expected to accept these elected bishops.
    3. Clergy were to be paid by the state
    4. Clergy were required to swear loyalty to the state.

These acts removed the Pope from any role in the Catholic Church in France, beyond determining church dogma. French clergy strongly opposed these laws, not so much on account of the loss of real estate holdings, but because they saw these actions as secularizing the Church. Approximately 4000 Catholic clergy left France, some migrating to the United States.

The Reign of Terror (1793-1794) completely separated the Catholic Church and the French state. The more atheistic leaders tried to force a religion of reason on France, even crowing an actress the "Goddess of Reason" in the Notre Dame Cathedral. Because the seven-day week was tied to the Bible and the Church, the seven day week was changed to the ten-day week, eliminating Sundays and the numerous saints' days of Roman Catholicism.

In 1796, French Republican troops under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Italy and defeated the papal troops. The Pope (Pius VI) sued for peace and it was granted. However, later

disturbances resulted in his arrest and his being transported to Sienna, in Tuscany, thence moved to other locations and finally to Valence (southeastern France), where he died. Needless to say, the entire Roman Catholic world was shaken by these events.

When Napoleon took control of France in 1799, realizing that most Frenchmen were Catholics, he proposed a liaison between the Roman Catholic Church and the State Concordant of 1801. As a result of these actions, Bishops were to be named by the state and then consecrated by the Pope. Clergy were to be paid by the state. In 1802, the Organic Articles prohibited papal bulls from being read in France without government consent. Thus, the Roman Catholic Church in France was controlled by the state.

Between 1815 and 1870, the papacy was able to regain lost ground in Europe. Metternich, the chancellor of Austria and the Chairman of the Congress of Vienna,[2] favored an alliance between the rulers of Europe with the Roman Church. Metternich thought that this alliance would protect the European *status quo* and would prevent national or democratic uprisings anywhere in Europe. The Congress restored to the Pope the papal states[3] that had been taken from him by Napoleon. Metternich wrote that religion was important as a bulwark of society.[4]

Throughout Europe, for the next several decades, a number of events and movements contributed to the regained strength of Roman Catholicism and the papacy. During this time of resurgence, Pius IX (occupied the papal chair 1846-1878) took every advantage to strengthen the Roman Catholic Church, especially, the power of the papacy.

- In 1854, after first conferring with the bishops, Pius IX released the document, *Ineffabilis Deus,* which declared as dogma, the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception of Mary* (from the moment of her conception, Mary was free from Original Sin). This became dogma which one must believe in order to be saved (See ADDENDUM's A & B for a Roman Catholic explanation of this doctrine).
- In 1864, concerned about the nationalism and liberalism of the day that seemed hostile to the Roman Church, Pius IX issued the *Syllabus of Errors.* In this document the Pope condemned:

[2] The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) was convened by the nations that had defeated Napoleon. The purpose of the congress was to contain France, on the one hand, but to set the boundaries of various European nations in such a way that no one nation would be strong enough to cause the problems that the French, under Napoleon had brought about. It also was intended to maintain the conservative political landscape and thus, prevent further uprisings as had taken place in France.

[3] Papal states consisted of much of Italy, over which the Pope had governance. This was referred to as his *temporal authority,* in contrast to his *ecclesiastical authority.*

[4] Metternich, *Confession of Faith* 1820.

1. The new philosophy of idealism with its tendency toward pantheism
2. Toleration in religion
3. Separation of Church and State
4. Socialism
5. Bible societies
6. Secular school systems
7. Civil marriage
8. Biblical criticism
9. The view that the Pope has no temporal power

- In 1863, in *Quanto Conficiamur,* appended to *Quanto Cura,* he upheld the view of *Unam Sanctum,* i.e., that salvation is only available in the Roman Catholic Church.
- In 1870, approved by 533 delegates to the Vatican Council, papal infallibility was made dogma. This declaration states that when the Pope speaks, *ex cathedra* ("from the throne"), as head of the church on earth, his statements on anything concerning faith or morals, is infallible and must be accepted and believed if one is to experience salvation. This dogma made church councils unnecessary because the Pope was the final authority, concerning faith and practice.

Not long after the declaration of papal infallibility, things began to fall apart for the pontiff. In 1870, Louis Napoleon[5] had to withdraw the French garrison from Rome in order to meet the threat of the Franco-Prussian war. This made it easy for the Italian army to take Rome. The new national Italian constitutional monarchy confiscated all of the Pope's temporal possessions except for the immediate area of the Vatican buildings. The new government sought to be generous with the Pope, offering him an annual sum of $645,000.00 in perpetuity to compensate for the loss of his temporal possessions. The offer further stated that the Pope could keep the Vatican and to enjoy self-government in that area, without any interference from the state. The Pope refused to accept the settlement and issued an order forbidding any Catholics to vote or to hold office in the Italian government. He retired to self-imposed imprisonment in the Vatican.

Another crisis for Roman Catholicism occurred with the establishment of the German Empire in 1871. After the fall of the Holy Roman Empire, the region known as Germany consisted of 27 constituent territories, most of them ruled by royal families. In 1871, these territories were united into a nation, "the German Empire." Bismarck (known as "the iron chancellor") thought that the internationalism of the Roman Catholic Church might be a threat to the unification of the people of the new Germany. In 1872, he expelled the Jesuits and in 1873 passed the Falk Laws

[5] Nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, who at the time, was ruler of France

(also known as the May Laws), which secularized education, put vital statistics under the control of the state, commanded civil marriage, and forced all clergy to be educated in state universities.

Throughout Europe, anti-clerical feeling developed, resulting in the expulsion of nuns and monks from several educational communities in the early Twentieth Century.

The experience of the Roman Catholic Church, during this period is relevant to the study of the Roman Catholic Church in America. With all of the turmoil and struggles that the papacy faced in the Nineteenth Century, the American Catholic Church, to a large degree, was allowed to develop without much interference from Rome. Pius IX, as noted above, did issue documents criticizing many of the pluralistic foundations of America, which he considered to be a threat to Roman Catholicism (we will comment more on this later in our study).

Roman Catholicism in Nineteenth Century America

Although Roman Catholicism was the dominant religion in the French settlements in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, the Spanish regions of Florida, the southwest, and in California, Roman Catholics were an insignificant minority in the thirteen English colonies.

The first Federal Census of 1790 put the population of the fledging United States at 3,939,000. In 1785, John Carroll composed the first general report on Roman Catholicism in the newly formed United States of America.[6] He conservatively estimated the Catholic population in the colonies to be 25,000 communicants. Of this figure, 15,000 were in Maryland, 7,000 in Pennsylvania, and 1,500 in New York. Thus, the Catholic presence in the new nation was less than 1%.

No one anticipated the explosive growth of Roman Catholicism in the New World during the Nineteenth Century. By 1850, there were 1.6 million Roman Catholics in the United States; Catholicism had become the nation's largest single denomination. By the end of the century, there were 12 million American Catholics.

The Early Years

At the time of the revolution, anti-Catholic sentiment was quite strong in the colonies. In 1768, Samuel Adams stated, "I did verily believe, as I do still, that much more is to be dreaded from the growth of Popery in America, than from the Stamp Act or any other acts destructive of civil

[6] The war for independence officially ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

rights."[7] In 1788, John Jay, out of fear of Popery, urged the New York legislature to require all office holders to renounce foreign authorities, "in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil."[8]

Given the dissenting background of the Puritans and Congregationalists who had colonized New England, [9] and the Anglican domination of the southern colonies,[10] it is not surprising that many of the colonies had laws proscribing the practice of Roman Catholicism. In all but three of the thirteen colonies, Catholics were the subject of penal measures of one kind or another.

Even so, some of the most prominent patriots of the revolution were Roman Catholics. Among these were:

- Charles Carroll, one of the wealthiest men in America was one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence and the first United States Senator from Maryland.
- Thomas Fitzsimmons was Washington's secretary and aide-de-camp.
- General Moylan was quartermaster general and afterwards in command of a cavalry regiment.
- John Barry is regarded as the father of the American Navy.
- Daniel Carroll and Thomas Fitzsimmons were members of the Continental Congress that met in Philadelphia to frame the United States Constitution.
- Daniel Carroll was the first Catholic to serve as a member of the House of Representatives.
- Thomas Lloyd enlisted in the Maryland militia and fought in several Revolutionary War battles. After being wounded at the Battle of Brandywine, he was discharged. He is the Father of American Shorthand, and because of that skill became the official recorder of the Continental Congress. He also worked for the U.S. Treasury.

In 1791, the First Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, which included the wording, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof…" This amendment officially granted freedom of religion to all American citizens, and began the process that eventually led to the repeal of anti-Catholic laws from the statute books of all of the new American states. However, it did take a few years for that to be accomplished and even with the legal restraints removed, anti-Catholic prejudice existed in much of the population.

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[7] Thomas T. McAvoy, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (London, Notre Dame) 1969, page 387
[8] John Kaminski (March 2002) "Religion and the Founding Fathers" (http://www.archives.Gov/nhprc/annotation/march-2002/religion-founding-fathers.html)
[9] Most of the English dissenter movements were a protest against the Church of England's continuing many practices of the Roman Catholic Church.
[10] The Anglican Church was supported by taxation in those regions which had made it the established church of the colony

As noted above, the majority of the Catholics lived in Maryland. Maryland had been established by Lord Cecilius Calvert, whose father, George Calvert, had converted from Anglicism to Catholicism.[11] One of his motives was to establish a haven for persecuted English Catholics.[12] After the establishment of the colony, Lord Calvert appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert as Governor of the colony. The Calverts installed the *Religious Toleration Law of 1649*, which codified the toleration for all Christian religions. Maryland originally had been a part of Virginia. Virginians resented the King's giving the Calverts the charter authorizing them to establish the colony of Maryland in what been northern Virginia. In time, so many Protestants moved into Maryland that Virginia was able to promote a insurrection against the Catholic dominated government. The insurrection was aided by a British marauder named Ingle, who many regarded as a pirate. The insurrection was successful and Leonard Calvert had to flee the colony. The Protestants quickly elected a Protestant parliament which in turn rescinded the religious toleration law and made the Church of England the established church. The Church of England in Maryland was supported by tax levies at the same time that restrictions were imposed on Catholics. Included in the restrictions:

- Catholics were deprived of the right to vote or participate in the government of the colony.
- Priests could be prosecuted for saying Mass.

In time, Leonard Calvert regained the colony and religious toleration was restored.

The Initial Organization of the Roman Catholic Church in America

American Catholics were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Apostolic Vicariate of the London District in England, Richard Challoner. During the war with the British, Bishop Challoner kept American Catholics at arm's length because he saw them as revolutionaries and enemies of England. When Challoner died in 1781, his successor, James Talbot, refused to exercise jurisdiction in the new nation. There were approximately two dozen Roman Catholic American clergy at the time, but because of uncertainty concerning their plight

[11] The charter had been given, initially, to George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. George died shortly after being given the charter by King Charles, and so Charles passed the charter on to George's son, Cecelius.
[12] As noted in our earlier writings, he also wanted to establish a fiefdom, similar to the Medieval fiefdoms of Europe. See our class notes, "The Church in America from 1492 to the American Revolution", pages 94ff

in the new nation, these clerics did not feel that the time was right to press for the installation of an American bishop. Several options were discussed, but no action was taken.

During this uncertain period, Catholic laymen formed Catholic congregations. After the Catholic Church hierarchy was established in America, one of the challenges that the church faced was the relationship between the laity and clergy. Many American Catholics, reflecting the democratic thinking of the new nation, insisted on lay participation in church decisions. Special difficulties arose over whether laity or clergy had the say over church property, since the property had been purchased through the offerings of the laity.

The matter began to be resolved with the June, 1784, Papal appointment of John Carroll as the provisional Superior of the Missions in the Thirteen United States of America. John was the brother of Daniel Carroll, the above mentioned signer of the Constitution. How Carroll came to be installed in that role is the story of fortuitous circumstances.

John Carroll was born and reared in Upper Marlboro, Maryland. John and his cousin, Charles Carroll (mentioned above as the signer of the Declaration of Independence and the first US Senator from Maryland), were sent to the Roman Catholic College of St. Omer, in Liege, Belgium, for their higher education.[13] In 1753, at the age of 18, young John Carroll joined the Society of Jesus as a "postulant."[14] In 1755, he began his studies of philosophy and theology at Liege. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1769. John remained in Europe until he was almost 40 years old, teaching at St. Omer and acting as chaplain to several British aristocrats.

Because the Jesuits controlled great wealth and at the same time controlled certain segments of society, many European monarchs saw the Jesuit order as a threat. A number of the royal families of Europe began to mount opposition to the Jesuits and even the Papacy felt that their power had become a threat. As a result, Pope Clement XIV, on July 1773, suppressed the Society of Jesus. With the pronouncement of this edict, the Jesuit, John Carroll, returned to America. Since there was no Roman Catholic Church hierarchical structure in America, Carroll

[13] The Protestant Reformation in England had closed the door to Roman Catholic schools in England. In response, English Catholics established in French Flanders, Saint Omer College for English Catholics. During the upheavals of the French Revolution and the anti-Roman Catholic sentiment that was present in the revolution, the college migrated to Belgium, first in Bruges, and then to Liege. In 1794, Thomas Weld, of Lulworth, a Roman Catholic who had received his education at St. Omer, in Leige, donated to the college the buildings and thirty acres of the Stonyhurst Estate in Lancashire, England. The college promptly moved to that site where it remains today, operating under the name, Stonyhurst College.

[14] A postulant is an applicant for admission to a religious order.

worked as an unofficial missionary in Maryland and Virginia. He formed St. John the Evangelist Parish at Forest Glen (Silver Springs), Maryland in 1774.

When the war with the British broke out in 1776, the Continental Congress asked John Carroll and his cousin, Charles Carroll, to travel to Quebec with Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Chase in an attempt to persuade the Canadians to join the revolution. Even though the mission was unsuccessful, it gave John Carroll notoriety and caused him to be trusted by the government of the new nation. The Bishop of Quebec, Jean-Olivier Briand, excommunicated John Carroll for his part in this effort.

As the war wound down, Carroll and five other Jesuit priests began a series of meetings at White Marsh, Maryland, in 1783.[15] Through these "General Chapters" they began the first organization of the Catholic Church in the United States. The American clergy (about two dozen at this time) appealed to the Vatican for some sort of hierarchical structure for the Catholic Church in America. In response to this appeal, the Pope began to consider ways to resolve the need for oversight of American Catholics.

While Benjamin Franklin was the American Ambassador to France, he was approached by the papal nuncio to France. The nuncio sought Franklin's advice on how the Roman Catholic issue in America could be resolved in a manner that would be acceptable to the new nation. Franklin responded that the separation of Church and State in America did not permit the government to have any official opinion in the matter. Privately, and off the record, Franklin suggested that perhaps a French bishop might be given oversight of the small Roman Catholic community in the U.S.

The Vatican did not take Franklin's suggestion seriously, but the nuncio did take into account Franklin's remarks concerning the high esteem that he and other American leaders had for John Carroll. So, in response to the appeal from the American clerics for some sort of ecclesiastical oversight, Pope Pius VI, on June 6, 1784, appointed John Carroll as provisional Superior of the Missions in the Thirteen United States of North America, with authority to celebrate the

[15] This now is the site of Sacred Heart Church in Maryland.

sacrament of confirmation. Although this action did give some oversight to the Church mission in America, American Catholics still were functioning without the oversight of a bishop.

The American clergy had been reluctant to ask for the formal formation of a diocese, because they feared that the general public would misunderstand the implications of having a foreign bishop imposed upon them. When Samuel Seabury was elected as the first Anglican bishop in the United States in 1783, and as an Anglican Bishop he was subject to the church hierarchy in England, the Catholic clergy realized that Americans might not be hostile to the appointment of a Catholic bishop. They also had received assurance from the Continental Congress that the Congress would not object to the election of a bishop whose allegiance was to Rome. Having received this assurance, the American Roman Catholic clergy, on March 12, 1788, requested permission from Rome to elect their first bishop. Permission was granted, July 12, 1788.

John Carroll was elected Bishop of Baltimore by the American clergy (by a vote of 24 out of 26) on November 6, 1789. Pope Pius VI approved the election and John Carroll became the first Roman Catholic Bishop in the United States. He was ordained by Bishop Charles Walmesley on August 15, 1790 (the Feast of the Assumption) in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, Dorset, England. He established his Episcopal Chair in the Church of St. Peter, in Baltimore. Carroll is the only Roman Catholic Bishop in the United States to be elected, rather than appointed by the Pope.

Carroll was a very progressive bishop. He was quite concerned with the education of the faithful, including the education of women. As a result, he orchestrated the founding of Georgetown University, trusting the administration of the school to the Jesuits. Georgetown began its first class on November 22, 1791, under the direction of its first President, Robert Plunkett, and future congressman, William Gaston, was the school's first student.

As both Superior of the Missions and as the Bishop, Carroll instituted a series of broad reforms in the Church, especially regarding the conduct of the clergy. He vigorously, but unsuccessfully, campaigned for the use of vernacular languages in the liturgy. In 1787 he wrote,

> "Can there be anything more preposterous than an unknown tongue; and in this country either for want of books or inability to read, the great part of our congregations must be utterly ignorant of the meaning and sense of the public office of the Church. It may have been prudent, for aught I know, to impose a compliance in this matter with the

> insulting and reproachful demands of the first reformers; but to continue the practice of the Latin liturgy in the present state of things must be owing either to chimerical fears of innovation or to indolence and inattention in the first pastors of the national Churches in not joining to solicit or indeed ordain this necessary alteration."[16]

It would be nearly 200 years until Carroll's wish would be realized. The liturgy in the language of the laity was authorized by the Second Vatican Council.[17]

First Diocesan Synod in the United States

In 1791 Carroll convened the first diocesan synod in the United States. The twenty-two priests at the First Synod of Baltimore discussed baptism, confirmation, penance, the celebration of the liturgy, anointing of the sick, mixed marriages and supplemental legislation concerning things such as the rules of fast and abstinence. The decrees of this synod represent the first local canonical legislation in the new nation. Among the regulations were that parish income should be divided into thirds: one third for the support of the clergy, one third for the maintenance of church facilities, and one third for the support of the poor.

Construction of the First Cathedral in the United States

In 1806, Carroll oversaw the construction of the first Roman Catholic Cathedral in the United States, the Cathedral of the Assumption in Baltimore, Maryland.[18] The Cathedral was designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, architect of the United States Capitol. Carroll laid the cornerstone of the Cathedral on July 7, 1806.[19]

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[16] Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Balimore, 1735-1815* (New York, the Encyclopedia Press) 1922, page 130

[17] The Second Vatican Council (Latin: *Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum Secundum* or informally known as Vatican II) addressed relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the modern world. It was the twenty-first Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church and the second to be held at Saint Peter's Basilica in the Vatican. The council, through the Holy See, formally opened under the pontificate of Pope John XXIII on 11 October 1962 and closed under Pope Paul VI on 8 December 1965.

Of those who took part in the council's opening session, four have become pontiffs to date: Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini, who on succeeding Pope John XXIII took the name of Paul VI; Bishop Albino Luciani, the future Pope John Paul I; Bishop Karol Wojtyła, who became Pope John Paul II; and Father Joseph Ratzinger, present as a theological consultant, who became Pope Benedict XVI.

[18] Now known as the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

[19] Carroll did not live to see its completion.

Carroll's Elevation to Archbishop

In 1808, Pope Pius VII elevated Carroll to the office of Archbishop, and made Baltimore the first archdiocese in the United States, with suffragan bishops[20] in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Kentucky. Three of the four new bishops were ordained by Archbishop Carroll in the fall of 1810, after which followed two weeks of meetings in what was an unofficial provincial council. Among the resolutions coming out of these meetings was a request to the Holy See that future bishops' nominations be nominated by the U.S. hierarchy, not by European prelates.

Carroll died in Baltimore on December 3, 1815. His remains are interred in the crypt of the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In 1858, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda Fide*) with the approval of Pope Pius IX, conferred "Prerogative of Place" on the Archdiocese of Baltimore. This gave the Archbishop of Baltimore precedence over all the other archbishops of the United States (not over Cardinals) in councils, gatherings, and meetings of whatever kind of the hierarchy (*in concilus, coetibus et comitis guibuscumque*), regardless of the seniority of other archbishops in promotion or ordination.

Roman Catholic Growth through Immigration

When the framers of the Constitution launched the new nation in September 1787,[21] none of the delegates could have foreseen the dramatic changes in America that would take place in the Nineteenth Century. Four major components of the change were:

- The war between the states, resulting in the abolition of slavery;
- The industrial revolution, resulting in the urbanization of society;
- Western expansion of the nation;
- Massive immigration.

The last two of these components changed the religious terrain of America. The western expansion of the nation and the acquisition of new territories in which Roman Catholicism was the dominant religion, added to the number of Catholics in America:

[20] A suffragan bishop is a bishop who is a subordinate to a diocesan bishop. Suffragan bishops can be assigned to an area that does not have its own cathedral.

[21] The ratification of the Constitution by all of the states was not achieved until May 1790, Rhode Island ratifying the Constitution by a narrow margin of two votes on May29, 1790

- The Louisiana Purchase in 1803
- The Adams Otis treaty (the purchase of Florida) in 1819
- The incorporation of the northern Mexico territories after the Mexican/American war in 1847[22]

Yet, the effect of these acquisitions on America's religious identity was far less than the massive immigration that America experienced in the Nineteenth Century. Roman Catholicism moved from being an insignificant minority to a dominant presence in America. One often overlooked stream of immigrants were the many French Canadian Catholics who migrated south into northern New England. Employment in the many clothing mills and factories that lined the rivers of New Hampshire was the chief enticement that drew Canadian Catholics to immigrate into New England.

Nothing however, impacted the religious climate of America greater than the major waves of Catholic immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Poland. The first major wave of poor refugees to arrive in the US were Irish Catholics, fleeing the Irish Potato Famine (see ADDENDUM C for a description of the Irish Potato Famine, as well as the desperate situation faced by the Irish under English rule).

The Irish immigrants that arrived in the America during the mid-Nineteenth Century were far different from the first Catholics in America. The first Catholics had been English gentlemen, prosperous members of the upper class. They were well educated and made a significant contribution to the development of the new nation. Such was not the case with the onslaught of Irish Catholic immigrants that began arriving shortly before 1850.

In the years preceding the famine, the English had imposed such horrible conditions on Ireland that the nation as a whole consisted of helpless people for whom hunger and hardship was no stranger. Anti-Catholic prohibitions imposed on Ireland dated back to 1695 when the British enacted a series of Penal Laws designed to punish the Irish for supporting the Catholic Stuart

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[22] The Mexican-American War (1846-1848) marked the first U.S. armed conflict chiefly fought on foreign soil. It pitted a politically divided and militarily unprepared Mexico against the expansionist-minded administration of U.S. President James K. Polk, who believed the United States had a "manifest destiny" to spread across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. A border skirmish along the Rio Grande started off the fighting and was followed by a series of U.S. victories. When the dust cleared, Mexico had lost about one-third of its territory, including nearly all of present-day California, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico.

King, James II. James II, with an Irish Catholic army at his side, sought to displace the Protestant, William of Orange. James and the Catholics were soundly defeated in the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690.

The resulting Penal Laws stripped Irish Catholics of their rights including; the ability to serve as an officer in the British Army or Navy, hold any government office, vote, buy land, practice law, attend school, serve an apprenticeship, possess weapons, and practice their religion. The Catholic Church was outlawed. The Gaelic language was banned. Export trade was forbidden as Irish commerce and industry were deliberately destroyed.

With 80 percent of Ireland being Catholic, the Penal Laws were intended to degrade the Irish so severely that they would never again be in a position to seriously threaten Protestant rule. In 1600, Protestants had owned just 10 percent of Ireland's land. By 1778, Protestants owned 95 percent of the land. When a Catholic landowner died, the estate was divided up equally among all of his sons, diluting the value. However, if any son renounced Catholicism and became a Protestant, he automatically inherited all of his father's property.

The lot of the African slaves in America's south, was much better than the life lived by the Irish in the early 1800's. The French sociologist, Gustave de Beaumont, visited Ireland in 1835 and wrote: "I have seen the Indian in his forests, and the Negro in his chains, and thought, as I contemplated their pitiable condition, that I saw the very extreme of human wretchedness; but I did not then know the condition of unfortunate Ireland...In all countries, more or less, paupers may be discovered; but an entire nation of paupers is what was never seen until it was shown in Ireland."

Given the tragic conditions of their homeland, many adventurous, unemployed young Irishmen sought their fortunes in America and boarded ships heading for Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Irish emigrants during the 1700s were mostly Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who were of Scottish ancestry, the so-called "Scot-Irish." Some agreed to work as indentured servants without pay up to five years in return for free passage. By 1776, nearly 250,000 Irish Protestants had emigrated to North America.

Between 1815 and 1845 (prior to the potato famine), nearly a million Irish, including a large number of unemployed Catholics, came to the United States. The men went to work providing the backbreaking labor needed to build canals, roads and railways in the rapidly expanding country. Irish pick-and-shovel workers proved to be very hard-working and were in great demand. American contractors often placed advertisements in newspapers in Dublin, Cork and Belfast before beginning big construction projects. The massive Erie Canal project, for example, was built by scores of Irishmen working from dawn till dusk for a dollar-a-day, hand-digging their way westward through the rugged wilderness of upstate New York. The 363 mile-long canal became the main east-west commerce route and spurred America's early economic growth by drastically lowering the costs of getting goods to market.

The American attitude toward the Irish, especially the Irish Catholics, changed with the flood of immigrants fleeing the potato famine that began in 1845 and continued through 1849. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the horrors that the Irish lived through during this period. In the midst of starvation and with no recourse to any relief, the Irish were subjected to even harsher measures by the British. Every effort was made to squeeze out of Ireland any taxes or capitol assets that an Irishman might possess. "Arrest, remand, do anything you can," Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, instructed Lord Clarendon, the ranking British official in Ireland. "Send horse, foot and dragoons, all the world will applaud you, and I should not be at all squeamish as to what I did, to the verge of the law and a little beyond."[23]

Michael Shaughnessy, a barrister in Ireland, described children he encountered while traveling on his circuit as "almost naked, hair standing on end, eyes sunken, lips pallid, protruding bones of little joints visible." In another district, there was a report of a woman who had gone insane from hunger and eaten the flesh of her own dead children. In other places, people killed and ate dogs which themselves had been feeding off dead bodies.[24]

Men and boys who had never been in trouble in their lives now deliberately committed crimes in order to be arrested and transported to Australia. "Even if I had chains on my legs, I would still have something to eat," said an Irish teenager after his arrest.[25]

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[23] *The Irish Potato Famine*, The History Place (www.historyplace.com)
[24] *ibid*
[25] *ibid*

It is no wonder that hordes of desperate people fled Ireland for the hope of America. Upon arrival in America, the Irish found the going to be quite tough. With no one to help them, they immediately settled into the lowest rung of society and waged a daily battle for survival.

The Irish Immigration in Boston

The roughest welcome of all would be in Boston, Massachusetts, an Anglo-Saxon city with a population of about 115,000. It was a place run by descendants of English Puritans, men who could proudly recite their lineage back to 1620 and the Mayflower ship. Now, some two hundred thirty years later, their city was undergoing nothing short of an unwanted social revolution. In 1847, the first big year of Famine emigration, the city was swamped with 37,000 Irish Catholics arriving by sea and land.

Proper Bostonians mocked and laughed at the first Irish immigrants stepping off ships wearing clothes twenty years out of fashion. They watched as the newly arrived Irishmen settled with their families into enclaves that became exclusively Irish near the Boston waterfront along Batterymarch and Broad Streets, then in the North End section and in East Boston. Irishmen took any unskilled jobs they could find such as cleaning yards and stables, unloading ships, and pushing carts.

And once again, they fell victim to unscrupulous landlords – men just as vicious and avaricious as those in Ireland. Boston landlords sub-divided former Yankee dwellings into cheap housing, charging Irish families up to $1.50 a week to live in a single nine-by-eleven foot room with no water, sanitation, ventilation or daylight.

In the mid-1800s, there was no enforcement of sanitary regulations and no building or fire safety codes. Landlords could do as they pleased. A single family three-story house along the waterfront that once belonged to a prosperous Yankee merchant could be divided-up room by room into housing for a hundred Irish, bringing a nice profit.

The overflow Irish would settle into the gardens, back yards and alleys surrounding the house, living in wooden shacks. Demand for housing of any quality was extraordinary. People lived in musty cellars with low ceilings that partially flooded with every tide. Old warehouses and other

buildings within the Irish enclave were hastily converted into rooming houses using flimsy wooden partitions that provided no privacy.

A Boston Committee of Internal Health studying the situation described the resulting Irish slum as "a perfect hive of human beings, without comforts and mostly without common necessaries; in many cases huddled together like brutes, without regard to age or sex or sense of decency. Under such circumstances self-respect, forethought, all the high and noble virtues soon die out, and sullen indifference and despair or disorder, intemperance and utter degradation reign supreme."[26]

The unsanitary conditions were breeding grounds for disease, particularly cholera. Sixty percent of the Irish children born in Boston during this period didn't live to see their sixth birthday. Adult Irish lived on average just six years after stepping off the boat onto American soil.

Those who were not ill were driven to despair. Men and boys cooped up in tiny rooms and without employment or schooling got into serious trouble. Boredom and alcohol resulted in rowdy behavior, which spilled out into the streets of Boston. The city witnessed a staggering increase in crime, up to 400 percent for such crimes as aggravated assault. An estimated 1500 children roamed the streets every day begging and making mischief.

There were only a limited number of unskilled jobs available. Intense rivalry for these jobs quickly developed between the Irish and the working-class Bostonians. In Ireland, a working man might earn eight cents a day. In America, he could earn up to a dollar a day, a tremendous improvement. Bostonians feared being undercut by the hungry Irish who were more than willing to work for less than the going rate. A growing anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment among all classes in Boston led to 'No Irish Need Apply' signs being posted in shop windows, factory gates and workshop doors throughout the city. When there was a job opening, that caveat always was attached.

Irish in New York

New York, three times the size of Boston, was better able to absorb its incoming Irish. Throughout the Famine years, 75 percent of the Irish coming to America landed in New York. In

[26] *ibid*

1847, about 52,000 Irish arrived in the city which had a total population of 372,000. The Irish were not the only big group of immigrants arriving. A substantial German population totaling over 53,000 also arrived in 1847.

In New York, the Irish did not face the degree of prejudice found in Boston. Instead, they were confronted by shifty characters and con artists. Confused Irish, fresh off the farm and suffering from culture shock, were taken advantage of the moment they set foot on shore.

Immediately upon arrival in New York harbor, they were met by Irishmen known as 'runners' speaking in Gaelic and promising to 'help' their fellow countrymen. Many of the new arrivals, quite frightened at the mere prospect of America, gladly accepted the runners' offer. Those who hesitated were usually bullied into submission. The runner's first con was to suggest a good place to stay in New York; a boarding house operated by a friend, supposedly with good meals and comfortable rooms at very affordable rates, including free storage of any luggage.

The boarding houses turned out to be filthy hell-holes in lower Manhattan. Instead of comfortable rooms, the confused arrivals were shoved into vermin-infested hovels with eight or ten other unfortunate souls, at prices three or four times higher than what they had been told. They remained as 'boarders' until their money ran out at which time their luggage was confiscated for back-rent and they were tossed out into the streets, homeless and penniless.

During the entire Famine period, about 650,000 Irish arrived in New York harbor. All incoming passenger ships to New York had to stop for medical inspection. Anyone with fever was removed to the quarantine station on Staten Island and the ship itself was quarantined for 30 days. But Staten Island was just five miles from Manhattan. Runners were so aggressive in pursuit of the Irish that they even rowed out to quarantined ships and sneaked into the hospitals on Staten Island despite the risk of contracting typhus.

Another way to take advantage of the Irish was to sell them phony railroad and boat tickets. Runners working with 'forwarding agents' sold bogus tickets featuring pictures of trains or boats that the illiterate immigrants supposedly could board to leave Manhattan for other U.S. cities. The tickets were either worthless, or if they were valid, had been sold at double the actual price or higher. On the boats, the immigrants were shoved into jam-packed steerage sections, even

though they supposedly had paid for better accommodations. Sometimes, halfway to their destination, they were told to pay more or risk being thrown overboard.

The penniless Irish who remained in Manhattan stayed crowded together close to the docks where they sought work as unskilled dock workers. They found cheap housing wherever they could, with many families living in musty cellars. Abandoned houses near the waterfront that once belonged to wealthy merchants were converted into crowded tenements. Shoddy wooded tenements also sprang up overnight in yards and back alleys to be rented out room by room at high prices. Similar to Boston, New York experienced a high rate of infant mortality. Also, as had been true in Boston, New York experienced a dramatic rise in crime as Irish men and boys cooped-up in squalid shanties let off steam by drinking and getting into fights.

These Irish immigrants, living in squalid conditions, became the main strength of the Roman Catholic Church in America. In the minds of many Americans, Catholic and Irish became synonymous terms. Movements, some organized and some not, arose to oppose the "Irish papists." As already noted, "No Irish Need Apply," was displayed on help-wanted signs in Boston and in newspaper help-wanted ads. Newspaper cartoons, portraying the Irish Catholics as drunken, brawling, Irishmen were common. The press consistently presented the Irish Catholic immigrants as aliens who were mindlessly loyal to their Catholic priests, bishops, and the Pope, rather than having allegiance to America. An editorial in the Chicago Post stated, "The Irish fill our prisons, our poor houses… scratch a convict or a pauper, and the chances are that you tickle the skin of an Irish Catholic. Putting them on a boat and sending them home would end crime in our country."[27]

At times, the opposition to Irish Catholics became violent. In Boston, a mob of Protestant workers burned down a Catholic convent. Protestant mobs in Philadelphia rioted against the Catholics in 1844. In response the Philadelphia Irish Catholics promptly gathered into mobs and fought back; the violence lasted more than three days. During this riot, two Catholic churches were burned down, as well as hundreds of Irish Catholic homes and dozens of Irish Catholics were killed.

[27] *Irish Immingrants in America during the 19th Century*, www.kinsell.org/history/histira.htm, page 1

When John Hughes, the Archbishop of New York, heard of the violence of the attacks in Philadelphia, he deployed armed Catholic Irishmen to protect the New York Catholic churches. The mayor of New York asked Archbishop Hughes, "Do you fear that some of your churches will be burned?" Hughes replied, "No sir, but I am afraid that some yours will be; we can protect our own." Public officials visited the Archbishop and asked him to restrain New York's Irishmen. Hughes replied, "I have not the power; you must take care that they are not provoked." He then visited the mayor and warned him that if just one Catholic church were touched, then the unrestrained Irish Catholics would burn down all of Manhattan. No Catholic church was burned in New York. Baltimore, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Louisville, experienced anti-Catholic violence at the same time that Philadelphia and New York were involved in the conflict.

This is a popular lithograph sold in the 1850's. Note that it depicts a young man with the caption, "Uncle Sam's youngest son, Citizen Know Nothing," representing the nativist ideal of the Know Nothing Party.

Library of Congregess, Washington, DC, (Digital File Number: LC-DIG-pga 02603)

Militant anti-Catholics formed various organizations to withstand the growing influence of Catholics in America. A number of small political parties espousing "nativist doctrine" developed in opposition to the flood of Catholic immigrants that began to change the social terrain of America. Two of the more prominent parties were the American Republican Party, and the Nativist Party. Secret societies also were born in American cities. Two of the more prominent anti-immigration secret societies were the Order of United Americans and the Order of the Star Spangled Banner.

In time, members of these political parties and secret societies coalesced into a political party officially named, "The American Party," but commonly called, "The Know Nothings." The party was formed in 1849 and became quite popular.

The basic purpose of the party was to mount a strong, sometimes virulent, stand against immigration, especially Roman Catholic immigrants. Know-Nothing candidates had to be born in the United States. They also a put forth a concerted effort to change the naturalization laws so that only immigrants

who had lived in the US for 25 years could become citizens. Such a lengthy residency requirement for citizenship had a deliberate purpose: it would mean that the Irish Catholics coming to the US in great numbers, would not be able to vote for many years.

The Know-Nothings organized nationally throughout the early 1850s, under the leadership of James W. Barker, a New York City merchant and political leader. They ran candidates for office in 1854, and had some success in local elections in the northeast. In 1856 former president Millard Fillmore ran as the Know-Nothing candidate for president. The campaign was a disaster. By 1860 the party had fractured, and was already something of a relic. The Know-Nothings joined the list of extinct political parties in America, but while it existed it was an influential movement in America.

Many Protestants in the Midwest labeled Catholics as "anti-American Papists," who were "incapable of free thought without the approval of the Pope." During the Mexican-American War (1846-1847), Mexicans were portrayed as "backward" because of their "Papist superstition." In reaction to this anti-Catholic attitude, about 100 Irish Catholics fought on the Mexican side, as *Saint Patrick's Battalion*. However, most of the Catholics who fought in the war fought on the American side, and Catholic chaplains accompanied them.

The American Civil War was a turning point for Irish Catholics in America. More than 140,000 Irish Catholics enlisted in the Union Army, and a similar amount of Irish Catholics enrolled in the Confederate ranks. One of the most famous units in the Federal Army was the all-Irish 69th New York Regiment. This regiment participated in the key battles at Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg. This all-Irish, Catholic regiment earned a reputation for dependability and bravery. At Fredericksburg, to the astonishment of all who observed, the "Fighting 69th" repeatedly charged a well-entrenched Confederate position on Marye's Heights. Irish Catholics had gained their place in America.

Prominent Roman Catholic military leaders in the Civil War include Generals, William T. Sherman (whose wife took up residence in South Bend for the sole purpose of having her family educated at the University of Notre Dame and St. Mary's College), George Meade, and Philip Sheridan.

Even so, Catholics in America still had to contend with prejudice in many quarters. A frequent charge was that "too much Catholic influence was present in the government." One of the most persistent anti-Catholic groups was the Klu-Klux-Klan. The Klan had two primary goals:

- to suppress blacks and
- to run all Republicans out of office.

However, in an interesting twist, the Klan also discriminated against Catholics and Jews. [28]

Another major event displaying the controversy between Catholics and Protestants were the 1870/1871 Orange Riots in New York City. As described elsewhere in these notes, in July, 1690, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange,[29] an English Protestant, met in battle the Catholic King, James the Second. James army, for the most part, consisted of Irish Catholics. The deadly battle was fought in the vales of Meath, through which the Boyne River flows. The Protestant army soundly defeated James and his Irish Catholics and very harsh English Protestant rule was imposed on Ireland. The Irish Catholics always were striving to obtain Irish independence. As a supposed reaction to the threat of an Irish rebellion, the Ulster Protestant Society, known as Orangemen, was founded in 1795. It was a secret political organization, founded to counteract the Ribbonmen, or Protectors, as the Irish Catholic patriot groups were called. When the Ulster (northern) Protestant Irish immigrated to the United States, the Orangemen formed such an organization in America. In 1870 and 1871, violent conflicts took place between the Orangemen and Irish Catholics in New York (see ADDENDUM D for a description of this event).

Be that as it may, even though Irish Catholics in America did gain a growing acceptance during and after the Civil War, the prejudice against Roman Catholicism continued throughout the succeeding decades.

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[28] The first Klan was founded in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, by six veterans of the Confederate Army. The name is probably from the Greek word *kuklos* (κύκλος) which means circle, suggesting a circle or band of brothers. Although there was no organizational structure above the local level, similar groups arose across the South and adopted the same name and methods. Klan groups spread throughout the South as an insurgent movement during the Reconstruction Era. As a secret vigilante group, the Klan targeted freedmen and their allies, as well as Catholics and Jews; it sought to restore white Protestant supremacy and the Democrat Party by threats and violence, including murder, against black and white Republicans. In 1870 and 1871, the federal government passed the Force Acts, which were used to prosecute Klan crimes. Prosecution of Klan crimes. In 1874 and later, newly organized and openly active paramilitary organizations, such as the White League and the Red Shirts, started a fresh round of violence aimed at suppressing blacks' voting in order to run Republicans out of office. These contributed to segregationist white Democrats regaining political power in all the Southern states by 1877.

[29] Also known as William III

Catholic Immigrants from Germany

Although the Irish Catholic immigrants had the greatest impact on Roman Catholicism in America, other groups, especially the Germans and Italians, added to the Roman Catholic presence that the strength of the Catholic Church in America.

Significant numbers of Germans had immigrated to America during the colonial period. Most of these settled in Pennsylvania and New York. In the Nineteenth Century, closely coinciding with the era of Irish immigration, Germans came to America in huge numbers. They were the largest national group of immigrants between 1860 and 1890 (in the decade of the 1880's, 1.4 million Germans arrived in America). Catholic Germans changed the religious landscape of major cities such as St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Cincinnati. They also impacted rural areas in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Nebraska. They also formed scattered communities in Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. When the first Bishop of Pittsburg arrived in that city, he found that there were 45,000 Catholics in that city, with the largest ethnic group being German (12,000).

In some locations, the Germans at first were ministered to by Irish priests, but in almost every location, German priests replaced the Irish clerics in leadership of German Catholic congregations.

German Catholics in America were quick to build substantial church buildings, orphan asylums, and convents. They also produced significant newspapers. In typical German fashion, the German Catholic works were substantial and for the most part, lasting.

In the mid-Nineteenth Century, there even was an attempt made to form a Catholic colony at St. Mary's, Elks County, Pennsylvania. Two wealthy Catholics from Baltimore, Mathias Benziger and J. Eschbach, purchased a large tract of land, for that purpose. Catholics from Germany soon arrived. Although well managed and encouraged by the hearty approval of the bishop, the town never attained any considerable size.

All in all, it can be said that the considerable number of German Catholics that immigrated to America gave stability to the American Catholic Church and, because of their numbers, increased Roman Catholic influence in the nation.[30]

Catholic Immigrants from Italy

Although Italians immigrated to the United States, both during the colonial and post-Revolutionary period, it was not until 1880 that Italian immigration began to assume enormous proportions. The earliest Italian immigrants to the United States were Northern Italians who became prominent as fruit merchants in New York and vintners in California. Later, as the bulk of immigrants began arriving from southern Italy, the difference between the different regions and cultures became apparent. Northern Italians have a considerable Teutonic element in their composition and heritage. Southern Italians, especially Sicilians, are "Latin."

As with the Irish, the reasons for Italian immigration were economical. The distribution of wealth throughout Italy was uneven. In 1891, when the immigration to America consisted of 100,000 Italians for the year, the economic breakdown of the nation was as follows:

- Northern Italy: 48 percent of the national wealth;
- Central Italy: 25 percent of the national wealth;
- Southern Italy: 28 percent of the national wealth.

The taxes received from each of these regions coincided, roughly, with the wealth contained therein. Northern Italy had become industrialized, and thus it was the most prosperous. Italy was densely populated (257 people to the square mile in 1881) and most of the rural Italians struggled financially. Southern Italy, which was densely populated, was agricultural and the per capita income was the lowest. The system of taxation employed by the Italian government was the chief cause of lack of enterprise in agricultural pursuits. Land owners did not improve their land for fear that the tax might be increased. In addition to these property taxes, the government imposed a "family tax."

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[30] On the other side of the coin, many German Catholics left Roman Catholicism for a variety of reasons:

- Where Germans settled in small numbers, there often were no priests who spoke German. In this setting of religious isolation, they often neglected religious practices and thus, lost their Catholic faith.
- About 50% of the Germans who immigrated to America were Protestants (chiefly, Lutheran and Anabaptist) who had their own churches and organizations. This non-Catholic atmosphere that surrounded German Catholics in isolated areas had an influence on the Catholics.
- Mixed marriages between Catholic and Protestant Germans also caused many German Catholics to depart from Catholicism.

Most Italians who immigrated to America in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century did not intend to remain in America. They hoped to spend time in the US, earn money and return to their native land. Indeed, this is what many did. Some came to the US and worked at hard physical labor in the spring and summer, but returned to Italy for the winter. Historians use the phrase, "birds of passage," to describe these migratory laborers. In the summer of 1878, author Maude Howe traveled to the village of Roccaraso in the central Italian province of Abruzzi. In her reminiscences, published in 1904, she said that able-bodied men were rare in the village. She wrote, "the women do practically all of the work of the community, they dig, plough, sow, and reap." When she inquired about the absence of the men, the mayor told her that the absence of the men was due to the migration of four hundred stonemasons who had gone to "Pittsbourgo." Because so many Italians made the trip to America and back to Italy several times, the number of individual Italian immigrants is difficult to determine.

Although there were Baptist and Presbyterian Italians, almost all Italians were Catholic. The general assumption was that to be Italian was to be Catholic. When the Italian Catholics arrived in America, they were dismayed to discover that the Catholic Church in America was dominated by an Irish hierarchy. Not only that, many of the Irish Catholics found distasteful the Italian Catholic devotion to the Virgin Mary and the Holy Saints. Because of the cold reception that they received from the non-Italian Catholics in America, Italian Catholics established enclaves where the felt that they would be safe from the Irish and German communities that surrounded them. When the Pope became aware of the Italian's plight in America, he sponsored the establishment of the San Raffaele Society, otherwise known as the Italian Immigration Society. For more than 30 years, the society was headed by the Reverend Father Gaspare Moretto. Through his work there was a lessening (but not totally ending) of conflict and tension between Italian Catholics and other Catholics in America.

These "Little Italy's" often published their own Italian language newspapers – L'Eco d'Italia in New York; L'Italia in Chicago; and L'Eco della Colonia in Los Angeles were three of the most prominent. Prominent in these journals was news and information concerning activities of the local parish.

The Franciscans were the Catholic order that dominated Catholic ministry to the Italians. The first Italian parish to be organized in the Archdiocese of New York, was St. Anthony's Church,

founded in 1866. Italian Franciscans were very zealous in their work, and sought not only to see that the Italians kept their faith, but also sought to expand Roman Catholicism. One of the problem that the Italian Catholic Churches faced was getting the members to support the church, financially. In Italy, the church was supported by indirect taxation. In America, the support was voluntary and given directly to the church, rather than having it processed through the government.

Italian Catholics were very successful in developing parochial schools, which both Catholic and non-Catholic children attended. It was not unusual for the parents of non-Catholic children to convert to Catholicism through the influence of these schools. Early on, St. Bonaventure's College, at Allegany, York, was established.

Roman Catholic Educational Advances

A major contribution that Roman Catholicism made to the United States in the Nineteenth Century was the founding of dozens of excellent colleges and universities. The list of these Catholic centers of scholarship and education is too lengthy to reproduce here, but, as noted earlier, it all began with Bishop John Carroll's founding of Georgetown University in 1791. The first Federal University Charter in the United States was bestowed upon Georgetown by the United States Congress 1815. This charter authorized Georgetown to confer degrees. The first graduates of Georgetown were awarded the Bachelor of Arts Degree, two years later in 1817.

Notre Dame University, founded, November 6, 1842, has become one of the major research universities in the world. The university was founded by a 28 year-old French Priest, Rev. Edward Sorin, C.S.C., and seven companions, all of them members of the recently established Congregation of Holy Cross. On that date they took possession of 524 snow-covered acres that the Bishop of Vincennes had given them in the Indiana mission fields. Father Sorin named his fledgling school in honor of "Our Lady," (in his native French, "*L'Université de Notre Dame du Lac"* i.e., The University of Our Lady of the Lake). On January 15, 1844, the University was officially chartered by the Indiana legislature.

400 Italian Jesuit priests left Italy for the American West between 1848-1919. Most of these Jesuits left their homeland involuntarily, expelled by Italian nationalists in the successive waves of Italian unification that dominated Italy. When they arrived in the American West, they

ministered to Indians in the Northwest, Irish-Americans in San Francisco and Mexican Americans in the South West; they also ran the nation's most influential Catholic seminary, in Woodstock, Md. In addition to their pastoral work, they founded numerous high schools and colleges, including Regis University, Santa Clara University, the University of San Francisco, Gonzaga University and Seattle University.[71]

Of great significance to the influence of the Catholic Church in America has been the development of parochial schools. Catholic parochial schools were instituted in the United States as a reaction against a growing publicly-funded school system that was essentially Protestant. In 1839 and 1840, the American Bible Society pledged that "the Bible would be read in every classroom in the nation". In what was then a predominantly Protestant country, this was generally understood to be the King James Version of the Scriptures. The Eliot School rebellion, an incident involving the beating of a Catholic boy who refused to read the King James version of the Ten Commandments aloud in a Boston Public School in 1859 led to the creation of the first parochial school in Massachusetts and, according to historian John McGreevy of the University of Notre Dame, sparked the creation of parochial schools nationwide.

The middle of the 19th Century saw increasing Catholic interest in education in tandem with increasing Catholic immigration. To serve their growing communities, American Catholics first tried to reform American public schools to rid them of blatantly fundamentalist Protestant overtones. Failing, in their efforts to make the public schools religiously neutral, they began opening their own schools. John Neumann organized the first diocesan school system in the United States. As the bishop of the Diocese of Philadelphia, he created a diocesan board to oversee the parochial schools in the Diocese of Philadelphia. By the time of his death in 1860, there were seventeen parish schools in Philadelphia.

The development of Catholic parochial schools was advanced by religious orders such as the Sisters of Mercy (who arrived from Ireland, under the direction of Sister Frances Warde, in 1843), and the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, organized in 1845 by Sister Theresa (Almaide) Duchemin. The rapidly growing number of parochial schools sparked a bigoted backlash. Mobs burned a convent and murdered a nun in Massachusetts in 1834, destroyed two churches in New England in 1854, and, that same year, tarred-and-feathered, and nearly killed Father John Bapst. John Bapst was a Swiss-born Jesuit conducting a school in

Maine and at the same time, ministering to the Passamaquoddy Indians. John Bapst instructed Irish immigrants and former Protestants who'd converted under his influence.

Such attacks notwithstanding, the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 urged every Catholic parish in the nation to establish a school.

In 1875, President Ulysses S. Grant, whose sympathies for the Know-Nothing party were well-known, called for a Constitutional amendment that would mandate free public schools and prohibit the use of public funds for "sectarian" schools. It was clear that Grant's motivation was rooted in his anti-Catholicism, fearing a future with "patriotism and intelligence on one side and superstition, ambition and greed on the other" which he identified with the Catholic Church. Grant called for public schools that would be "unmixed with atheistic, pagan or sectarian teaching."

Senator James G. Blaine of Maine had proposed such an amendment to the Constitution in 1874. The amendment was defeated in 1875 but would be used as a model for so-called "Blaine Amendments" incorporated into 34 state constitutions over the next three decades. These amendments prohibited the use of public funds to fund parochial schools and are still in effect today (although a 2002 Supreme Court ruling partially vitiated these amendments - as of March 2009, no state school system had changed its laws to allow state funds to be used for this purpose).

The post-Civil War period brought continued growth in Catholic education, with the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 repeating the call for parochial schools and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 turning the plea into a directive that all Catholic parishes open schools within two years. The third council also supported Catholic schools for African Americans and Native Americans by confirming the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions as an institution of the Church and establishing the Commission for the Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians to support Black and Native Catholic schools. By 1900, an estimated 3,500 parochial schools existed in the United States.

The Catholic University of America

The proposal to create a national Catholic university in America reflected the rising size and influence of the nation's Catholic population and also an ambitious vision of the Church's role in American life during the 19th century.

In 1882 Bishop John Lancaster Spalding went to Rome to obtain Pope Leo XIII's support for the University and persuaded family friend Mary Gwendoline Caldwell to pledge $300,000 to establish it. On March 7, 1889, the Pope issued the encyclical *Magni Nobis*, granting the university its charter and establishing its mission as the instruction of Catholicism and human nature together at the graduate level.

Many of the founders of the CUA held a vision that included both a sense of the Church's special role in United States and also a conviction that scientific and humanistic research, informed by the Faith, would only strengthen the Church. They sought to develop an institution like a national university that would promote the Faith in a context of religious freedom, spiritual pluralism, and intellectual rigor.

When the University first opened for classes in the fall of 1888, the curriculum consisted of lectures in mental and moral philosophy, English literature, the Sacred Scriptures, and the various branches of theology. At the end of the second term, lectures on canon law were added and the first students were graduated in 1889. In 1904, an undergraduate program was added and it quickly established a reputation for excellence.

Black Catholics in America[31]

Traditionally, most African Americans have been members of Protestant denominations, yet African-American Catholics have had a presence in this country since the earliest days of settlement, and they have played a fascinating part in the story of America and of the Church in the United States.

[31] The material in this section is a redacted and edited version of an article written by Thomas J. Craughwell, *History of African-American Catholics*, in the Our Sunday Visitor Newsweekly, 2/5/2012 (www.osv.com/tabid/7621/itemid/8970)

Chicago history buffs will tell you that their city was founded in 1790 by a successful trapper and fur trader named Jean Baptiste Point du Sable. Rarely reported is the fact that du Sable was black and Catholic.

Black Catholics among the Spanish Settlers

In 1565, when Spanish colonists founded the city of St. Augustine in northern Florida, there were Africans among them — some were free and some were slaves. Parish registers reveal that these Africans were Catholics. Spanish colonial society was more accepting of its black citizens than the English colonists to the north. Black children were taught in the Catholic parish school alongside white children. In the 1700s, the Spanish authorities in Florida offered refuge to any slaves who escaped from the British colonies; if they accepted the Catholic faith, the runaways would be free. Many slaves risked their lives to reach freedom in Florida and became Catholics in the process.

When Spanish colonists moved north into California, free and enslaved blacks were among the settlers. In 1781, 11 Catholic families founded the city of Los Angeles; half of those Catholic settlers were black.

Black Catholics among the French Settlers

There were free and enslaved blacks in the French colonies in Louisiana, along the Gulf Coast and up the Mississippi River, all of whom were Catholic. Creole society, a mixed-race blend of African and French culture, flourished in France's American colonies, and Catholicism was an integral part of it.

- Henriette Delille (1812-1862), the daughter of a well-to-do white man and his free black mistress, Henriette chose a life of chastity and dedicated herself to serving the poor free blacks of New Orleans. In 1842 she founded the Sisters of the Holy Family, a community of black and Creole sisters, dedicated to nursing the sick, sheltering orphans, and educating black and mixed-race children.
- Marie Couvent had been born in Africa, was taken as a slave to Louisiana where she won her freedom and married a successful businessman. At her death she left an endowment

to establish a free school for free black and Creole orphans; the school was known as the Institute Catholique.

Black Catholics in Maryland

As already noted, Maryland was founded as a refuge for Catholics. African slaves, owned by the Catholics in Maryland were taught the Catholic faith. In 1785, Catholic Bishop John Carroll sent a report to Rome on the condition of the Church in America. Among other statistics, he reported that about 20 percent of Catholics in Maryland were black.

White Catholic Prejudice faced by Black Catholics

In 19th-century America, free black Catholics were victims of open hostility and discrimination from both white Catholics and white non-Catholics.

- In the 1820s in Baltimore, Mary Elizabeth Lange, a free black woman from Haiti, began teaching free black children in her home. In 1828, with the approval of her archbishop, James Whitfield, she founded a religious congregation for black women, the Oblate Sisters of Providence, dedicated to the education of black children. Although Mother Lange's work won the approval of many American bishops and priests — St. John Neumann was a champion of the Oblate Sisters — many lay Catholics in Baltimore were outraged by the idea of black women wearing a religious habit.
- In the South, many Catholics were slaveholders. Even bishops and religious communities owned slaves: the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Carmelite, Visitation, and Ursuline nuns all were slave owners. So did Bishops John Carroll of Baltimore, Louis du Bourg of New Orleans, and Michael Portier of Mobile. At the other end of the spectrum stood Bishop John Baptist Purcell of Cincinnati, who called for the abolition of slavery.

The First American Catholic Clerics of African Descent

In the first half of the 19th century an Irish immigrant, Michael Healy from County Roscommon, established a small plantation outside Macon, Ga. He fell in love with one of his slaves, Eliza Clark. Because the law at the time did not permit interracial marriage (*miscegenation*), the couple lived as husband and wife in a common-law marriage. They had 10 children.

Under Georgia law, the children were Healy slaves because their mother was a slave and black. So, Michael Healy sent his sons and daughters to schools in the North where they would be free.

He instructed his children not to return home to Georgia. Three of the brothers attended the newly opened College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Mass. The Healy family produced five religious vocations.

Three of the sons, James, Patrick, and Sherwood, became priests:

Bishop James Augustine Healy, the first U.S. Bishop of African American descent. CNS photo from Church World.

- James joined the Sulpicians; in 1875 he was named bishop of Portland, Maine.
- Patrick joined the Jesuits; in 1866 he became president of Georgetown University.
- Sherwood was ordained a diocesan priest; he became rector of Holy Cross Cathedral in Boston, where a stained-glass window of St. Cecilia is dedicated to his memory.

Two of the Healy daughters became nuns:

- Josephine Healy joined the Religious Hospitallers of St. Joseph in Montreal.
- Eliza Healy joined the Congregation of Notre Dame in Montreal, and eventually was named superior of the Villa Barlow Convent in St. Albans, Vt.

The Healy family's accomplishments entitle them to an impressive series of "firsts:" the first African-American bishop, the first African-American university president, and the first African-American mother superior. However, even though they were half black, the Healys identified themselves as white, and for the most part they were accepted as such.

The First American Priest Identified as Fully African-American

Father Augustus Tolton, considered to be the first African-American priest. CNS file photo

The first African-American priest was Father Augustus Tolton. His parents were Catholic slaves in Missouri. During the Civil War, Tolton and his mother, brother and sister escaped across the Mississippi River to Illinois. They settled in Quincy, where there was a community of escaped slaves and a black Catholic church, St. Joseph's.

Tolton wanted to become a priest, but no American seminary would accept a black candidate. He traveled to Rome, where his race did not matter. He was ordained in 1886 and returned to the United States. He installed as priest in St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Quincy.

Father Tolton's dynamic sermons attracted white Catholics to his church, many of whom gave generous financial support to the church.. The pastor of one of the white parishes in Quincy — who always used a derogatory label when referring to Father Tolton — complained to the bishop that his parish's finances were being undercut by Father Tolton's interracial ministry. The bishop ordered Father Tolton to minister only to black Catholics. Father Tolton was stung. As a black man, he often had encountered discrimination, but never from a brother priest, and never from a religious superior.

To escape the harassment, Father Tolton wrote to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome and asked to be reassigned to Chicago. He received his new assignment in 1889. In Chicago, Father Tolton was responsible for all black Catholics in the city. When Father Tolton arrived in Chicago, he found his congregation worshipping in the basement of St. Mary's Church. Tolton quickly moved the congregation out of the basement into a storefront that he converted into a chapel. His parishioners were too poor to build a church, so Father Tolton solicited funds from Catholics throughout the Chicago area. In 1894 the new church, dedicated to St. Monica, was consecrated. It became the mother church of the black Catholic community in Chicago.

The Important role of the laity in black Catholic Churches

Four million black slaves were emancipated after the Civil War. Archbishop Martin Spalding of Baltimore saw this as an evangelistic opportunity. He urged fellow bishops to begin an aggressive program of evangelization, with the hope that their efforts would "reap a harvest of souls."

In response to Spalding's appeal, an English Catholic missionary order, the Mill Hill Fathers, began to evangelize the former slaves in 1871. Their work was so successful that in 1892 the congregation in America renamed itself the Society of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart, or the Josephites. Another group that evangelized African-Americans in the south was the Society of the Divine Word.

In time, a new American congregation, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament joined the missionary fathers in evangelizing and working among the blacks. Beginning in 1890, the wealthy Philadelphia banking heiress, Katherine Drexel (who became Saint Katherine Drexel), devoted her fortune to opening schools for African-American and Native American children. In New Orleans she founded Xavier University, the only black Catholic university in the United States.[32]

The efforts of these missionary priests and sister brought black converts into the Church, but racism was so entrenched in American society, including within the Catholic Church, that no seminary in the United States would accept black candidates for the priesthood. Black men who were called to the priesthood followed the example of Father Tolton and left the country to study and be ordained in Europe. As a result, almost every black parish in 19th-century America was led by a white priest.

Leadership in the black Catholic community fell to the laity. Daniel Rudd, a former slave from Kentucky, founded the National Black Catholic Congress in 1889. Rudd believed that in post-Civil War America the Church could help African Americans enter mainstream society. At his invitation, 85 black Catholic laymen assembled at St. Augustine's Church in Washington, D.C., to discuss ways to strengthen the unity of black Catholics and bring more African Americans to the faith. At the same time, they held candid discussions about the difficulties they encountered

[32] During the 1930s, Mother Drexel also contributed to the NAACP and to organizations that fought lynching.

as a result of racism in American society and within the Church. Among the guest speakers at this first Congress were Father Tolton and Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore. President Grover Cleveland hosted a reception for the delegates at the White House. Over the years, Rudd organized five such congresses, which laid the groundwork for lay leadership among black Catholics.

Rudd's colleague was Thomas Wyatt Turner, a biology professor at the historically black Howard University. Turner openly challenged the racist policies of the Catholic Church in the United States. He called for the ordination of black men to the priesthood and an end to regulations that barred black Catholic children from admission to Catholic schools. In the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th Century, both black and white Catholic priests and bishops, in clerical garb and nuns in their habits were conspicuous participants in the marches and demonstrations.

Ordination of four black priests

The following statics show the current status of black Catholics in the United States:[33]

- There are 3 million black American Catholics
- Sixteen American Catholic Bishops are black
- Two-hundred fifty Catholic priests in America are black
- Seventy five blacks are attending Catholic seminaries
- There are four-hundred black religious sisters
- There are fifty black religious brothers
- Seven-hundred ninety-eight Catholic parishes are predominately black.

Americanism (heresy) Strains the Relationship between American Catholics and the Pope

American religious pluralism, made possible by the separation of Church and State, prompted Pope Leo XIII to issue a number of letters and encyclicals condemning what came to be known as *Americanism.* Some his concerns were prompted by the lessening of the role of the Catholic Church in France. Several young French priests set themselves to halt the decline of Roman Catholic power in France. These progressive priests believed that the Church did too little to cultivate individual character, but rather, put too much emphasis on the routine side of religious

[33] Source: USCCB

observance – one goes through the rites, without the need for inner development. They also argued that the church was not availing itself of modern means of propaganda. In short, they argued that the church had not adapted to modern needs and these priests were determined to do something about it. They began a "domestic apostolate" which had as its rallying cry, *allons au people* ("let us go to the people"). They campaigned for social and philanthropic projects, for a closer relationship between priests and parishioners, and for an emphasis on personal initiative, both in clergy and laity - rather than mindlessly doing what one is told to do and doing nothing unless one is told to do it by his superior. Because they saw Americans as possessing the traits that they emphasized, they looked to America for inspiration and for a model.

The posthumous release of the biography of Father Isaac Thomas Hecker, heightened the Pope's opposition to Amercanism and the young liberal Roman Catholic priests. Hecker was an American Roman Catholic priest and the founder of the Paulist Fathers. He was the son of Prussian immigrants. Feeling the general discontent of his day in the dying Puritanism of New England, he associated with the transcendentalists, stayed for a short time at Brook Farm, and was a friend of Thoreau, Emerson, Bronson Alcott, and Orestes Brownson. Still dissatisfied, he entered (1844) the Roman Catholic Church, joined the Redemptorist Order, and was ordained a priest (1849). After spending time in Europe, he returned to the US in 1851 and began ministering to immigrant Catholics in the United States.

Father Hecker was a successful missionary, but his intense zeal, doubts of his own worthiness, ill health, and his fixed purpose caused a somewhat stormy career. He came to resent the rigidity of the Redemptorist Order, and caused so many problems that he was expelled. Surprisingly, the Pope released him and his colleagues from their Redemptorist vows and allowed them in 1858 to found the Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle (the Paulist Fathers). Father Hecker, was the superior until his death (December 1888) and under his leadership the Paulist Order became quite prominent in the United States. In order to forward his agenda, Hecker founded the Paulist magazine, *The Catholic World*, which became quite popular among American Catholics. In this magazine Hecker expounded liberal ideas and also allowed guest editorialists to express non-traditional views. None of this caused a stir in Rome until Complesse de Ravillia translated Hecker's biography into French. The posthumous biography had been by Paulist Father, Walter Elliott and translated into French six years later. The introduction of the book, written by Abbe Felix Klein, was especially upsetting to the Pope.

The young progressive French priests began to look Hecker's American ideas for inspiration. Conservative Catholics, including the Pope, became alarmed. They thought that *allon au people* had the ring of heresy, breaking down the divine established relationship between the priest and laymen, and giving to the laity too much power in Church affairs. They argued that the emphasis on individual initiative was incompatible with obedience to the authority of the Church – authority which Christ had invested in the Bishops and their successors.

Pope Leo XIII composed the encyclical, *Longinqua oceani* (1895), in which he praised the success of the Catholic Church in America. He then expressed the view that the Church "would bring foth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and patronage of the public authority." Leo instructed the American Catholic hierarchy to not support this unique American system that separated Church and State.

In 1898, Pope Leo XIII spoke again, lamenting the fact that in America Church and State are "dissevered and divorced." He urged the church to do what it could to develop a closer relationship between Church and State, along European lines.

In January, 1899, Pope Leo XIII, sent a pastoral letter, *Testem benevolentiae*, ("witness to our good will"), addressed to "Our Beloved Son, James Gibbons, Cardinal Priest of the Title Sancta Maria, Beyond the Tiber, Archbishop of Baltimore." In the letter the Pope condemned several expressions of Americanism. He wrote:

- Catholicism had long allowed nations to tolerate other religions, but that the Catholic Church must be favored, and when possible other religions should be excluded from society.
- He rejected the idea that American Catholics, living in a pluralistic, mainly Protestant society, made American Catholics a special case, needing greater latitude in order to assimilate into a majority Protestant nation.
- He condemned the liberalism in some American Catholics.
- He pointed out that the faithful could not decide doctrine for themselves (cafeteria Catholics); he emphasized that Catholics must obey the magisterial teaching authority of the Church, which is infallible in matters of faith and morals.
- He condemned sending Catholic children to public schools.
- He derided the idea that all opinions should be aired publically.
- He condemned the biography of Hecker.
- He then listed certain unsound doctrines that the hierarchy must eradicate (in the letter he did not accuse any American clergy of holding the heretical views mentioned, but if they were encountered, they were to be stopped).

In response to Leo's pastoral letter, Cardinal Gibbons and a large number of American prelates composed a letter to Leo, denying that any American Catholics held the views that he had condemned. They also argued that Hecker had been a loyal Catholic and that some of the views assigned to him by the author of the biography misrepresented Hecker.[34]

For the time being, tensions between Rome and the American Catholic Church lessened. In the 20th Century new tensions arose concerning American Roman Catholic's leadership in some of the labor movements and welfare organizations.

Anabaptists Come to America

From a study of the huge immigration of Catholics to America in the Nineteen Century, we turn to a group whose numbers are small in comparison to the Catholics, yet, significant in their influence.

Anabaptists (Greek ἀνά "again, twice" + βαπτίζω "baptize," thus "re-baptizers") are Protestant Christians descended from the Radical Reformation of 16th-century Europe. Some would argue, with good reason, that Anabaptism was a distinct movement and not a form of Protestantism, because both Protestants and Catholics persecuted Anabaptists. The name *Anabaptist* was given to this movement by its enemies, because of the practice of "re-baptizing" converts who had been sprinkled as infants. Anabaptists had concluded that baptismal candidates should be able to make their own confessions of faith and so they rejected baptism of infants. The early members of this movement abhorred the name, Anabaptist, claiming that since infant baptism was unscriptural and thus null and void, the baptizing of believers was not a "re-baptism" but in fact the first baptism for them. Balthasar Hübmaier wrote:

> "I have never taught Anabaptism. ...But the right baptism of Christ, which is preceded by teaching and oral confession of faith, I teach, and say that infant baptism is a robbery of the right baptism of Christ..."[35]

As a result of their views on the nature of baptism and other issues, Anabaptists were heavily persecuted during the 16th century and into the 17th by both Protestants and Roman Catholics.

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[34] It is of interest to note that while I was in St. Louis, in May, I listened to a Roman Catholic radio broadcast, in which the host spoke in detail of Leo XIII's warnings and that the moral devolution of American culture validated Leo's view i.e., that separation of church and state is a mistake.

[35] Henry Clay Vedder, *Balthasar Hubmaier, the Leader of the Anaaptists* (New York: GP Putman's Sons) 1905, page 204

They were arrested, imprisoned, tortured, burned at the stake, and "baptized to death" i.e. drowned.

- The Protestants under Zwingli in Zurich, were the first to persecute the Anabaptists, with Felix Manz becoming the first martyr in 1527.
- On May 20, 1527, Roman Catholic authorities executed Michael Sattler.[36]
- King Ferdinand I[37] declared drowning (called the *third baptism*) "the best antidote to Anabaptism".
- Edward VI of England and Elizabeth I of England persecuted Anabaptists as they were deemed too radical and therefore a danger to religious stability.
- The persecution of Anabaptists was condoned by the ancient laws of Theodosius I (Christian Roman Emperor of the Fourth Century) and Justinian I (Christian Roman Emperor of the Sixth Century) which decreed the death penalty for any who practiced rebaptism.[38]

The Martyrs Mirror, by Thieleman J. van Braght, describes the persecution and execution of thousands of Anabaptists in various parts of Europe between 1525 and 1660. Because of the persistent continuing persecution in Europe, Anabaptists were constantly migrating. When they migrated to America, they finally had found a land in which they could practice their religion, relatively free from persecution. In many ways, the migration of Anabaptists to America was akin to the first Pilgrims who came to New England.

Most Anabaptists adhered to a literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount which they understood precluded taking oaths, participating in military actions, and participating in civil government. However, some of the earliest proponents of adult baptism had a different point of view. Chief among these non-pacifists was Thomas Muntzer. Muntzer and his associates advocated using force, political action, and war, to achieve their ends. They were thus technically Anabaptists, even though conservative Amish, Mennonites, and Hutterites and some

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[36] In May 1527, Count Joachim von Zollern, regent of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, arrested the former Catholic priest, Michael Sattler, his wife, Margaretha, and several other Anabaptists. He was tried and sentenced to be executed as a heretic. The sentence read, "Michael Sattler shall be committed to the executioner. The latter shall take him to the square and there first cut out his tongue, and then forge him fast to a wagon and there with glowing iron tongs twice tear pieces from his body, then on the way to the site of execution five times more as above and then burn his body to powder as an arch-heretic." The other men in the group were executed by sword, and the women, including Margaretha, were executed by drowning. (*Hutterite Large Chronicle*, quoted in William Roscoe Estep, *The Anabaptist Story* 3rd ed. [Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans]) 1960, page 57.

[37] Archduke of Austria, who became the Holy Roman Emperor 1556.

[38] These laws had been created in an effort to eliminate the North African Donatists, who baptized by immersion adults who had been christened as infants.

historians tend to consider them as outside of true Anabaptism. Conrad Grebel wrote in a letter to Thomas Müntzer in 1524:[39]

> "True Christian believers are sheep among wolves, sheep for the slaughter... Neither do they use worldly sword or war, since all killing has ceased with them..."[40]

The history of the Anabaptists and the many varied divisions among them (especially the many different brands of Mennonites) are beyond the scope of our study. Therefore, we will confine ourselves to an accounting of the Anabaptist immigration to America, and their impact upon various regions and the attitude toward religious tolerance in America.

The Amish, Hutterites, Mennonites, Mennonite Brethren, and Brethren in Christ are different contemporary expressions of the Anabaptist movement.

- **Mennonites**, the largest group of Anabaptists, derive their name from Menno Simons. Menno Simons was a Dutch Catholic priest, who first encountered the Anabaptist movement in 1531. He said that at first, "it seemed very strange to me." He said that it seemed less strange when he began studying his Bible – something that he had not done in his preparation for the priesthood. Menno Simons brother, Pieter was one of the Anabaptists killed in 1535. This prodded him to study more deeply and in time he rejected the Catholic Church and his priesthood and became one of the most influential leaders among the Anabaptists. His writings preserved the teachings of the earliest Swiss Anabaptist founders. As early as 1544, the term, "Mennonite," was used to refer to Anabaptists who lived in the Netherlands.
- **Hutterites** (German: *Hutterer*) derive their name from Jakob Hutter. Hutter was a hat maker from southern Tyrol (also spelled, "Tirol"). When persecution of Anabaptists in Switzerland became intense, Hutter went to Moravia, where several Anabaptist groups had taken refuge. He was an able administrator and brought organization to the various groups. One element of his teaching and administration was communal existence. When the Moravians began to expel the Anabaptists, Hutter fled back to Tyrol where he was arrested and executed in 1536. Hutterites practice communal existence (almost no personal possessions) in keeping with the model established by Hutter in Moravia.
- **Amish** derive their name from Jakob Ammann. Many of the Swiss Anabaptists, because of persecution, had migrated to the Alsase and Lower German (Palatinate) areas. Among these Anabaptists there were at least three issues over which the Anabaptists were divided (1) shunning of disciplined members, (2) whether liars should be excommunicated, (3) if people could be saved who did not follow God's word. Other issues, such as the frequency of communion and footwashing later emerged in the

[39] Thomas Muntzer, a former Catholic priest and initially, a student of Luther's was one of the first to advocate the views later called, "Anabaptist." In 1535, he led 8000 peasants in a revolt against the church and the established government. He was captured, imprisoned, tortured, and executed.

[40] Cornelius Dyck, *An Introduction to Mennonite History* (Scottdale, PA, Herald Press) 1967, page 45

debates. Ammann became the leader/spokesman for the more stringent side of the debate. In time a clear separation came between those who followed Ammann's leadership and that of Hans Reist, the leader/spokesman for the opposing view. Those who followed Ammann became known as Amish.

- **The Mennonite Brethren Church** was established by a group of Mennonites in Russia, who were stirred by the revivalistic preaching of Eduard Wuest, a Lutheran Pietist pastor. The result was that on January 6, 1860, as group met in the village of Elisabeththal, Molotschna and formed the Mennonite Brethren Church. They presented a document to the elders of the Molotschna Mennonite Churches, declaring, "that the total Mennonite brotherhood has decayed to the extent that we can no more be part of it" and fear the "approach of an unavoidable judgment of God." The immediate catalyst for the new organization was the discipline that the Mennonite leaders had placed on a body of brethren who met to observe communion in a private home without the elders' sanction. They were seeking greater emphasis on discipline, prayer and Bible study.
- **The Brethren in Christ Church** began among the German speaking population near the present town of Marietta in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, sometime between 1775 and 1788. Although most (but not all) of their founders were Anabaptist, the Brethren in Christ Church was birthed by the frontier revivals. The revivals emphasized a heart-felt conversion experience, in contrast to the intellectualism that the revivalists felt had deadened the churches. The Brethren in Christ, from the time of their formation, have sought to conduct their churches in a manner that reflects that they are "brethren." For most of the first 100 years, worship services were held in the homes of members. When they began to construct buildings they referred to them as "meetinghouses," which they kept simple; pews were positioned on three sides of the room, surrounding an un-elevated pulpit. Thus the Brethren met in common around the Word of God. Early on, some colloquially called the Brethren, "Tunkards,"[41] because of their practice of the immersion of adult believers. Their founders emphasized being separated from the world and avoiding worldly practices such as card playing. Dress was simple and unadorned. Their plain uniform dress made them stand out in their communities which suited their belief of being a separate people called out by God. The fact that they were farmers and spoke German likely affected both their simple theological stance and their desire to be separated from the world.

Our chief interest is the arrival of Amish and Mennonites, since they have had the most significant presence in the United States.[42]

[41] From the German word meaning, "to dip." In America, today, "Tunkard" has been changed to "Dunkard." The Dunkard Brethren Church is descended from this group. Interestingly, Dunkards immerse converts face forward into the water – three times: in the name of the Father, in the name of the Son, and in the name of the Holy Spirit.

[42] Hutterites, for the most part, settled in Canada and South America. Recently, there have been large settlements of Hutterites in the Dakotas and Montana. They have purchased large tracts of land on which they operate very successful and profitable farms, using the most modern technology.

Anabaptist Core Beliefs

All expressions of Anabaptist faith hold the following core beliefs:

- Adult Baptism – Every believer must make an adult commitment to Jesus and reject any form of infant baptism.
- Voluntary Church Membership- At the time that the Anabaptist movement began, the rule was that the religion of the region in which one lived determined what religion he would follow. To do otherwise, meant persecution in one form or another. Anabaptists believe that the church and the government should not have any link with one another and that every person should be free to worship with any group that he desires.
- Gelassenheit (yieldedness)- Anabaptists call for placing the path of Jesus above any self-interest or group-interest.
- Pacificism – The Anabaptists interpret Jesus' command to love one's enemies (Matthew 5:43-45) as a real command; because His Kingdom is not of this world, His disciples should not fight their enemies with this world's weapons. Anabaptists take seriously the command, "resist not evil." They do not sue at law nor exact revenge. They do neither lobby nor exert pressure on the government and they willingly pay taxes.
- The Sermon the Mount – Matthew Chapters 5-7 are central to the manner of life in all Anabaptist groups.

In addition to these core beliefs, each group and groups within the larger group, have additional beliefs that set them apart from other Anabaptists.

Early Anabaptist Migration to America

Thirteen German families (some were Quakers and some were Mennonites) founded Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1681.[43] These were the first known Anabaptists to migrate to the colonies. Between 1683 and 1705, about 100 Mennonites from the Lower Rhine migrated to Germantown. Between the years 1707-1756, approximately 5000 Mennonites (300 of them may have been Amish) migrated to Eastern Pennsylvania (Franconia and Lancaster region). By 1883, 3/5 of the total world-wide population of Anabaptists had migrated to the US and Canada. In each location, they had a decided impact on the communities where they settled.

[43] There are seven locations in Pennsylvania known as, "Germantown." The one referred to here is the one that now is a part of Philadelphia – about seven miles northwest of the center of the city.

During the early to mid-Nineteen Century, these German Anabaptists were joined by Amish and Mennonites from other European nations, chiefly from Switzerland and the Netherlands,

A major influx of Mennonites occurred in the final decades of the Nineteenth Century. These came from the Ukraine. Their story begins with the Russian Empress, Catherine the Great's 1763 Manifesto, inviting farmers from Western countries to settle in the Ukraine. She had seen the excellence of their farming skills, especially the Mennonites of Prussia and Danzig. Mennonites from these regions accepted her offer because she promised them non-interference with their religious life. As best as can be determined, 1,907 Mennonite families moved into the southern Ukraine. On their journey from Prussia to Russia/Ukraine, they passed through Crimea, a peninsula jutting into the Black Sea across from Turkey. It was here that their experienced farming eyes beheld a very special wheat. They purchased some of this grain and carried it with them to the Ukraine. The wheat did so well that they turned the region into the "breadbasket of Russia." They called this wheat, "Red Turkey Wheat," because it came from Turkey and had a red tint to it.

When Czar Alexander II became the ruler of Russia, he changed the rules and began to insist that the Mennonites enter military service. As the pressure became intense, the Mennonites began a large migration to the United States. One thing that drew them to the mid-western plains was the Santa Fe Railroad's recruiting of immigrants to move into the regions that the railroad was serving. Between 1873-1884, 18,000 Mennonites left the Ukraine to settle in the U.S.[44] A majority of these German/Ukrainian Mennonites, settled in the Central Plains, chiefly in Kansas. Before departing from the Ukraine, the Mennonite children picked grains of the hardy Red Turkey Wheat. The Mennonite families placed the grain in bottles, jars, and kitchen crocks, and carried these to America. They planted their Red Turkey Wheat in the fall and it rested in the soil during the winter. The next spring it brought forth an abundant harvest – the Red Turkey Wheat was ideal for the climate and soil of America's central plains. Kansas soon was nicknamed, "America's Granary." The Mennonites' Red Turkey and strains cultivated from it became the wheat of choice in America.

[44] Later stresses encountered under Communism, 25,000 Mennonites left the Ukraine – a larger number would have left, but the "Red Gate" closed and they were not permitted to leave. Stalin deported almost all Mennonites to Kazakhstan, transporting them in box cars in the dead of winter. Many perished during the journey.

In the regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, etc. where the Amish and Mennonites settled, they had significant influence on the nature of the region and the religious climate. When World War I began, because of the Anabaptist pacifism, the Federal Government had to face the issue of having a host of Conscientious Objectors as American citizens. Anabaptists often paid a severe price for refusing to compromise their convictions on this issue. Some Hutterites died in prison during World War I as a result of abuse and beatings received when incarcerated because of their refusal to be inducted into the US Army. The Anabaptist's uncompromising stance forced the courts to deal with the issue, which resulted in many court rulings establishing the firm right to be a Conscientious Objector if one were a longstanding member in a pacifist religious group.

During World War II, as an alternative to bearing arms, the government developed several important alternative service venues for the Anabaptist Conscientious Objectors; these alternative venues were called, Civilian Public Service. From 1941 to 1947, 4,665 Mennonites, Amish and Brethren in Christ performed *work of national importance* in 152 CPS camps throughout the United States and Puerto Rico. The draftees worked in areas such as soil conservation, forestry, fire fighting, agriculture, social services and mental health.

The CPS men served without wages and minimal support from the federal government. The cost of maintaining the CPS camps and providing for the needs of the men was the responsibility of their congregations and families. The Mennonite Central Committee coordinated the operation of the Mennonite camps. CPS men served longer than regular draftees, not being released until well past the end of the war. Initially skeptical of the program, government agencies learned to appreciate the men's service and requested more workers from the program. CPS made significant contributions to forest fire prevention, erosion and flood control, and medical science.

One of the most significant consequences of the Anabaptist service in the mental hospitals was a total renovation of the mental health system. Anabaptists who worked in the mental institutions became advocates for treating the mentally ill as humans. Prior to the Anabaptist service in these institutions, it was not uncommon for mentally ill to be chained to benches and beds, as well as being subjected to surgeries without anyone to be their advocate. The Anabaptists created such an awareness of these things that congressional hearings were undertaken with the Anabaptist

caretakers giving testimony and describing how improvements could be made. The present-day view of mental illness and how mentally ill patients are treated is due to a large part to the Anabaptist service in mental institutions during World War II.

Amish

As already noted, the history of the Amish church began with a schism in Switzerland within a group of Swiss and Alsatian Anabaptists in 1693 led by Jakob Ammann.

The Amish are known for simple living, plain dress, and reluctance to adopt many conveniences of modern technology. Their motivation for avoiding things such as electricity and telephones is the belief that they should not be a part of the world system. One scripture often quoted in Amish worship services is: *Be not conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* (Romans 12:2) The Amish understand this to be a command to live a life separate from the world.

If one has a telephone in his home, or if his home is lighted by electricity supplied by the local power company, he is tied into the world system.

Because of this, there are some Amish who will have electricity in their milking barns, or perhaps even in their homes, but the electricity is supplied by a personally owned generator. Likewise, some Amish will have a compressed natural gas tank on their property and use compressed natural gas for cooking and heating, but would not be linked to a city-wide utility. Many Amish could not in good conscience have a generator or a compressed natural gas tank on their property.

Amish congregations are small – just a few families, meeting in a home or a barn. Each church is led by an elder and there is a bishop who oversees a number of these small churches. Each church sets its own rules concerning dress, etc. For example, women of one church may wear dresses of grey, black, and blue combinations. The women of a nearby church may prohibited from wearing blue, but could wear dark purple. No Amish could wear colorful clothing that would call attention to the wearer. In one church, the men might be required to wear lederhosen (leather britches with button flap on the front), whereas in another church they may wear blue jeans.

Young single men are required to be clean-shaven. Married men are required to let their beards grow. Mustaches are forbidden because they have a long history of being associated with European military.

Most Amish churches allow their members to have pull-down blinds on their windows but no curtains. When traveling through an area where both Amish and Mennonite live, this is one way to identify whether Amish or Mennonite occupy the home – most Mennonites have curtains.

A person who has been baptized as an adult and voluntarily commits himself to a life of obedience to God and commits to a specific church is considered a member of that church. Those who break their baptismal vows are shunned. Belonging is important and shunning is meant to be redemptive. It is not an attempt to harm or ruin the individual and in most cases it does bring that member back into the fellowship again. Actually, the number of members excommunicated and shunned by the Amish is small. The Amish base the practice of shunning on these two verses:

- *But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner -- not even to eat with such a one (I Corinthians 5:11)*
- *Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and of fences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them. (Romans 16:17)*

The families of a shunned member are expected to also shun them. Families shun the person by not eating at the same table with them. The practice of shunning makes family gatherings especially awkward.[45]

Mennonites

The majority of Mennonites in America, today, are associated with The Mennonite Church USA (MCUSA). The MCUSA is a 2002 merger between the Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonite Church.

[45] This practice was one of the initial disagreements that produced the Amish.

- **Mennonite Church (MC) – also known as The General Assembly Mennonite Church.**[46]

  Dutch and German immigrants from Krefeld, Germany, settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683. Swiss Mennonites came to North America in the early part of the 18th century. The Swiss first settled in Pennsylvania, then in Virginia and Ohio. These Swiss immigrants, combined with Dutch and German Mennonites and progressive Amish Mennonites who later united with them, made up the largest body of Mennonites in North America. The year 1725 is often considered the date of organization in the United States, when a ministers' conference met in Pennsylvania and adopted the Dordrecht Confession of Faith as their official statement of faith. They formed regional conferences in the 18th century, and a North American conference in 1898.

- **General Conference Mennonite Church (GCMC)**

  The General Conference Mennonite Church was an association of Mennonite congregations formed in 1860 by congregations in Iowa seeking to unite with like-minded Mennonites to pursue common goals such as higher education and mission work. The conference was especially attractive to recent Mennonite and Amish immigrants to North America and expanded considerably when thousands of Russian Mennonites arrived in North America starting in the 1870s. Conference offices were located in Winnipeg, Manitoba and North Newton, Kansas. The conference supported a seminary and several colleges.

Merger of the two conferences

By the 1980s, there remained little difference between the General Conference Mennonite (GCM) Church and the "Old" Mennonite church (MC). In 1983, the General Assembly of the Mennonite Church met jointly with the General Conference Mennonite Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in celebration of 300 years of Mennonite witness in the Americas. Beginning in 1989, a series of consultations, discussions, proposals, and sessions (and a vote in 1995 in favor of merger) led to the unification of these two major North American Mennonite bodies into one denomination organized on two fronts - the Mennonite Church USA and the Mennonite Church Canada. The merger was "finalized" at a joint session in St. Louis, Missouri in 1999, and the

[46] In the past, this group often was referred to as, “Old Mennonites”

Canadian branch moved quickly ahead. The United States branch did not complete their organization until the meeting in Nashville, Tennessee in 2001, which became effective February 1, 2002.

Contemporary distinctives of the Mennonite Church USA

(NOTE: it is the custom in many Mennonite circles to make "covenants" with a term limit on the covenant, which may or may not be renewed at the time of its expiration -JWG).

All parts of Mennonite Church USA, united in vision and purpose, are committed to the following priorities between 2006 and then 2020, as contained in *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective*.[47]

1. **Witness:** The Gospel of Jesus Christ is practiced and proclaimed through a seamless web of evangelism, justice and peace across the street and around the world. (Luke 4:18-21; Matthew 12:15-21; Articles 10, 22, *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective*)
2. **Anti-racism:** We will honor the dignity and value of all Racial/Ethnic people in Mennonite Church USA, ensuring just and equitable access to church resources, positions and information as manifestations of the one new humanity in Christ. (Acts 10: Galatians 3:25-29, Ephesians 2:15; Article 9, *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective*)
3. **Leadership Development:** Church members with leadership gifts are called, trained and nurtured in Anabaptist theology and practice in order to fulfill the church's missional vocation. (Exodus 18:13-23; Ephesians 4:7-16; Article 15, *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective)*
4. **Global Connections:** Mennonite Church USA fosters fellowship and develops partnerships with Anabaptists and the broader body of Christ around the world. (Revelation 5:9-10; Article 9, *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective*)

(One issue that has caused problems in the merger has been the acceptance or non-acceptance of homosexuality and lesbianism. This issue delayed the merger for several years. I was personally engaged in conversations with more conservative Mennonites regarding this issue and how it was delaying progress in the merger. The following is a discussion of the background and the present status - JWG).

As with many Christian denominations in the United States, Mennonite Church USA is no stranger to controversies regarding sexual orientation and gender identity. The Brethren

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[47] A *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective*. (Herald Press) 1995 ISBN-0-8361-9043-2; provides a guide to the beliefs and practices of Mennonite Church USA. This confession was adopted in 1995 at a joint session of the Mennonite Church and General Conference Mennonite Church in Wichita, Kansas. It contains 24 articles ranging from the more general Christian theologies of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit to the more distinct Foot Washing, Truth and the Avoidance of Oaths, Peace, Justice, and Nonresistance, and The Church's Relation to Government and Society.

Mennonite Council has been active since 1976 to encourage full inclusion for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in the church.

In contrast to this position, as early as 1987, the constituent parts of MCUSA had issued the Purdue Statement, establishing heterosexuality as the only legitimate form of sexual expression. This latter position resulted in many congregations and pastors being disciplined for their inclusive membership practices. At the 2009 Convention in Columbus, Ohio, the Pink Menno Campaign Witness brought the issue back into the open . With hundreds of youth convention participants and delegates wearing pink, MCUSA has been forced to reopen its discussions on human sexuality.[30]

Life issues

The Mennonite Church USA takes a pro-life stance on abortion. Their official statement s

- Human life is a gift from God to be valued and protected. We oppose abortion because it runs counter to biblical principles.
- The fetus in its earliest stages (and even if imperfect by human standards) shares humanity with those who conceived it.
- There are times when deeply held values, such as saving the life of the mother and saving the life of the fetus, come in conflict with each other.
- The faith community should be a place for discernment about difficult issues like abortion.
- Abortion should not be used to interrupt unwanted pregnancies.
- Christians must provide viable alternatives to abortion that provide care and support for mothers and infants.
- The church should witness to society regarding the value of all human life.
- Professionals whose ministry involves dealing with the moral dilemmas of abortion and reproductive technologies need our support.

MCUSA also opposes euthanasia and the capital punishment[48]

[48] http://www.accsd.org/Mennonite.html

The Civil War's Impact on the Churches

Excursus: The Secret Religion of the Slaves

Before embarking on a study of the impact of the Civil War on the Churches, we take a side trip into the religious world of the slaves, prior to and during the Civil War.

This excursus is an excerpt from the book, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South.*[49] I edited the excerpt – removing material which was superfluous to our study. - JWG

By the eve of the Civil War, Christianity had pervaded the slave community. Not all slaves were Christian, nor were all those who accepted Christianity members of a church, but the doctrines, symbols, and vision of life preached by Christianity were familiar and important to most slaves.

The religion of the slaves was both visible and invisible, formally organized and spontaneously adapted. Regular Sunday worship in the local church was permitted by some slave-masters, but even in those settings the Sunday meeting was paralleled by illicit, or at least informal, prayer meetings on weeknights in the slave cabins. Preachers licensed by the church and hired by the master were supplemented by slave preachers licensed only by the spirit. Texts from the Bible, which most slaves could not read, were rephrased and sung in the spirituals. Slaves whose masters did not allow them to attend church or, in some cases, even allowing them to pray, risked floggings to attend secret gatherings to worship God.

His own experience of the "invisible institution" was recalled by former slave Wash Wilson:

> "When de niggers go round singin' 'Steal Away to Jesus,' dat mean dere gwine be a 'ligious meetin' dat night. De masters … didn't like dem 'ligious meetin's so us natcherly slips off at night, down in de bottoms or somewhere. Sometimes us sing and pray all night."

Master's Preachin' and Real Preachin'

Slaves frequently were moved to hold their own religious meetings out of disgust for the corrupted and sometimes prostituted gospel preached by their masters' preachers. Lucretia Alexander explained what slaves did when they grew tired of the white folks' preacher:

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[49] Dr. Albert J. Raboteau [Henry W. Putnam Professor of Religion and chairman of the religion department at Princeton University] *Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South* (Oxford, 1978), as excerpted in *Christian History Magazine*, pages 42-45

> "The preacher came and … he'd just say, 'Serve your masters. Don't steal your master's turkey. Don't steal your master's chickens. Don't steal your master's hawgs. Don't steal your master's meat. Do whatsomever your master tells you to do.' Same old thing all the time.… Sometimes they would … want a real meetin' with some real preachin'. They used to sing their songs in a whisper and pray in a whisper."

Slaves faced severe punishment if caught attending secret prayer meetings. Moses Grandy reported that his brother-in-law Isaac, a slave preacher, "was flogged, and his back pickled" for preaching at a clandestine service in the woods. His listeners were flogged and "forced to tell who else was there."

Slaves devised several techniques to avoid detection of their meetings. One practice was to meet in secluded places—woods, gullies, ravines, and thickets (aptly called "hush harbors"). Kalvin Woods remembered preaching to other slaves, followed by singing and praying while huddled behind quilts and rags, which had been thoroughly wetted "to keep the sound of their voices from penetrating the air" and then hung up "in the form of a little room," or tabernacle.

On one Louisiana plantation, when "the slaves would steal away into the woods at night and hold services," they "would form a circle on their knees around the speaker who would also be on his knees. He would bend forward and speak into or over a vessel of water to drown the sound. If anyone became animated and cried out, the others would quickly stop the noise by placing their hands over the offender's mouth."

A description of a secret prayer meeting was recorded by Peter Randolph, who was a slave in Prince George County, Virginia, until he was freed in 1847:

> "The slave forgets all his sufferings, except to remind others of the trials during the past week, exclaiming: 'Thank God, I shall not live here always!' Then they pass from one to another, shaking hands, and bidding each other farewell.… As they separate, they sing a parting hymn of praise."

Two Extremes

Many slaveholders granted their slaves permission to attend church, and some openly encouraged religious meetings among the slaves. Baptisms, marriages, and funerals among slaves were allowed on some plantations with whites observing and occasionally participating. Annual revival meetings were social occasions for blacks as well as for whites. Masters were known to enjoy the singing, praying, and preaching of their slaves. Nevertheless, a "private place" was at the core of the slaves' religion. For no matter how religious the master might be,

the slave knew that the master's religion did not countenance prayers for his slaves' freedom in this world.

The slaves' religious format varied from plantation to plantation. Former slave John Brown depicted two extremes:

> "Sunday was a great day around the plantation. The fields was forgotten, the light chores was hurried through, and everybody got ready for the church meeting. It was out of the doors, in the yard.… Master John's wife would start the meeting with a prayer and then would come the singing—the old timey songs. But the white folks on the next plantation would lick their slaves for trying to do like we did. No praying there, and no singing."

Indeed, some masters did not allow their slaves to go to church and ridiculed the notion of religion for slaves because they refused to believe that Negroes had souls. Others forbade their slaves to attend church because, as an ex-slave explained, "White folks 'fraid the niggers git to thinkin' they was free, if they had churches 'n things."

Boisterous Baptisms

Accompanied by song, shouting, and ecstatic behavior, baptism was the most dramatic ritual in the slave's religious life. A former Georgia slave, describing a baptism, said,

> "De biggest meetin' house crowds was when dey had baptizing. Dey dammed up de crick on Sadday so as it would be deep enough on Sunday.… At dem baptizin's dere was all sorts of shouting and dey would sing, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; *De Livin' Waters*; and *Lord, I'se Comin' Home.*"

Dressed in white robes and attended by the "brothers and sisters," the candidates proceeded "amidst singing and praises" to the local pond or creek, symbol of the river Jordan, where, each was "ducked" by the preacher. Sometimes the newly regenerate came up from the baptismal waters shouting for joy at being made new in the Lord.

Recollecting the baptism of his mother, Isaiah Jeffries has left a description which conveys something of the excitement and the sense of new beginning which "baptizin's" brought to many slaves:

> "When I to be a big boy, my Ma got religion at de Camp meeting at El-Bethel. She shouted and sung fer three days, going all over de plantation and de neighboring ones, inviting her friends to come to see her baptized and shouting and praying fer dem. She went around to all de people dat she had done wrong and begged dere forgiveness. She sent fer dem dat had wronged her, and told dem dat she was born again and a new woman, and dat she would forgive dem. She wanted everybody dat was not saved to go up wid her.… My Ma took me wid her to see her baptized, and I was so happy dat I sung and shouted wid her. All de niggers joined in singing."

Slave Preachers

Presiding over slave baptisms, funerals, and weddings was the slave preacher, who was the leader of the slaves' religious life and an influential figure in the slave community. Usually illiterate, the slave preacher often had native wit and unusual eloquence.

Carefully watched and viewed with suspicion, the slave preacher had to straddle the conflict between the demands of conscience and the orders of the masters. Anderson Edwards reflected on the difficulty he experienced as a slave preacher in Texas:

> "I been preachin' the gospel and farmin' since slavery time.… When I starts preachin' I couldn't read or write and had to preach what massa told me and he say tell them niggers iffen they obeys the massa they goes to Heaven but I knowed there's something better for them, but daren't tell them kept on the sly. That I done lots. I tell 'em iffen they keeps prayin' the Lord will set 'em free."

By comparison with other slaves, some preachers were privileged characters. One former slave from Alabama remarked that "Nigger preachers in dem times wuz mighty-nigh free." As long as he didn't interfere with other slaves' work, he [the slave preacher] was allowed to hold services whenever he wished, and frequently he traveled to neighboring places to conduct prayer meetings. It was from the preacher, this relatively mobile and privileged slave, that slaves t first heard of the Civil War. During the war the slave preacher often offered whispered prayers for the success of the Union Army.

"What wonderful preachers these blacks are!" exclaimed one correspondent from Georgia to the editor of the American Missionary:

> "I listened to a remarkable sermon or talk a few evenings since. The preacher spoke of the need of atonement for sin. 'Bullocks c'dn't do it, heifers c'dn't do it, de blood of doves c'dn't do it—but up in heaven, for thousan and thousan of years, the Son was saying to the Father, "Put up a soul, put up a soul. Prepare me a body, an I will go an meet Justice on Calvary's brow!" ' He was so dramatic. In describing the crucifixion he said: 'I see the sun when she turned herself black. I see the stars a fallin from the sky, and them old Herods coming out of their graves and goin about the city, an they knew 'twas the Lord of Glory.' "

Were the slave preachers a force for accommodation to the status quo or a force for the exercise of slave autonomy? It seems that either conclusion might have some basis. On the one hand, the slave preacher was criticized by former slaves as the "mouthpiece of the masters." On the other hand, some slave preachers preached and spoke of freedom in secret. The weight of slave

testimony suggests that the slaves knew and understood the restrictions under which the slave preacher labored, and that they accepted his authority not because it came from the master but because it came from God. They respected him because he was the messenger of the gospel, one who preached the word of God with power and authority, indeed with a power which sometimes humbled white folk and frequently uplifted slaves.

For a black man and a slave to stand and preach with eloquence, skill, and wisdom was in itself a sign of ability and talent which slavery's restrictiveness could frustrate but never completely stifle.

Spirituals

Unable to read the Bible for themselves and skeptical of their masters' interpretation of it, most slaves learned the message of the Christian gospel and translated it into songs in terms of their own experience. As John Dixon Long observed, "Many of them could state the cardinal doctrines of the gospel in the language of song." It was in the spirituals, above all, that the characters, themes, and lessons of the Bible became dramatically real and took on special meaning for the slaves.

Drawing from the Bible, Protestant hymns, sermons, and African styles of singing and dancing, the slaves fashioned a religious music which expressed their faith in "moving, immediate, colloquial, and, often, magnificently dramatic terms." Spirituals are much more than words and notes printed on a page. What must be recognized is that they emerged as communal songs, heard, felt, sung and often danced with hand-clapping, foot-stamping, headshaking excitement.

Conversion

In 1901 W.E.B. Du Bois wrote a classic essay, "Faith of the Fathers," in which he distinguished the three characteristics of the slaves' religion as being the preacher, the music, and the frenzy or shouting. He might well have added a fourth characteristic, the conversion experience.

The experience of conversion was essential in the religious life of the slaves. For the only path to salvation lay through that "lonesome valley" wherein the "seekers" underwent conversion, an experience which they treasured as one of the peak moments in their lives. The typical conversion experience was preceded by a period of anxiety over one's salvation which lasted for days or even weeks. Josiah Henson, at the age of 18, was struck by the words of a sermon he

heard, “Jesus Christ, the Son of God, tasted death for every man; for the high, for the low, for the rich, for the poor, the bond, the free, the negro in his chains, the man in gold and diamonds.” Henson recalled, “I stood and heard it. It touched my heart and I cried out: ‘I wonder if Jesus Christ died for me.’ ”

Another former slave, George Liele wrote: “I was convinced that I was not in the way to heaven, but in the way to hell. This state I laboured under for the space of five or six months.… I was brought to perceive that my life hung by a slender thread, … and I found no way wherein I could escape the damnation of hell, only through the merits of my dying Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.…” Abandoning himself to prayer, Liele found relief and “felt such love and joy as my tongue was not able to express. After this I declared before the congregation of believers the work which God had done for my soul.…”

Other Beliefs

Some slaves rejected Christianity and preserved their traditional African beliefs or their belief in Islam. Some slaves, as was noted in the section on Roman Catholicism, were or became Roman Catholics. Even so, the predominant religious tradition, among the slaves and their descendants in the United States was evangelical Protestantism.

Comin’ into Canaan

Slaves believed that God had acted, was acting, and would continue to act within human history and within their own particular history as a peculiar people, just as he had acted long ago on behalf of another chosen people, biblical Israel. Moreover, slave religion helped slaves to assert and maintain a sense of personal value—even of ultimate worth. That some slaves maintained their identity as persons, despite a system bent on reducing them to a subhuman level, was certainly due in part to their religious life.

Christianity and the Civil War: What PBS Didn't Tell You

KEVIN A. MILLER

More than 12,000,000 Americans watched each episode of PBS's acclaimed series on the Civil War. Filmmaker Ken Burns created a visual feast with gripping illustrations, stirring music and sound effects, and marvelous commentary by historian Shelby Foote and others. *The Civil War* series quickly achieved the highest rating of any limited-episode series PBS had ever shown.

As great as that series was, however, it often overlooked one of the most significant aspects of the war: Religion. Massive revivals broke out among Civil War soldiers, leading to hundreds of thousands of conversions. In many units, chapels were packed night after night.

Before the war, the religiously motivated abolitionists had made slavery a national issue that wouldn't go away.

Three of the country's largest denominations—the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists—all split over slavery or related issues. Great southern Senator John C. Calhoun knew that these denominations "formed a strong cord to hold the whole Union together." When they split, he accurately prophesied that "nothing will be left to hold the States together except force."

And how had the nation's 3–4,000,000 slaves endured their years of bondage? Largely through their widely held Christian beliefs.

But PBS, though occasionally touching on something religious, didn't tell us all this. Its expert researchers somehow chose to overlook the important role of religion in the war. It's like overlooking an elephant in your living room.

Not that many other sources will correct the omission. Writes historian Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr.: "The single aspect of the war that the [National] Park Service has failed to highlight … is the impact of religion on the soldiers. Orientation films and shows at visitor centers never note how important religion was … Civil War soldiers gathered in great numbers around campfires to participate in revivals, not just to see minstrel shows."[50]

Indeed, one cannot delve deeply into the atmosphere surrounding the Civil War without coming away with the impression that at many levels it was a religious war. Sadly, as historian Sidney E. Ahlstrom has written, "Honorable, ethical, God-fearing people…were on both sides."

The abolitionists

Even though Abraham Lincoln is honored as the President who freed the slaves, the Civil War and the resulting Emancipation Proclamation would not have occurred had it not been for the abolitionists of the North, where slavery was non-existent. Abolitionists viewed the effort to create a colony in Africa to which freed slaves could be sent (an attempt was made to do that), or helping escaping slaves through the underground railroad (which abolitionists viewed as a

[50] *Christian History Magazine*, issue 33, Vol. XI, No. 1, (Carol Stream, IL, Christian History Institute) page 8

sideshow) did nothing. Abolitionists wanted to destroy slavery root and branch, not just pick up fallen leaves.

Everyone of the prominent and influential abolitionists was inescapably Christian and was motivated by his or her religion (some of their religious views were out of the ordinary). Some, especially those influenced by the Quakers, advocated a reasoned prayerful approach. Others were in favor of a more aggressive plan. Some of the more prominent names among abolitionists were:[51]

- **John Brown: A religious visionary who waged a holy war on slavery.** Born in Connecticut in 1800, Brown grew up in Hudson, Ohio. His father was a devout Calvinist and abolitionist; his mother struggled with a mental illness. At age 18, he intended to become a Congregational minister, but instead, he became a wanderer who throughout his life experienced one business failure after another. Brown was a dedicated abolitionist. His barn in Pennsylvania was a station on the Underground Railroad. He lived for a time in a black community in New York. Once, during an Ohio church service, following a sermon on slavery, he immediately stood up and declared, "Here, before God and in the presence of these witnesses, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery." Years later, when he was well past 50 the idea of freeing slaves became an obsession. Brown became convinced that nothing but bloodshed would free the nation from its sin of slavery and that God was leading him to battle.

  In August 1855, Brown arrived in Kansas Territory in a one-horse wagon filled with guns and ammunition. Two parties were fighting to gain control of Kansas' government and the winner would determine whether or not slavery would be accepted in Kansas. Brown led a raiding party against pro-slavery settlers "to cause a restraining fear." His forces murdered five pro-slavery settlers in Pottawatomie, Kansas, hacking them to pieces with sabers.

  Based on visions he'd had years earlier, Brown planned to establish a stronghold in the mountains of Maryland or Virginia, where he would gather slaves and arm them. He believed that this would bring about a slave uprising, resulting in the collapse of slavery. From a hideout in the Maryland hills, Brown recruited twenty-one men and collected weapons. On October 16, 1859, he led his little army across the Potomac River to seize the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, from which he intended to haul arms back to the hideout in Maryland. (Ironically, the first person killed in his attack was a free black man.) By morning, he and his men were in possession of both the armory and the bridges leading to the ferry. A few bewildered slaves working in the armory were induced or compelled to join him. For some reason, he didn't head back to the mountains as planned. The next day a company of U.S. marines under the command of Col. Robert E. Lee arrived and began an assault. Brown fought with amazing coolness and courage—at one point over the body of his dying son (he lost two sons in the battle). He finally was overpowered. Brown was sentenced to death and was hanged on

[51] Most of the information for this section is found in *Christian History*, 16-25

December 2. Before he died, he stated, "I believe that to have interfered … in behalf of His [God's] despised poor, was not wrong, but right." Some people derided Brown as a common assassin. Mrs. Jefferson Davis called him "a pestilent, forceful man" urged on by "insane prejudice." In contrast, many in the North hailed him as a noble martyr. Louisa May Alcott, the author of *Little Women*, noted in her diary "the execution of Saint John the Just."

- **William Lloyd Garrison: Newspaper publisher** (originally the publisher of a Baptist temperance journal). Garrison was the publisher of the influential newspaper, *The Liberator*, and other abolitionist publications. Few people exerted more abolitionist influence that Garrison. Southern post offices would remove from the mail any abolitionist literature, and thus little of it reached the eyes of Southerners. However, because the Southern papers often quoted Garrison, in editorials – seeking to refute his arguments – his writing was known in the South. Garrison promoted and sponsored a number of meetings and individuals who promoted the movement. Although originally influenced by the abolitionist Quakers, who advocated "the destruction of error by the power of love," Garrison increasingly became cantankerous and vituperative, even tending to ignore the Consitution.

- **Theodore Dwight Weld: A Finney convert and one of Finney's chief lieutenants** was one of the most effective abolitionists. Weld was an antislavery evangelist who became known as the "most mobbed man in America," because of his willingness to face furious mobs in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. When he entered a small town or county seat, planning to hold a series of meetings, he usually was met with rocks, tomatoes, threats, and sometimes, physical violence. By the end of one or two weeks of preaching, debating, and giving lectures, he had silenced the opposition and converted a sizeable portion of the town to active abolitionism.

  Weld helped Finney found Oberlin College. When Weld brought the antislavery gospel to Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, he converted almost the entire student body to abolitionism. The uproar caused by Weld resulted in Lane's expelling the students, who immediately moved to Oberlin.

- **The Tappan brothers: Wealthy New York merchants** who helped to fund Oberlin College, the New England Antislavery Society, and a number of other projects before the collapse of the American economy in 1837. Prior to their bankruptcy, almost every endeavor of any size, as well as individual abolitionists, were funded by the Tappans. The Tappans were evangelicals who sought a more moderate reasoned approach to ending slavery – as opposed to Garrison's group, many of whom had became extreme and intractable.

- **Frederick Douglass: Spellbinding orator and activist.** Douglass was the son of a slave mother and white father (his true name was Frederick Augustus Washington). He was separated from his mother when he was an infant. When he was 8 years old, his master sent him to Baltimore to work as a servant. His Baltimore mistress taught him to read and write – one book he secretly bought and read was Caleb Bingham's *Columbian Orator*. From that book he learned that words could be weapons and that oratory had power. His eloquent oratory made this slave boy into one of America's foremost leaders.

When he was 21 years old, he escaped to New York by borrowing a black seaman's affidavit of freedom. To avoid slave catchers he changed his last name to Douglass. He became a preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and within three years had embarked upon a career as an abolitionist. He became a fulltime lecturer for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Douglass helped to recruit black troops for the Union, even enrolling two of his sons in the Union Army. Douglass saw the war as an act of Divine Providence and justice; God was intervening to destroy an evil, but the nation had to suffer and be tested.

- **Harriet Beecher Stowe: Author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin:*** When President Lincoln met Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1863, he said, "So you're the little woman who write the book that made this great war." When the state of Florida seceded from the Union, Susan Bradford wrote, "If Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe had died before she wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* this would never have happened…Isn't it strange how much harm a pack of lies can do?"

  Harriet was the seventh of twelve children of the noted revivalist and reformer, Lyman Beecher, President of Lane Seminary in Cincinnati. After marrying Calvin Elvis Stowe, professor of Biblical Literature at Lane, she began her childrearing years. She read to her seven children two hours each evening and for a time ran a small school in her home. She found time to write as a means of bolstering the family income. She had an early literary success with the publication of short stories. She never had seen slavery, but she was influenced by a visit from Theodore Dwight Weld and his book, *American Slavery as it Is.* Weld's book became both her source and inspiration for *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which she wrote when she was 40 years old. The novel was serialized in the abolitionist newspaper, *National Era,* in 1851-1852 in forty installments. When it appeared in book form in 1852, sales skyrocketed, selling 10,000 copies the first week, 300,000 the first year, and 1,000,000 copies before the Civil War ended. She had the wisdom to put the blame on the institution, not on the southern men and women who were caught in the claws of the system.

- **Henry Ward Beecher: Preacher of God's Love who sent rifles to the anti-slavery cause**: Henry Ward Beecher was the brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe. In 1847 he became the preacher at the Brooklyn Congregational Church, one of the most influential pulpits in America, at the time. One historian noted, "he began a career which for conspicuousness and influence has probably not been equaled by that of any other American clergyman."[52] Beecher had a very rich voice and was a born orator. People flocked to hear him, averaging 2500 per week. He increasingly used his pulpit to denounce civil corruption, support women's suffrage, and to preach against slavery. He urged his congregation to disobey the Fugitive Slave Law (which required fugitive slaves to be returned to their owners). He urged northerners to move to Kansas and by force make it free soil – stating that Sharp's rifles would be more effective that Bibles. He used his pulpit to raise funds for the rifles which became known as "Beecher's Bibles."

- **Julia Ward Howe: composer of the Battle Hymn of the Republic.** Julia Ward was born with a literary talent. As a child and young woman she taught herself English, German, French, and Italian. Before she was married she had published essays on

[52] *Church History Magazine,* page 18

Goethe. Her family was strict Calvinist and Julia held that belief strongly. At 23 she married Gridley Howe, a doctor and dedicated moral reformer. Both husband and wife were violently opposed to slavery. The Howe's entertained John Brown in their home and they were one of the "secret six" who bankrolled Brown's military exploits in Kansas and Harper's Ferry. When Brown was sentenced to be hanged, Julia wrote, "His death will be holy and glorious, and the gallows cannot dishonor him."

When she visited Washington D.C., she saw the city teeming with soldiers, orderlies, ambulances, and countless campfires burning. When she returned home, and told her minister what she had seen and the emotions that had been produced – knowing her literary successes, the minister said, "why don't you put some good words to that popular tune, 'John Brown's Body.'" She slept fitfully that night, but in the morning the words of the poem began to form in her mind. In February 1862, *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* was published in *The Atlantic Monthly.* The song quickly caught on, although it never became as popular in the North as "John Brown's Body."

Why Christians Should Support Slavery

Key reasons advanced by southern church leaders

Many southern Christians felt that slavery, in one Baptist minister's words, "stands as an institution of God." Here's why.

Biblical Reasons

• Abraham, the "father of faith," and all the patriarchs held slaves without God's disapproval (Gen. 21:9–10).
• Canaan, Ham's son, was made a slave to his brothers (Gen. 9:24–27).
• The Ten Commandments mention slavery twice, showing God's implicit acceptance of it (Exodus 20:10, 17).
• Slavery was widespread throughout the Roman world, and yet Jesus never spoke against it.
• The apostle Paul specifically commanded slaves to obey their masters (Eph. 6:5–8).
• Paul returned a runaway slave, Philemon, to his master (Philem. 12).

Charitable and Evangelistic Reasons

• Slavery removes people from a culture that "worshipped the devil, practiced witchcraft, and sorcery" and other evils.
• Slavery brings heathens to a Christian land where they can hear the gospel. Christian masters provide religious instruction for their slaves.
• Under slavery, people are treated with kindness, as many northern visitors can attest.
• It is in slaveholders' own interest to treat their slaves well.
• Slaves are treated more benevolently than are workers in oppressive northern factories.

Social Reasons

• Just as women are called to play a subordinate role (Eph. 5:22; 1 Tim. 2:11–15), so slaves are stationed by God in their place.
• Slavery is God's means of protecting and providing for an inferior race (suffering the "curse of Ham" in Gen. 9:25 or even the punishment of Cain in Gen. 4:12).
• Abolition would lead to slave uprisings, bloodshed, and anarchy. Consider the mob's "rule of terror" during the French Revolution.

Political Reasons

• Christians are to obey civil authorities, and those authorities permit and protect slavery.
• The church should concentrate on spiritual matters, not political ones.
• Those who support abolition are, in James H. Thornwell's words, "atheists, socialists, communists [and]red republicans."[53]

The Civil War had a major impact on the Church in America. One positive result of the war were the major revivals that broke out during the war, both among the Union Army and the Confederate Army. Approximately 150,000 Confederate troops were converted to Christ by these revivals and a similar number of Union soldiers were converted during the revivals among the Union ranks.

The U.S. Christian Commission, organized during a meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in 1861, was created "to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare" of soldiers and sailors of both the Union and Confederacy. Its activities included the publication of hymns and prayers, organizing devotional meetings in camps, and aiding and supporting chaplains.

Also active in both sides was the American Tract Society. There is an interesting account of one preacher, John Vassar, who was arrested while carrying tracts to Union troops – the Confederates thought that he was a spy. His biography describes the incident"

> Uncle John was fifty years old or more, but he kept up with the best. Not only kept up, butoften would shoulder for a mile or two the gun or knapsack of some poor fellow ready to give out.…After the fight [at Gettysburg] was over, he became separated in some way from our troops, and was captured by Stuart's cavalry.
>
> When brought into the presence of the general and questioned as a suspected spy, he instantly dissipated the suspicions of the officers by his frank and fearless words for the Master. "I am working as a colporteur of the American Tract Society, to try and save the souls of the dear boys that fall around me daily; General, do you love Jesus?"
>
> The General fenced the question with, "I know that good old Society, and have no fear of its emissaries." "But, my dear general, do you love Jesus?'
>
> The puzzled officer was relieved by the suggestion of those who had arrested Uncle John, and who were already restive under his close questionings. "General," said they, "take the man's promise that he will not tell of our whereabouts for twenty-four hours, and let us see him out of our lines, or we will have a prayer-meeting from here to Richmond."
>
> And so it was decided. He made his way back into the Union lines, and was once more among friends.[54]

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[53] *Christian History*, page 24

The downside of the war, for the churches, was the breaking up of denominations over the right of secession, slavery, and other issues related to the war.

The impact of the war on the Episcopalians

When the Civil War began in 1861, Episcopalians in the South formed their own Protestant Episcopal Church. They considered themselves a separate church from the Episcopalians in the North. However, Northern Episcopalian Church establishment never officially recognized the separation. In a way, the Northern Episcopalian Church was expressing the mentality of the US Government – *i.e.* that the southern states did not have a right to secede from the Union.

After the war, Presiding Bishop John Henry Hopkins of Vermont wrote to every Southern Episcopal bishop asking them to attend the convocation in Philadelphia in October 1865 hoping to pull the church back together again. Only Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina and Henry C. Lay of Arkansas attended from the South. Atkinson's diocese shared his views on reunion, but most of the Southern bishops did not. Reunion was an uphill climb. Even so, Atkinson did try to represent the South while at the same time paving the way for reunion.

The General Council of the Southern Episcopal Church meeting in Atlanta in November, 1865, passed a resolution that permitted Southern dioceses to withdraw from the Southern Church, as a prelude to their reunion with the North. All dioceses withdrew from the Southern Church by May16, 1866, and rejoined the national church.

The impact of the war on the Presbyterians

The Presbyterian story of division during the Civil War is much more complex than that of the Episcopalians because of an earlier division. In 1837, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America split into two denominations: The Old School Presbyterians and the New School Presbyterians.

- The Old School, led by Charles Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary, was much more conservative theologically and was not supportive of revivals. It called for traditional Calvinist orthodoxy as outlined in the Westminster standards.
- The New School accepted the reconstructions of Calvinism by New England Puritans Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins and Joseph Bellamy and wholly embraced revivalism.

[54] *Ibid* page 31

The Old School rejected revivalism as heresy.

Generally speaking, the Old School was attractive to the more recently arrived Scot-Irish immigrants; the New School appealed more to the established Yankees, many of whom had their roots in Congregationalism.

There were proslavery and antislavery advocates in both the New School and the Old School.

- Some Presbyterian preachers extolled slavery as a divine right and even God's plan for mankind.
- Other Presbyterian preachers, condemned slavery as a mortal sin. Many sermons from both sides were published and widely distributed

In 1845, a debate was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the first, second, third, and sixth days of October 1845, upon the question, "*Is Slavery itself Sinful¸ and the Relation between Master and Slave, a Sinful Relation?* Two highly respected Presbyterian clergymen took the opposite sides: Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, a New School Presbyterian, argued the affirmative; Rev. Nathan Rice, an Old School Presbyterian, argued the negative.

- After presenting his argument, Blanchard stated: *The noose of chattelism is around the neck of every slave, and brings back every fugitive to the most pious master, not as a man, but as an animal, a chattel of a thing!...Thus slave holding is degrading men to the level of brutes as completely as the nature of the case will admit.*
- After reviewing examples of slavery in Scripture, Rice declared: *The fact then is clearly established, if language can establish it, that God did recognize the relation of master and slave under the circumstances to be lawful and did give express permission to the Jew to purchase slaves from the heathen, and hold them.*

Even though the Presbyterians were divided over the issue of slavery, sermons from many of the Southern preachers expressed a hope that the United States, as a nation, would not divide. On November 29, 1860, just months before the war broke out, The Rev. Dr. Andrew H. H. Boyd delivered a Thanksgiving sermon in which he discussed his fears of what might result from the disagreements over "the peculiar institution" of slavery. While he viewed the North as an instigator, he hoped political compromise would continue to preserve the Union.

> *Let us render to Him the sincere thanksgiving of our hearts; let us before His altar this hour, purpose to do our part to strengthen, by all legitimate means, the ties that should bind together every part of this Union.*

(Towards the end of the war, Boyd was imprisoned at Fort McHenry in Maryland for being a Confederate sympathizer).

The division was not strictly along geographical lines, although it generally was so. Even some of the Presbyterian ministers in the North were offended by the tactics and divisive language of

the abolitionists. On December 9, 1860, the influential minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, New York, Henry J. Van Dyke, delivered a scathing sermon against the abolitionists. Although a northerner, he argued that slavery was a necessary step in bringing Africans to Christianity and that the abolitionists were dividing the country.

> *"I am here to-night, in God's name, and by his help, to show that this tree of Abolitionism is evil, and only evil–root and branch, flower, and leaf, and fruit; that it springs from, and is nourished by, an utter rejection of the Scriptures; that it produces no real benefit to the enslaved, and is the fruitful source of division and strife, and infidelity, in both Church and State."*[55]

A month after the attack on Fort Sumter, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (Old School) convened in Philadelphia. A number of Southern commissioners attended, with the hope that the denomination would stay united by avoiding "politics." However, it was not to be – the Northerners were determined to align the denomination with the Union. Dr. Gardiner Spring of New York pushed through a resolution of support for the Union cause. In response the Southern commissioners withdrew from the Assembly.

Delegates from eleven presbyteries in the Confederacy met in Atlanta in August 1861 to urge the formation of a new denomination called the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (PCCSA). The convention Proceedings included a section "On the War."

All of the delegates to the first PCCSA General Assembly in 1861 signed the "Address... to all the churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth" proclaiming the organization of their new denomination. In the address, the commissioners explained their reasons for leaving the Old School Presbyterian Church and offered a detailed vindication of their pro-slavery stance.

Seeking to be respectful of an ordered society, the Memphis Presbytery wrote a letter to President Lincoln explaining the reasons for its secession from the Old School Presbyterian Church.

These two Presbyterian denominations did not reunite until 1983, when they came together to form the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., the largest Presbyterian/Reformed denomination in the United States.

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[55] Henry J. Van Dyke, *The Character and Influence of Abolitionism:* a Sermon Preached in the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, on Sabbath Evening, Dec. 9th, 1860 and subsequently published and widely distributed. (New York: G.F. Nesbit & Co., printers, 1860)

The Impact of the War on Methodists

On May 18, 1864, Abraham Lincoln wrote a two-paragraph letter to a Methodist delegation. He noted that while other churches had contributed to the Civil War, theirs was the "most important" because of the great numbers of Methodists involved in the conflict.

> "It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals and more prayers to heaven than any," Lincoln said. "God bless the Methodist church—bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches."

Lincoln did not exaggerate when asserting that no other religious group was as much in the thick of things, on both the Northern and Southern sides. Methodists constituted the largest contingent of chaplains for either side, and contributed 38 percent of the 2,154 regimental chaplains of the Union Army. Daniel Swinson, pastor of Trinity United Methodist Church in Prospect, IL, reported, "There's one Lutheran chaplain in the [Union] Army of the Potomac who complained that he was surrounded by Methodists."[56] One Methodist chaplain, John Lenhart, was the first U.S. Navy chaplain to die in battle.

Although John Wesley had been opposed to slavery, Methodists in the South and even those in the North who had no use for the abolition movement felt no obligation to follow his teaching on the subject. However, some Methodist abolitionists could not tolerate the church's neutral stance and so, in 1843, 22 Methodist abolitionist ministers and 6,000 members left the Methodist Church to form the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

It became increasingly impossible to avoid the slavery issue and as a result, the Methodist Church split in 1844 into the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. That split came when Northern delegates to the General Conference of 1844 passed a resolution asking Bishop James Osgood Andrew of Georgia to step aside as bishop while he remained a slaveholder. Southern delegates to the conference argued that such a stance on slavery would destroy the churches in their region. They countered with a plan for the Southern conferences to withdraw from the General Conference and that schism did occur. Thus, during the Civil War and for about 80 years following, there were two denominations, the Methodist

[56] Sam Hodges, *United Methodist Reporter*, May 20, 2011 http://umportal.com/article.asp?id=7901

Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South.[57]

The Civil War had profound consequences for Southern Methodists even before the Confederates' surrender. U.S. Secretary of War Edward Stanton put Bishop Edward Ames' in control Southern Methodist churches in occupied territory. That led to Northern "missionary" ministers occupying some of those pulpits. This created enormous sectional animosity.

The Southern church was devastated at war's end, having lost thousands of members, including more than 300 preachers. At its first General Conference after the War, in 1866, the Methodist Episcopal Church South approved extending voting rights to laity at such meetings. Up until that time, only ordained ministers were allowed to vote. Democracy was advanced in part by the church's weakened state and the need for more people to be involved. The Northern church followed suit a decade or so later.

After the war, African-American Methodism spread rapidly in the South. Three significant denominations developed among the former slaves:

- African Methodist Episcopal
- African Methodist Episcopal Zion
- Colored Methodist Episcopal Church - later renamed, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (This denomination was brought into being in 1870 by the support of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South)

The Impact of the War on the Baptists.

Division among the Baptists was not directly the result of the war. Before the war, Baptists already had split over the issue of slavery.

The first national gathering of Baptists in America was the Triennial Convention in 1814 (so-called, because it met every three years). The formal name of the convention was *The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions*). This group was the first national Baptist denomination in the United States of America.

[57]The division continued until 1939, when the two denominations merged. Later, in 1968, the Methodists and the Evangelical United Brethren merged, creating the United Methodist Church (The EUB Church was the result of a 1946 merger between the Evangelical Church and the Church of the United Brethren – two German Wesleyan denominations).

Headquartered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, it was formed to advance missionary work. Churches that were a part of the organization were called *American Baptists* or *Triennial Baptists.* There were many different "brands" of Baptists in America and not all of them chose to be a part of the Triennial Convention.

The Triennial Convention initially accepted the *1742 Philadelphia Baptist Confession of Faith,* which, among other things, affirmed the following:

- The authority of the Bible
- The Lordship of Jesus Christ
- Congregationalist polity
- The necessity of a conversion experience
- God's sovereign choice as who will be saved and who will not
- Once God has called a sinner to Himself and grace has been experienced, such a person cannot fall from grace.
- Believer's baptism by immersion
- Evangelism and missionary outreach.

From the first, there was a sense of regional tension. Even though the Baptists from the north generally were opposed to slavery and the Baptists from the south either favored or accepted slavery, this was not an issue that initially separated them. The convention intentionally avoided the topic of slavery in its documents, speeches, etc. Their differences tended to be along the lines of church polity (the north favored more congregational autonomy, whereas the south leaned toward a connectional relationship between the local churches).

In 1833, Rev. John New Brown, DD, assisted by other Triennial Baptist ministers, drafted the *1833 New Hampshire Baptist Confession of Faith.* The New Hampshire Baptists accepted this confession as their statement of faith. The New Hampshire Confession was shorter than the Philadelphia Confession, but it affirmed the Philadelphia Confession. The Triennial Convention also accepted the New Hampshire Confession.

The main controversy among the Baptists at this time was free will verses predestination. The New Hampshire Confession states that " by voluntary [free will] transgression [humans] fell from the holy and happy state in which [they were created]" (line 14) and that "We believe that Election is the eternal purpose of God, according to which he graciously regenerates, sanctifies, and saves sinners" (line 46). However, because the New Hampshire Confession mentioned free will, many saw the New Hampshire Confession as accepting the view that humans have a free

will.. The free-will Baptists in the Northeast and West supported the New Hampshire Confession, while the Calvinist (predestination) Baptists in the South rejected the Confession but still remained in the Triennial Convention.

In 1843, abolitionists in the Northeast began aggressively to push their agenda; they founded the Northern Baptist Mission Society in opposition to slavery. Baptists in the South began to be troubled by the fact that the Home Mission Board (a board under the umbrella of the Triennial Convention) seemed always to appoint as missionaries, northerners who held anti-slavery views. As a test, in 1844 when there was a need for another missionary, the Georgia delegation nominated Georgian, James E. Reeve, a slaveholder, for the post. The Home Mission Board refused to appoint Reeve, because he was put forward as a slaveholder. In response to this rejection, the delegates from the South withdrew. In 1854, in Augusta, Georgia, the Baptist Churches in the South met and founded the Southern Baptist Convention.

With the withdrawal of the Southern churches, the Triennial Convention became a Northern Baptist organization. In 1907, the Triennial Convention became the Northern Baptist Convention and in 1972, it changed its name to the American Baptist Churches USA.

The Northern and Southern Baptist Churches became increasingly distant from one another in matters of theology and polity. As contrasted with the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians, the Baptists have not reunited but have grown even farther apart.

The Church in Post-Civil War America

The Church in America faced a number of challenges in the decades that followed the Civil War. In some ways, these were decades of a strange formlessness. Protestant Evangelicalism no longer called the tune, or as Sidney Ahlstrom has written, "or more accurately, … fewer people were heeding the call." [58] We will look at some of the most important events, conditions, and philosophies that brought about these challenges, plus activities and personalities that rose up to meet the challenge.

The Urbanization/Industrialization of America

[58] Ahlstrom, Sidney, *A Religious History of the American People,* (New Haven, Yale University Press) 1972, page 733

When Fort Dearborn was incorporated as the Village of Chicago in 1833, it was an ugly frontier outpost of seventeen houses. By 1900 it was a sprawling western metropolis of 1,698,575 people – the fifth largest city in the world. Chicago became the most dramatic symbol of the major social trend of the post-Civil War era: the rise of the city.

Within a generation after the Civil War the United States was transformed from a predominately agricultural nation into a manufacturing nation. By 1890, the factory had surpassed agriculture as the nation's chief producer of wealth. Both new metropolitan centers in the west and the explosion of population in the Eastern cities took place during this era. Between 1860 and 1890:

- Boston grew from 177,870 to 560,892
- Philadelphia grew from 565,529 to 1,293,697
- New York grew from 1,080,330 to 3,437,202

A major contribution to this growth was the immigration that took place in the last half of the Nineteen Century. Between 1860 and 1900 about 14 million people arrived in America and only 1/3 of these went into farming or other agriculturally related activities. Most settled in the already teeming cities.

This was the era in which corporations grew stronger and counter organizations of farmers and workingmen were formed. This was the era of the "robber barons" of industry. In the industrial cities, individualism became a liability, except for the industrial and banking tycoons. Henry Adams is reported to have shuddered before the awful power of a dynamo that he witnessed for the first time, and remarked, "is my whole generation going to be mortgaged to the railroads?" This was an era in which people were encountering a way of life different from anything that they had known before and it was difficult to find a clear path. As David Wells has written,

> "In a democratic society, who was master and who servant? In a land of opportunity, what was success? In a Christian nation, what were the rules and who kept them? The apparent leaders were as much adrift as their followers."[59]

In the crowded cities, church leaders increasingly felt the need to care for the poor, whose numbers had become huge. When the task became too much for the Boston Churches, the Unitarian ministers in Boston formed the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, and hired Joseph

[59] Wells, David, "Recent Economic Changes" in *The Nation Transformed: The Creation of an Industrial Society,* (New York, George Braziller) 1963, page 41

Tuckerman as "minister at large" to direct a program of social work among Boston's poor. Similar actions were taken by churches in other cities. the churches struggled with the huge task of looking after the growing population of needy individuals.

In spite of their best efforts, the churches soon found that the problems produced by urban growth were far greater than cooperative social work could solve. Population patterns changed; buildings deteriorated; factories encroached on neighborhoods; old residential areas deteriorated; tenements arose; peaceful streets became crowded thoroughfares. These situations prompted a number of responses to the old established churches of the city.

The members of the old downtown churches began moving out of the center of the city into new residential neighborhoods. Usually, the church also followed the members and sold the downtown building to a church composed of "in-migrants." Later, the congregation that had purchased the old downtown building faced the same situation that the original church faced – its members became more financially stable, moved into the suburbs, and this church then followed its members out of the center of the city. The record of the succeeding sales of the downtown church buildings is a testimony to the upward social standard of each succeeding congregation – it thus becomes a demographic history of each city.

Tragically, the churches that remained in the old downtown buildings usually struggled for existence and were not able to provide the needed ministry to the poor. The churches that had moved out to the suburbs were geographically and experientially distant and usually did not reach into the inner cities to provide the ministry needed.

When Protestants from the countryside moved into the city, most of them had little, if any contact with a Protestant church – so, they went unchurched. The situation was different for immigrants recently arrived in the U.S. When immigrants arrived in the U.S. they tended to find those from their country of origin, language, and religion. These cloistered together and their church was the center of their community. This especially was true of more liturgical churches – Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Jews, and Eastern Orthodox. Their liturgy and church life held these congregations together, even when some of their members moved upward socially and economically. Members who had moved to outlying residential regions travelled back into town to participate in their church services and parish life.

The financially stable churches that did stay "downtown" usually reflected the rising social status of their membership. The sermons became more intellectual and had little appeal to the multitudes that lived in the neighborhood surrounding the building. Also, the musical style had little appeal to the inner city residents. The parish programs answered to middle and upper-class needs. As Ahlstrom commented, "In such congregations, proper sewing circle conversation and the niceties of how to hold a teacup were effective bars to evangelistic outreach."[60] So, as the carriages from prosperous members in the suburbs arrived in front of these downtown churches, the urban dwellers felt that they were in another world. The sense of class that developed even caused many (most?) members of downtown churches to feel that they were socially superior to those who lived in the tenements that surrounded the church building.

These large wealthy churches provided the opportunity for architects and artists to oversee the building of impressive edifices. They also provided employment for accomplished musicians. Most importantly these churches provided the venue for a new type of minister – gifted orators who tried to make Christianity compatible with the new scientific age. There were a plethora of forces challenging the veracity of Scripture and challenging the relevance of the Church in an age that was elevating the ability of man to reinterpret his world and conquer nature. These gifted orators took up the challenge of mediating Christianity to the modern world. The two most prominent were Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks.

[60] Ahlstrom, page 738

Henry Ward Beecher

We earlier noted Beecher's important role in the Civil War (page 59). After graduating from Lane Seminary in Cincinnati in 1837, Beecher spent the next decade preaching in churches in Indiana, always following the revival style of his father, Lyman Beecher. His reputation as a gifted orator spread beyond his Indiana audience. In 1847 he was called to become the minister of the newly formed Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn. Beecher was one of the most striking figures in New York: large girth, broad shoulders, and a lionesque head with flowing locks. He had a rich voice that was responsive to every shade of emotion. He never was at a loss for words. His charming personality and forceful oratorical skills quickly brought the new church from its small infancy to the role of one of the largest most influential churches in America.

Beecher had little use for doctrine; the only thing that he demanded of his church members was loyalty to Christ, as he defined it. In 1892, when the denominational authorities of the Congregational Church began to criticize Beecher's de-emphasis of doctrine, he led the church out of the denomination and it become and independent church. He proclaimed himself to be a free man with obligation to no one.

In his preaching Beecher addressed the societal topics of the day, more than he engaged in expository and other forms of biblical preaching. His sermons dealt with topics such as: slavery (before the Civil War), reconstruction (after the Civil War), immigration, taxes, women's rights, civil service reform, and municipal corruption.

Beecher also advocated a Christian accommodation to the hot topics of evolutionary theories, modern biblical criticism, and various cultural values specific to the city. He edited two widely read journals: *The Independent*, and *The Christian Union.* He also was a regular contributor to secular journals in New York and other major cities. His sermons were published each week. When collections of his sermons and lectures were assembled into books, they were sold throughout the world. He wrote a popular novel that dealt with changing religious values, *Norwood 1687.* He also compiled and published the *Plymouth Collection of Hymns & Tunes.* Beecher was such a dominate presence in America that he could do just about anything that he chose to do. Neither his advertising testimony for Pear's Soap, nor the great scandal that

surrounded his indiscreet relationship with Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton[61] lessened his popularity or discredited him in the minds of his vast audience.

Phillips Brooks

Phillips Brooks' was the rector of Trinity Episcopal Church in Boston for twenty-eight years (1865-93). His ebullient confidence in liberal theology and the American culture seemed to keep him above the clouds with respect to many of the problems of the age. He never tired of telling his self-confident prosperous Boston congregation, "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord."

Brooks preached that all of mankind is the family of God. The goodness and nobility of men, as children of God was his essential article of faith. His optimism kept him and his congregation untroubled by the inequalities of American life. He believed that every class and strata of society had its peculiar blessings and privileges – this was evidence of God's goodness. He taught that suffering resulting from poverty and injustice usually were deserved – but that they are only temporary situations which the harmony of God's creation and His purposes would soon dispel.

Denominational authorities lodged charges of heresy against Brooks but he was such a dominant figure and persuasive speaker that these charges did not keep the denomination from appointing him to the office of Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts in 1891. Like Beecher, Brooks published his sermons in several volumes, which became quite popular among the public. He also published his *Lectures on Preaching,* which he had delivered at Yale in 1877.

Other Prominent Pulpiteers of the Era

Beecher and Brooks were the "princes of the pulpit," and in a class all by themselves. They were envied and emulated by preachers throughout the country. Even so, each of them had strong rivals – even in their own city:

- George Angier Gordon occupied the pulpit at Boston's Old South Church
- T. DeWitt Talmage was at Central Presbyterian in New York.

[61] in 1874, he was tried for adultery in both ecclesiastical and civil courts – but never was convicted

- In New Haven, Theodore Munger and Newman Smyth, both nationally known and eminent preachers, held forth in two important and historical Congregational Churches, standing side by side on the village green.

These remarkably gifted preachers were able to keep a number of America's great men of business and public affairs active in their churches. However, there was and continues to be a serious downside to the accommodating nature of their preaching. Their sermons promoted a form of Christianity that was a benign and a genteel form of religious humanism. Emotions and sentimental feelings were more important than adhering to doctrinal truth.

Sunday School

There is some debate concerning the origins of Sunday Schools. Teaching Bible reading and basic skills on a Sunday was an established activity in a number of eighteenth century Puritan and evangelical congregations in northern Britain. In Wales, the circulating schools offered one model of such activity. Even so, it was Robert Raikes who birthed the movement that became the Sunday School.

Robert Raikes started his first school for the children of chimney sweeps in Sooty Alley, Gloucester (opposite the city prison) in 1780. They met on the steps of a church building and for some time were not allowed in the building. Described as cheery, talkative, flamboyant and warm-hearted, Raikes was able to use his position as proprietor and editor of the *Gloucester Journal* to publicize the work. After his first editorial in 1783, Sunday Schools spread with astonishing rapidity. In 1785 an undenominational national organization, the Sunday School Society, was set up to co-ordinate and develop the work. By 1784 there were 1800 pupils in Manchester, with the same number in Salford, and in Leeds. Before long Sunday schools in both the North of England and in Wales were attended by adults as well as children. The goal of the Sunday Schools was to teach the Bible, as well as morals and character values. In order to make it possible for the students to read the Bible, most of them had to be taught to read.

In the years leading up to the Civil War, Sunday Schools had become a part of congregational life in some sections of America. The American Sunday School Union was founded in 1824, to promote Sunday Schools in Protestant Churches. The Sunday School Union engaged in the publication of lessons and other materials to assist teachers and Sunday School administrators.

Following the war, the Sunday School Union struggled to regain its footing. The movement did receive a boost during the urban revivals of 1857-1858; they were important evangelistic tools.

Dwight L. Moody was a major promoter of Sunday Schools. He persuaded a wealthy Chicago produce broker and real estate man, B.F. Jacobs, to reinvigorate the Sunday School Union. Jacob's talents got results. At the convention of 1872, he was able to get the Union to adopt a uniform lesson plan. Thereafter, the same lesson, graded for all ages, could be studied and taught on the same Sunday in each of the participating churches.

The Sunday School Union plan encouraged interdenominational teachers' meetings, the expansion of supporting publications, and the foundation of teachers' institutes all across the country. Revivalists would come and go but the Sunday School remained as a strong stabilizing force in the churches. Every Sunday, both inn large cities and in country villages, students studied the same lesson – graded for appropriate age groups. The Sunday School produced a pious and knowledgeable laity on a scale unequalled anywhere in the history of Christendom.

The Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations

Especially adapted to the needs of the cities were YMCA and YWCA. Though traceable to Eighteenth Century experiments in Germany, the history of the YMCA among English speaking people begins with a society formed in London by George Williams on June 6, 1844. By 1851 there were twenty-four such organizations in Great Britain, one in Montreal, and one in Boston. In 1855, the first YWCA was organized. The next year a New York YMCA was formed and by the time the Civil War began there were 203 YMCA units in North America with about 25,000 members. During the Civil War the YMCA gave itself to the work of the Christian Commission among the soldiers, but after the war, it returned to its ministry in the cities.

Supported by wealthy church members, and catering to the needs of the many unattached young people who were moving to the city, the YMCA and the YWCA entered upon their half-century of greatest vitality and usefulness. The YMCA emphasized Christianity in practical work. It had four major areas of activity:

- Physical
- Educational
- Social
- religious.

In the first of these fields, the YMCA was a pioneer. In spite of strong puritanical criticism from churches, the YMCA and YWCA boldly fostered athletic recreation and the importance of "play."

The religious department became such powerful force that the YMCA functioned not simply as an ecumenical service agency, but as a church. The "Y" was one of the most effective evangelistic church agencies of the period. Many young men and women owed their Christian commitment to the Bible classes and religious services conducted at the Y.

Professional Revivalism

The most publicized strategy of Protestant advancement in the cities was non-denominational professional revivalism. The methods pioneered by Whitfield, further developed in Methodist camp meetings, and further refined by Finney, became a major activity in urban churches that sought to reach out beyond their narrow circles. The professional revivalists penetrated the anonymous mass of city folk who, in their uprooted loneliness, longed for the old-time religion and the revivals echoed what they had left behind.

Revivals, as had camp meetings, offered a measure of excitement to break the monotony of urban existence. The revivalists' style, provided a theatrical entertainment for those who regarded the theatre itself as sinful. The successful revivalists, being country-born, knew these inner yearnings and were masters at appealing to them. Thus, revivalism constituted the single largest response of evangelical Protestantism to the challenge of the "urban frontier."

Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899)

Like so many of those to whom he preached, Moody was a village-born lad who despite a meager education[62] made good in the city. When he was eighteen years old, he left his widowed mother at the homestead outside of Northfield, Massachusetts. He went to work for his uncle in a Boston shoe store. Between 1854 and 1856 Moody sold shoes, enjoyed Boston, listened to his uncle's minister, and "accepted Christ." When he first applied to become a member of the

[62] By today's standards, he had a fifth grade education. Throughout his life, Moody spelled only by phonetics, thus often misspelled words, and his grammar was far from perfect.

church, he failed the simple Bible knowledge test. In 1856, he did become a church member. His conversion was quiet, simple, and unemotional – yet, it reordered his entire life.

In September 1856, Moody moved to Chicago. One writer describing Chicago, wrote, "Chicago hustled," and so did Moody. Not long after moving to Chicago, he joined the YMCA because it offered excellent educational and social opportunities. His energy and enthusiasm soon won him a reputation as a leading salesman in the shoe trade. Even so, the business world could not claim all of his immense gifts, nor could it corrode the memory of his conversion. He joined the Plymouth Congregational Church and rented four pews, which he filled each Sunday morning with whomever he could collect on the streets and the boardinghouses.[63]

In 1858, he took charge of an out-of-the-way mission Sunday School in North Market Hall. He quickly gathered a membership of 1,500 – mostly urchins and drifters whom he picked up on the streets and out of the gutters and cellars north of the Chicago River. His mission held prayer meetings in the evening for adults and Friday teas. He also offered classes in English for recent immigrants. Moody was innovative, tireless, and unconventional. He recruited new students for his Sunday School by offering them candy and free pony rides. By 1860, Moody's Sunday School had become the largest and most well-known religious outreach of its kind – even President Abraham Lincoln visited the meeting one Sunday.

In 1861, the year that the Civil War commenced, he gave up his successful business to devote himself entirely to the Lord's work. First, he worked as an independent city missionary. A man who never did just one thing, he was an agent of the Christian Commission during the civil war, while vigorously leading the mission Sunday School in North Market Hall.

Out of the motley group in his Sunday School, the Illinois Street Church was formed in 1863 as an independent and non-denominational church.[64] Moody was successful in recruiting the help

[63] A means of supporting the local church was through the sale of pews. When someone bought a pew only he and those whom he permitted could sit in that pew. Some pew owners installed a locked gate at the end of their pews, so that interlopers could not occupy them. Pews were passed on as an inheritance in a person's will. Some churches practiced pew rentals and those who rented them had exclusive use of the pew. In many churches, there was no general seating. If one did not own a pew, or had not purchased one, he had to stand.

[64] In 1864, Moody's ministry built a 1,500-seat church at the corner of Illinois and Wells Streets. That building was destroyed in the Great Chicago Fire on Sunday, October 8, 1871. The congregation purchased property on the corner of Chicago Ave. and LaSalle St., where they built the Chicago Avenue Church. Dwight L. Moody died after an illness in 1899, and in 1908, the church was formally renamed "The Moody Church" in his honor.

of wealthy businessmen friends: John V. Farwell, B. F. Jacobs, George Armour, and Cyrus McCormick.

After the war, he became the president of the Chicago YMCA. He assumed the role of chairman of the Visitation Committee and in that role he indulged his zeal to the fullest – visiting six hundred families in one year. After twelve years in Chicago, Moody had become a civic feature. He was the "drive wheel" of the Chicago YMCA and a remarkable fund raiser. He had begun to preach, but as yet he had done nothing to acquire the fame that ultimately would be his.

Between 1867 and 1872, four significant events occurred.

- Through the preaching of Harry Moorehouse, a Plymouth Brethren preacher who was the guest speaker for a season at Moody's home church, Moody discovered the love of God for sinners. In the light of his zeal to win the lost, it is interesting that this never had been a part of Moody's previous experience.
- In 1870, he persuaded Ira David Sankey to join him as a chorister in his evangelistic work.
- The next year, in New York, Moody had a life-changing experience, which he understood to be the baptism in the Holy Spirit. (see ADDENDUM H and ADDENDUM I)
- In the spring of 1872, while in England on business for the YMCA, Moody was asked to substitute in a London pulpit. Four-hundred people responded to his closing invitation. It was a sign from heaven; here was his life's work.

Ira D. Sankey, Moody's Partner in song

One cannot discuss Moody's great success without acknowledging the importance of Ira D. Sankey in Moody's career. Sankey was no newcomer to Christian service when he met Moody in 1870 at the International Convention of the YMCA in Indianapolis. Sankey was converted at 16 and became a member of the Methodist-Episcopal church in New Castle, Pennsylvania. He also became an active member of the New Castle YMCA, and later became its president. By age 22, Ira was superintendent of the Sunday school and had begun singing solos in Sunday School and in YMCA gatherings.

At the time that they met , Sankey was helping with his father's business and working as a local New Castle revenue collector. He was married and had one child. Moody heard him sing at the YMCA convention and in his characteristic straightforward way informed Sankey that he would have to quit his job. He abruptly told Sankey, "I have been looking for you for the past eight

years." Sankey hesitated to give up the security of a well-paying government job; he had a family to support.

The next day, Moody asked Sankey to meet him on a certain street corner. When Sankey arrived, he found Moody setting up a barrel on the sidewalk. Moody loudly instructed Sankey to climb up and start singing. Startled, Sankey hardly remembered how, but he found himself on the barrel singing *Am I a Soldier of the Cross?* The crowd of factory workers heading home stopped and stayed for Moody's sermon. One example was worth a thousand arguments to Sankey. He knew he must return home and seriously consider joining Moody in Chicago. He did, and their names became inseparably linked.

Although Sankey was not college-educated, and his voice was untrained, the enrapturing quality of his sound and his sensitivity to the use of music in spiritual capacities became his trademarks. It was said of him: "Mr. Sankey sings with the conviction that souls are receiving Jesus between one note and the next." Sankey also composed hymns, although many of his successful solo performances used the hymns of P. P. Bliss, another singer associated with Moody. One of Sankey's most famous hymns, "The Ninety and Nine," was a poem he found in a Scottish newspaper; he later, without any previous preparation, sang the poem to a large audience, improvising the melody as he went (See ADDENDUM K)

During their campaign in the British Isles in 1873–75, Sankey was an oddity to the puritanical Scots. The Scottish Presbyterians only sang renditions of the Psalms and they sang acapella. Sankey led them in singing hymns and he played a harmonium,[65] which shocked the Scots. His musical eloquence, however, won them over.

Because what they were doing was new, it became necessary for Moody and Sankey to print hymnbooks so that congregations could learn the songs they used. They issued two hymn books *Sacred Songs and Solos* is said to have reached a circulation of seventy million and a successor, *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs,* sold over fifty million copies. Both Moody and Sankey

[65] A harmonium is a small reed organ (as contrasted with a pipe organ), usually with foot pedals which the musician pumps at varying speeds to determine the volume of sound.

relinquished rights to the hymnbook royalties; the money was used toward the work of the gospel.[66]

The Launching of the Moody/Sankey Revival Career

In the summer of 1873, Moody and Sankey, along with their wives and children, set out on faith for Britain – with no inkling of what lay ahead. Their time in Britain was an unqualified success. It is estimated that they reached between three and four million hearers with thousands being converted in Scotland, Ireland, and England. After two years in Britain, the team returned to the United States, where they were received as internationally famous revivalists.[67] Immediately representatives from numerous American cities lobbied the team to hold a crusade in their cities. For the next three years, 1875-1878, they conducted revival campaigns in major cities and small towns. Meetings were held in structures ranging from converted skating rinks to abandoned railroad depots. [68]

After a lengthy stint in east coast cities, they began a famous series of campaigns from New York to St. Louis, and then on the Pacific coast. With attendees in the millions and converts in the thousands, their hymns were being sung in every household and their names a household word.

Moody's success validated his view that the American-born middle class urbanite of his day still was a villager under the skin. Using both the methods and the money supplied by big business supporters, Moody reconciled the city and the "old time religion."

Moody's message was a "simple and relatively innocuous blend of American optimism and evangelical Arminianism."[69] Holding aloft his Bible, speaking at a rate of 230 words per minute, he assured his hearers that eternal life was theirs for the taking – that they only needed to "come

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[66] Sankey's role in the partnership diminished with the gradual weakening of his voice. By the 1880s his talent as a singer was nearly spent, and he accompanied Moody less. Sankey was blind the last five years of his life and died in 1908.

[67] When Moody prepared to leave Glasgow, Scotland, he held a farewell meeting in the famous, Great Crystal Palace of Glasgow. The meeting was so well attended that 40,000 stood outside, unable to find room in the great assembly hall. Following his sermon inside the building, Moody stood in a carriage and preached to the 40,000 standing outside.

[68] In Brooklyn, the transit company had to lay down additional trolley tracks to accommodate the crowds seeking transportation to the Rink, a 5000 seat auditorium. In Philadelphia, John Wanamaker fitted out a Pennsylvania Railroad freight warehouse for a two-month campaign.

[69] Ahlstrom, page 745

forward and t-a-k-e, t-a-k-e, T-A-K-E." To those who did come forward, his follow up instruction was short and to the point: "Join some church, at once." Which church did not matter to Moody (see ADDENDUM I for a Q&A concerning Moody's theology)

There was not much help in Moody's message to the thinker who was seriously disturbed by the moral dilemmas of industrialism or the new intellectual challenges of the Nineteenth Century. He had confidence that individual conversions would solve every personal and social problem (see an example of Moody's preaching in ADDENDUM J).

Moody and Sankey also significantly furthered the mounting tendency to convert the traditional message of Protestant Christianity into something dulcet and sentimental. This was a period in American history in which the nation had embarked up the most extravagantly sentimental period in its history and through song and sermon across the land, the professional revival teams (not just the Moody/Sankey team) wove this sentimentality into the warp and woof of American Protestantism. Feelings became more important than doctrine.

This romantic, sentimental era, suffused the new style of Christian art, that was born during this period. Biblical scenes by the German painter, Johann M. F. H. Hoffman became very popular. The Sunday School publishing houses laid the groundwork for Warner E. Sallman's paintings in the early Twentieth Century.[70]

Moody's Role in Christian Publishing[71]

An oft overlooked contribution of Moody's is his pioneering Christian publishing activity. The story begins even before Moody was a well-known evangelist. In August, 1862, Moody married Emma Revell.[72]1869, when Moody was a leading Christian layman in Chicago, he and his wife, Emma Revell Moody, had a boarder: Emma's 20-year-old brother, Fleming. In that year, in response to Moody's urging, Fleming established the Fleming Revell publishing company.

The company initially published weekly Sunday school papers. After returning from a business trip to England, Revell saw his offices destroyed in the Great Chicago Fire. When he rebuilt, he

[70] In almost every Protestant church building in America, hung a copy of Sallman's *Head of Christ,* from 1941 onward. See ADDENDUM F
[71] This is edited material from *Christian History,* Issue 25, page 32
[72] See ADDENDUM G

changed his focus to the publishing of books. The first book published by Fleming Revell Publishing Company was W. R. McKay's *Grace and Truth.*

As Moody acquired an increasingly national and international reputation, his sermons appeared in newspapers and then in books—all pirated editions. Dissatisfied with the quality of these volumes, he named Revell as the publisher of his sermons. In 1880 Revell issued Moody's *Twelve Select Sermons* and one year later his *Select Sermons.* By 1900, Fleming Revell Publishing Company was the largest American publisher of religious books – publishing Moody's writings was a major element in achieving that success.

Origins of Moody Press

By the early 1890s, while preaching in mid-western and western states, Moody noticed that very few bookstores stocked Christian books and that the few Christian books that were found in bookstores were prohibitively expensive.

Drawing on his earlier business experience, Moody conceived of a series of pocket-sized paperback books that would be priced right: 10¢! The volumes would be reprints of established books or new books by established authors - books that were both readable and nondenominational.

Early in 1895 the first two volumes appeared: *All of Grace* by Charles Spurgeon and *The Way to God and How to Find It* by Moody himself (seven of the first eleven books were his).

Moody established an organization to distribute these books, the Bible Institute Colportage Association (BICA), headed by his son-in-law, A. P. Fitt. Students at the Bible Institute, furnished with horse-drawn wagons stocked with books, sold the volumes throughout the nation's hinterland, while the evangelist invited his audiences to subscribe to the series.

Moody did not organize the new company to publish the books. For this he depended on Revell, which owned the rights to many titles Moody included in the series. The new company was formed only for distribution. Functionally, Moody Press was a subset of Revell.

Moody as an Educator

As noted earlier, Moody himself had a very limited education – by today's standards only a fifth grade education. In an era when most people did not attend high school, his level of education was not out of the ordinary. However, his lack of education and polish was evident. During his early days in Chicago, his grammar was impossible; his pronunciation smacked of the Massachusetts hill country; his vocabulary was poor; his spelling was imaginative. His physical appearance seemed "uncouth" even to the riff-raff on the Chicago streets. He moved awkwardly, spoke awkwardly, and stumbled over words when he read. An early Chicago acquaintance recalled, "No ever thought he would amount to much on account of the fact that he was so poorly educated."

Eventually Moody's more polished and better educated wife, Emma Revell, began helping her husband overcome some of his deficiencies. They spent an hour every day studying some subject in which Moody needed to improve. The work paid off – Moody became more presentable in his mannerisms, though his grammar, spelling, and pronunciation always remained rough and uncertain.

Moody never became a serious student, nor one naturally drawn to reading. He was too restless and incessantly driven to action. Neither theology nor literature greatly interested him. He cared little for the details of contemporary events such as, the frequent labor troubles, the radical political movements, America's growing involvement abroad, etc. Neither did he care for the clash of ideas and dialogue over different points of view. He tended to surround himself with workers who agreed with him. The English Bible was the only book that owned his attention. An acquaintance recalled that the Moody library as crowded not with works of theology or literary classics but with Bibles and biblical commentaries and interpretations. Even in Bible study, Moody was far from a scholar. He was oblivious to the higher critical theories then achieving currency in the United States. Nor did he care about studying the Bible in its original languages. This poorly educated, non-scholar, and by some measure, a non-intellectual, a "country bumpkin," became a force for education in the latter years of his life.

Moody strongly believed in providing educational opportunities for those who, like himself, had been deprived of an education. Even though he had demonstrated that a smart, earnest, and

energetic individual, no matter how poor or uneducated could prove to be effective in religious work, he clearly regarded his lack of education as a handicap.

For Dwight L. Moody the main task in life was evangelism, to "win men to Christ," to save souls. The salvation message, then, must be delivered as persuasively and as clearly as possible, and by as many evangelists as could be summoned for the task. Moody considered education as a means of equipping religious workers. He was firmly convinced that those who had grown up in poverty, when trained, were the best equipped to evangelize among the poor. Moody called these his "gap men," who could stand in the gap between the masses and the well educated religious leaders.

Because he wanted to provide and education to anyone who wanted one – with an eye to making them evangelists – none of the educational institutions that Moody founded ever charged tuition. Significant educational institutions created by Moody include:

- The Northfield Seminary for Young Women was founded in 1879
- The Mount Hermon School for Young Men was founded in 1881
- The Annual Student and Christian Workers Conference at Northfield 1886
- The Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions in Chicago (later named, The Moody Bible Institute) 1886

Revivalists who followed Moody

After Moody's heart attack and retirement in 1892, no one of equal stature appeared to replace him on the urban revival scene. However, there were some who did carry on the work and even though their light did not shine as brightly as Moody's they did become well known.

Reuben Archer Torrey: Moody's opposite, yet his successor

Most considered Moody's mantle to have fallen on Rueben A. Torrey. In the last decade of Moody's life, Torrey probably was Moody's best friend. From 1894 to 1906, Torrey was the pastor of the Chicago Avenue Church (successor to the Illinois Street Church and forerunner of the Moody Church), although from 1902 to 1906 he also conducted evangelistic tours in ten or more countries.

Torrey was distinguished from other revivalists in his time by his level of education. He had degrees from both Yale University and Yale Divinity School. He was ordained as a minister of

the Congregational Church in 1878 and studied theology from 1882 to 1883 in Leipzig and Erlangen.

Torrey was an agnostic during his first years at Yale. When he did come to faith and rejected agnosticism, he adopted the liberal theology that was in vogue. By his own admission, he was unorthodox in his beliefs at that time. He became a conservative Christian while studying abroad,

After returning to America, Torrey served as a pastor in Ohio and Minnesota. During this period, he also was involved a leadership role with the International Christian Workers Conventions. It was in that role that he and Moody first met. Recognizing Torrey's administrative skills, as well as his education, Moody recruited him to move to Chicago and become the Superintended of the Bible Institute of the Chicago Evangelization Society (later Moody Bible Institute) in 1889. The two of them quickly became very fast friends.

An associate described the two men: "Moody was brusque, impulsive, and uneducated; Torrey polished, logical, and scholarly." Torrey eventually built a summer home in Northfield to be close to the Moody family. Thereafter, Torrey and Moody could be seen early in the morning touring the countryside in a carriage, while discussing matters of faith. Another friend once said that "Moody was the only person who ever dared tell Torrey what to preach."

Years later, Torrey described an incident that took place during this period.

> "Once he had some teachers at Northfield, fine men all of them, but they did not believe in a definite Baptism with the Holy Ghost for the individual. They believed that every child of God was baptized with the Holy Ghost, and they did not believe in any special Baptism with the Holy Ghost for the individual.
>
> Mr. Moody came to me and said, "Torrey, will you come up to my house after the meeting tonight and I will get these men to come, and I want you to talk this thing out with them." Of course I readily consented, and Mr. Moody and I talked for a long time, but they did not altogether see eye to eye with us. And when they went, Mr. Moody signaled me to remain for a few minutes. Mr. Moody sat there with his chin on his breast, as he often sat when in deep thought; then he looked up and said, "Oh, why will they split hairs? Why don't they see that this is just the one thing that they themselves need? They are good teachers, they are wonderful teachers, and I am so glad to have

> them here; but why will they not see that the Baptism with the Holy Ghost is just the one touch that they themselves need?"[73]

Torrey contributed much to the Chicago school's curriculum. He also served as a trustee of the Northfield Schools until well after Moody's death. Torrey was one of the most popular lecturers during the summer conferences at Northfield, although there was some conflict over his strong preaching of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit," as noted in the above quote, a doctrine not held by some teachers at Northfield.

In addition to Northfield, R. A. Torrey lectured frequently at conventions around the country. He also was a revivalist whose meetings reaped similar effects as those of Moody. This reputation, as well as his close affiliation with the Bible Institute and Moody's church, identified him in public consciousness as Moody's successor. From 1912 to 1924 he was dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles; the last ten of those years he was pastor at the Church of the Open Door, also in Los Angeles.

In 1927 Torrey returned to Moody Bible Institute as special lecturer. Torrey authored at least 40 books, among them *The Fundamentalist Doctrines of the Christian Faith, The Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, and *How to Study the Bible for the Greatest Profit.*

Wilbur Chapman: Evangelistic organizer

Wilbur Chapman began his evangelistic work full time in 1893, preaching with D. L. Moody at the World's Fair and conducting many meetings on his own. He hired William Ashley "Billy" Sunday as an advance man, thus giving Billy Sunday his start in evangelism. Chapman was impressed with the Bible Conference Center, in Winona Lake, Indiana, that had been established by another evangelist, Sol C. Dickey. Having seen this model, Chapman helped to develop other similar centers at Montreat,[74] North Carolina (made famous in recent years by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association) and Stony Brook, Long Island, New York.

Chapman, a born organizer and administrator, developed a plan for evangelizing a city in which the city was divided into several districts and simultaneous meetings would be conducted in each district. Chapman himself always took the central district with other preachers filling the other

[73] R. A. Torrey, *Why God Used D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody, 1923) 59-60.
[74] A contraction of "Mountain" and "Retreat."

slots. As had been true with Moody and Sankey, Chapman's most effective work was done after he teamed up with the well-known evangelistic singer, Charles McCallon Alexander. Together they conducted meetings in a number of nations as well as numerous cities in the U.S.

Samuel Porter Jones: The Moody of the South

Sam Jones was a product of rural Georgia who, in 1872, turned from a heavy drinking, carousing past to become an itinerant Methodist preacher. Because of his effective preaching, he became known as "The Moody of the South." His revivals were a significant factor in the recovery of the Methodist Church South after the Civil War. As with Moody and Sankey, and Chapman and Alexander, his most successful work was done after he teamed up with Edwin Othello Excell (usually called, "E.O.), who became his chorister and Gospel song writer.[75] Jones revivals always focused on attacking the sins of the typical vices and shortcomings of city life, but his emphasis always was practical. He declared, "If I had a creed, I would sell it to a museum." He equated sanctification with a resolve to live by the standards of rural Georgia, while in the wicked city. Jones is the best representation of Methodism's traveling the long road away from John Wesley's theology – the journey that American Methodism had traveled during the first century of an independent life.

Benjamin Fay Mills: an inventor of new revival techniques

Mills was an important link between America's revival tradition and the Social Gospel (which will be examined in a future section). His most significant contribution to revivalism were the innovations in revival techniques. His background was Old School Presbyterian, but he was ordained as a Congregational minister in Minnesota in 1878. After nine years as a parish minister he left the located parish to become a full time professional evangelist. He developed the highly successful, "District Combination Plan of Evangelism." Mills displayed the full accommodation of revivalism to the techniques of business and administration. Nothing was to be left to chance – or the Holy Spirit. Finances and organization all were carried out in advance of the crusade. By the time the meetings took place, everything was in place and how to pay for it had been arranged in advance. In a manner similar to Chapman's scheme, a city would be

[75] For many years, one of the most popular hymnals found in churches and homes was the *Excell Hymnal.* Excell probably did more to promote hymns and the publication of hymnals than any other person in history. The tune to which *Amazing Grace* usually is sung, is the result of Excell's combing the text with the tune, *New Britian.*

attacked simultaneously in various precincts and in central meetings. All church meetings in cooperating churches would be cancelled, unless they were somehow concerned with the revival. In the city, Wednesday was declared a "midweek Sabbath," and all business were asked to close on that day – and they usually did so. Ample press coverage was arranged in advance. Then, with all of this in place, Mills mounted his campaign on the city and its sins. Decisions were recorded on cards which then were distributed to cooperating churches.

One of the anomalies of his success was that his message and the meaning of his conversions was so generalized that Christian Scientists, Unitarians, and Roman Catholics saw no incongruity in singing a decision card. Mills moved steadily toward liberalism and gradually lost favor among evangelicals. In 1899, he gave up revivalism and entered the Unitarian ministry – which fit the direction that he had been traveling for a few years.

Later less significant professional revivalists

The revivalist movement, launched by Moody and carried on by men such as those noted above, continued to chug along for a number of decades. By the second decade of the Twentieth Century, some of these men and their tactics, along with their gaudier personalities, and sometimes questionable scruples, brought revivalism into disrepute.

- Mannerisms of the theatre and the music hall were displayed in Knowles Shaw.
- Rodney, "Gypsy" Smith emphasized statistics. He not only made news by the number of "decisions" he secured, but indicated to his sponsors that he could produce converts at $4.92 apiece.
- The most spectacular champions of the sawdust trail were ex-baseball player, Billy Sunday, and his chorister, Homer A. Rodeheaver, whose team, when they really got their system working, cut the cost to $2.00 a soul.

Billy Sunday: from baseball to the pulpit[76]

A study of the professional revivalists would be greatly lacking if it did not give major attention to Billy Sunday, who preached to more people in his lifetime than any other preacher – until the advent of television and its use by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.[77]

[76] The quotes found in the section on Billy Sunday are from Ahlstrom, pages 747-748; *Christian History Magazine*, issue 12; and www.christianitytoday.com/ch/131christians/evangelistsandapologists/sunday.html
[77] It is estimated that 300,000 people responded to Billy Sunday's altar calls

When Billy Sunday made his first public appearance as an evangelist in 1891, one Chicago newspaper reporter wrote,

> "Center fielder Billy Sunday made a three-base hit at Farwell Hall last night. There is no other way to express the success of his first appearance as an evangelist in Chicago. His audience was made up of about 500 men who didn't know much about his talents as a preacher but could remember his galloping to second base with his cap in hand."

William Ashley Sunday (1863-1935), like Moody was a farm boy – he described himself as "a rube of rubes." He was born in Iowa into a family ravaged by tragedy. "I never saw my father," Sunday began his autobiography, for his father had died of pneumonia in the Civil War five weeks after Sunday's birth. In fact, his early childhood in an Iowa log cabin was enveloped by death—ten deaths before he reached the age of 10. His mother was so impoverished, she sent her children away to the Soldier's Orphans Home. Billy Sunday survived childhood only with the support of his brother and his love of sports, especially baseball.

His professional baseball career began with the Chicago White Stockings in 1883 (he struck out his first 13 at bats); he moved to the Pittsburgh Pirates, and in 1890, to the Philadelphia Athletics, where he was batting .261 and had stolen 84 bases during the season in which he quit the game.

Ever since his conversion to Christianity at the Pacific Garden Mission in Chicago in 1886, he had felt an increasingly strong call to preach. When Bible study classes at the YMCA aroused his interest in Christian work, with some urging from the Y, he quit baseball to become the assistant secretary at the Chicago Y in 1891 (which meant a two-thirds cut in pay). At the urging of YMCA leaders, he began to preach at some of their services.

Two years later (1893), he took a job as an organizer on the revival team of J. Wilbur Chapman, who by that time had become a second level revival attraction, but still was touring smaller cities in America. In 1895, Chapman retired from being a professional revivalist (he became the pastor of a church in Philadelphia). He recommended Billy Sunday as his replacement.

Billy's first revival was in Garner, Iowa. This first revival meeting was a modest success but from then on he was never without an invitation to preach. By 1900, he was able to hire his own

chorister and to require towns to erect pine-board tabernacles for his meetings.[78] As he developed his innate abilities for vaudeville performance in the meetings, he drew larger and larger crowds. By 1904, he could demand that all expense monies be raised and be on deposit before he arrived to begin his revival meetings.

In 1909, he secured the talented trombone playing Homer Rodeheaver as his chorister. That was the year that he and Rodeheaver conducted a revival in Spokane, Washington, which was the first city of over 100,000 in which Sunday had conducted a meeting. From that time on, the team moved into ever larger cities. By 1917, the peak year for the team, the average population of revivalized cities was 1,750,000. To use baseball terms, "this was the major league." In New York City that year, a ten-week campaign showed a total attendance of 1,443,000, with 98,264 converts.

Much of his success was due to his wife, Helen Amelia Thompson. She organized the campaigns and did much of the advance work. She even tried to better Billy's vocabulary in her letters to him, deliberately including words he would have to look up.

Unusual for American evangelists, Sunday addressed social issues of the day. He supported women's suffrage, called for an end to child labor, and included blacks in his revivals, even when he toured the deep South. This made him enemies, as did his support of Roman Catholics (whom he considered fellow Christians) and Jews. On one of the hottest topics of the day, evolution, he walked a tightrope: he had no sympathy for evolution, but neither did he warm up to Genesis literalists.

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[78] In 1906, an October snowstorm in Salida, Colorado, destroyed Sunday's tent—a special disaster because revivalists were typically paid with a freewill offering at the end of their meetings. Thereafter he insisted that towns build him temporary wooden tabernacles at their expense. The tabernacles were comparatively costly to build (although most of the lumber could be salvaged and resold at the end of the meetings), and locals had to put up the money for them in advance. This change in Sunday's operation began to push the finances of the campaign to the fore. At least at first, raising tabernacles provided good public relations for the coming meetings as townspeople joined together in what was effectively a giant barnraising. Sunday built rapport by participating in the process, and the tabernacles were also a status symbol, because they had previously been built only for major evangelists such as Chapman.

However he was never a friend of liberals: "Nowadays we think we are too smart to believe in the Virgin birth of Jesus and too well educated to believe in the Resurrection. That's why people are going to the devil in multitudes."

And he firmly stood against card playing, movie going, and Roaring '20s fashions. "It's a damnable insult some of the rigs a lot of fool women are wearing up and down our streets," he said. His favorite vice was "Mr. Booze." In fact, his preaching was instrumental in getting Prohibition passed. "To know what the devil will do, find out what the saloon is doing," he said repeatedly. "If ever there was a jubilee in hell it was when lager beer was invented."

Sunday's preaching style was as unorthodox as the day allowed. His vocabulary was so rough, Christian leaders cringed, and they often publicly criticized him. But Sunday didn't care. He said,

- "I want to preach the gospel so plainly, that men can come from the factories and not have to bring a dictionary."
- What the church needed, he shouted, was fighting men of God, not "hog-jowled, weasel-eyed, sponge-columned, mush-fisted, jelly-spined, pussy-footing, four-flushing, Charlotte-russe, Christians."
- "I don't believe your own bastard theory of evolution, either; I believe it's pure jackass nonsense"
- Every man who was not a teetotaler was a "dirty low-down whisky-soaked, beer – guzzling, bull-necked,foul-mouthed hypocrite."
- "I'm against sin. I'll kick it as long as I have a foot. I'll fight it as long as I have a fist. I'll butt it as long as I have a head. I'll bite it as long as I've got a tooth. And when I'm old and fistless and footless and toothless, I'll gum it till I go home to Glory and it goes home to perdition."

Sunday was master of the one-liner, which he would use to clinch his practical, illustration-filled sermons. One of his most famous: "Going to church doesn't make you a Christian any more than going to a garage makes you an automobile."

He used his whole body in his sermons. He also used stage props, such as his chair, which he would sometimes fling around while preaching, and often smash. It was not unusual for him, in the midst of an impassioned presentation, to begin tearing off a portion of his clothing, illustrating tearing off sin, or some other point. As one newspaper wrote, "Sunday was a

whirling dervish that pranced and cavorted and strode and bounded and pounded all over his platform and left them thrilled and bewildered as they have never been before."

He often used baseball analogies and behavior in his preaching. One stunt was to conclude his sermon by running out into the congregation, yelling and waving as he went. As he reached his final crescendo, he took off running to the altar and slid into the pulpit, standing to proclaim, in baseball verbiage, that he was "home safe."

He also used other means of promoting his meetings. In one town, he organized the businessmen into two baseball teams. A game was held in the afternoon and he played on both teams. He did the same thing during a series of meetings in Hollywood – he organized movie stars into ball teams with stars such as Douglas Fairbanks Jr. featured in the game. During some meetings, he hired a circus giant as an usher. No doubt about it, Sunday was a showman.

He concluded his sermons by inviting people to "walk the sawdust trail" to the front of the tabernacle to indicate their decision for Christ. The professional revivalists/evangelists had made the altar-call decision easier and easier. Billy Sunday made it even easier, so that any "decent American" could painlessly respond. As Ahlstrom has described Billy's altar call, "The burden was easy and the sawdust trail was wide." In 1927, Homer Rodeheaver complained that Billy's altar calls had become so general that they were meaningless. His invitation on the twelfth day of his New York campaign was typical:

> "Do you want God's blessing on you, your home, your church, your nation, or New York? If you do, raise your hands.….
> How many of you men and women will jump to your feet and come down and say, 'Bill, here's my hand for God, for home, for my native land, to live and conquer for Christ?"
> Then "Rody" and the choir began their musical accompaniment and a sea of humanity surged forward – one out of every ten in an audience of twenty-thousand.[79]

After World War I (which he raised millions of dollars to support), Sunday's influence decreased. Radio, movies, and other entertainments drew masses away from the preacher, though he never lacked for speaking engagements.

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[79] William G. McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday Was His Real Name,* as quoted in Ahlstrom page 748

Scientific And Philosophical Challenges Facing The Church In The Latter Decades Of The Nineteenth Century.

In addition to the challenge of the urbanization of America, there appeared in the Nineteenth Century a number of influential movements challenging the faith that churches of every stripe had sought to maintain throughout the ages. Among the societal forces that challenged the "faith once delivered to the saints," some of the more influential were:

- The agnostic movement launched by Octavius Brooks Frothingham and Francis Ellingwood Abbot, then carried on and popularized by Robert Green Ingersoll.
- The New Geology of James Hutton, resulting in the principle of uniformitarianism challenged the Genesis account of creation
- Biological evolution, promoted by Charles Darwin, challenged the Genesis account of the origin of humanity
- Transcendentalism challenged the concept of a transcendent God and of any set dogma
- Biblical criticism, the result of Historicism and evolution , reduced the Bible to no more than the product of religious evolution.
- Materialism, always a human trait, became a social phenomenon exacerbated by the industrial revolution and a higher standard of living made possible by these advances

These and other less dominant movements and philosophies had a decided impact on the churches of America in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century. The Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church were not impacted by these movements to the degree that they had an effect on the Protestants. The Protestant denominations that had a hierarchical establishment were the ones most effected by these movements - more than those that were decentralized or independent.

We will consider each of the movements – many of which are interrelated – and how they influenced the churches.

Agnosticism

In 1865, when the National Unitarian Conference was organized, it produced a constitution that committed the denomination to the "Lordship of Christ." The radicals in the Unitarian Church felt that they had been excluded from being a part of the decision to define the denomination. Almost immediately, they organized the Free Religious Association and in 1867 held their first convention in Boston, electing Octavious Books Frothingham as their president. The

Transcendentalists, which we will examine later, were in agreement with the movement's goals and to some degree participated in the association.

Frothingham was a very proper Bostonian, who became a conservative Unitarian minister. In time, he occupied a pulpit in New York and was one of the most popular preachers in the city. Prior to the Civil War, Frothingham was converted from his conservative theology and became an abolitionist and an advocate of radical religion. In his preaching and writing he challenged traditional religious beliefs and practices. His book, *The Religion of Humanity* was one of the best presentations of the effort being made to create a free and scientific national religion for the American people. Yet, even with his popularity as a preacher and writer, Frothingham was not able to reach beyond a narrow circle of intelligentsia.

In 1869, Francis Ellingwood Abbot founded the *Index*, which became the weekly journal of the Free Religious Association. For fifteen years, in this journal and in other venues, Abbot developed a system of religious thought that was in harmony with Darwinian evolution. At one point, he also organized the National Liberal League, dedicated to the total separation of church and state. His views were too extreme for most people, especially the Transcendentalists (who opposed Darwinism), and thus he was not able to gain the support of the public.

The man who successfully popularized agnosticism was Robert Green Ingersoll. Ingersoll's father, John Ingersoll, was a very orthodox Congregational minister with strong abolitionist convictions. He often filled the pulpit for Finney, when Finney was abroad, and for a period he and Finney co-pastored a church. John Ingersoll held pastorates in New York and Ohio. Because the congregations to which he ministered were offended by his abolitionist views he was voted out of one church after another. On one occasion, in order to get rid of him the church in Madison, Ohio, accused him of conduct unbecoming a minister. Denominational authorities investigated and acquitted him of the charges, but the wounds that young Robert received, seeing his father treated in this manner, contributed to his becoming an enemy of the church and organized religion.

Robert Ingersoll began his career as a lawyer in Illinois. As a result of winning several important cases, some viewed as difficult, he achieved a significant reputation in that profession. With the outbreak of the Civil War, he raised the 11th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry and took

command. The regiment fought in the Battle of Shiloh. Ingersoll was later captured, then released on his promise that he would not fight again, which was common practice early in the war.

He was a prominent member of the Republican Party and after the war, he served as Illinois Attorney General. The Illinois Republicans tried to pressure him into running for governor on the condition that Ingersoll conceal his agnosticism during the campaign. He refused to do so, stating that concealing information from the public was immoral.

Ingersoll became the most noted and popular orator of the age – at a time when oratory was public entertainment. At the height of Ingersoll's fame, audiences would pay $1 or more to hear him speak, a giant sum for his day. He committed his speeches to memory although they were sometimes more than three hours long. His audiences were said never to be restless. Ingersoll spoke on every subject, from Shakespeare to Reconstruction, but his most popular subjects were agnosticism and the sanctity and refuge of the family.

In one of his most repeated lectures entitled, *The Great Infidels*, he attacked the Christian doctrine of Hell:

> "All the meanness, all the revenge, all the selfishness, all the cruelty, all the hatred, all the infamy of which the heart of man is capable, grew, blossomed, and bore fruit in this one word--Hell."[80]

By 1880, there were very few Americans who did not recognize him as the nation's most outspoken infidel and a scourge to the churches. Untold thousands found solace in their own infidelity through Ingersoll's presentations. Various expressions of "free religion" were birthed in response to his powerful speeches and aggressive presentation of agnosticism. One fruit of Ingersoll's campaign was the question of the veracity of Scripture and the apparent conflict between the New Geology and the account of the creation in Genesis. Increasingly the question was being asked, "given the growing knowledge of geology, can the Bible be trusted?"

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[80] Ingersoll, Robert G. (1915). "The Great Infidels". *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll, in Twelve Volumes, Volume III*. The Dresden Publishing Company. pp. 319.

The New Geology

In the Nineteenth Century, mankind's knowledge of the world and universe grew by leaps and bounds. Scientific speculation as to the origins and history of the universe was one aspect of the intellectual activity of the Nineteenth Century.

James Hutton of Edinburgh is considered to be the Father of Geology. In 1788 he published his *Theory of the Earth,* and put forth the view that came to be known as *uniformitarianism.* Hutton suggested that the earth was much older than previously believed and that the processes that were observed as going on in the present, were the same processes that had operated from the beginning – and would be the processes that would operate in the future. He based his theory on the slow, natural processes that he observed in the landscape. If given enough time, he realized, a stream could carve a valley, ice could erode a rock, sediment could accumulate and form new islands or even terrain. He speculated that for these processes to produce the contemporary earth, it would have taken millions of years.

Many churches had adopted Archbishop Ussher's[81] calculations (based on his arithmetical study of the Scriptures – especially the ages of the patriarchs and kings), which placed the date of creation as the night preceding Sunday, October 23, 4004 BC.[82] Hutton's proposition thus flew in the face of what many churches had been teaching.

According to uniformitarianism, the universe is a closed system and no theistic intervention had caused or changed anything – all that was, that is, and will be, are the result of consistent "laws" that immutably operate producing what is observed.

This was a direct rejection of *catastrophism,* which was the prevalent geology at the time. Catastrophism stated that only violent disasters could modify the surface of the earth. Some who held this view were theists – believing that God caused the catastrophes. Some were agnostic or atheistic, believing that the catastrophes were the result of human activity or inexplicable natural causes.

[81] Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, 1625-1656
[82] Based on the Proleptic Julian Calender (produced by extending the Julian Calendar backwards to 4AD, the year that the quadrangular leap year pattern was established).

Hutton was not a great writer and so his views initially did not reach beyond a small circle of academics. It was the 1830 publication of Sir Charles Lyell's, *Principles of Geology,* that popularized the concept of uniformitarianism. In most scientific and academic circles today, uniformitarianism is accepted as a fact, not a theory.

Of course, uniformitarianism challenges the literal interpretation of the creation account in Genesis, the story of the flood, and other theistic involvements in the physical world that are reported in Scripture. Because of the sense that mankind was growing in knowledge and understanding and anyone who held on the old beliefs was uneducated or non intellectual, uniformitarianism had a significant effect on how many people viewed the veracity of the Bible.

In America the battle over Genesis would have been more sharply drawn had it not been for America's leading geologist, Benjamin Silliman[83] who sought to harmonize the conflicting views on these matters. Although he was committed to a uniformitarian understanding of science, in 1830 he put forth the argument that the Bible was not a scientific textbook, urging all sides of the debate to understand the Hebrew word, *yom,* (יוֹם) in the Genesis account to refer to *aeons* rather than twenty-four hour *days.*[84] Silliman stated,

> "The relation of geology, as well as astronomy, to the Bible, when both are well understood, is that of perfect harmony. The Bible nowhere limits the age of the globe, while its chronology assigns a recent origin to the human race; and geology not only confirms that the Genesis presents a true statement of the progress of the terrestrial arrangements, and of the introduction of living beings in the order in which their fossil remains are found entombed in the strata….The Word and the works of God cannot conflict, and the more they are studied the more perfect will their harmony appear."[85]

On June 13, 1855, Silliman concluded his course of college lectures with this prayer:

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[83] Benjamin Silliman (1779-1864), an honored physicist, chemist and geologist, was the Yale College professor, who, in 1818, founded and edited the *American Journal of Science and Arts*. He also was an original member of the National Academy of Sciences in 1863. Benjamin Silliman published his research on the potential uses of crude-oil in his respected *Silliman Report,* 1855, which was of significant importance in establishing the American oil industry. The mineral sillimanite (a form of aluminum silicate, A12Si02), is named for him.

[84] The Hebrew word, *yom,* (יוֹם) is used in several ways in Scripture:

- The period from daylight to dark (Examples: Genesis 1:5; 3:8; 8:22;)
- The 24 hour period from sunset to sunset (Example: Leviticus 23:26-32)
- A span of one's life (Example: Genesis 5:4)
- An indefinite period (Example: Genesis 2:4)

[85] G.P. Fisher, Vol. lI of his life. Stephen Abbott Northrop, D.D., A Cloud of Witnesses (Portland, OR: American Heritage Ministries, 1987), p. 411.

> "Thus, O Almighty God, hast Thou led me on in mercy almost to the close of a long life .... For myself, in the evening of my life, may I be every day ready to die, trusting in Thy mercy through the Redeemer of men; and if power and opportunity to be useful are still continued to me, may I have a disposition, as well as ability, to honor Thee, and to benefit my fellow men.
>
> For my salvation I depend entirely upon the Redeemer. In the sight of God I have no merits of my own, and feel deeply that if I am saved it will be of grace of not of works. I have none to offer that are worthy of Thine acceptance. And now, my Heavenly Father, I implore Thy blessing upon my dear children and their children, and upon the faithful and devoted companion whom Thou hast in mercy given me.
>
> I implore it, also, for the precious youth who are about to go into the world. Bless them all in time and eternity through Christ our Lord and Redeemer."[86]

Edward Hitchcock, Silliman's pupil who became a professor and then President of Amherst College, took a still more positive stand in his publication of *Religion of Geology* (1851). Hitchcock was respected as an eminent geologist and was an excellent writer. He explained earth's long history as a further revelation of God's constancy and glory – a revelation that could not have been perceived if one only had the literal interpretation of the Bible.

At least in New England, the Silliman/Hitchcock compromise opened the way for constructive thought on the relationship between science and the Scriptures. However, these matters did not touch the average Christian who was being impacted by revivals, the civil war, and the anti-intellectualism that accompanied the pioneers moving westward into the wilderness. It did, however, find a home in some of the educational institutions that were preparing future ministers.

Darwinism and evolutionary theory

The matter did not stop with geology. Both the fossils and the new geology's assessment of the age of the earth gave impetus to speculations concerning biological evolution. A very strong tradition of evolutionary speculation already existed. In 1801 Jean-Baptiste Lamark announced his theory that organisms acquired characteristics that were "needed" during the lifetime of the organism and then those characteristics were passed along to their offspring.[87] Many others also had written essays and studies arguing for a similar position. By 1857, the time was ripe for a

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[86] June 13, 1855, in concluding a course of college lectures. G.P. Fisher, Vol. II of his life. Stephen Abbott Northrop, D.D., A Cloud of Witnesses (Portland, OR: American Heritage Ministries, 1987), pp. 411-412.

[87] Lamark's has been illustrated by a giraffe, which originally might have looked like a horse, but had to stretch it neck and legs to reach the tree leaves, which it ate. Each generation developed longer necks and legs.

theory of natural selection and such was produced by two men who initially were remotely separated from one another.

In 1858, at a historic meeting of the Royal Society, two papers on the origin of the species were read: one by Charles Darwin and the other by Alfred Russell Wallace. The next year, Darwin's book, *Origin of Species* was published – it became the most important book of the century. After a decade of fierce controversy, Darwin published, *The Descent of Man,* in which he drew mankind into the biological evolutionary scheme. Never since the scientific revolution begun by Newton had the humanistic and religious traditions of the period been so startlingly challenged. In response many sought to make adjustments and a reformulation of doctrine and biblical interpretation.

Darwin did not expect his theories to be accepted by the general public. He did anticipate acceptance by a small circle of specialists. However, through the auspices of the most famous of American naturalists, Louis Agassiz and associates to whom he sent Darwin's writings, the theory had traction.

The real impact of Darwinism on the churches did not take place until after the Civil War. As one would expect, the initial response was opposition. In the previous century, western Christendom had been engaged in a drawn-out encounter with the Enlightenment, including among other things, Newtonian physics, rationalism, and deism. Out of that struggle came an awareness of God's creative genius – the heavens declared the glory of God; every tree, blade of grass, cow, dog, insect – even manure – were harmoniously acting for man's well being. It was a beautiful demonstration of God's orchestration. Any Christian could look out of his front door and see this beautiful example of God's handiwork.

Darwinism presented a different point of view. Ahlstrom has written

> "…after Darwin, what did the backyard reveal but a relentless struggle for existence, a war of all against all, with blood dripping from every bough, and man involved in the struggle not only against the locusts, but against other men, even other races of man, with victory for the fittest."[88]

Opposition to Darwinism manifested itself in a variety of forms – some quite intellectual. Charles Hodge of Princeton in his *What Is Darwinism* (1874) produced what many of the era

[88] Ahlstrom page 769

regarded as the orthodox repudiation. Hodge correctly isolated the essential factor, natural selection, declaring it to be a flat contradiction to the doctrine of an omnipotent, omniscient Creator.

Others, such as Professor and later Methodist bishop, Randolph S. Foster, took another path – one that was the path most popular opponents to Darwin traveled. He sought to laugh evolution out of court with such statements as, "Some future pup, perhaps a Newfoundland or terrier, in the finite ages to come may write *Paradise Lost*. . . Therefore a pig is an incipient mathematician."

Two men of scholarly reputation collaborated in separate essays that later were published in Gray's *Darwiniana* (1876):

- George Fredrick Wright who was an amateur geologist of distinction, professor of science and religion at Oberlin
- Asa Gray, a Harvard professor who was America's most distinguished botanist and an amateur theologian adhering to a conservative Nicean Creedal understanding of Christian orthodoxy.

In these essays four important points were advocated.[89]

1. A deep respect for Darwin's empirical and theoretical contributions to the problem of species, and sharp criticism of dogmatic repudiation of the idea of evolution.
2. A recognition that Darwin's theory lacked an explanation of variations[90] (such as the science of genetics would later supply)
3. An insistence that scientific investigation continue without impediment
4. A conviction that Darwinian theory did not contradict Christian doctrine; that regardless of Darwin's or Spencer's[91] beliefs, God's purpose in the Creation could be understood in evolutionary terms; and that orthodox views of man's sinfulness found corroboration in Darwin.

During the 1870's Princeton University President, James McCosh and Williams College President, Paul A Chadbourne added their prestige to a blend of theology and evolutionary theory. Both introduced non-Darwinian elements to the discussion, but they did adopt the doctrine of progress by accenting the view that Divine Providence acts "*through* all time," rather than "*from* all time."

[89] Ahlstrom pages 769-770
[90] The science of genetics would later supply a naturalist's explanation for these variations
[91] We will consider Herbert Spencer's social Darwinism in another section.

The most enthusiastic and prolific apologist for Darwinism was John Fiske, who as early as 1872 had argued for a blend of evolution and idealism in his book, *Cosmic Philosophy,* then twelve years later, he closed *The Destiny of Man* with a hymn in which the full religious expression of evolution was expressed. Here are the closing lines:

> The greatest philosopher of modern times, the master and teacher of all who shall study the process of evolution for many a day to come, holds that the conscious soul is not the product of a collocation of material particles, but is in the deepest sense a divine effluence. According to Mr. Spencer, the divine energy which is manifested throughout the knowable universe is the same energy that wells up in us as consciousness.
>
> Speaking for myself, I can see no insuperable difficulty in the notion that at some period in the evolution of Humanity this divine spark may have acquired sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material forms and endure forever. Such a crowning wonder seems to me no more than the fit climax to a creative work that has been ineffably beautiful and marvellous in all its myriad stages. Only on some such view can the reasonableness of the universe, which still remains far above our finite power of comprehension, maintain its ground.
>
> There are some minds inaccessible to the class of considerations here alleged, and perhaps there always will be. But on such grounds, if on no other, the faith in immortality is likely to be shared by all who look upon the genesis of the highest spiritual qualities in Man as the goal of Nature's creative work. This view has survived the Copernican revolution in science, and it has survived the Darwinian revolution.
>
> Nay, if the foregoing exposition be sound, it is Darwinism which has placed Humanity upon a higher pinnacle than ever. The future is lighted for us with the radiant colours of hope. Strife and sorrow shall disappear. Peace and love shall reign supreme. The dream of poets, the lesson of priest and prophet, the inspiration of the great musician, is confirmed in the light of modern knowledge; and as we gird ourselves up for the work of life, we may look forward to the time when in the truest sense the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever, king of kings and lord of lords.

A number of pastors in the most influential established churches of the east began to accept Darwinism as a fact and preach some sort of blend of evolution and Scripture. In most intellectual circles these views were assumed to be the result of new discoveries and man's advancing knowledge (which was viewed as a form of evolution).

Transcendentalism

If we view Darwinism at one extreme end of the philosophical spectrum, at the opposite end of the philosophical spectrum would be Transcendentalism. Transcendentalism was a philosophical movement that developed in the 1830s and 1840s in the Eastern region of the United States as a

protest to the general state of culture and society, and in particular, the state of intellectualism at Harvard University and the doctrine of the Unitarian church taught at Harvard Divinity School. The term, "Transcendentalist," seems to have been a pejorative term, initially – a mockery by those who suggested that the views of transcendentalists were insanity and beyond any sort of reason. Regardless of the origin of the term, the movement accepted the term as a label.

Transcendentalism is difficult to define with preciseness. The New Age movement in America of the 1960's and the Ghia Mother Earth movement of the 1980's would have fit into the Transcendentalist philosophy. Among the transcendentalists' core beliefs was the inherent goodness of both people and nature. Transcendentalists believed that society and its institutions—particularly organized religion and political parties—ultimately corrupted the purity of the individual. They had faith that people are at their best when truly "self-reliant" and independent. Politically, they would be very close to the Twenty-First Century Libertarians.

The major figures in the movement were successful writers, poets, and *avant garde* thinkers and artists. The list of prominent leaders of the movement is quite impressive: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, Amos Bronson Alcott, Louisa May Alcott, John Muir, Margaret Fuller, Charles Timothy Brooks, Orestes Brownson, William Ellery Channing, William Henry Channing, James Freeman Clarke, Christopher Pearse Cranch, John Sullivan Dwight, Convers Francis, William Henry Furness, Frederic Henry Hedge, Sylvester Judd, Theodore Parker, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, George Ripley, Thomas Treadwell Stone, and Jones Very.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was the most influential prophet and spokesman of the movement. The publication of his1836 essay, *Nature*, usually is considered to be the watershed moment at which transcendentalism became a major cultural movement. Emerson wrote in *The American Scholar*: "We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; Divine Soul which also inspires all men." Emerson closed the essay by calling for a revolution in human consciousness to emerge from this new idealist philosophy:

> So shall we come to look at the world with new eyes. It shall answer the endless inquiry of the intellect, — What is truth? and of the affections, — What is good? by yielding itself passive to the educated Will. ...Build, therefore, your own world. As fast as you

> conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions. A correspondent revolution in things will attend the influx of the spirit.

In the same year, transcendentalism became a coherent movement with the founding of the Transcendental Club in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on September 8, 1836, by prominent New England intellectuals including George Putnam (Unitarian minister in Roxbury, Massachusetts) Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Frederick Henry Hedge (Harvard Professor and America's foremost authority on German literature). Beginning in 1840, the group began producing a journal, *The Dial*, in which they published their essays, poetry, and other writings. Their writings also were frequently found in other popular venues.

The transcendentalists varied in their interpretations of the practical aims of will. Some among the group linked it with utopian social change; Brownson connected it with early socialism, while others considered it an exclusively individualist and idealist project. Emerson believed the latter. Brook Farm was an effort to create a community based upon Transcendentalist thinking, but it failed, after a season.[92]

During the Civil War, Transcendentalism did not have much influence, but after the Civil War Transcendentalism experienced a resurgence and had a decided effect on Unitarians and Congregationalists.

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[92] Brook Farm, also called the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education or the Brook Farm Association for Industry and Education, was a utopian experiment in communal living. It was founded by former Unitarian minister George Ripley and his wife Sophia Ripley at the Ellis Farm in West Roxbury, Massachusetts (9 miles outside of downtown Boston) in 1841 and was intended to be a community displaying the ideals of Transcendentalism. Founded as a joint stock company, it promised its participants a portion of the profits from the farm in exchange for performing an equal share of the work. Brook Farmers believed that by sharing the workload, ample time would be available for leisure activities and intellectual pursuits.

Life on Brook Farm was based on balancing labor and leisure while working together for the benefit of the greater community. Each member could choose to do whatever work they found most appealing and all were paid equally, including women. Revenue for the community came from farming and from selling handmade products like clothing as well as through fees paid by the many visitors to Brook Farm. The main source of income was the school, which was overseen by Mrs. Ripley. A pre-school, primary school, and a college preparatory school attracted children internationally and each child was charged for his or her education. Adult education was also offered.

The community was never financially stable and had difficulty profiting from its agricultural pursuits. By 1844, the Brook Farmers adopted a societal model based on the socialist concepts of Charles Fourier and began publishing *The Harbinger* as an unofficial journal promoting Fourierism. Following Fourier's vision, the community members began building an ambitious structure called the Phalanstery (a large building with areas for noisy activities, areas for meditation, areas for children, etc.). When the uninsured building was destroyed in a fire, the community was financially devastated and never recovered. It was fully closed by 1847.

As with the New Age Movement of the late Twentieth Century, Transcendentalism often was influenced by eastern religions. Thoreau in *Walden* spoke directly of the Transcendentalists' debt to Vedic[93] thought.

> "In the morning I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonal philosophy of the *Bhagavat Geeta*, since whose composition years of the gods have elapsed, and in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seem puny and trivial; and I doubt if that philosophy is not to be referred to a previous state of existence, so remote is its sublimity from our conceptions. I lay down the book and go to my well for water, and lo! there I meet the servant of the Brahmin, priest of Brahma, and Vishnu and Indra, who still sits in his temple on the Ganges reading the Vedas, or dwells at the root of a tree with his crust and water-jug. I meet his servant come to draw water for his master, and our buckets as it were grate together in the same well. The pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges."

Transcendentalists were strong believers in the power of the individual and divine messages. Their beliefs are closely linked with those of the English Romantic Movement. The mid-19th Century saw the rise of various "Mental Sciences" all of which were influenced by and even an outgrowth of Transcendentalism. The most significant offspring of Transcendentalism was the New Thought movement, which considered Emerson as its intellectual father (Kenyon, who was the father of the modern Word of Faith Movement apparently was influenced by New Thought). Important figures in the New Thought Movement were Emma Curtis Hopkins "the teacher of teachers"; Ernest Holmes, founder of Religious Science; the Fillmores, founders of Unity; Malinda Cramer and Nona L. Brooks, the founders of Divine Science.

Biblical Criticism

The philosophies and movements just studied, plus the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the idealistic philosophy of the Romantic era gave birth to the modern biblical criticism that views the Bible as the record of the subjective evolution of man's religious consciousness. Thus, Darwinian evolution, rather than Divine revelation is the explanation for the origin of Scripture – the Bible is a human product and should be studied and viewed as any other piece of literature.

[93] The *Veda* (knowledge or wisdom) are the oldest layers of Sanskrit literate and the oldest scriptures of Hinduism, some as old as 1500 BC

The Two Types of Biblical Criticism

There are two forms of biblical criticism. The first, usually called, *higher criticism*, is the purveyor of the destructive tendencies just described. Higher criticism seeks to plot the historical origin of various portions of the Bible, assuming that humans were the authors who recorded some history, some myth, and some superstition. Higher criticism denies the supernatural authorship of Scripture.

The second type of biblical criticism, called, *lower criticism*. Lower criticism is the study of the text, in an attempt to ascertain whether or not the text that we have today is the one that came from the pen of the original authors. Lower criticism does not challenge the supernatural origin of Scripture and has served a valuable purpose in giving assurance that the text of our Bibles is that of the original authors. Lower criticism should be encouraged by all who believe in the Divine inspiration of Scripture.

Higher Criticism of the Old Testament

The popularization of higher criticism began with an Eighteenth Century French doctor named, Jean Astruc. In 1753, Astruc divided the Book of Genesis into two parts. He assumed that the book was the combining of two different sources, because he found the name, *Elohim*, used in some places in Genesis and *Jehovah* used in others. So, one source used one term for God and the other source used the other term for God. According to Astruc, Moses must have created Genesis using these sources.

Johann G. Eichorn laid down the dictum that the Bible must be read as if it were a human book and tested by human means. He not only noted Astruc's conclusions that Genesis was the product of the coalescence of two sources, but he also noticed other literary characteristics. He concluded that not only Genesis, but the entire Hexateuch (Genesis through Joshua) was the result of composite sources. Hupfeld, in 1853, was the first to claim that the Pentateuch was the work of at least two different authors, rather than a narrative that Moses, a single author, had composed, using many sources.

The best known and most lasting theory is that produced by the German theologians, Graf and Wellhausen. These two men developed a well-elaborated theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, known as the Graf-Wellahusen theory. Higher critics no longer consider this to be a theory, but

a fact and do their work with that underlying assumption. According to Graf-Wellausen, the portions of the Pentateuch in which the name, *Jehovah*, is used constitute the earliest document, this document is called, "J." The portions of the Pentateuch in which the term, *Elohim*, is found, has been labeled, "E," and is later than J. Still another document produced by the *Deuternominist* is known as "D." Somewhere along the line a priest (or priests) got involved and added material and his portion is known as "P." The result is the JEDP theory, or the JEPD theory, depending whether the P or the D is the earliest.

Higher critics developed the "Two-source theory" for the origin of Isaiah. They divided Isaiah into two parts. Later critics divided Isaiah into several parts. The reasoning behind this was the disbelief in prophecy, and so any prophecy in Isaiah that later was fulfilled, must have been written after the fulfillment and written back into the document as if it were a prophecy, rather that the report of an historical event.[94]

Higher critics did the same thing with Daniel, advancing it into the Maccabean period, so that it became history rather than prophecy and history.

Those who hold the views just described consider the documents that were coalesced to create the Old Testament to be a record of mankind's religious evolution, *i.e.,* the Old Testament is the result of the development of mankind's concept of God from the primitive storm god of Mount Sinai to the ethical monotheistic God of the prophets.

Higher Criticism of the New Testament

Higher criticism of the New Testament began with Herman S. Reimarus, who taught Oriental Languages at Hamburg. In his *Fragments* (1778), he denied the possibility of biblical miracles and put forth the idea that the writers of the New Testament who wrote stories of miracles were pious frauds.

Gotthold Lessing, who published Reimarus' *Fragments,* argued that the Scriptures served man as a guide during the primitive phase of his religious development but that reason and duty were sufficient guides in the more advanced state of religion.

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[94] The discovery of the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah, intact and exactly as we have it today, has posed a problem for these radical critics.

Ferdinand C. Baur argued in 1831 that in the early church there had been a Judaism that emphasized the Law and the Messiah. This can be seen in the writings of Peter. Paul, on the other hand, developed an antithesis in such books as Romans and Galatians, in which he emphasized grace, rather than law. Later Johanine (writings either by John or those who had been influenced by him) dealt with the inner life. The Old Catholic Church of the Second Century synthesized these two views and that synthesis is seen in books such as Luke and the Pastoral Epistles. Baur then proceeded to date the books of the New Testament along these lines, being either early or late, according to the manner in which they reflected Petrine, Pauline, or Johannine tendencies.

Next on the scene was "Source criticism," which was concerned with the order of the writing of the synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) and the extent to which one was dependent on the other – or even earlier sources.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Form Criticism became the vogue, which sought to ascertain the forms in which the Gospels were orally passed on before they were written down. Form Criticism claims that the truth about Christ can be obtained only by peeling back the layers of tradition and form in which the truth is hidden. Thus, the Gospels contain some truth, under several layers of tradition and myth.

Most recently, Redaction Criticism has taken center stage. Redaction Criticism proposes to analyze the manner and significance of the subtle changes the Gospel writers allegedly introduced into their accounts of Christ's life and work.

Most who adopt one of these critical approaches to the New Testament consider the essence of the Gospel to be the simple ethical teaching contained therein. They contend that Paul changed the ethical teaching of Jesus into a redemptive religion.

A very influential book, *The Life of Jesus,* was written by David. F. Strauss in 1835-1836. Strauss combined all of the above views of the New Testament. He denied the miracles and the integrity of the New Testament as well as the deity of Christ. He wrote that Jesus was a deluded man who thought that he was the Messiah.

These concepts, in one manner or another, began to capture the theology departments of many of the major seminaries of America and Europe. It was not unusual for seminarians to be told that even though they knew the true origin of Scripture and the mythological nature of the Bible, they should not present these things in their sermons – they should preach the Bible as if it were true because the people in the pew viewed the Bible in this manner and any view other than that was too esoteric for the average layman.

Materialism

Although love of money and things always has been a temptation to humans, materialism took on a new uniform in the Nineteenth Century. Materialism is the practice in a society of emphasizing the material values of a higher standard of living. To the extent that a person's attention is concentrated on this life, he will neglect the spiritual. Jesus recognized this and addressed this truth often in His teaching, as did Paul and the other New Testament authors (for example, Matthew 6:19ff; Luke 16:20ff; Galatians 6:8, etc.)

The abundance of goods, which made a high living standard possible, was an outcome of the industrial revolution that occurred in England between 1760 and 1830, then reached new heights industrial centers of America. When machine power was substituted for human labor, it became possible to produce cheaply a greater volume of goods. Middle-class Americans were able to live a life-style that in previous generations was available only to the more affluent classes. Both Karl Marx, the prophet of Communism, and Walter Rauschenbush, the founder of the Social Gospel, recognized the primary importance of material goods in contemporary human life – whether for good or for evil.

Cultural materialism put the church in a lower hierarchy in many people's thinking. One's job, climbing up the economic ladder, and the acquisition of goods as the goal of life outweighed eternal concerns.

Of passing interest is the fact that the Prosperity Gospel that began to be preached in the Twentieth Century is an expression of this value system, *i.e.*, the reception of and possession of material goods is an indication of the level of one's faith.

The Lutheran Church in America

To recount the history of the Lutheran Church in the United States is a daunting and complex task. The difficulty arises from the many varieties of Lutheranism in the New World. Lutherans who immigrated to America brought with them the form of Lutheranism with which they were associated in the country of their origin and that alone explains some of the diversity. Even so, not all from the same ethnic group came from the same expression of Lutheranism – there were divisions in the church in their home countries. In America, Lutheranism was impacted by several forces, such as revivalism, pietism, theological liberalism, the embryonic Social Gospel, and some were altered by just being in America. There were large movements calling for a return to classical Lutheranism represented by loyalty to the Augsburg Confession[95] and other movements that wanted to take the church in a different direction. Even geographical groupings are not possible (for example, many Texas Lutheran Churches affiliated with the Iowa synod, rather than one geographically closer to them). Even so, we must attempt some study of American Lutheranism because by 1910 it had become the fourth largest denomination in the United States[96] - behind the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist Church, and the Baptists (this would include all forms of Methodists and all form of Baptists).

The first Lutherans to arrive in America were led by Pastor Kocherthal who in 1708 led a party from Landau (southern Germany) to Newberg (now Newburgh), New York. In 1710 he led a larger party, of about 3000, to the same location. Gradually, the New York/New Jersey region experienced the emergence of a major German population with several Lutheran congregations existing throughout the region. There was little sense of a denominational organization among the American Lutherans, during this period. In 1712, there was a major tide of Lutheran immigration into the colony established by William Penn. In time they began to press southward and westward into newer regions. Usually, because of the lack of Lutheran clergy, these churches were led by dedicated laymen. The situation became somewhat desperate as more and more Lutherans arrived in the region and there were no clergy to lead them.

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[95] See ADDENDUM M

[96] In 1870, there were approximately 500,000 Lutherans in America. By 1910, there were 2,500,00 Lutherans in the U.S. due to the heavy immigration during this period from Germany, Scandinavia, Finland, Iceland, and various portions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Interestingly, by 1926, American Roman Catholics numbered 18,605,000, Baptists – 8,011,000, Methodist – 7,764,000, Lutheran – 3,226,000.

In 1733, pastor John Christian Schultz led a delegation of laymen to London to appeal to Dr. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, the court chaplain, asking him to plead their case before Lutheran denominational leaders in the University of Halle (in Saxony, Germany). Ziegenhagen's and others who joined him sought to gain Halle's response to the missionary needs that existed in the colonies. In an open letter, Ziegenhagen quoted a letter that one of the American emissaries had written to him,

> "We live in a country that is full of heresy and sects. As far as our religious interests are concerned, we are in a state of greatest destitution and our means are utterly insufficient to effect the necessary relief, unless God, in His mercy, may send us help and relief from abroad."

Initially, these pleas produced no results. It was not until Count Zinzendorf arrived in Pennsylvania to visit the Moravians and falsely presented himself as a Lutheran Pastor that Halle realized that it was necessary to respond to the American Lutheran plight.

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was the man destined to be the chosen instrument of Halle's response to these needs. Muhlenberg was a highly educated Lutheran who had embraced the pietistic understanding of the faith. After helping to found an orphanage, he served for a season as a teacher in the orphanage. He was an excellent musician and a student of languages. He served as a Lutheran pastor for a season in a parish just a few miles from the Zinzendorf estate. In 1741, while visiting the university, he was convinced by Johann Gotthilf Franke to accept the call to America. He arrived at Charleston, South Carolina on September 23, 1742 and the first entry in his journal, after arriving was a comment on the tragedy of Negro slavery, "This is a horrible state of affairs, and it will entail a severe judgment."

Muhlenberg's motto in America was *Ecclesia Plantanda* (Let the Church be planted). Muhlenberg came with the highest credentials: as a deputy of the younger Franke at Halle, with the approval of the consistorium of Hanover (whose ruler was King George II of England), and bearing letters from the royal chaplain in London.[97]

[97] King George II was of German lineage – his father George I was a German who was the closest Protestant relative to the British Queen Anne. When she died, although she had Catholic relatives who were ahead of George in the line of succession, the English *Settlement Of Accession* forbad a Catholic from assuming the throne. Thus, the German George I was installed upon the English throne, the first of the royal House of Hannover. Because George and his descendents were German, the royal chaplain in London was a German Lutheran pastor, who had influence and authority in the Lutheran hierarchy.

Almost from the first it was apparent to Muhlenberg that he did not come to pastor three congregations in Pennsylvania, but to found a denomination. Only the Methodist Asbury and the Roman Catholic John Carroll exceeded Muhlenberg in the formation of important denominations in America.

He travelled first to Philadelphia and thence to New Hanover, expecting to assume the oversight of the three churches to which he had been sent. He was surprised to find that each of the churches already had "shepherds," the most formidable of which was Zinzendorf. Within a month Muhlenberg was master of the situation and assumed the preaching duties in all three of the churches:

- A carpenter shop in Philadelphia (where Zinzendorf formerly had installed himself)
- A barn at New Providence
- A half-built log chapel at New Hanover

Muhlenberg's long patient firmness, tact, and spiritual power had a very deep impact on the Lutheran Church, not only in America but also in Europe. Conflicts were healed, unused potentials were released into ministry, effective pastors and Lutheran laymen were brought to America, congregations were rallied and significant church buildings were erected. The three huge volumes of his translated journal are one of the finest records extant of the frontier missionary, pacificator, preacher, teacher, pastor, and priest. He was a very busy and effective leader.

The climax of his early labors occurred in August 1748, when the need to ordain a minister and consecrate Saint Michael's Church in Philadelphia brought together six Swedish and German pastors and four lay delegates. This event marks the beginning of the Pennsylvania Ministerium[98], the most important event in American Lutheran history. It not only took care of the immediate business at hand but also organized the first synod and prepared a book of common prayer for America, which was patterned after the Lutheran liturgical tradition. The Ministerium and the formation of the synod meant that an American Lutheran Church had been established, which from that time onward was not an extension of European Lutheranism, but rather an independent ecclesiastical entity.

[98] A ministerium is a gathering of ministers, who have come together to collegially further some purpose – denominational, economic, etc.

At the second Ministerium meeting, the delegates showed a further sign of independence by electing an *overseer,* for the united congregations. This office was filled briefly by Pastor Peter Brunnholtz of Philadelphia, but it soon was transferred to Muhlenberg, who occupied the office for many years. The Ministerium met annually through 1754, but the obstacles in the New World were so great that the ministers grew discouraged and no meetings were held for five years. In 1760, the Ministerium was revived, a new constitution written and adopted, and from that time onward the meetings never lapsed, but met on schedule. The reorganization and revitalization of the Ministerium was due largely to the newly arrived provost of the Swedish Churches, Karl Magnus von Wrangel. During the nine years that he served in America, he became Muhlenberg's closest friend and as a result of their friendship, the Swedish and German churches were drawn closer together and cooperated in various ways, but they never merged – they remained separate organizations.

Almost as significant of the meeting of the first Ministerium and the synodical organization of 1748, was the written constitution adopted for Saint Michaels in 1762. Muhlenberg, in response to urgent appeals from Lutherans in New York, had spend the summers of 1751 and 1752 ministering to the Dutch Lutheran Church in New York City. This congregation was almost one hundred years old at the time. The Dutch Lutheran Church followed the Church Order of Amsterdam. His time among the Dutch acquainted Muhlenberg much more fully with proper church organization. When he and Wrangel prepared the constitution for the Philadelphia church, many things were incorporated that Muhlenberg had encountered in the Dutch Lutheran Church. Thus, the Amsterdam Order not only was transferred to the Pennsylvania church, but it became an important pattern for the organization of all Lutheran congregations in America.

The organizational structure developed by Muhlenberg and his Swedish counterpart, Wrangel, were completed just in time for the rapid increase of Lutherans who began arriving in the colonies. Twelve thousand Germans landed in Philadelphia in 1749, and by 1771 there were eighty-one congregations in Pennsylvania and the adjacent colonies, plus thirty more scattered throughout other regions in America. All of this growth furthered the realization that the American Lutheran Church, in its many expressions, was not a transitory mission of European churches, but represented established denominations in the New World.

In the Nineteenth Century, after America had become a nation, the efforts to define and direct the American Lutheran Church became very complex and fraught with a legion of difficulties. The continuing influence of the elder Muhlenberg and his sons was a very powerful stabilizing force during this period. The process of Americanization rapidly moved ahead. In 1807, the Ministerium of New York (presided over by Muhlenberg's son-in-law, a professor at Columbia) changed its official language from German to English (in a few years, there was a reaction to this move and the official language of the New York churches once again became German). The strength of the American Enlightenment and patriotic fervor made deep inroads into the faith of the founders, resulting in the modification of the historic Lutheran confessions which Muhlenberg and others had established for Pennsylvania. In just a few years, the New York Ministerium began to discuss some sort of merger with Episcopalians. Although there were mutual proposals put forth by the New York Episcopalians and the New York Lutherans, the mergers did not take place. However, in 1797 the New York Ministerium made it an official policy to not recognize any English speaking Lutheran Church in a locality that was served by the Episcopal Church. In North Carolina, there was sporadic integration of activities between the two denominations.

There was strong reaction to these accommodating moves. In rural areas as well as among a significant number of ministers in more settled areas, the German Lutherans tended to regard true piety as being insuperable from German culture. The result was a series of strong moves against Americanization of the church. This was exacerbated by the three-hundred year anniversary of Luther's *Ninety-Five-Theses*, an event commemorated by all Lutheran Churches.[99]

A plethora of synods developed over the years. At one time there were sixty-six independent organizations. Some were a Puritan brand of Lutheranism, some were conservative and dedicated to the Augsburg Confession, some were Americanized in various ways. In the midst of this variety, there always was a desire to see some sort of union or connection.

The most solidly conservative of the synods was the Missouri Synod. In time other conservative synods aligned with Missouri. In the Twentieth Century, the ethnic synods began uniting with

[99] See ADDENDUM L

those of other ethnic backgrounds. By the mid-Twentieth Century, Ninety-five percent of Lutherans were aligned in one of three "rooms connected by many doors and corridors":[100]

- The American Lutheran Church (the Ohio, Buffalo, Texas, and Iowa synods; Midwestern Scandinavian churches; Norwegian churches; the two largest Danish churches);
- The Lutheran Church in America (Swedish, the other Danish church and the largest Finnish church);
- The Synodical Conference (conservative churches from a number of backgrounds).

At the present time, the two largest Lutheran bodies are the Missouri Synod (conservative) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (more liberal)

The Temperance Movement

Throughout the centuries, the consumption of alcoholic beverages was accepted as a part of ordinary life. Even after the establishment of Puritan America, alcoholic beverages were considered normal fare for both clergy and laity. The Puritan ship, Arabella, that brought Puritans to America in 1620, carried three times as much beer and wine as it did water for its transatlantic voyage.[101] All of the signers of the Declaration of Independence imbibed of alcoholic beverages, and most of them, including Washington and Jefferson, made their own wine and brewed their own beer.

Interesting documents from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries describe the events surrounding the ordination of ministers in Congregational and Puritan Churches. It was customary to celebrate the solemn event with a ball and feast following. Alcoholic beverages usually were served by portable bars at these events, along with dancing and other gaieties.

The Reformers whose labors birthed Protestantism had no qualms about the consumption of wine and other alcoholic beverages.

- John Calvin, commenting on Psalm 104:15, *And wine which makes man's heart glad, So that he may make his face glisten with oil, And food which sustains man's heart,* wrote the following,

  "And wine that cheereth the heart of man In these words we are taught, that God not only provides for men's necessity, and bestows upon them as much as is sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, but that in his goodness he deals still more

[100] Ahlstrom page 762
[101] The Puritans had taken care to carry with them 42 tons of beer, 14 tons of water, and 10,000 gallons of wine.

bountifully with them by cheering their hearts with wine and oil. Nature would certainly be satisfied with water to drink; and therefore the addition of wine is owing to God's superabundant liberality."[102]

- Martin Luther and his German Reformation companions drank beer as a matter of course. In one of his writings, describing his trust in the Word of God, rather than in human effort, he wrote,

  "The Word did it all. Had I wished I might have started a conflagration at Worms. But while I sat still and drank beer with Philip and Amsdorf, God dealt the papacy a mighty blow."[103]

- In colonial America, clergy salaries sometimes were paid in rum (In Virginia, Anglican clergy were paid in tobacco).

Even though alcoholic beverages have been present almost as long as there have been human beings and have been acceptable beverages in most cultures, intemperance and drunkenness have been plagued humanity from the earliest days.

- The first record of drunkenness in Scripture is Noah's post-flood inebriation (Genesis 9:21).
- Lot's daughters provided wine for their father until he became intoxicated and when he did not know what he was doing they then lay with him in incestuous intercourse (Genesis 19:32ff).

Yet, even though Scripture warns of the dangers of wine and strong drink[104] (Proverbs 20:1) it is sparse in its insistence on abstention.

An Era of Reform

By 1820, changes in religious attitudes in New England led to a widespread era of reform. As the harsh views of the Puritans gave way, Protestants came to believe that it was possible for anyone to achieve perfection in their lives and reach heaven (Wesley's teaching of holy perfectionism was a major influence in the development of this change). They set to work

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[102] *Calvin's Commentary on Psalms,* Volume IV (Christian Classics Ethereal Library: ccel.org)

[103] Martin E. Marty, "Martin Luther's Reckless Grasp of Grace" *The Christian Century Journal,* October 26, 1983, pp962-965

[104] There always is a distinction between wine and strong drink. Fruit juice, left to itself, will ferment to no more than 12% or 13% alcoholic content – the enzymes and bacteria devouring one another halt the process at that stage, and with some juices, even at a lower level. Strong drink in Scripture usually is a form of fortified wine, in which some ingredient has been added (mandrakes or some other intoxicant). In more recent times common fortified wines are sherry and port (in making port, extra yeast is added and at the close of the process, brandy is added to halt the fermentation at the desired level of alcoholic content; in making sherry, red wine and white wine are combined with cane sugar, then, at a set time brandy is added, then the resulting wine is aged in oak casks)

reforming themselves and their communities. Abolition of slavery, the fight for women's suffrage, and efforts to care for those less fortunate are all rooted in this era. Women like Dorothea Dix of Maine took an active role leading these movements.

The Temperance Movement had its beginnings in Maine, which at the time was a very raw raucous region, especially around the sea ports, such as Bangor, Maine. The swilling crowds of lumberjacks and dock workers in that region set the tone for the region. By the second decade of the 19th Century, alcohol consumption in America was increasingly seen as a serious growing problem. Current estimations show that per capita consumption of alcohol in America reached its peak in 1830. The abuse of alcoholic beverages led to violence, spousal and child abuse, loss of work, and sometimes, a night in jail. Drunkenness among children was not uncommon.

Recognizing these problems, physicians, religious leaders, and recovering alcoholics in Maine began a loosely organized, grass roots temperance movement. The world's first Total Abstinence Society was founded in Portland in 1815. A state organization of temperance societies was formed in 1834. Groups such as the Temperance Watchman of Durham, Maine, formed in1848, strove to set a moral example and achieve social control through the moderation of drinking.

Maine's Temperance Movement started out as just that – a movement to temper, or moderate, one's consumption of alcohol. However, by mid-century, a new mood among the crusaders arose. The new mood was that moderation and temperance were not enough, neither was persuasion effective. The leaders of the movement began to campaign for total removal of alcohol from society, and the means that they sought to do that was by legislation. Rather than changing people's attitudes, the new reformers would change laws. Rather than preaching moderation, they branded all drinkers as rum dealers. The movement developed sufficient political clout to force the enactment of a state law in 1846, prohibiting the sale of alcoholic spirits except for "medicinal and mechanical" purposes. The law was not seriously enforced.

The Napoleon of Temperance

Portland Maine's Colonel Neal Dow (1804-1897) became the leader of the new movement – turning to legislation, rather than persuasion. His attitude had a rigid military stance. Dow had

no place in his team for any moderates, including Governor William King, who had founded the first statewide temperance association with a view of teaching moderation. Dow considered King to represent the tolerant old school and unfit for the new campaign – King himself was a wine drinker.

In 1851 Dow guided his Maine Law through the legislature and Maine became the first "dry" state. Celebrated as the *Napoleon of Temperance*, Dow promoted his approach nationally and internationally.

- Delaware was the second state to pass a prohibitory liquor law but one year later the State Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional. In February 1855, a second prohibitory liquor law passed by the state legislature.
- The Massachusetts legislature passed a "Maine Law" in 1852 which was struck down a year later by that state's Supreme Court. Two years later, in 1855, the legislature passed a revised prohibitory liquor law to avoid the constitutional flaws of the first law.
- Vermont's legislature also passed a prohibitory liquor law in 1852 which was ratified by the people of the state the year after.
- Connecticut's legislature passed a prohibitory liquor law in 1853 but was vetoed by the governor. The next year, with a new governor, the legislature once again passed a "Maine Law" with a majority in both houses.
- In 1853, Indiana passed a "Maine Law" which was invalidated by the state's supreme court. But in 1855, a new prohibitory liquor law was passed.
- In 1853, Michigan passed a prohibitory liquor law which was ratified by 2/3 of the electorate. However, in 1854, the law was declared unconstitutional. The next year the state legislature passed a revised liquor law.
- In 1854, the people of Texas voted to prohibit the sale of liquor in quantities less than one quart.
- In 1854, Ohio passed a law "forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquor," which was ruled unconstitutional by state appellate courts. However, in 1855, the Ohio State Supreme Court overturned the lower court rulings and upheld the constitutionality of a state wide prohibitory liquor law.
- The New York state legislature passed a prohibitory liquor law in 1854, only to be vetoed by Governor Seymour. The same year, Governor Seymour was replaced by the prohibition candidate Myron H. Clark. Early the next year, the legislature re-passed the "Maine Law," though it had spotty enforcement.
- Pennsylvania's prohibitory liquor law went into effect in 1855 after its passage by the state legislature.
- 1855, the Iowa state legislature passed a "Maine Law" which was ratified by the people the same year.
- In 1855, the New Hampshire state Assembly overcame two previous rejections by the state Senate to pass a prohibitory liquor law.

In spite of endless adjustments, the Maine Law never succeeded in destroying the liquor traffic or public thirst. The law faced a number of insuperable challenges:

- Dow's own reputation was severely threatened in 1855 when he ordered the militia to fire on civilians as they descended upon Portland's City Hall. Known as the "Rum Riot of 1855," the event was caused by rumors that there was a cache of liquor in the city hall. One person was killed by the militia's gunfire. Portland's Rum Riot demonstrated the passionate, sometimes irrational, zeal of both factions.
- The movement was overwhelmingly Protestant. Maine's significant and growing Roman Catholic immigrant community opposed the stringent liquor laws. Some of the first non-Yankees in Maine to amass significant fortunes came from brewing or the hundreds of kitchen bars that appeared after 1851.
- Prohibition never really worked. People kept on drinking and the criminal infrastructure necessary for supplying booze grew. The Maine Law was unpopular as was the loss of personal freedoms necessary for its enforcement. Life among the summer visitors to Bar Harbor continued in its usual spirited way. The growing middle class, still largely Yankee, enjoyed an occasional drink.
- By the end of the Civil War, every state except Massachusetts and Maine had given up and rescinded their prohibition laws and shortly thereafter, Maine and Massachusetts did so.

Though Dow's legal attempt to completely abolish drinking was never fully successful, the attention he brought to the issues helped change people's attitudes toward drink. Children and adults came to view temperance as a virtue and drinking declined rapidly.

A dozen years after the Civil War, the Temperance Movement found new life. On December 24, 1873, Eliza Trimble Thompson of Hillsboro, Ohio, led more than seventy determined women from a prayer meeting to one of Hillsboro's liquor vendors. This parade of women attracted the attention of the townspeople and by the time that they had arrived at their destination, they were accompanied by several hundred curious people. The women did no violence, but rather, they stationed themselves on both sides of the doorway, and they prayed, sang, pleaded, and in other ways besought the proprietor to close and desist from selling liquor. During the days following, they did the same with the other twelve saloons in town and achieved almost complete (but temporary) success. This was great stuff for the newspapers and so by extensive newspaper

coverage and surprising public approval, the Ohio Women's Crusade had been launched. Soon, the Women's Crusade spread to other states. In Minnesota the Singing Hutchinsons, already well known for their abolitionist efforts, lent their talents to the cause. The Hutchinsons sang Julia B. Nelson's new prohibition battle hymn,

> And where are the hands red with slaughter?
> Behold them each day as you pass
> The places where death and destruction
> Are retailed at ten cents a glass

Within a year the crusade lost steam and very little long-term effects were see in the liquor traffic. However, the crusade had done something new – it had summoned women to a new role in public affairs. Feminist Mary Livermore declared, "That phenomenal . . . uprising of women in southern Ohio floated them to a higher level of womanhood. It lifted them out of subject condition where they had suffered immitigable woe." In Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874, delegates from several states, most of them active in church missionary societies or veterans of the Christian Commission of the Civil War, organized the Women's Christian Temperance Union. They appointed Frances Willard to the crucial post of corresponding secretary, which was one of the most propitious moves that they could have made. For two decades, Frances Willard made the WCTU a lengthened shadow of herself and made it the greatest women's organization of the century.

Frances Willard was born into a Vermont family that seemed always to be moving westward. When Frances was born, the family recently had moved to a location near Rochester, New York. Soon after Frances' birth, they moved to Oberlin, Ohio where the child developed a life-long distaste for Finney's fearsome sermons. In 1846, they continued their westward trek and moved to Wisconsin. Originally, the family was Congregationalist, but in Wisconsin the family became Methodist, because that denomination was strongly committed to social causes – an important matter to Frances' father. Frances Father became a very stern Methodist who ruled his family and allowed no deviation from the rules he set. Frances grew up on an isolated farm near Janesville, Wisconsin. In later life, she recalled standing with her brother and sister, huddled in a barn doorway, and exclaiming, "I wonder if we shall ever know anything, see anybody, or go anywhere." She did all three.

In 1858, the Willard family moved to Evanston, Illinois so that the two girls, Mary and Frances, could attend college and their brother Oliver could go to the Garrett Biblical Institute, a Methodist school that prepared future ministers. Frances Willard had three years of formal education. She attended Milwaukee Normal Institute where her mother's sister was a teacher, and she attended North Western Female College in Evanston. She was also the first Dean of Women for Northwestern University.

The decade after her 1859 graduation was a decade of formation. In the 1860s, Willard suffered a series of personal crises: both her father and her younger sister Mary died, her brother became an alcoholic, and Frances began to have deep romantic feelings for a woman who would ultimately marry her brother. Willard's family underwent financial difficulty due to her brother's excessive gambling and drinking. Because of the financial difficulties in her family, Frances Willard found herself quite on her own.

During that difficult decade, she taught in various schools, then became the secretary of the Methodist Centenary Fund, and closed the decade by traveling in Europe and the Middle East for twenty-eight months. After her return to the US, she became the president of the Evanston College for Ladies. When that college became a part of Northwestern University, she was appointed as the college dean. She found the duties and other arrangements unsatisfactory and so she resigned in 1874.

By 1874, she had become vice-president of the Association for the Advancement of Women, and before the close of the year, she was elected to the board of the WCTU. Commenting on the early years of her involvement in the WCTU, Frances said that the organization as marked by an ideological confict, "which became distinctly outlined under the names 'conservative' and 'liberal.'" The WCTU's first president, Annie Wittenmyer (who in 1888 opposed Willard's efforts to get women accepted as delegates to the Methodist General Conference) led the conservatives. Wittenmyer and the conservatives kept the focus on the single issue of prohibition. Willard wanted to enlarge the focus to the expansion of the role of women in public affairs.

Frances Willard resigned from the WCTU in 1877 and began work with the evangelistic team of Dwight L. Moody. She chafed in that role, disagreeing with many of Moody's policies

concerning the role of women. In 1881, women in the western states brought her back into the WCTU by electing her as the president of the Union. In that role, she began to implement her own ideas. She launched a vigorous membership campaign, endless speaking tours, spectacular annual conventions, a major emphasis on women's rights, including the vote, expansion of the Union's concern for a wide range of social issues, including the trafficking of young prostitutes, which prudery heretofore had kept from public discussion, and finally, she developed diverse political strategies to gain these ends. Willard's amazing gifts of leadership explains one reason for the success of the WCTU, but another equally important reason was the Union's commitment to the ideals and practices of evangelical Protestantism. Willard, some say shrewledly, always rested her cause on two institutions where a woman's "place" was assured: the home and the church.

The President, Rutherform B. Hayes (president 1877-1881) was a devout Ohio Methodist. The next President, James Garfield (occupied the office from March 1881 until his assassination in September 1881), was a Christian Church minister from Ohio. Both of these men and their wives welcomed the WCTU – both of their wives were members of the organization. One statesman remarked, "at the reception, the water flowed like champagne." Garfield, however, disappointed Willard. She felt that he had reneged on his preelection promise to initiate moves to promote prohibition.

In 1884, not having been invited to participate in either of the conventions of the major political parties, she led the WCTU to support the new Prohibition Party. The result of this effort was that the WCTU diverted so many Republican votes in New York to the Prohibition Party, that the Democrat Grover Cleveland was elected President (the first Democrat elected after the Civil War). The Union realized that it could exert political pressure on candidates and for a period of time effectively did that.

Frances Willard failed in her attempt to unite the Populist Party with the Prohibition Party and bring both of them under the banner of temperance and women's suffrage. She and others wanted to create a single great reform party. By this time, her health was failing and a new organization, the Anti-Saloon League had been founded. After Willard's death, the WCTU became the woman's auxiliary of the Anti-Saloon League, which had but one goal, prohibition.

Frances Willard, a committed Methodist, usually is considered to be the single most impressive reformer to have worked within the context of evangelical churches, rather than as an entity apart from them.

In 1893, In Oberlin, Ohio (a town famous for its role in the anti-slavery crusade), the Anti-Saloon League was organized. The Anti-Saloon League was a church-oriented direct action political organization. In 1895, Iowa Methodist minister, Alpha J. Kynett, organized an Anti-Saloon League convention in Washington D.C., thus creating a national organization. Hiram Price, a former Republican congressman from Iowa, was elected president, and Wayne B. Wheeler, a graduate of Oberlin College, was elected superintendent. The organization quickly grew and within a few years had paid staff in almost every state. The league was well financed by men of wealth (S. S. Kresge, the founder of the Kresge Five and Dime Stores, was a major supporter). Before Prohibition became law in 1920, the league spent $35 million to achieve the goal.

In the Nineteenth Century, various churches, especially the women's organizations within those churches, made prohibition and total abstinence a goal and sponsored many meetings and activities to achieve those ends.

A By-Product of the Temperance Movement: Grape Juice for Communion.

Welch's grape juice is a direct result of the Temperance Movement. It's inventor, Thomas Bramwell Welch, developed the process of pasteurizing grape juice for the purpose of making unfermented grape juice more easily available for communion.

Thomas Welch was born in Glastonbury, England. His family immigrated to the US in 1834, and settled in Watertown, NY. In 1843, at seventeen years of age, Thomas Welch joined the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion (this was the year in which the Wesleyan Methodist Church was formed - see page 65 of these notes).

Throughout his late teens, Welch was active in the Underground Railroad that transported escaped slaves from the south into Canada. In fact, he was not the only Wesleyan Methodist formally connected to the "Underground Railroad."

By age 19, he graduated from Gouverneur Wesleyan Seminary[6] and became an ordained Wesleyan Methodist minister. He ministered first in Poundridge, in Westchester County, New York, then in Herkimer County, New York.

From its beginning, the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion strongly opposed the "manufacturing, buying, selling, or using intoxicating liquors", and "slaveholding, buying, or selling" of slaves (opposition to slavery was the issue that prompted its founding)..

With the first edition of their *Discipline*, the Wesleyan Methodists *expressly* required that "unfermented wine only should be used at the sacrament." This requirement was about twenty-five years before Welch tried pasteurization. There were traditional methods to prepare unfermented wine (juice) for use at any time during the year (to reconstitute concentrated grape juice, or to boil raisins, or to add preservatives that prevent juice from fermenting and souring) but none that were sufficient to produce great quantities of consistent quality.

After a few years as a Wesleyan Methodist minister, Welch began to have a problem with his voice and finally, because of this handicap was forced to resign from the ministry. He chose to become a physician, enrolling in New York Central Medical College (Syracuse campus) After graduation he practiced medicine in Penn Yan, New York. Then, in 1856, he moved to Winona, Minnesota, and changed his profession to dentistry.

In 1864, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church expressly recommended that "in all cases the pure juice of the grape be used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper." Even though the wording was not as strong as that in the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, it still set the standard for all General Conference Methodists.

In 1865, Welch moved again, this time to Vineland, New Jersey, following his sister who was one of Vineland's earliest residents. Vineland was a town started in 1861 by Philadelphia land developer Charles K. Landis, who had a dream of creating an alcohol-free utopian society, a "Temperance Town" based on agriculture and progressive thinking. Landis declared that he was "about to build a city, and an agricultural and fruit-growing colony around it." The population reached 5,500 by 1865. In time Landis realized that the terrain and weather had great potential for growing grapes, and hence named the town, "Vineland", and advertised to attract Italian

grape growers to Vineland, offering 20 acres of land that had to be cleared and used to grow grapes.

As a student of the sciences and an innovator, Welch began to experiment with pasteurization and successfully produced an "unfermented wine" (grape juice) from locally grown grapes. As he increased his volume of production, he began marketing juice as "Dr. Welch's Unfermented Wine". The product became "Welch's Grape Juice" in 1893 when Welch and his son Charles E. Welch (also a practicing dentist) had decided to incorporate in 1893 as the Welch's Grape Juice Company at Westfield, New York.

Many Protestant Churches throughout America soon began using Dr. Welch's Unfermented Wine for communion services. Thus, one of the staples of America, Welch's Grape Juice, came into existence because of the Temperance Movement in the churches of the Nineteenth Century.

SUMMARY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY – THE CENTURY OF CHANGE

The Nineteenth Century was a century that not only changed America, but in significant ways changed the Church in America. Here are some of the most important things that happened to the church in American during the Nineteenth Century (some of these were a part of the 2012 Sunday Night Seminar).

- Denominationalism, although having an embryonic presence after the American Revolution, came to full birth in the Nineteenth Century. As one state after another removed from their constitutions the designation of a particular church s the "State Church," it was acceptable for different denominations to exist in the same region, without any one of the receiving favors from the government. The rest of the world looked on to see the results of this "grand experiment."
- At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, less than 1% of Americans were Roman Catholics. By the third quarter of the Century, Roman Catholicism had become the largest church in America.
- Methodism, in all of its various expressions became the largest Protestant group in America in the Nineteenth Century.
- Baptists, in all of its various expressions exploded during the Nineteenth Century, to become the second largest group in that century – by the first decades of the Twentieth Century, the Baptists had become the largest Protestant group in America – exceeding the Methodists.

- From small and insignificant beginnings, Lutherans by the close of the Nineteenth Century, had become the nation's fourth largest religious group and the various Lutheran groups were aligned with one of two streams: more liberal (attempting to adapt to the conditions of America) or staunch conservative (which held to Augsburg Confession).
- The Restoration Movement, initially an effort to unite all Christians by doing away with creeds and non-biblical practices, grew phenomenally during the Nineteenth Century. However, with the birth of liberalism, and division over issues surrounding cooperative mission work, by the close of the century the movement had divided into three groups: Disciples of Christ became a liberal denomination; Christian Churches were independent and conservative; non-instrumental Churches of Christ were conservative.
- Anabaptists became an important part of the American church. In two of its representations, Amish and Mennonites, the movement had a significant presence in the middle states and the central plains. The Anabaptist Hutterites, because they occupied more remote areas of the west (chiefly Montana) and southern Canada, did not have as decided an impact as the other two forms of Anabaptists.
- Mormonism was born during this century and experienced a surprising growth in numbers. Initially, controlling a portion of western Illinois, Mormons eventually occupied Utah, making it a virtual Mormon kingdom in the Nineteenth Century.
- Millenialism gave birth to the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah Witnesses.
- New Thought produced Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Scientist group, as well as Unity and other similar mental/faith religions.
- Presbyterians divided and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was born, before the Civil War (chiefly existing in the western frontier regions). The main body of Presbyterians divided into Old School and New School, over the twin issues of ministerial education and revivals.
- The Civil War caused the splitting of four Protestant denominations: Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian. Episcopalians reunited almost immediately after the war. Methodists and Presbyterians did not fully reunite until the Twentieth Century. Northern and Southern Baptists still remain separated.
- John Nelson Darby and his followers gave birth to dispensationalism and popularized pre-millennialism. The Scofield Reference Bible is one of the most abiding fruits of this movement.
- The urbanization of America in the final decades of the Nineteenth Century changed the culture of the nation and brought about changes in the churches of the large cities. Different church groups responded to this challenge in different ways – some abandoned the city and others became insulated institutions within the city.
- The YMCA and the YWCA were effective evangelistic and discipleship institutions during the Nineteenth Century - conducting large Sunday schools and prayer meetings.
- The birth of professional revivalists impacted entire communities and churches, in some cases watering down the concept of conversion.

- The New Geology, Darwinism, Higher Biblical Criticism, and Transcendentalism had a decided impact on the churches, especially in the seminaries.
- Many church-related colleges and universities were birthed during this century. The old-line schools of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Princeton, underwent dramatic changes in their theological departments, each impacted, one way or the other, by the new liberal theology.
- The Temperance Movement, especially after the Civil War, became a crusade for many laymen, especially Methodists. In time, various denominations unofficially became involved.
- The role of women in the churches began to have more of a presence through organizations such as the WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Movement) and the UCMS (United Christian Missionary Society – which usually at the local level was administered by women).
- Several black denominations were birthed during the closing decades of the Nineteenth Century. A small number of these came directly from the presence of slave preachers before abolition, but most were birthed after the Civil War by white churches, chiefly in the South.

A Vision of Unity – the Fruit of Liberal Theology

With the advancement of liberalism in American denominations during the latter decades of the Nineteenth Century, and the resulting doubt about the authority of Scripture, liberal denominational leaders began to talk about uniting denominations. This Nineteenth Century speculation bore fruit in the Twentieth Century. At first, this impulse was manifested in cooperation in various projects, and institutionalized in the Federal Council of Churches.

Interestingly, the motivation was the same as that which motivated Pennsylvania Presbyterians, Alexander & Thomas Campbell, and Kentucky Presbyterians led by Barton W. Stone, who launched the Restoration Movement early in the Nineteenth Century. Their desire was to unite believers by casting off humanly written creeds and denominational traditions and through the study of the New Testament unite around the pattern of New Testament Churches. Only those doctrines and practices that clearly are taught in the Post-Pentecostal period would be adhered to. All of these men considered Scriptural authority to be paramount.

The liberal move toward unity had just the opposite idea – doctrine was the problem and the most extreme proponents of this thinking advocated doing away with all doctrines on the basis of a "let's just all get along" idea. Liberals in six denominations led the way. In 1962 the first

Council on Christian Union (COCU) was held. Early participants were delegates from the Methodist Church, the Episcopal Church, the Evangelical United Brethren Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Disciples of Christ Churches, and the United Church of Christ. If this union succeeded it would have produced a super denomination, bringing together some 22 million American Christians – but all of this is a story for the next century.

We could continue on with the list of events and trends that took place in the Nineteenth Century, but suffice it to say, the church in America was altered during that Century to such a degree that few churches in 1900 were what they had been in 1800. The Nineteenth Century was a century of dramatic and earthshaking change for the Church in America.

ADDENDUM A
Roman Catholic Doctrine and Practice

The following material is found in *A Catechism for Inquirers,* Reverend Joseph I. Malloy C.S.P. (New York, The Paulist Press) 1927. The numbers preceding each of the following questions are the numbers assigned those questions in the Catechism. I only quote those questions that relate to basic and foundational beliefs and teachings of Roman Catholicism, and omitting those that elaborate on those teachings – JWG

Introduction: The Bible (pages 1-3)

1. Where is God's Revelation to man contained?
God's Revelation is contained in the Bible and in Tradition

5. Are Catholics permitted to read the Bible?
Catholics are permitted, and are encouraged to read the Bible, provided they read a version approved by the Church.

7. Does the Bible contain all that God has revealed?
No, the Bible itself states that it does not contain all that God has revealed.
And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: (John 20:30
And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen. (John 21:25)

8. Where else, then, is God's Revelation contained?
It is in tradition, *i.e.,* in the living spoken word of Christ and His Apostles which was not written down by them.

9. Where is this tradition to be found?
This tradition is to be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church of the first centuries of Christianity, in the decrees of Church Councils, in the decisions of the Popes, and in the ceremonial of the Church.

10. Can the Bible, then, be our only guide to the teaching of Christ?
No it cannot, because:
(a) The Apostles preached many things as the doctrine of Christ which they did not write in the New Testament.
(b) It was not known with certainty which writings were the true Scriptures until the fourth century, and even now the Catholic Church accepts as Scripture certain Books which the Protestant Churches deny belong to the Bible.
(c) In cases of discussion as to the meaning of texts, the Scriptures cannot fully explain themselves – and there are many such discussions.

Chapter One: God (pages 4-13)

1. Who is God?
God is the Supreme, Perfect Being, the Creator of heaven and earth and all they contain.

5. How many Persons are there in God?
In God there are Three Divine Persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and each Person is God.

6. Are the Three Persons Equal?
Yes; the Three Persons are equal in all things.

9. Can we understand how there can be Three Persons and yet only One God?
No, we cannot fully understand, because it is a mystery. Mystery is a truth that is beyond human understanding, because it has not been, or cannot be, explained.

31. Who is Jesus Christ?
Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, true God and true Man.

32. What do we call the doctrine that expresses this truth?
It is called the doctrine of the INCARNATION, which means literally, "coming into flesh," that is, the Son of God took a human nature and united it with His Divine Nature.

33. Did Jesus Christ have a human mother?
Yes; His Mother was the Blessed Virgin Mary.

34. Did Jesus Christ have a human father?
No; He "was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

35. Who, then, was Saint Joseph?
He was the legal spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but Mary always preserved her virginity. St. Joseph, therefore, was only the foster father or guardian of Jesus Christ. He and Mary lived always as brother and sister.

Chapter II: Sin and Redemption (pages 14-19)

5. What was the effect of their sin on Adam and Eve?
They lost their right to Heaven, they forfeited God's friendship and grace, they were exiled from Paradise, and they were doomed to suffering and death.

6. Did the sin of Adam have any effect upon his descendants?
Yes; it deprived them of those blessings and gifts of soul and body which they would otherwise would have inherited.

7. Why must mankind suffer for the sin of Adam?
Because Adam was the father of the whole human family, and represented the whole race of mankind. As we would have shared in his blessings without merit of our own, so we share in his sin without guilt of our own.

8. What do we call the effect of the sin of Adam upon us?
We call it Original Sin – the same name that we give to the sin of Adam.

9. What then is Original Sin in us?
Original Sin in us is the state of the soul in which we come into this world; namely, without those graces and gifts which would have been our inheritance if Adam has not lost them.

10. What are the effects of Original Sin in us?
Our soul is deprived of grace, our will is weakened, our understanding is darkened, and our nature is inclined to evil.

11. Was anyone ever preserved from Original Sin?
Yes; the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ. When God created her soul He endowed it with His grace and friendship. (Note – this became dogma in 1854 – this is discussed in the class notes).

12. What is this privilege of the Blessed Virgin called?
This privilege is called her Immaculate Conception

13. What do we mean by the Immaculate Conception?
We mean that from her conception by her mother, St. Anne, that is, from the beginning of the existence of her soul, God gave the Blessed Virgin those graces which are lacking in all the other descendants of Adam and Eve. She was conceived Immaculate, that is her soul was free from Original Sin.

14. What reason have we for believing in the Immaculate Conception? (See Addendum B for more information)
(a) God had ordained that Mary was to become the Mother of His Divine Son. He could not permit her soul then, for a single instant to lack those graces which would make it pleasing to Him.
(b) It was due the infinite dignity of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, that the soul of His Mother should always have been in the friendship of God.

15. How are our souls freed from Original Sin?
Through the Sacrament of Baptism.

17. How many kinds of sin are there?
There are two kinds of sin: Original Sin, which we inherit from our first parents, and Actual Sin, which we commit ourselves.

18. Are all actual sins the same?
No; some sins are serious offenses against God and these are called mortal sins; other sins are less serious offenses against God, and these are called venial sins.

19. What is mortal sin?
Moral sin is any thought, word, action, or omission (1) in itself seriously contrary to the Law of God, (2) if we know the seriousness of the sin (3) and willfully and deliberately consent to it.

23. What is venial sin?
Venial sin is an offense against God which does not, however, deprive our soul of His friendship.

24. Give some examples of venial sins.
Impatience, uncharitableness, lies that have no serious results for anyone.

29. How are we saved from the effects of Adam's sin and of our own sins?
By the sacrifice of the Life of Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Saviour, Who is the Blessed Redeemer of mankind.

34. Since Christ made complete atonement, why are not all saved?
Because it is necessary that we do our part by faith, by keeping the Commandments and leading a good life.

35. How could those who lived before the time of Christ be saved?
By fulfilling the will of God as revealed in the Old Law of the Jews, and in the consciences of the Gentiles. Their souls at death entered Limbo to await the coming of Christ.

36. How did Christ liberate these souls from Limbo?
After His death on the Cross, His soul descended into Limbo and delivered the souls of the Just detained there.

Chapter III: The Church of Christ (pages 20-25)

1. What means did Jesus Christ adopt to spread His teachings?
Christ instituted a living, teaching Society, a Church, which is to continue until the end of the world.

3. Whom did Christ make the head of His Church?
Christ made St. Peter the head of His Church.
And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. [19] *And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. (Matthew 16:18-19 KJV)*

1. Who is the successor to Peter?
The Pope, the Bishop of Rome, is the successor of St. Peter, who was the first Bishop of Rome.

2. What authority, then, has the Pope?
The Pope has the same authority that Peter had, because he always has been the Bishop of Rome as St. Peter was.

3. In what sense is the Pope the Head of the Church of Christ?
Christ Himself is the true Head of the Church; the Pope is His Vicar and chief representative on earth.

4. Who are the successors of the other Apostles?
The successors of the other Apostles are the Bishops of the Catholic Church.

13. What do we mean when we say that the Church must Apostolic?
We mean that it must be the church that is historically connected with the Apostles, and that holds the doctrine and the traditions of the Apostles.

14. In which church at the present day are these marks to be found?
They are found only in the Holy Roman Catholic Church.

22. How do we know that the Church today is teaching the doctrines of Christ truly?
We know this because the Church and its Head, the Pope are infallible.

25. When is the Church infallible?
The Church is infallible when She solemnly defines an article of faith or morals through the Pope or through a general council, and also when She teachings doctrine through all the bishops in their respective dioceses, under the headship of the Pope.

27. When is the Pope infallible?
The Pope is infallible when he teaches officially ("ex cathedra"), *i.e.,* as the supreme head of the Church of Christ, for the whole Church on some question of faith or morals (Note: this did not become Catholic dogma until 1870 – we will discuss in our Class Notes).

29. What is the benefit of infallibility to the members of the Church?
The members of the Church have absolute security that the doctrines they believe are the doctrines of Christ.

30. Could we have this security without infallibility?
No; the written word of God, the Bible, does not explain itself; we need a teacher to expound the Scriptures, and this Teacher must be infallible, for if the teacher could make a mistake, we could never be certain of the truth about Christ's teachings….We are compelled to believe the teachings of Christ under pain of damnation. We must have a guide to these teachings who is certain of the truth.

Chapter IV: The Sacraments (pages 26-54)

1. How are the benefits of Redemption brought to our souls?
Chiefly through the Sacraments which Christ instituted as the means to bring the graces of His Life and Death to us.

2. What are the Sacraments?
The Sacraments are external means instituted by Christ to give grace to those receiving them.

7. How many Sacraments are there?
There are seven Sacraments: (1) Baptism, (2) Penance ("Confession"), (3) Holy Eucharist ("The Lord's Supper"), (4) Confirmation, (5) Extreme Unction (The Last Anointing), (6) Holy Orders (The Priesthood, etc.), (7) Matrimony.

5. What is Baptism?
Baptism is the Sacrament which removes Original Sin from our souls and makes us Christian.

6. Is Baptism necessary to salvation?
Baptism is necessary to salvation, for Jesus Christ declared: "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost he cannot enter the Kingdom of God" John 3:5.

7. What are the effects of Baptism?
(a) Baptism gives the first grace to the soul.
(b) Baptism received by an adult also removes actual sins and the punishment due them.
(c) Baptism imprints a character on our souls which we can never lose.

20. What is the sacrament of Penance (also known as "confession")?
It is the Sacrament in which the sins committed after we have been baptized are forgiven.

23. Why is the confession of sins necessary?
It is necessary because Christ gave two powers to the Apostles: to forgive sins or not to forgive them; therefore those who are exercising these powers must know the sins. (John 20:21-23)

24. What must we do to obtain forgiveness of our sins in the Sacrament of Penance?
We must do five things: (1) Prepare by making an examination of conscience; (2) Have sorrow for our sins; (3) Resolve never again to commit sin; (4) Confess our sins to the priest; (5) Perform the penance which the priest gives.

70. What is the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist?
It is the Sacrament that contains the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, together with His Soul and Divinity, under the appearances of bread and wine.

77. What is the change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ called?
It is called: "TRANSUBSTANTIATION" which means "change of substance." When Christ said, "This is my Body," and "This is my Blood," the substance of the bread and wine were changed into the substance of His Body and Blood. They then contained His Real Presence.

80. Did Christ give His Apostles the power to change bread and wine into His Holy Body and Blood?
Yes; He gave them the power when He said: "Do this for a commemoration of Me." (St. Luke 22:19)

82. What is the Mass?

The Mass is the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, really present in the Holy Eucharist and offered to God through the ministry of the priest.

87. How is the Sacrifice of the Mass the same as the Sacrifice of the Cross?
The Mass *continues* the Sacrifice of the Cross; Christ is really present in the Mass and offers Himself to atone for our sins as He did upon Calvary.

90. At what part of the Mss do the Body and Blood of Christ come upon the altar?
At the Consecration, when the priest repeats the words of Christ: "This is my Body; This is the Chalice of My Blood."

114. What is Confirmation?
Confirmation is the Sacrament in which a baptized person receives the special grace and strength of the Holy Ghost.

115. What are the effects of Confirmation?
Confirmation brings the Holy Ghost into our souls, increases the grace of God within us, and imprints on us a spiritual mark which can never be effaced.

117. How is Confirmation given?
The bishop (the bishop is the ordinary ministry of Confirmation) extends his hands over all to be confirmed and prays that they may received the Holy Ghost; then he anoints the forehead of each with *chrism* in the form of a cross, and strikes him gently on the cheek. In conclusion, the bishop gives a special benediction.

123. What is the Sacrament of Extreme Unction?
Extreme Unction, or, The Last Anointing, is the Sacrament given to those in danger of death to prepare their souls for eternity.

130. Are there any Sacraments given to the dying?
Yes; the priest first hears the patient's confession, and gives Holy Viaticum (the Eucharist given at the hour of one's death), then Extreme Unction, and finally the Last Blessing. All these together are called the "Last Sacrament," or "The Last Rites," of the Church.

Chapter IX: Prayer (pages 74-76)

1. What is prayer?
Prayer is raising up of the mind and heart to God to adore Him, to thank Him, to ask His pardon for our sins, and to beg for His help.

4. What prayers may we may say to adore and praise God?
The "Doxology" or "Glory be to Father," the "Glory be to God" from the Mass, the "Te Deum."

5. Are we obliged to thank God?
We are obliged to thank God because all we have comes to us from Him.

6. Should we ask for pardon and other favors in prayer?
Yes; Christ Himself, in the Lord's Prayer, taught us to ask for "our daily bread," and to pray for the forgiveness of our sins.

12. To whom may we pray?
(a) First we must pray to God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
(b) We may pray to the Blessed Virgin, to the Angels and Saints, in order to ask them to pray for us.

13. For whom should we pray?

(a) We should pray for the living, both for ourselves and others whom we desire God to help.
(b) We should pray for the dead

14. Why should we pray for the dead?
Because we are united with them in the "communion of saints," and the merits of our good works and prayer reach the dead "who die in the Lord," but who have not yet entered heaven.

Chapter X: Future Life (pages 77-80)

1. Will there be life after death?
There will be a life after the death of the body, for our soul is an immortal spirit that can never die.

3. What will happen to our souls immediately after death?
When our souls leave the body at death they will be judged immediately.

4. What is the judgment called that takes place right after death?
It is called, Particular Judgment

5. Where may the soul be sentenced to go at this Particular Judgment?
To one of three places, Heaven, Purgatory, Hell.

7. What is Purgatory?
Purgatory is a place where souls are detained for a time and are purified if they died guilty of slight sins, or if they have not entirely atoned for grave sins though these have been forgiven.

9. Will all the souls in Purgatory go the heaven?
Yes; all the souls in Purgatory will surely go to Heaven After they have completely atoned for their sins by suffering

10. Can we help the souls in Purgatory?
Yes; we can help the souls in Purgatory by our prayer, by Indulgences and especially by the Sacrifice of the Mass

11. What is Hell?
Hell is a place of eternal punishment and of everlasting separation from God.

15. Will there be any other Judgment besides the Particular Judgment?
Yes; there will be a General Judgment at the end of the world.

16. What is the purpose of the General Judgment since we are judged immediately after death?

(a) The General Judgment repeats the sentence of the Particular Judgment. Its purpose is to make known the Justice of God by showing to all mankind the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked.
(b) In this world the good often suffer, and the wicked prosper. At the General Judgment this apparent injustice will be righted in the presence of every soul that ever lived.

Chapter XI: Blessed Virgin, Satins, and Devotions (pages 81-84)

2. Is Mary truly the Mother of God?
She is truly the Mother of God, because Jesus Christ is the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, equal to the Father and the Holy Spirit and Truly God.

3. What are the principal doctrines of the Church concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary?

(a) Her Immaculate Conception
(b) Her perpetual Virginity
(c) Her Assumption into Heaven

6. What do we mean by the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin?

We mean that after her death the body of Mary was "assumed" or taken into Heaven and she was crowned as its Queen.

7. What was the reason for the Blessed Virgin's Assumption into Heaven?

God wished to preserve her body from the decay that follows death, because from her Jesus Christ took His human nature

9. Who are the Saints?

The Saints are men and women who led lives of great holiness and who are now in heaven.

11. May we pray to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints?

We may pray to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints to ask them, in turn, to pray for us.

The Roman Catholic Marian Dogmas

Roman Catholicism holds four dogmas related to the Virgin Mary:

1. Divine motherhood – The *theotokos* "birthgiver of God" (Council of Ephesus 431AD & Council of Chalcedon 451 AD)[105]
2. Immaculate Conception (Pius IX 1854 AD)
3. Perpetual Virginity (Council of the Latern 459 AD & Vatican II)
4. Assumption (Pius XII 1950 AD)

For a number of years, many have been advocating a fifth Marian Dogma, stating that Mary is the co-Redemprix, co-Mediatrix, and co-Advocatrix.

In the early 1990s Professor Mark Miravalle of the Franciscan University of Steubenville and author of the book *Mary: Coredemptrix, Mediatrix, Advocate* launched a popular petition to urge Pope John Paul II to use Papal infallibility to declare Mary as Co-Redemptrix. More than six million signatures were gathered from 148 countries, including those of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, Cardinal John O'Connor of New York, and 41 other cardinals and 550 bishops.

In August 1996, a Mariological Congress was held in Czestochowa, Poland, where a commission was established in response to a request of the Holy See. The congress sought the opinion of scholars present there regarding the possibility of proposing a fifth Marian dogma on Mary as Co-Redemptrix, Mediatrix and Advocate. The commission unanimously declared that it was not opportune, voting 23-0 against the proposed dogma.

By 1998 it was doubtful the Vatican was going to consider new Marian dogmas. The papal spokesman stated "This is not under study by the Holy Father nor by any Vatican congregation

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[105] Protestants often misunderstand this term. Here is a comment from the *Catholic News Service*: "The Council of Ephesus (431) attributed to Mary the title, Mother of God. This needs to be read against the Council's declaration that in Christ there are two natures, one divine and one human, but only one person. Indeed, according to the Council the holy virgin is the Mother of God since she begot according to the flesh the Word of God made flesh." www.catholicnewsagency.com/resources/mary

or commission". Pope John Paul II cautioned against "all false exaggeration", stating that his teaching and devotion to Mary has strictly been "exalting Mary as the first among believers but concentrating all faith on the Triune God and giving primacy to Christ."

Pope John Paul II did use the term, "co-Redemptrix" in private correspondence but never in any official correspondence nor in any doctrine of significance.

The basis for using the term, *co-Redemptrix*, is the view that Mary willingly consented to giving birth to Christ, that she willingly gave Him up to the role that He fulfilled, and at the cross she willingly offered Him up to the sacrifice of the cross. Thus, in these actions, she was co-Redemprix. The following article by Dr. Mark Miravalle, discussing Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Cross*, is an illustration of this doctrine:

Gibson's *Passion* and Mary "Co-redemptrix"

Dr. Mark Miravalle
Professor of Theology and Mariology
Franciscan University of Steubenville

In a recent interview with Mel Gibson, *Christianity Today* referred to Gibson as a traditionalist Catholic who "likes the Tridentine Latin Mass and calls Mary Co-Redemptrix." There's another well-known Catholic who also calls the Mother of Jesus the Co-Redemptrix: His name is Pope John Paul II. He has done so on six occasions during his post Vatican II pontificate.

What does the Co-Redemptrix title mean? From the Catholic perspective, it refers to Mary's unique human participation with Jesus (and entirely subordinate to her divine Son) in the historic work of saving humanity from sin. Jesus is the only Redeemer, in the sense that he alone as the one divine mediator between God and man could redeem or "buy back" the human family from the bonds of Satan and sin. But God willed that the Mother of Jesus participate in this redemptive process like no other creature.

In light of her Immaculate Conception in which she was conceived without original sin through the foreseen merits of her Son, Mary is the sinless virgin Mother in total "enmity" or opposition with Satan, who becomes the ideal human partner with Jesus in the salvation of the human race. Early Christian writers called her the "New Eve," who together with Jesus, the "New Adam," accomplished the work of salvation for all the fallen children of the original Adam and Eve.

Mel Gibson has given the world its most powerful cinematic portrayal of the Mother of Jesus precisely as the Co-Redemptrix in his blockbuster film, *The Passion of the Christ*.

From early in the film it is clear that Mary alone has a special participation in Jesus' saving mission. As the soldiers of the Sanhedrin bring Jesus in to stand trial before Caiaphas, Jesus looks at Mary from across the courtyard and Mary says softly, "It has begun, Lord ... so be it." The Mother knows that the mission of human redemption has begun. She offers her sorrowful "so be it" to this mission to accompany her joyful "so be it" at the announcement of the angel Gabriel which first brought the Redeemer into the world.

Throughout the film, it is only Jesus and Mary who see their mutual adversary Satan, in his androgenized form. During the way of the cross, Mary slides her way through the crowd to accompany her tortured Son carrying his cross when she spots Satan as he parallels her

movements on the other side of the crowd. She recognizes her antagonist, looks at him for a moment, and then refixes her gaze on her suffering Son.

Earlier, Satan appears during the scourging of Jesus carrying a demonic child, which conveys the Old Testament Genesis prophecy of the battle between the "woman" and her "seed" (Jesus Christ), and the serpent (Satan) and his "seed" or offspring of evil. After the scourging, Mary is inspired to soak up the blood of the Savior, splattered throughout the area of the pillar, with linens. She alone knows that each drop of this divine blood is supernaturally redemptive.

Many times during the savage process of the passion (for example, at the scourging, during the way of the cross, at Calvary), it is the glance of his Mother that gives Jesus the human support that strengthens him to proceed to the next stage of suffering. After one fall on the Via Dolorosa, Mary crawls next to her mutilated Son and reassures him: "I'm here." Jesus regains some focus and replies to her concerning the mission: "See Mother, I make all things new."

It is not Jesus alone, but all the disciples (Peter, John, the Magdalene), who call Mary, "Mother." On Calvary, Mary receives from Jesus her designation as universal Mother.

As Jesus, who is affixed to the cross, is being raised up from the ground, Mary, whose hands clutched the rocky ground as her sons' hands were nailed to the cross, rises from her kneeling position in proportion to her Son's being raised on the cross. She then stands upright as her Son is now upright on the gibbet.

After some time, Mary approaches the cross with John, the beloved disciple. She kisses Jesus' bloodied foot, and pleads for permission to die with him at this climactic moment of redemption: "Flesh of my flesh, Heart of my heart, my Son. Let me die with you!" Jesus responds to his mother and to John: "Woman, behold your son. Son, behold your mother." As the fruit of her sufferings with Jesus, Mary becomes the spiritual mother of all beloved disciples, and of all humanity redeemed at Calvary.

In *The Passion of the Christ,* Gibson has accomplished a Marian feat no pastor or theologian could achieve in the same way. He has given the world through its most popular visual medium a portrayal of a real human Mother, whose heart is inseparably united to her Son's heart. This Mother's heart is pierced to its very depths as she spiritually shares in the brutal immolation of her innocent Son. Hers is an immaculate heart which silently endures and offers this suffering with her Son for the same heavenly purpose: to buy back the human race from sin.

Mary Co-Redemptrix has been given her first international film debut in a supporting role, and it's a hit.

A ZENIT[106] DAILY DISPATCH

ROME, 11 FEB. 2008 (ZENIT)

Here is an English translation of the letter written by the five cardinal co-sponsors of the Fatima Symposium on Marian Co-redemption and sent to the world's bishops and cardinals asking them to sign a petition that asks Benedict XVI to proclaim Mary as the Spiritual Mother of Humanity.

The letter was sent Jan. 1, solemnity of the Mother of God, and signed by Cardinal Telesphore Toppo, archbishop of Ranchi, India; Cardinal Luis Aponte Martínez, retired archbishop of San Juan, Puerto Rico; Cardinal Varkey Vithayathil, major archbishop of Ernakulam-Angamaly, India; Cardinal Riccardo Vidal, archbishop of Cebu, Philippines; and Cardinal Ernesto Corripio y Ahumada, retired archbishop of Mexico City.

Dear Brother Eminences and Excellencies:

In May 2005, we, as cardinal co-patrons, sponsored a Mariological symposium convened on the subject of the cooperation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the work of human Redemption at the favored Fatima shrine in Portugal.

After extensive theological presentations delivered by a significant number of cardinals, bishops, and theologians, we concluded the symposium by enacting a votum to His Holiness, Pope Benedict XVI. The votum reads as follows:

Your Holiness, Benedict XVI,

In an effort to enhance the ecumenical mission of the Church, and to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ in all its fullness, we, the undersigned cardinals and bishops who have convened in the favored Marian Shrine of Fatima (May 3-7, 2005), wish to express to you, Most Holy Father, our united hope and desire for the solemn papal definition of the doctrine of the Church regarding Mary Most Holy as the Spiritual Mother of all humanity, the Co-redemptrix with Jesus the Redeemer, Mediatrix of all graces with Jesus the one Mediator, and Advocate with Jesus Christ on behalf of the human race.

In a time of significant confusion amidst the many diverse ecclesial bodies of Christianity, and as well among non-Christian peoples concerning this Marian doctrine, we believe the time opportune for a solemn definition of clarification regarding the constant teaching of the Church concerning the Mother of the Redeemer and her unique cooperation (cf. Lumen Gentium, n. 61) in the work of Redemption, as well as her subsequent roles in the distribution of grace and intercession for the human family.

It is of great importance, Holy Father, that peoples of other religious traditions receive the clarification on the highest level of authentic doctrinal certainty that we can provide, that the Catholic Church essentially distinguishes between the sole role of Jesus Christ, divine and human Redeemer of the world, and the unique though secondary and dependent human participation of the Mother of Christ in the great work of Redemption.

Therefore, Your Holiness, with filial obedience and respect, we wish to present you with this votum of our solidarity of hope for the papal definition of the Immaculate Virgin Mother of God as the spiritual Mother of all peoples in her three maternal roles as Co-redemptrix, Mediatrix of all graces and Advocate, as the ultimate expression of doctrinal clarity at the service of our Christian and non-Christian brothers and sisters who are not in communion with Rome, and as well as for the greater understanding and appreciation of this revealed doctrine concerning the

[106] ZENIT is a news agency dedicated to covering the news related to the Pope and the Vatican.

Mother of the Redeemer by the People of God at the outset of this third millennium of Christianity.

We thereby submit this votum accompanied by one possible formulation of the Marian doctrine which we, please God, pray may be solemnly defined by your Holiness:

Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of man, gave to humanity from the Cross his mother Mary to be the spiritual Mother of all peoples, the Co-redemptrix, who under and with her Son cooperated in the Redemption of all people; the Mediatrix of all graces, who as Mother brings us the gifts of eternal life; and the Advocate, who presents our prayers to her Son.

On June 7, 2006, our brother, Telesphore Cardinal Toppo, presented the above votum in Latin to His Holiness on behalf of all the cardinal and bishop participants at the 2005 Fatima Symposium, together with the published acta from the symposium. The Holy Father received the votum and the acta with an accentuated gratitude and his expressed intention to study carefully the acta.

We now write to you, brother cardinals and bishops, to inform you of this votum for the solemn definition of Our Lady as the Spiritual Mother of humanity and its essential roles, and respectfully request your own prayerful consideration regarding the possibility of adding your own esteemed assent to this votum to Our Holy Father. We have enclosed a copy of the original Latin votum for your examination and, if you felt so inspired by Our Lady, you would be free to sign and to forward it on to His Holiness.

Certainly, if it so pleased the Holy Father to proceed with this request, any final formation of the definition would in no manner be bound to the formulation of the enclosed votum, but rather left entirely to his unique charism as the Successor of Peter. It is also noteworthy that over the course of the past fifteen years, over 500 bishops have sent their request for this solemn definition to the Holy See, along with approximately 7 million petitions from the Catholic faithful worldwide.

We thank you for your prayerful consideration of this request on behalf of Our Lady, Mother of the Church and Queen of the Apostles. May she guide you in your discernment of this matter to the wisdom of Jesus Christ, our divine Redeemer, through the counsel of the Holy Spirit, all leading to the fulfillment of the perfect will of our Heavenly Father.

With cordial best wishes in Jesus and Mary,
Cardinal Toppo, Archbishop of Ranchi, India; President of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India;
Luis Cardinal Aponte Martínez, Archbishop Emeritus of San Juan, Puerto Rico,
Varkey Cardinal Vithayathil, Major Archbishop of Ernakulam-Angamaly, India,
Riccardo Cardinal Vidal, Archbishop of Cebu, Philippines
Ernesto Cardinal Corrippio Ahumada, Primate Emeritus of Mexico
(Cardinal Co-sponsors of the Fatima Symposium on Marian Coredemption)

Our Lady of the Nations Apparition

One of the forces pushing for the Fifth Marian Dogma are those who have accepted as supernatural and valid the apparitions of Mary, experienced by Ida Peederman in Amsterdam, between 1945 and 1959. In the apparitions, Mary identified herself as The Lady of All Nations. A significant following of The Lady of All Nations has developed – a chapel of The Lady of All Nations has been erected in Amsterdam. In the first apparition, Mary indicated that the Fifth Marian Dogma would be issued. The following from www.marypages.com (this website contains all of the apparitions and the content of each communication):

“Our Lady reportedly appeared and spoke by inner locution over several decades under the title of 'The Lady of All Nations' to a woman in Amsterdam name Ida Peerdeman. She had many messages of great importance for the future of the Church. She seemed to predict Vatican II and many of the specific issues addressed therein, more than ten years before the 'surprise' council was called. She affirmed that many areas of modernization in the Church were necessary so Rome could take advantage of the special opportunities given it in our day to evangelize using modern means. She warned of a grave danger to the Church in the late Twentieth Century: a resurgence of the modernist heresy. The Lady of All Nations predicted the 'final Marian dogma' proclaiming Our Lady 'Co-Redemptrix, Mediatrix, and Advocate,' which would sum up and explain Marian theology, and would 'crown' Our Lady.

These apparitions are under investigation by the Church as of this writing. Cardinal Ratzinger (prior to his becoming Pope Benedict XVI) reportedly has written the visionary that there are no theological barriers to the possible proclamation of the dogma. Some speculate it could be the proclamation of this dogma that will create the official schism in the Catholic Church, which is foretold by many visionaries to happen in the latter days."

For the official website of the Lady of all Nations, see: http://www.de-vrouwe.net

ADDENDUM B

The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception

Further elaboration from *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*[107]

In the Constitution *Ineffabilis Deus* of 8 December, 1854, Pius IX pronounced and defined that the Blessed Virgin Mary, *in the first instance of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace granted by God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin.*

"The Blessed Virgin Mary..."
The subject of this immunity from original sin is the person of Mary at the moment of the creation of her soul and its infusion into her body.

"...in the first instance of her conception..."
The term *conception* does not mean the *active* or *generative* conception by her parents. Her body was formed in the womb of the mother, and the father had the usual share in its formation. The question does not concern the immaculateness of the generative activity of her parents. Neither does it concern the passive conception absolutely and simply (*conceptio seminis carnis, inchoata*), which, according to the order of nature, precedes the infusion of the rational soul. The person is truly conceived when the soul is created and infused into the body. Mary was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin at the first moment of her animation, and sanctifying grace was given to her before sin could have taken effect in her soul.

"...was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin..."
The formal active essence of original sin was not removed from her soul, as it is *removed* from others by baptism; it was *excluded*, it never was in her soul. Simultaneously with the exclusion of sin. The state of original sanctity, innocence, and justice, as opposed to original sin, was conferred upon her, by which gift every stain and fault, all depraved emotions, passions, and debilities, essentially pertaining to original sin, were excluded. But she was not made exempt from the temporal penalties of Adam — from sorrow, bodily infirmities, and death.

"...by a singular privilege and grace granted by God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race."
The immunity from original sin was given to Mary by a singular exemption from a universal law through the same merits of Christ, by which other men are cleansed from sin by baptism. Mary needed the redeeming Saviour to obtain this exemption, and to be delivered from the universal necessity and debt (*debitum*) of being subject to original sin. The person of Mary, in consequence of her origin from Adam, should have been subject to sin, but, being the new Eve who was to be the mother of the new Adam, she was, by the eternal counsel of God and by the merits of Christ, withdrawn from the general law of original sin. Her redemption was the very masterpiece of Christ's redeeming wisdom. He is a greater redeemer who pays the debt that it may not be incurred than he who pays after it has fallen on the debtor.
Such is the meaning of the term "Immaculate Conception."

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[107] http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07674d.htm

ADDENDUM C[108]

The Irish Potato Famine

Introduction

Beginning in 1845 and lasting for six years, the potato famine killed over a million men, women and children in Ireland and caused another million to flee the country.

Ireland in the mid-1800s was an agricultural nation, populated by eight million persons who were among the poorest people in the Western World. Only about a quarter of the population could read and write. Life expectancy was short, just 40 years for men. The Irish married quite young, girls at 16, boys at 17 or 18, and tended to have large families, although infant mortality was also quite high.

A British survey in 1835 found half of the rural families in Ireland living in single-room, windowless mud cabins that didn't have chimneys. The people lived in small communal clusters, known as *clachans*, spread out among the beautiful countryside. Up to a dozen persons lived inside a cabin, sleeping in straw on the bare ground, sharing the place with the family's pig and chickens. In some cases, mud cabin occupants were actually the dispossessed descendants of Irish estate owners. It was not uncommon for a beggar in Ireland to mention that he was in fact the descendant of an ancient Irish king.

Interior of a peasant's cottage.
Pictorial Times - 1846

Most of the Irish countryside was owned by an English and Anglo-Irish hereditary ruling class. Many were absentee landlords that set foot on their properties once or twice a year, if at all. Mainly Protestant, they held titles to enormous tracts of land long ago confiscated from native Irish Catholics by British conquerors such as Oliver Cromwell. The landlords often utilized local agents to actually manage their estates while living lavishly in London or in Europe off the rents paid by Catholics for land their ancestors had once owned.

Throughout Ireland, Protestants known as middlemen rented large amounts of land on the various estates then sub-divided the land into smaller holdings which they rented to poor

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Catholic farmers. The middleman system began in the 1700s and became a major source of misery as they kept sub-dividing estates into smaller and smaller parcels while increasing the rent every year in a practice known as rack-renting.

The average tenant farmer lived at a subsistence level on less than ten acres. These Catholic farmers were usually considered tenants-at-will and could be evicted on short notice at the whim of the landlord, his agent, or middleman. By law, any improvements they made, such as building a stone house, became the property of the landlord. Thus there was never any incentive to upgrade their living conditions.

The tenant farmers often allowed landless laborers, known as cottiers, to live on their farms. The cottiers performed daily chores and helped bring in the annual harvest as payment of rent. In return, they were allowed to build a small cabin and keep their own potato garden to feed their families. Other landless laborers rented small fertilized potato plots from farmers as *conacre*,[109] with a portion of their potato harvest given up as payment of rent. Poor Irish laborers, more than anyone, became totally dependent on the potato for their existence. They also lived in a state of permanent insecurity with the possibility always looming they might be thrown off their plot.

The most fertile farmland was found in the north and east of Ireland. The more heavily populated south and west featured large wet areas (bog) and rocky soil. Mountains and bogs cover about a third of Ireland. By the mid-1800s, the density of Irish living on cultivated land was about 700 people per square mile, among the highest rate in Europe.

Potatoes are not native to Ireland but likely originated in the Andes Mountains of Peru, South America. In the early 1500s, Spanish conquerors found the Incas growing the vegetable, which the Spanish called *patata*. They were taken back to Europe and eventually reached England where the name changed to potato. About 1590, potatoes were introduced to Ireland where farmers quickly discovered they thrived in their country's cool moist soil with very little labor. An acre of fertilized potato field could yield up to 12 tons of potatoes, enough to feed a family of six for a year with leftovers going to the family's animals.

By the 1800s, the potato had become the staple crop in the poorest regions. More than three million Irish peasants subsisted solely on the vegetable which is rich in protein, carbohydrates, minerals, and vitamins such as riboflavin, niacin and Vitamin C. It is possible to stay healthy on a diet of potatoes alone. The Irish often drank a little buttermilk with their meal and sometimes used salt, cabbage, and fish as seasoning. Irish peasants were actually healthier than peasants in England or Europe where bread, far less nutritious, was the staple food.

Irish farmers utilized an ancient 'lazy bed' planting technique. Using a simple spade, they first marked long parallel lines in the soil about four feet apart throughout the entire plot. In between the lines, they piled a mixture of manure and crushed seashells then turned over the surrounding sod onto this, leaving the grass turned upside down. Seed potatoes were inserted in-between the overturned grass and the layer of fertilizer then buried with dirt dug-up along the marked lines.

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[109] **Conacre** (a corruption of *corn-acre*), is a system of renting land in Ireland, in small patches or strips, and usually for growth of corn or potatoes. During the 19th century, conacre land was normally rented on an eleven month system - considered to be of sufficient length to sow and harvest a crop but without creating a relationship between landlord and tenant.

The potato bed was thus raised about a foot off the surrounding ground, with good drainage provided via the newly dug parallel trenches.

Planting occurred in the spring beginning around St. Patrick's Day. Most of the poor Irish grew a variety known as *Lumpers*, a high yielding, but less nutritious potato that didn't mature until September or October. Every year for the poor, July and August were the hungry months as the previous year's crop became inedible and the current crop wasn't quite ready for harvest. This was the yearly 'summer hunger,' also called 'meal months,' referring to oat or barley meal bought from price gauging dealers out of necessity. During the summer hunger, women and children from the poorest families resorted to begging along the roadside while the men sought temporary work in the harvest fields of England.

By autumn, the potatoes were ready to be harvested, carefully stored in pits, and eaten during the long winter into the spring and early summer. The Irish consumed an estimated seven million tons in this way each year. The system worked year after year and the people were sustained as long as the potato crop didn't fail.

Before the Famine

In 1798, inspired by the American and French revolutions, the Irish staged a major rebellion against British rule. Widespread hangings and floggings soon followed as the rebellion was brutally squashed. The English Army in Ireland was also increased to nearly 100,000 men.

Two years later, the British Act of Union made Ireland a part of the United Kingdom. The Act abolished the 500-year-old independent Irish Parliament in Dublin and placed the country under the jurisdiction of Britain's Imperial Parliament at Westminster, England. Although Ireland was to be represented there by 100 members, Catholics were excluded.

Anti-Catholic prohibitions dated back to 1695 when the British began imposing a series of Penal Laws designed to punish the Irish for supporting the Catholic Stuart King, James II, in his battle to ascend the British throne in place of the Protestant, William of Orange. With an Irish Catholic army at his side, James II had been defeated at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690. The resulting Penal Laws stripped Irish Catholics of their rights including; the ability to serve as an officer in the British Army or Navy, hold any government office, vote, buy land, practice law, attend school, serve an apprenticeship, possess weapons, and practice their religion. The Catholic Church was outlawed. The Gaelic language was banned. Export trade was forbidden as Irish commerce and industry were deliberately destroyed.

With 80 percent of Ireland being Catholic, the Penal Laws were intended to degrade the Irish so severely that they would never again be in a position to seriously threaten Protestant rule. In 1600, Protestants had owned just 10 percent of Ireland's land. By 1778, Protestants owned 95 percent of the land. When a Catholic landowner died, the estate was divide up equally among all of his sons, diluting the value. However, if any son renounced Catholicism and became a Protestant, he automatically inherited all of his father's property.

Various Penal Laws remained in effect for 140 years until Catholic Emancipation occurred in 1829, largely through the efforts of Daniel O'Connell, a brilliant Catholic lawyer from County Kerry. But by the time of Emancipation, Ireland had become a nation laid low.

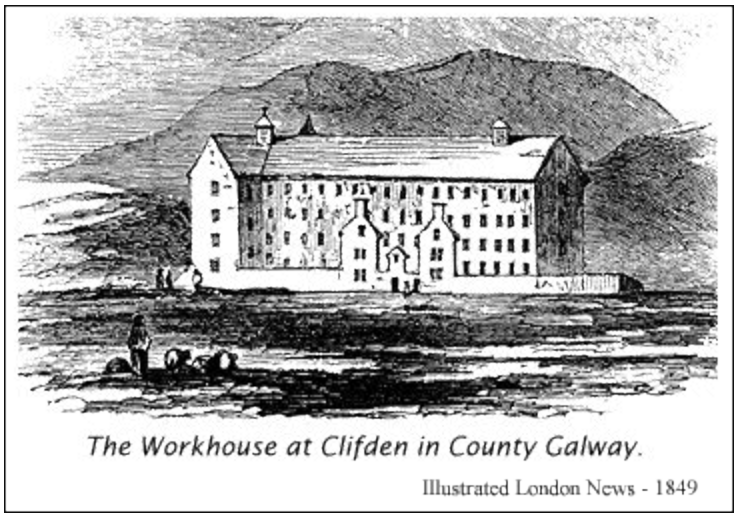
The French sociologist, Gustave de Beaumont, visited Ireland in 1835 and wrote: "I have seen the Indian in his forests, and the Negro in his chains, and thought, as I contemplated their pitiable condition, that I saw the very extreme of human wretchedness; but I did not then know the condition of unfortunate Ireland...In all countries, more or less, paupers may be discovered; but an entire nation of paupers is what was never seen until it was shown in Ireland."

By the mid-1800s, many high-minded English politicians and social reformers began to think that Ireland was a nation in need of transformation, that its people now needed to be yanked into the modern world by tossing out the old Gaelic traditions. To the industrious, ambitious British, their rural Irish neighbors seemed to be an alien, rebellious, backward people, stuck in an ancient agrarian past. English reformers hoped to remake the Irish in their own image, thus ending Ireland's cycle of poverty and misfortune in an era when poverty was thought to be caused by bad moral character. The laid-back, communal lifestyle of Irish peasants with their long periods of idleness was also an affront to influential Protestants in England who believed idleness was the devil's work. They professed the virtues of hard work, thrift and self-reliance and regarded the Irish as totally lacking in these qualities, a point of view also shared by many British officials and politicians.

English reformers watched in dismay as Ireland's 'surplus' population doubled to over 8 million before the Famine. Bountiful harvests meant the people were generally well fed but there were very few employment opportunities. The Act of Union had resulted in Ireland's economy being absorbed by Britain. Although free trade now existed between the two countries, England generally used Ireland as a dumping ground for its surplus goods. Rapid industrialization in Britain also brought the collapse of the Irish linen and woolen industries in the countryside with their less efficient handlooms. The British 'Poor Enquiry' survey conducted in 1835, revealed that 75 percent of Irish laborers were without any regular work and that begging was very common.

Poor Irish chlidren.
Illustrated London News - 1843

The British government, under pressure from English reformers to relieve the situation, enacted the Poor Law Act of 1838, modeled on the English workhouse system. Under this relief plan, Ireland was divided into 130 separate administrative areas, called unions, since they united several church parishes together. Each union had its own workhouse and a local Board of Guardians elected by taxpaying landowners and farmers. The chairman of the Board was usually the biggest proprietor or landlord in the area. Each Board was responsible for setting local tax rates and for collecting the funds necessary to maintain the workhouse. Inside each workhouse lived a resident Master and Matron, who were also supervised by the Board. The entire system was supervised by a Poor Law Commissioner stationed in Dublin.


The Workhouse at Clifden in County Galway.
Illustrated London News - 1849

Upon arrival at a workhouse, the head of a pauper family would be harshly questioned to prove his family had no other way of surviving. Once admitted, families were immediately split up, had their old clothes removed, were washed down, then given workhouse uniforms. Men and women, boys and girls had their own living quarters and were permanently segregated. Workhouse residents were forbidden to leave the building. The ten-hour workday involved breaking of stones for men and knitting for the women. Little children were drilled in their daily school lessons while older children received factory-style industrial training. A bell tolled throughout the day signaling the start or end of various activities. Strict rules included no use of bad language, no disobedience, no laziness, no talking during mealtime and prohibited any family reunions, except during Sunday church.

The 130 pre-famine workhouses throughout Ireland could hold a total of about 100,000 persons. Everyone knew that entering a workhouse meant the complete loss of dignity and freedom, thus poor people avoided them. Before the Famine, workhouses generally remained three-quarters empty despite the fact there were an estimated 2.4 million Irish living in a state of poverty.

Early Emigrants

Many adventurous, unemployed young Irishmen sought their fortunes in America and boarded ships heading for Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Emigrants during the 1700s were mostly Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, the so-called "Scotch-Irish." Some agreed to work as indentured servants without pay up to five years in return for free passage. By 1776, nearly 250,000 Irish Protestants had emigrated to North America.

Between 1815 and 1845, nearly a million Irish, including a large number of unemployed Catholics, came to the United States. The men went to work providing the backbreaking labor needed to build canals, roads and railways in the rapidly expanding country. Irish pick-and-shovel workers proved to be very hard-working and were in great demand. American contractors often placed advertisements in newspapers in Dublin, Cork and Belfast before beginning big construction projects. The massive Erie Canal project, for example, was built by scores of Irishmen working from dawn till dusk for a dollar-a-day, hand-digging their way westward through the rugged wilderness of upstate New York. The 363 mile-long canal became the main east-west commerce route and spurred America's early economic growth by drastically lowering the costs of getting goods to market.

Back home in Ireland, on the eve of the Famine, the spirit of rebellion had once again arisen. Led by the brilliant orator, Daniel O'Connell, growing numbers of Irish were demanding self-government for Ireland through repeal of the Act of Union. The Repeal Movement featured mass rallies filled with O'Connell's fiery oratory. At one such rally in County Meath, nearly 750,000 persons came together on the Hill of Tara, a former place of Irish kings.

The movement peaked in October 1843 as O'Connell and half-a-million supporters attempted to gather near Dublin for another 'monster' rally, but this time encountered British cannons, warships and troops ready for a violent confrontation. To avoid a potential massacre, O'Connell ordered his people to disperse. The British then arrested the 68-year-old O'Connell. While in prison his health broke and his Repeal Movement faded. He died just a few years later, leaving Ireland leaderless and without a charismatic voice during its darkest period.

The Blight Begins

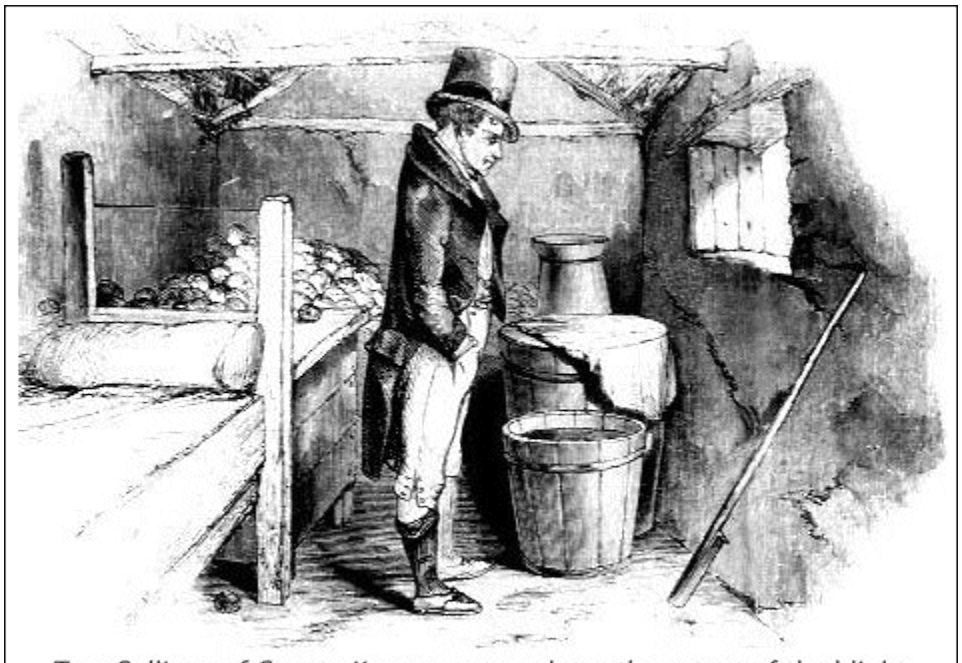
The Famine began quite mysteriously in September 1845 as leaves on potato plants suddenly turned black and curled, then rotted, seemingly the result of a fog that had wafted across the fields of Ireland. The cause was actually an airborne fungus (*phytophthora infestans*) originally transported in the holds of ships traveling from North America to England.

Winds from southern England carried the fungus to the countryside around Dublin. The blight spread throughout the fields as fungal spores settled on the leaves of healthy potato plants, multiplied and were carried in the millions by cool breezes to surrounding plants. Under ideal moist conditions, a single infected potato plant could infect thousands more in just a few days.

The attacked plants fermented while providing the nourishment the fungus needed to live, emitting a nauseous stench as they blackened and withered in front of the disbelieving eyes of Irish peasants. There had been crop failures in the past due to weather and other diseases, but this strange new failure was unlike anything ever seen. Potatoes dug out of the ground at first looked edible, but shriveled and rotted within days. The potatoes had been attacked by the same fungus that had destroyed the plant leaves above ground.

By October 1845, news of the blight had reached London. British Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, quickly established a Scientific Commission to examine the problem. After briefly studying the situation, the Commission issued a gloomy report that over half of Ireland's potato crop might perish due to 'wet rot.'

Meanwhile, the people of Ireland formulated their own unscientific theories on the cause of the blight. Perhaps, it was thought, static electricity in the air resulting from the newly arrived locomotive trains caused it. Others reasoned that 'mortiferous vapors' from volcanoes emanating from the center of the earth might have done it. Some Catholics viewed the crisis in religious terms as Divine punishment for the "sins of the people" while others saw it as Judgment against abusive



Tom Sullivan of County Kerry comtemplates the extent of the blight.

Pictorial Times - 1846

landlords and middlemen.

In England, religious-minded social reformers viewed the blight as a heaven-sent 'blessing' that would finally provide an opportunity to transform Ireland, ending the cycle of poverty resulting from the people's mistaken dependence on the potato.

With the threat of starvation looming, Prime Minister Peel made a courageous political decision to advocate repeal of England's long-standing Corn Laws. The protectionist laws had been enacted in 1815 to artificially keep up the price of British-grown grain by imposing heavy tariffs on all imported grain. Under the Corn Laws, the large amounts of cheap foreign grain now needed for Ireland would be prohibitively expensive. However, English gentry and politicians reacted with outrage at the mere prospect of losing their long-cherished price protections. The political furor in Britain surrounding Peel's decision quickly overshadowed any concern for the consequences of the crop failure in Ireland.

Ireland's potato crop failures in the past had always been regional and short-lived with modest loss of life. Between 1800 and 1845, sixteen food shortages had occurred in various parts of Ireland. However, during the Famine the crop failure became national for the first time, affecting the entire country at once. British officials believed the 1845 food shortage would likely end with next year's harvest. Thus they reacted to the current food shortage as they had in the past by enacting temporary relief measures.

A Relief Commission was established in Dublin to set up local relief committees throughout Ireland composed of landowners, their agents, magistrates, clergy and notable residents. The local committees were supposed to help organize employment projects and distribute food to the poor while raising money from landowners to cover part of the cost. The British government would then contribute a matching amount.

However, in remote rural areas, many of the relief committees were taken over by poorly educated farmers who conducted disorganized, rowdy meetings. Local landowners, upon seeing who was on the committees, balked at donating any money. There were also a high number of absentee landlords in the remote western areas with little first-hand knowledge of what was occurring on their property. They also failed to donate.

Trevelyan Takes Over

The shaky Irish relief effort soon came under the control of a 38-year-old English civil servant named Charles Edward Trevelyan, Assistant Secretary of the British Treasury. Trevelyan was appointed by Prime Minister Peel to oversee relief operations in Ireland and would become the single most important British administrator during the Famine years. He was a brilliant young man of unimpeachable integrity but was also stubborn, self-righteous, overly bureaucratic, and not given to a favorable opinion of the Irish.

Unwilling to delegate any authority in his day-to-day duties, he managed every detail, no matter how small. All communications arriving from his administrators in Ireland were handed directly to him, unseen by anyone else. Important decisions were thus delayed as his workload steadily increased. He often remained at his office until 3 a.m. and demanded the same kind of round-the-clock commitment from his subordinates.

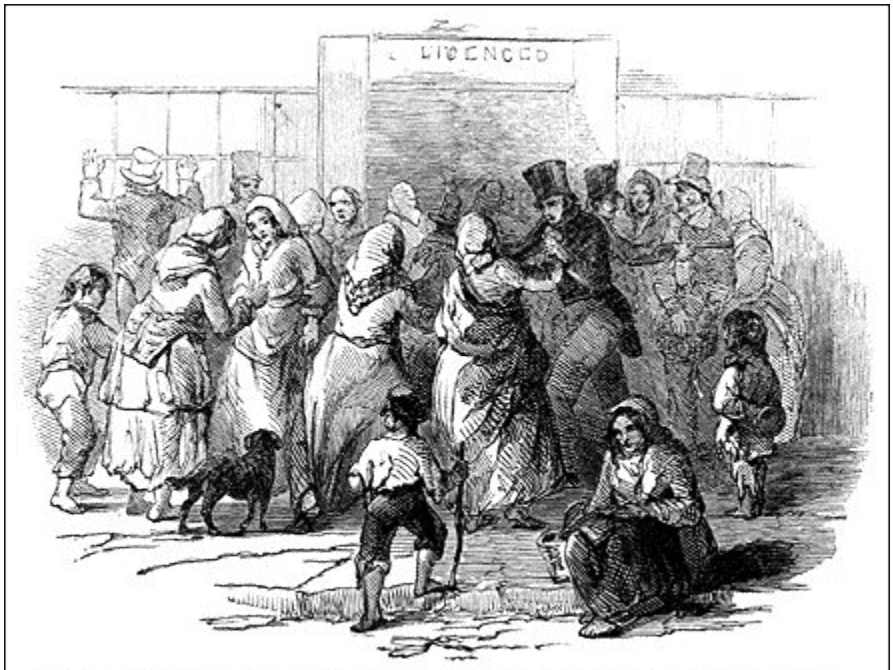
Trevelyan would visit Ireland just once during all of the Famine years, venturing only as far as Dublin, far from the hard-hit west of Ireland. Remoteness from the suffering, he once stated, kept

his judgment more acute than that of his administrators actually working among the people affected.

In the spring of 1846, under his control, the British attempted to implement a large-scale public works program for Ireland's unemployed. Similar temporary programs had been successfully used in the past. But this time, Trevelyan complicated the process via new bureaucratic procedures that were supposed to be administered by a Board of Works located in Dublin. The understaffed Board was quickly swamped with work requests from landowners. At the same time, local relief committees were besieged by masses of unemployed men. The result was confusion and anger. British troops had to be called in to quell several disturbances.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Peel came up with his own solution to the food problem. Without informing his own Conservative (Tory) government, he secretly purchased two shipments of inexpensive Indian corn (maize) directly from America to be distributed to the Irish. But problems arose as soon as the maize arrived in Ireland. It needed to be ground into digestible corn meal and there weren't enough mills available amid a nation of potato farmers. Mills that did process the maize discovered the pebble-like grain had to be ground twice.

To distribute the corn meal, a practical, business-like plan was developed in which the Relief Commission sold the meal at cost to local relief committees which in turn sold it at cost to the Irish at just one penny per pound. But peasants soon ran out of money and most landowners failed to contribute any money to maintain the relief effort.



Turbulent opening of the store in Cork selling Peel's Indian Corn.

Illustrated London News - 1846

The corn meal itself also caused problems. Normally, the Irish ate enormous meals of boiled potatoes three times a day. A working man might eat up to fourteen pounds each day. They found Indian corn to be an unsatisfying substitute. Peasants nicknamed the bright yellow substance 'Peel's brimstone.' It was difficult to cook, hard to digest and caused diarrhea. Most of all, it lacked the belly-filling bulk of the potato. It also lacked Vitamin C and resulted in scurvy, a condition previously unknown in Ireland due to the normal consumption of potatoes rich in Vitamin C.

Out of necessity, the Irish grew accustomed to the corn meal. But by June 1846 supplies were exhausted. The Relief Commission estimated that four million Irish would need to be fed during

the spring and summer of 1846, since nearly £3 million worth of potatoes had been lost in the first year of the Famine. But Peel had imported only about £100,000 worth of Indian corn from America and Trevelyan made no effort to replenish the limited supply.

Laissez-Faire

In deciding their course of action during the Famine, British government officials and administrators rigidly adhered to the popular theory of the day, known as laissez-faire (meaning let it be), which advocated a hands-off policy in the belief that all problems would eventually be solved on their own through 'natural means.'

Great efforts were thus made to sidestep social problems and avoid any interference with private enterprise or the rights of property owners. Throughout the entire Famine period, the British government would never provide massive food aid to Ireland under the assumption that English landowners and private businesses would have been unfairly harmed by resulting food price fluctuations.

In adhering to laissez-faire, the British government also did not interfere with the English-controlled export business in Irish-grown grains. Throughout the Famine years, large quantities of native-grown wheat, barley, oats and oatmeal sailed out of places such as Limerick and Waterford for England, even though local Irish were dying of starvation. Irish farmers, desperate for cash, routinely sold the grain to the British in order to pay the rent on their farms and thus avoid eviction.

In the first year of the Famine, deaths from starvation were kept down due to the imports of Indian corn and survival of about half the original potato crop. Poor Irish survived the first year by selling off their livestock and pawning their meager possessions whenever necessary to buy food. Some borrowed money at high interest from petty money-lenders, known as gombeen men. They also fell behind on their rents.

The potato crop in Ireland had never failed for two consecutive years. Everyone was counting on the next harvest to be blight-free. But the blight was here to stay and three of the following four years would be potato crop disasters, with catastrophic consequences for Ireland.

The Great Hunger

On June 29, 1846, the resignation of British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel was announced. Peel's Conservative government had fallen over political fallout from repeal of the Corn Laws which he had forced through Parliament. His departure paved the way for Charles Trevelyan to take full control of Famine policy under the new Liberal government. The Liberals, known as Whigs in those days, were led by Lord John Russell, and were big believers in the principle of laissez-faire.

Once he had firmly taken control, Trevelyan ordered the closing of the food depots in Ireland that had been selling Peel's Indian corn. He also rejected another boatload of Indian corn already headed for Ireland. His reasoning, as he explained in a letter, was to prevent the Irish from becoming "habitually dependent" on the British government. His openly stated desire was to make "Irish property support Irish poverty."

As a devout advocate of laissez-faire, Trevelyan also claimed that aiding the Irish brought "the risk of paralyzing all private enterprise." Thus he ruled out providing any more government food,

despite early reports the potato blight had already been spotted amid the next harvest in the west of Ireland. Trevelyan believed Peel's policy of providing cheap Indian corn meal to the Irish had been a mistake because it undercut market prices and had discouraged private food dealers from importing the needed food. This year, the British government would do nothing. The food depots would be closed on schedule and the Irish fed via the free market, reducing their dependence on the government while at the same time maintaining the rights of private enterprise.

Throughout the summer of 1846, the people of Ireland had high hopes for a good potato harvest. But the cool moist summer weather had been ideal for the spread of blight. Diseased potatoes from the previous harvest had also been used as planters and sprouted diseased shoots. At first, the crop appeared healthy. But by harvest time the blight struck ferociously, spreading fifty miles per week across the countryside, destroying nearly every potato in Ireland.

A Catholic priest named Father Matthew wrote to Trevelyan: "In many places the wretched people were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, wringing their hands and wailing bitterly the destruction that had left them foodless."

There were only enough potatoes to feed the Irish population for a single month. Panic swept the country. Local relief committees were once again besieged by mobs of unemployed demanding jobs on public works projects. The Irish Board of Works was once again swamped with work proposals from landlords.

Trevelyan's free market relief plan depended on private merchants supplying food to peasants who were earning wages through public works employment financed mainly by the Irish themselves through local taxes. But the problems with this plan were numerous. Tax revues were insufficient. Wages had been set too low. Paydays were irregular and those who did get work could not afford to both pay their rent and buy food. Ireland also lacked adequate transportation for efficient food distribution. There were only 70 miles of railroad track in the whole country and no usable commercial shipping docks in the western districts. By September, starvation struck in the west and southwest where the people had been entirely dependent on the potato. British Coastguard Inspector-General, Sir James Dombrain, upon encountering starving paupers, ordered his subordinates to give free food handouts. For his efforts, Dombrain was publicly rebuked by Trevelyan. The proper procedure, he was informed, would have been to encourage the Irish to form a local relief committee so that Irish funds could have been raised to provide the food.

A starving boy and girl in Cork hoping to find a potato.
Illustrated London News - 1847

"There was no one within many miles who could have contributed one shilling...The people were actually dying," Dombrain responded.

Many of the rural Irish had little knowledge of money, preferring to live by the old barter system, trading goods and labor for whatever they needed. Any relief plan requiring them to purchase food was bound to fail. In areas where people actually had a little money, they couldn't find a single loaf of bread or ounce of corn meal for sale. Food supplies in 1846 were very tight throughout all of Europe, severely reducing imports into England and Ireland. European countries such as

France and Belgium outbid Britain for food from the Mediterranean and even for Indian corn from America.

Meanwhile, the Irish watched with increasing anger as boatloads of home-grown oats and grain departed on schedule from their shores for shipment to England. Food riots erupted in ports such as Youghal near Cork where peasants tried unsuccessfully to confiscate a boatload of oats. At Dungarvan in County Waterford, British troops were pelted with stones and fired 26 shots into the crowd, killing two peasants and wounding several others. British naval escorts were then provided for the riverboats as they passed before the starving eyes of peasants watching on shore.

As the Famine worsened, the British continually sent in more troops. "Would to God the Government would send us food instead of soldiers," a starving inhabitant of County Mayo lamented.

The Irish in the countryside began to live off wild blackberries, ate nettles, turnips, old cabbage leaves, edible seaweed, shellfish, roots, roadside weeds and even green grass. They sold their livestock and pawned everything they owned including their clothing to pay the rent to avoid certain eviction and then bought what little food they could find with any leftover money. As food prices steadily rose, parents were forced to listen to the endless crying of malnourished children.

Fish, although plentiful along the West Coast of Ireland, remained out of reach in water too deep and dangerous for the little cowhide-covered Irish fishing boats, known as currachs. Starving fishermen also pawned their nets and tackle to buy food for their families.

Making matters worse, the winter of 1846-47 became the worst in living memory as one blizzard after another buried homes in snow up to their roofs. The Irish climate is normally mild and entire winters often pass without snow. But this year, an abrupt change in the prevailing winds from southwest into the northeast brought bitter cold gales of snow, sleet and hail.

Black Forty-Seven

Amid the bleak winter, hundreds of thousands of desperate Irish sought work on public works relief projects. By late December 1846, 500,000 men, women and children were at work building stone roads. Paid by piece-work, the men broke apart large stones with hammers then placed the fragments in baskets carried by the women to the road site where they were dumped and fit into place. They built roads that went from nowhere to nowhere in remote rural areas that had no need of such roads in the first place. Many of the workers, poorly clothed, malnourished and weakened by fever, fainted or even dropped dead on the spot.

The men were unable to earn enough money to adequately feed themselves let alone their families as food prices continued to climb. Corn meal now sold for three pennies a pound, three times what it had been a year earlier. As a result, children sometimes went unfed so that parents could stay healthy enough to keep working for the desperately needed cash.

A first-hand investigation of the overall situation was conducted by William Forster, a member of the Quaker community in England. He was acting on behalf of the recently formed Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends, with branches in Dublin and London. The children, Forster observed, had become "like skeletons, their features sharpened with hunger and their limbs wasted, so that little was left but bones, their hands and arms, in particular, being much emaciated, and the happy expression of infancy gone from their faces, leaving behind the anxious look of premature old age."

Nicholas Cummins, the magistrate of Cork, visited the hard-hit coastal district of Skibbereen. "I entered some of the hovels," he wrote, "and the scenes which presented themselves were such as no tongue or pen can convey the slightest idea of. In the first, six famished and ghastly skeletons, to all appearances dead, were huddled in a corner on some filthy straw, their sole covering what seemed a ragged horsecloth, their wretched legs hanging about, naked above the knees. I approached with horror, and found by a low moaning they were alive -- they were in fever, four children, a woman and what had once been a man. It is impossible to go through the detail. Suffice it to say, that in a few minutes I was surrounded by at least 200 such phantoms, such frightful spectres as no words can describe, [suffering] either from famine or from fever. Their demoniac yells are still ringing in my ears, and their horrible images are fixed upon my brain."

Holding her dead child, a mother begs for enough money to get a coffin.
Illustrated London News - 1847

The dead were buried without coffins just a few inches below the soil, to be gnawed at by rats and dogs. In some cabins, the dead remained for days or weeks among the living who were too weak to move the bodies outside. In other places, unmarked hillside graves came into use as big trenches were dug and bodies dumped in, then covered with quicklime.

Most died not from hunger but from associated diseases such as typhus, dysentery, relapsing fever, and famine dropsy, in an era when doctors were unable to provide any cure. Highly contagious 'Black Fever,' as typhus was nicknamed since it blackened the skin, is spread by body lice and was carried from town to town by beggars and homeless paupers. Numerous doctors, priests, nuns, and kind-hearted persons who attended to the sick in their lice-infested dwellings also succumbed. Rural Irish, known for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, never refused to let a beggar or homeless family spend the night and often unknowingly contracted typhus. At times, entire homeless families, ravaged by fever, simply laid down along the roadside and died, succumbing to 'Road Fever.'

Soup Kitchens

Trevelyan's public works relief plan for Ireland had failed. At its peak, in February and March of 1847, some 700,000 Irish toiled about in useless projects while never earning enough money to halt starvation.

Now, in Cork harbor, the long-awaited private enterprise shipments of Indian corn and other food supplies had finally begun arriving. Food prices dropped by half and later dropped to a third of what they had been, but the penniless Irish still could not afford to eat. As a result, food accumulated in warehouses within sight of people walking about the streets starving.

Between March and June of 1847, the British government gradually shut down all of the public works projects throughout Ireland. The government, under the direction of Prime Minister Russell, had decided on an abrupt change of policy "to keep the people alive." The starving Irish were now to be fed for free through soup kitchens sponsored by local relief committees and by groups such as the Quakers and the British Relief Association, a private charity funded by prosperous English merchants.

The Soup Kitchen Act of 1847 called for the food to be provided through taxes collected by local relief committees from Irish landowners and merchants. But little money was ever forthcoming. Ireland was slowly going bankrupt. Landlords, many of whom were already heavily in debt with big mortgages and unpaid loans, were not receiving rents from their cash-strapped tenants. Merchants also went broke, closed up their shops, then joined the ranks of the dispossessed, begging on the streets.

Daily soup demand quickly exceeded the limited supply available. In Killarney, there was just one soup kitchen for 10,000 persons. Cheap soup recipes were improvised containing stomach-turning combinations of old meat, vegetables, and Indian corn all boiled together in water. To a people already suffering from dysentery, the watery stew could be a serious health risk. Many refused to eat the "vile" soup after just one serving, complaining of severe bowel problems. Another dislike was the requirement for every man woman and child to stand in line while holding a small pot or bowl to receive their daily serving, an affront to their pride.

By the spring, Government-sponsored soup kitchens were established throughout the countryside and began dispensing 'stirabout,' a more substantial porridge made from two-thirds Indian corn meal and one-third rice, cooked with water. By the summer, three million Irish were being kept alive on a pound of stirabout and a four-ounce slice of bread each day. But the meager rations were not enough to prevent malnutrition. Many adults slowly starved on this diet.

In the fall of 1847, the third potato harvest during the Famine brought in a blight-free crop but not enough potatoes had been planted back in the spring to sustain the people. The yield was only a quarter of the normal amount. Seed potatoes, many having been eaten, had been in short supply. Planters had either been involved in the public works projects or had been too ill to dig. Others were simply discouraged, knowing that whatever they grew would be seized by landowners, agents or middlemen as back payment for rent. The rough winter had also continued to wreak havoc into March and April with sleet, snow, and heavy winds, further delaying planting. Seed for alternative crops such as cabbage, peas and beans, had been too expensive for small farmers and laborers to buy.

Many landlords, desperate for cash income, now wanted to grow wheat or graze cattle and sheep on their estates. But they were prevented from doing so by the scores of tiny potato plots and dilapidated huts belonging to penniless tenants who had not paid rent for months, if not years. To save their estates from ruin, the paupers would simply have to go.

Coffin Ships

During the Famine period, an estimated half-million Irish were evicted from their cottages. Unscrupulous landlords used two methods to remove their penniless tenants. The first involved applying for a legal judgment against the male head of a family owing back-rent. After the local barrister pronounced judgment, the man would be thrown in jail and his wife and children dumped out on the streets. A 'notice to appear' was usually enough to cause most pauper families to flee and they were handed out by the hundreds.

The second method was for the landlord to simply pay to send pauper families overseas to British North America. Landlords would first make phony promises of money, food and clothing, then pack the half-naked people in overcrowded British sailing ships, poorly built and often unseaworthy, that became known as coffin ships.

The first coffin ships headed for Quebec, Canada. The three thousand mile journey, depending on winds and the captain's skill, could take from 40 days to three months. Upon arrival in the Saint Lawrence River, the ships were supposed to be inspected for disease and any sick passengers removed to quarantine facilities on Grosse Isle, a small island thirty miles downstream from Quebec City.

But in the spring of 1847, shipload after shipload of fevered Irish arrived, quickly overwhelming the small medical inspection facility, which only had 150 beds. By June, 40 vessels containing 14,000 Irish immigrants waited in a line extending two miles down the St. Lawrence. It took up to five days to see a doctor, many of whom were becoming ill from contact with the typhus-infected passengers. By the summer, the line of ships had grown several miles long. A fifteen-day general quarantine was then imposed for all of the waiting ships. Many healthy Irish thus succumbed to typhus as they were forced to remain in their lice-infested holds. With so many dead on board the waiting ships, hundreds of bodies were simply dumped overboard into the St. Lawrence.

Others, half-alive, were placed in small boats and then deposited on the beach at Grosse Isle, left to crawl to the hospital on their hands and knees if they could manage. Thousands of Irish, ill with typhus and dysentery, eventually wound up in hastily constructed wooden fever sheds. These makeshift hospitals, badly understaffed and unsanitary, simply became places to die, with corpses piled "like cordwood" in nearby mass graves. Those who couldn't get into the hospital died along the roadsides. In one case, an orphaned Irish boy walking along the road with other boys sat down for a moment under a tree to rest and promptly died on the spot.

The quarantine efforts were soon abandoned and the Irish were sent on to their next destination without any medical inspection or treatment. From Grosse Isle, the Irish were given free passage up the St. Lawrence to Montreal and cities such as Kingston and Toronto. The crowded open-aired river barges used to transport them exposed the fair-skinned Irish to all-day-long summer sun causing many bad sunburns. At night, they laid down close to each other to ward off the chilly air, spreading more lice and fever.

Many pauper families had been told by their landlords that once they arrived in Canada, an agent would meet them and pay out between two and five pounds depending on the size of the family. But no agents were ever found. Promises of money, food and clothing had been utterly false. Landlords knew that once the paupers arrived in Canada there was virtually no way for them to ever return to Ireland and make a claim. Thus they had promised them anything just to get them out of the country.

Montreal received the biggest influx of Irish during this time. Many of those arriving were quite ill from typhus and long-term malnutrition. Montreal's limited medical facilities at Point St. Charles were quickly overwhelmed. Homeless Irish wandered the countryside begging for help as temperatures dropped and the frosty Canadian winter set in. But they were shunned everywhere by Canadians afraid of contracting fever.

Of the 100,000 Irish that sailed to British North America in 1847, an estimated one out of five died from disease and malnutrition, including over five thousand at Grosse Isle.

Up to half of the men that survived the journey to Canada walked across the border to begin their new lives in America. They had no desire to live under the Union Jack flag in sparsely populated British North America. They viewed the United States with its anti-British tradition and its

bustling young cities as the true land of opportunity. Many left their families behind in Canada until they had a chance to establish themselves in the U.S.

Americans, unfortunately, not only had an anti-British tradition dating back to the Revolutionary era, but also had an anti-Catholic tradition dating back to the Puritan era. America in the 1840s was a nation of about 23 million inhabitants, mainly Protestant. Many of the Puritan descendants now viewed the growing influx of Roman Catholic Irish with increasing dismay.

One way to limit immigration was to make it more expensive to get to America. Ports along the eastern seaboard of the U.S. required a bond to be posted by the captain of a ship guaranteeing that his passengers would not become wards of the city. Passenger fares to the U.S. in 1847 were up to three times higher than fares to Canada. The British government intentionally kept fares to Quebec low to encourage the Irish to populate Canada and also to discourage them from emigrating to England.

Passenger Acts

American ships were held to higher standards than British ships by the U.S. Passenger Acts, a set of laws passed by Congress regulating the number of passengers ships coming to America could carry as well as their minimal accommodations. Congress reacted to the surge of Irish immigration by tightening the laws, reducing the number of passengers allowed per ship, thereby increasing fares. America, congressmen had complained, was becoming Europe's "poor house."

British shipping laws, by contrast, were lax. Ships of every shape and size sailed from Liverpool and other ports crammed full of people up to double each ship's capacity. In one case, an unseaworthy ship full of Irish sailed out of port then sank within sight of those on land who had just said farewell to the emigrants.

Irish emigrants depart Liverpool for North America.
Pictorial Times - 1846

During the trans-Atlantic voyage, British ships were only required to supply 7 lbs. of food per week per passenger. Most passengers, it was assumed, would bring along their own food for the journey. But most of the poor Irish boarded ships with no food, depending entirely on the pound-a-day handout which amounted to starvation rations. Food on board was also haphazardly cooked in makeshift brick fireplaces and was often undercooked, causing upset stomachs and diarrhea.

Many of the passengers were already ill with typhus as they boarded the ships. Before boarding, they had been given the once-over by doctors on shore who usually rejected no one for the trip, even those seemingly on the verge of death. British ships were not required to carry doctors. Anyone that died during the sea voyage was simply dumped overboard, without any religious rites.

Belowdecks, hundreds of men, women and children huddled together in the dark on bare wooden floors with no ventilation, breathing a stench of vomit and the effects of diarrhea amid no sanitary facilities. On ships that actually had sleeping berths, there were no mattresses and the berths were never cleaned. Many sick persons remained in bare wooden bunks lying in their own filth for the entire voyage, too ill to get up.

Another big problem was the lack of good drinking water. Sometimes the water was stored in leaky old wooden casks, or in casks that previously stored wine, vinegar or chemicals which contaminated the water and caused dysentery. Many ships ran out of water long before reaching North America, making life especially miserable for fevered passengers suffering from burning thirsts. Some unscrupulous captains profited by selling large amounts of alcohol to the passengers, resulting in "totally depraved and corrupted" behavior among them.

Refuge in Britain

The poorest of the poor never made it to North America. They fled Irish estates out of fear of imprisonment then begged all the way to Dublin or other seaports on the East Coast of Ireland. Once there, they boarded steamers and crossed the Irish Sea to Liverpool, Glasgow, and South Wales. It was a short trip, just two or three hours and cost only a few shillings. Pauper families sometimes traveled for free as human ballast on empty coal ships. Others were given fare money by landlords hoping to get rid of them cheaply. Relief funds intended for the purchase of food were sometimes diverted to pay for the fares.

For many Irishmen, crossing the sea to England was a familiar journey since they regularly worked in the harvest fields of England as seasonal laborers. But for their wives and children, it was a jarring experience. Crewmen scorned and herded them like animals onto crammed decks until the boat was dangerously overloaded. In one case, a crowded steamer heading for Liverpool arrived with 72 dead aboard. The captain had ordered the hatches battened down during a storm at sea and they had all suffocated.

Despite the dangers, the Irish knew that once they landed on Britain's shores they would not starve to death. Unlike Ireland, food handouts were freely available throughout the country. The quality of the food was also superior to the meager rations handed out in Ireland's soup kitchens and workhouses.

The Irish first headed for Liverpool, a city with a pre-famine population of about 250,000, many of whom were unskilled laborers. During the first wave of famine emigration, from January to June of 1847, an estimated 300,000 destitute Irish arrived in Liverpool, overwhelming the city. The financial burden of feeding the Irish every day soon brought the city to the brink of ruin. Sections of the city featuring cheap lodging houses became jammed. Overflow crowds moved into musty cellars, condemned and abandoned buildings, or anywhere they could just lie down. Amid these densely packed, unsanitary conditions, typhus once again reared its ugly head and an epidemic followed, accompanied by an outbreak of dysentery.

The cheap lodging houses were also used by scores of Irish waiting to embark on ships heading for North America. Three out of four Irish sailing for North America departed from the seaport at Liverpool. Normally they had to sleep over for a night or two until their ship was ready to sail. Many of these emigrants contracted typhus in the rundown, lice-infested lodging houses, then boarded ships, only to spend weeks suffering from burning fever out at sea.

On June 21, 1847, the British government, intending to aid besieged Liverpool, passed a tough new law allowing local authorities to deport homeless Irish back to Ireland. Within days, the first boatloads of paupers were being returned to Dublin and Cork, then abandoned on the docks. Orders for removal were issued by the hundreds. About 15,000 Irish were dragged out of filthy cellars and lodging houses and sent home even if they were ill with fever.

By the fall of 1847, the numbers of Irish entering Liverpool had slowed considerably and the housing crisis abated. Glasgow, the second major port of entry, also resorted to deporting the Irish due to similar overcrowding and fever outbreaks. The Irish then headed into the Lowlands and Edinburgh where yet another fever outbreak occurred. Everyone feared fever and thus shunned the Irish no matter how much they pleaded for help. Working men also viewed them as rivals for unskilled jobs.

To avoid deportation, the Irish moved further into the interior of England, Scotland and Wales. But wherever they went they were unwelcome. For the unfortunate Irish deported back home, the worst was yet to come.

Financial Ruin

The sight of tens of thousands of emaciated, diseased, half-naked Irish roaming the British countryside had infuriated members of the British Parliament. Someone had to take the blame for this incredible misfortune that had now crossed the Irish Sea and come upon the shores of Britain.

The obvious choice was the landlords of Ireland. Many British politicians and officials, including Charles Trevelyan, had long held the view that landlords were to blame for Ireland's chronic misery due to their failure to manage their estates efficiently and unwillingness to provide responsible leadership. Parliament thus enacted the Irish Poor Law Extension Act, a measure that became law on June 8, 1847, and dumped the entire cost and responsibility of Famine relief directly upon Ireland's property owners.

The British now intended to wash their hands of the 'Irish problem' no matter what lay ahead. Trevelyan supported this measure in the belief that enforced financial self-sufficiency was the only hope for ever improving Ireland. But in reality, many of Ireland's estate owners were deeply in debt with little or no cash income and were teetering on the verge of bankruptcy. However, the new Poor Law would require them to raise an estimated £10 million in tax revenue to support Ireland's paupers, an impossible task.

By now there was a plentiful supply of food in Ireland available for purchase in local markets but no one had any money. There was no employment of any kind. Trevelyan's public works projects had been shut down. Factories and industry were sparse. Local agriculture had been utterly disrupted.

Now, as the summer of 1847 ended, soup kitchens were also being shut down according to schedule. The Soup Kitchen Act had only been a temporary measure, designed to maintain the Irish until the autumn harvest. But the harvest of 1847 was just a quarter of the normal size due to insufficient planting back in the spring. The three million Irish who had come to depend on soup for survival would now have to fend for themselves, with no food handouts, no money, no employment, owing back-rent, and weakened by long-term malnutrition and disease.

British Financial Troubles

Ireland was not the only country with serious money problems. In the fall of 1847, Great Britain experienced a crash due to bad investments by English speculators and the resulting impact on London's banks. Wheat and corn prices had skyrocketed in 1846 throughout Europe only to tumble by the middle of 1847 when supply far exceeded demand. British investors that speculated took huge losses.

At the same time, investors speculating in the topsy-turvy British railway industry were ruined as railway shares collapsed. Money became very tight as British banks refused further credit. Eleven banks failed outright. Over a hundred established business firms went bankrupt. Stock prices and commodities tumbled.

The British financial crisis meant there would be no money available to help Ireland during its greatest time of need. British officials, greatly preoccupied with their own domestic troubles, would now pay little attention to Ireland. However, there was one exception. Charles Trevelyan remained deeply interested in relief operations in Ireland and quite determined to enforce the Poor Law Extension Act.

The British wanted to make the idea of getting a free handout as unattractive as possible to able-bodied Irishmen, fearing they would overwhelm the inadequate relief system, especially in the hard-pressed areas of southwest Ireland. The new Poor Law thus designated workhouses as the only places where able-bodied men could obtain relief, but only after surrendering all other means of support.

Anyone holding over a quarter-acre of land was required to forfeit their land before seeking relief. As a result, countless farm families with small holdings were forced into a life-and-death decision over whether to stay on their land and possibly starve or to give up their farm, surrender their dignity, and head for the workhouse as destitute paupers.

Workhouses were sparse in remote areas of Ireland and those that existed there were already occupied by widows, children, and the elderly. Trevelyan's idea was for these people to be ejected from the workhouses to make way for the men. But many local officials in Ireland were unwilling to do this.

To organize relief in Ireland, the British had divided the country into 130 separate areas (unions) with several parishes combined together to form a union. Each union was run by a Board of Guardians consisting of Irishmen responsible for setting local tax rates and collecting the revenue needed to provide aid to the people living within the union. But the plan encountered problems from the start due to the sheer size of most of the unions (100,000 or more acres) combined with the ever-increasing shortage of property owners financially able to pay taxes, especially in the hardest hit rural districts.

Wherever they were most needed, workhouses quickly slid into debt, ran short of supplies and turned people away in droves. Families in desolate areas resorted to living in small hovels cut out of the bog or dirt holes dug along the hillside. In Donegal Union, ten thousand persons were found living "in a state of degradation and filth which it is difficult to believe the most barbarous nations ever exceeded," according to the Quaker, William Forster. His organization, the Society of Friends, had refused to work in cooperation with the new Poor Law.

Ireland Turned Upside Down

By late 1847, most of the unions were heavily in debt with only a handful managing to collect the funds necessary to continue feeding local paupers. But rather than recognize the inherent problems with the new Poor Law, the British Government chose instead to exert maximum pressure on the Boards of Guardians in Ireland to collect their taxes "...by every available legal means and power of recovery..."

"Arrest, remand, do anything you can," Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, instructed Lord Lieutenant Clarendon, the ranking British official in Ireland.

"Send horse, foot and dragoons, all the world will applaud you, and I should not be at all squeamish as to what I did, to the verge of the law and a little beyond."

Ireland was to be turned upside down to shake every last penny out of the pockets of property owners and former tax payers still listed on the rolls. Rate collectors seized livestock, furniture, or anything else of value including the clothes and tools of former tax payers who had become homeless paupers. By the end of the year, just under £1 million had been extracted from the Irish by such methods.

"The principle of the Poor Law," Trevelyan declared, "is that rate after rate should be levied, for the purpose of preserving life, until the landlord and the farmer either enable the people to support themselves by honest industry, or dispose of their estates to those who can perform this indispensable duty."

The new Poor Law also made landlords responsible for the taxes on small holdings on their estates occupied by peasant families and small farmers. To relieve themselves of this tax burden they evicted those tenants and broke up their little farms and villages, sometimes hiring local thugs who delighted in throwing out the people then smashing their cottages to bits with crowbars. British troops were also used when necessary, although many of the soldiers were reluctant to get involved in family evictions.

Bridget O'Donnel and her children after their eviction.

Illustrated London News - 1849

As winter approached, increasing numbers of evicted Irish families wandered the countryside in tattered rags with nowhere to sleep. Workhouses were already jammed. In the west of Ireland, people were now showing up by the hundreds at workhouse gates only to be turned away. As a temporary emergency measure, auxiliary workhouses were set up in unused warehouses, empty stores and other old buildings to provide shelter for an additional 150,000 persons. But they had no heat or sanitary facilities.

And soon they had no food. In strict adherence with the new Poor Law, unions that failed to raise the necessary taxes for food purchases were not helped by the British government as a matter of policy. Both inside and outside the workhouses of western Ireland, people began to starve on a scale approaching the previous ruinous winter. Anger and resentment grew in the countryside over the prospect that it was all going to happen again. The result was intense hatred for British authority, leading to unrest and anti-landlord violence.

Six landlords were shot and killed along with ten others involved in land management. Among those murdered was Denis Mahon of County Roscommon. He held the rank of major in a British cavalry regiment and had inherited the property of Strokestown shortly before the Famine. The property measured 9,000 acres and contained 28 little villages. After the failure of the potato, he had been one of the landlords paying to send unwanted tenants to Quebec. Over eight hundred tenants had thus vacated his estate. But there were still over three thousand paupers remaining in the villages and he proceeded to evict them all including 84 widows. For his actions, he was ambushed along the road by two Irishmen and shot dead. The people celebrated news of his death by lighting bonfires on the hills around his estate.

British officials were appalled. Fearful the violence might spread, they sent an additional fifteen thousand soldiers to Ireland and passed the Crime and Outrage Bill curtailing certain liberties in Ireland such as the carrying of firearms. The law also required Irishmen to assist in capturing suspected murderers. But despite these measures, many Anglo-Irish landowners and gentry fled the country, now fearing for their lives. Those who remained behind utilized heavy police protection.

Early in 1848, a group of Irish nationalists known as 'Young Ireland' decided the time was right for an armed uprising against the British. Members of Young Ireland had been greatly encouraged by recent political events in Europe. Popular uprisings in Paris, Sicily, Vienna, Milan and Venice, had resulted in long-despised governments falling and the flight of royalty. They hoped the same thing might now occur in Ireland.

But the British, with spies everywhere, quickly became aware of this and reacted by bringing in even more troops and by enacting yet another law curtailing liberty. The Treason Felony Act made speaking against the Crown or Parliament a crime punishable by transportation (to Botany Bay, Australia) for fourteen years or for life.

Throughout the spring into summer all kinds of wild rumors swept Ireland, mostly exaggerating the strength of the coming rebellion, but making the British increasingly nervous. More troops arrived and troublesome areas such as Dublin, Cork, and Waterford were placed under semi-martial law. Lord Lieutenant Clarendon, his nerves frayed, asked for and received permission in July to suspend the right of Habeas Corpus in Ireland lasting through March 1849. This meant anyone could be arrested and imprisoned indefinitely without formal charges or a trial.

But in reality the rebellion of 1848 never posed a serious threat. The Young Irelanders were not good planners or organizers. They failed to secure any firearms and most importantly could not provide food to the starving men of Ireland they were counting on to oppose the most powerful army in the world, presently encamped on their soil. Without weapons, food, or adequate planning, the movement to violently oust the British fizzled and by autumn had disintegrated entirely.

The Long Night of Sorrow

Though it might seem hard to imagine, things now got much worse for the Irish. In the fall of 1848, the blight returned in full and once again destroyed the entire potato crop. Weather conditions, cool and moist, had been ideal for the spread of fungus.

Massive amounts of potatoes had been planted all over Ireland. The people had sold off any remaining possessions or borrowed money to buy seed potatoes. Little attempt was made to grow any other crops. Everyone gambled that it would be a good potato harvest and that the old way of life would soon return. The blight had vanished in 1847 and there was just no reason to believe the harvest of 1848 wouldn't also be healthy.

But all over Ireland, the people watched in horror as their potato plants blackened and withered. Potatoes dug out of the ground rotted and stank until not a single good potato was left.

Now more than ever, the Irish would need to depend on the British for their very survival. But British officials were in no mood to help. The British were utterly flabbergasted the Irish had chosen once again to depend entirely on the potato after all that had happened. They also had deep anger over the failed insurrection and growing resentment toward a people they increasingly perceived as ungrateful.

For the Irish, the winter of 1848-49 would be the long night of sorrow as Trevelyan and the British Parliament enacted one harsh measure after another amid all of the suffering.

Landlords and gentry, now deeper in debt than ever, forcibly ejected remaining tenants then pulled down their houses to save on taxes. Eviction in winter usually meant death. The people, clothed in filthy rags, wandered aimlessly or headed in the general direction of the workhouse, often collapsing from fever and exposure long before getting there.

Reports of the conditions reached London, but there was little compassion for the Irish left in Britain. "In no other country," railed *The Times* of London, "have men talked treason until they are hoarse, and then gone about begging sympathy from their oppressors...and in none have they repeated more humble and piteous [requests for help] to those whom they have previously repaid with monstrous ingratitude."

Homeless family, the day after eviction.
Illustrated London News - 1848

An exasperated Prime Minister Russell now declared: "We have subscribed, worked, visited, clothed, for the Irish, millions of money, years of debate, etc., etc., etc. The only return is rebellion and calumny. Let us not grant, lend, clothe, etc., any more, and see what that will do..."

The Irish would continue to pay for their own relief without any help from the British treasury. Farmers and landlords, Trevelyan decided, would now be taxed at an increased rate to provide minimal relief to starving paupers. But the alarming news that there would be yet another tax increase, impossible for most to pay, simply ignited the desire among any remaining mid-sized farmers and

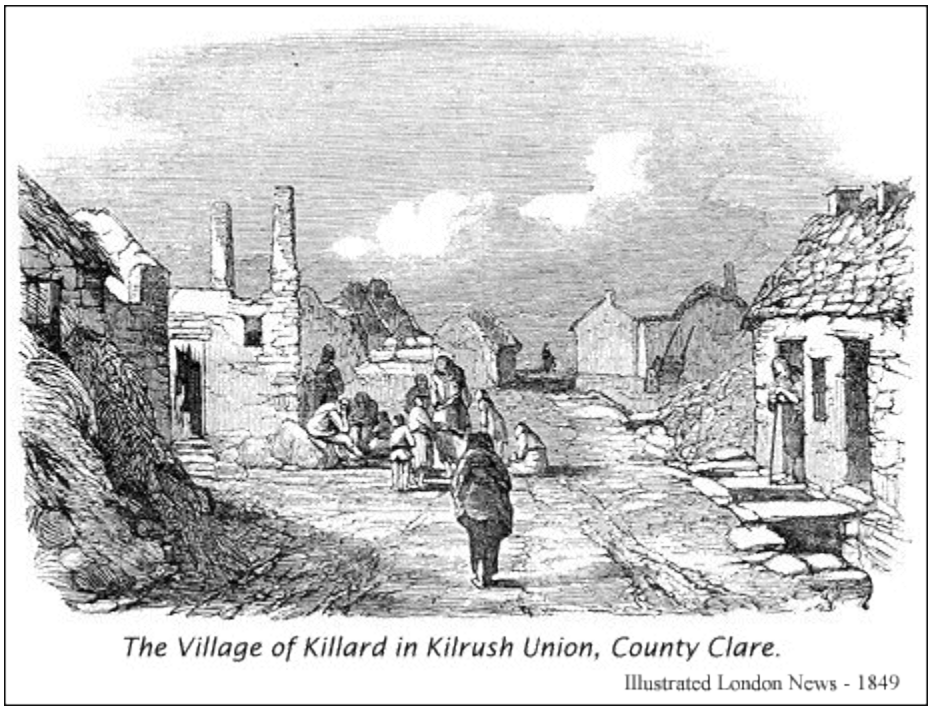
proprietors to quit Ireland entirely and head for America.

By the beginning of 1849, the Irish were suffering on a scale similar to the worst months of 1846-47. Michael Shaughnessy, a barrister in Ireland, described children he encountered while traveling on his circuit as "almost naked, hair standing on end, eyes sunken, lips pallid, protruding bones of little joints visible." In another district, there was a report of a woman who had gone insane from hunger and eaten the flesh of her own dead children. In other places, people killed and ate dogs which themselves had been feeding off dead bodies.

Men and boys who had never been in trouble in their lives now deliberately committed crimes in order to be arrested and transported to Australia. "Even if I had chains on my legs, I would still have something to eat," said an Irish teenager after his arrest.

Of the 130 unions in Ireland, up to seventy were now on the verge of financial ruin due to insufficient tax revenues. Responding to this, Trevelyan decided that prosperous unions should be forced to provide funds to the distressed unions. This meant there would be a drain of money from the few remaining stable areas into ruined areas, breaking all of Ireland financially.

For the British, this served several purposes. It was a continuation of the punitive mentality toward the Irish; left Ireland entirely dependent upon itself for relief; and perhaps most importantly, a financially ruined Ireland would be compelled "to abandon the treacherous potato" once and for all. The long-awaited opportunity to reform Ireland had finally arrived.



The Village of Killard in Kilrush Union, County Clare.

Illustrated London News - 1849

But the plan also had the potential for catastrophic consequences, recognized by some of the British officials who spoke out, including Poor Law Commissioner Edward Twisleton who resigned his post in Ireland stating: "The destitution here is so horrible and the indifference of the House of Commons to it so manifest..."

Lord Lieutenant Clarendon also criticized the lack of government funds: "...it is enough to drive one mad, day after day, to read the appeals that are made and to meet them all with a negative...I don't think there is another legislature in Europe that would disregard such suffering as now exists in the west of Ireland..."

Fears began to surface within the British government of the Irish suddenly dropping dead by the tens of thousands and the possible impact such scenes might have upon world opinion of the Crown. In spite of this, nothing further was done, even after an outbreak of cholera ravaged the overflowing workhouses.

The Irish, for their part, were not about to simply sit still and die. The whole population of the starving country began to move about. Cities, villages and entire districts were abandoned. Western Ireland was nearly depleted of its population. Among country folk, the centuries-old communal way of life with its traditional emphasis on neighborly sharing, now collapsed. It was replaced by a survival mentality in which every family, every person fended for themselves. Family bonds also disintegrated as starving parents deserted their children and children likewise deserted their parents.

The potato disaster of 1848 had sparked a new exodus to America. By the tens of thousands, the Irish boarded ships and departed their beloved homeland, heading to Boston, New York, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, arriving there in tattered clothes, sick from the voyage, disoriented, afraid, perhaps even terrified, but with a glimmer of hope.

After the Famine

Hunger continued to be a problem for Ireland in the years after the Famine. The poor still lived as tenants-at-will, subject to the whim of the landlord. Any improvements they made to the land still became the property of the landlord upon eviction.

Making matters worse, the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 allowed estates in severe debt to be auctioned off upon petition of creditors or even at the request of bankrupt landlords. Land values tumbled as hundreds of estates with huge debts were auctioned off at bargain prices to British speculators interested solely in making a future profit. These new owners took a harsh view toward the penniless Irish tenant farmers still living on the land. They immediately raised rents and also conducted mass evictions to clear out the estates in order to create large cattle-grazing farms. Between 1849 and 1854 nearly 50,000 families were evicted.

The ruined Village of Tullig in County Clare.
Illustrated London News - 1850

In 1879, the blight returned in force bringing the possibility of renewed starvation and further evictions in the west of Ireland. But by this time, farmers and laborers throughout Ireland had become politically organized. They were now represented by a national alliance known as the Land League, led by Charles Stewart Parnell. The League, funded by donations from America,

organized boycotts against notorious landlords, encouraged the defiant burning of leases, and had its members physically block evictions.

Parnell's "Land War" agitations brought the beginning of British political reforms helping Ireland's small farmers and tenants. The Land Act of 1881 granted official rent reductions and recognized the "interest" of tenants in their leased farms. The following year, Parnell agreed to end the Land War in return for the government's elimination of old unpaid rents.

The Wyndham Act of 1903 allowed most Irish tenants to actually purchase their holdings from their landlords with British government assistance. Landlords received a generous price set by the government while tenants repaid the government purchase over time. As a result, the centuries-old landlord system in Ireland, which had resulted in exploitation of the people and much suffering, was finally ended.

Road to the Republic

After the failure of the 1848 rebellion, leaders of the Young Ireland movement fled to America. The elite nationalist group was mainly composed of Irish Catholic lawyers and journalists. In New York City, free from British constraints, they began to agitate anti-British sentiment among Irish immigrants who now blamed the British government for everything, including their current misery in the slums of lower Manhattan.

Skilled propagandists such as John Mitchel inflamed the passions of downtrodden Irish Americans by summing up their Famine experience: "The English indeed, call that famine a dispensation of Providence; and ascribe it entirely to the blight of the potatoes. But potatoes failed in like manner all over Europe, yet there was no famine save in Ireland. The British account of the matter, then, is, first a fraud; second a blasphemy. The Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine."

Another escaped Young Irelander, James Stephens, founded a secret new organization, known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), dedicated to ousting the British from Ireland. The American branch of this became known as the Fenian Brotherhood, popularly referred to as the Fenians.

Meanwhile, back in Ireland, Queen Victoria chose to pay a State Visit during the summer of 1849 in an effort to boost morale and stabilize the political situation. Despite the enormous suffering the Irish had endured, the people greeted the Queen with "the utmost enthusiasm" at Cork, Dublin and Belfast. "Our entrance into Dublin was really a magnificent thing," the Queen noted in her diary. The extraordinary kindness of the Irish and the complete lack of any incidents of hostility left a deep impression on the Queen. However, such good feelings would not last.

In America, the movement to free Ireland from Britain's grasp continued to germinate. The Fenians successfully recruited battle-hardened Irish veterans of the U.S. Civil War and by 1867 felt confident enough to stage an armed rebellion back in Ireland. But like the Young Irelanders of 1848, the Fenians suffered from poor organization, a lack of weapons, and constant British spying. Their activities in Ireland became so well known that they were even mentioned in the local newspapers.

Despite this, a nationwide insurrection was launched on the night of March 6, 1867. But it soon fell apart, mainly due to poor communications, and was swiftly crushed. After the failed rebellion, Irish revolutionaries chose a more independent path with less Irish American

involvement. Money from America would gladly be accepted but the movement to free Ireland would become a home-grown affair. In the U.S., however, Irish Americans remained fiercely loyal to the "Old Sod" and even revived faded traditions such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians and vigorously celebrated St. Patrick's Day.

The struggle for Ireland's independence continued well into the 1900s. On Easter Monday in April of 1916, two thousand men calling themselves the Irish Volunteers along with a Citizen Army of 200 staged an armed rebellion in Dublin and proclaimed a republic. After a week of fighting, which included the destruction of downtown Dublin, 400 rebels, civilians and British soldiers were dead. The rebels surrendered and fifteen leaders of the Easter Rising were taken into custody by the British. Fallout from their subsequent executions resulted in a surge of Irish support for the struggling independence movement.

In December 1918, general elections were held in Ireland. Most of the Irish seats in the British Parliament were won by members of the Irish revolutionary party Sinn Fein (meaning Ourselves Alone) which had already vowed not to take their elected seats in England. Instead, Sinn Fein set up its own parliament in Dublin, known as the Dail Eireann (Assembly of Ireland). The Dail promptly ratified the original Proclamation of the Republic from the Easter Rising.

As a result, violence erupted between British forces in Ireland and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) which became the Irish Volunteers new name. Hundreds were killed, including 23 civilians and soldiers on Bloody Sunday, November 21, 1920.

Guerrilla warfare escalated and raged on until July 1921 when a truce occurred. In December, an Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed by representatives of the Dail and the British government recognizing 26 counties in southern and western Ireland as the Irish Free State, which would become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But violence once again erupted, this time among the Irish themselves, between those demanding full independence from Britain and those willing to accept inclusion in the Commonwealth (dominion status). Hundreds were killed in the 'Irish Civil War' between pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty forces.

Amid the conflict, the British-approved Irish Free State constitution went into effect. The Free State had a political status similar to that of Canada, also a member of the Commonwealth. An oath of allegiance to the British Crown had to be taken and the British could on occasion nullify Acts passed by its parliament.

By the 1930s, the Free State, under the leadership of Eamon De Valera, sought to end British influence in Ireland's internal affairs. The oath of allegiance to the Crown was abolished. Measures were also enacted to give Ireland a self-sufficient economy. In 1937, the second Irish constitution went into effect abolishing the Free State and restoring the name Ireland (Éire) as the title of the new independent democratic state, featuring a president as head of state, a prime minister leading the government, and a two-house legislature.

On Easter Monday, April 18, 1949, seven hundred years of British rule in Ireland was ended as the Republic of Ireland was finally proclaimed and all allegiance to the British Crown abolished. The British, however, retained sovereignty over six counties in Northern Ireland where antagonism between the Irish Catholic minority (33 percent) and British-backed Irish Protestants played out for decades in acts of violence and terrorism. By the late 1990s, more than 3400 lives had been lost in Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic and Britain, including many innocent children who just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Famine Deaths Unknown

British Census Commissioners in 1841 had declared the population of Ireland to be 8,175,124. During the Famine years, 1845-50, Ireland's population declined in the millions due to deaths from starvation and disease and from mass emigration to North America and England. However, nobody was keeping count of the actual number of people involved. Famine victims often died unseen in mud huts or along the roadside only to be quickly buried in shallow unmarked graves or in mass graves. The British government operated on the basis of general estimates made by officials and military personnel stationed in Ireland during the Famine years.

By 1851, it is known the population of Ireland had dropped to 6,552,385. In the absence of famine, likely population growth would have resulted in just over nine million inhabitants. Based on this assumption, about 2,500,000 persons were lost during the Famine, with an estimated million having emigrated and the resulting 1,500,000 having died from the effects of the famine. Deaths were highest among children under five years of age and among the elderly.

The rural far western portion of Ireland had the highest mortality rate with the worst occurring in County Mayo and County Sligo, which each averaged up to 60,000 deaths per year; followed by Roscommon, Galway, Leitrim, Cavan, and Clare Counties, each averaging up to 50,000 per year. Counties in the east and north of Ireland experienced far fewer deaths, including Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Wexford, Louth, Down and Londonderry Counties which averaged up to 10,000 per year.

Total British monetary expenditure in Ireland from 1845-50 was about £7 million, less than one half of one percent of the gross national product for the period. Irish famine expenditures from local taxes and landlord borrowing was £8.5 million.

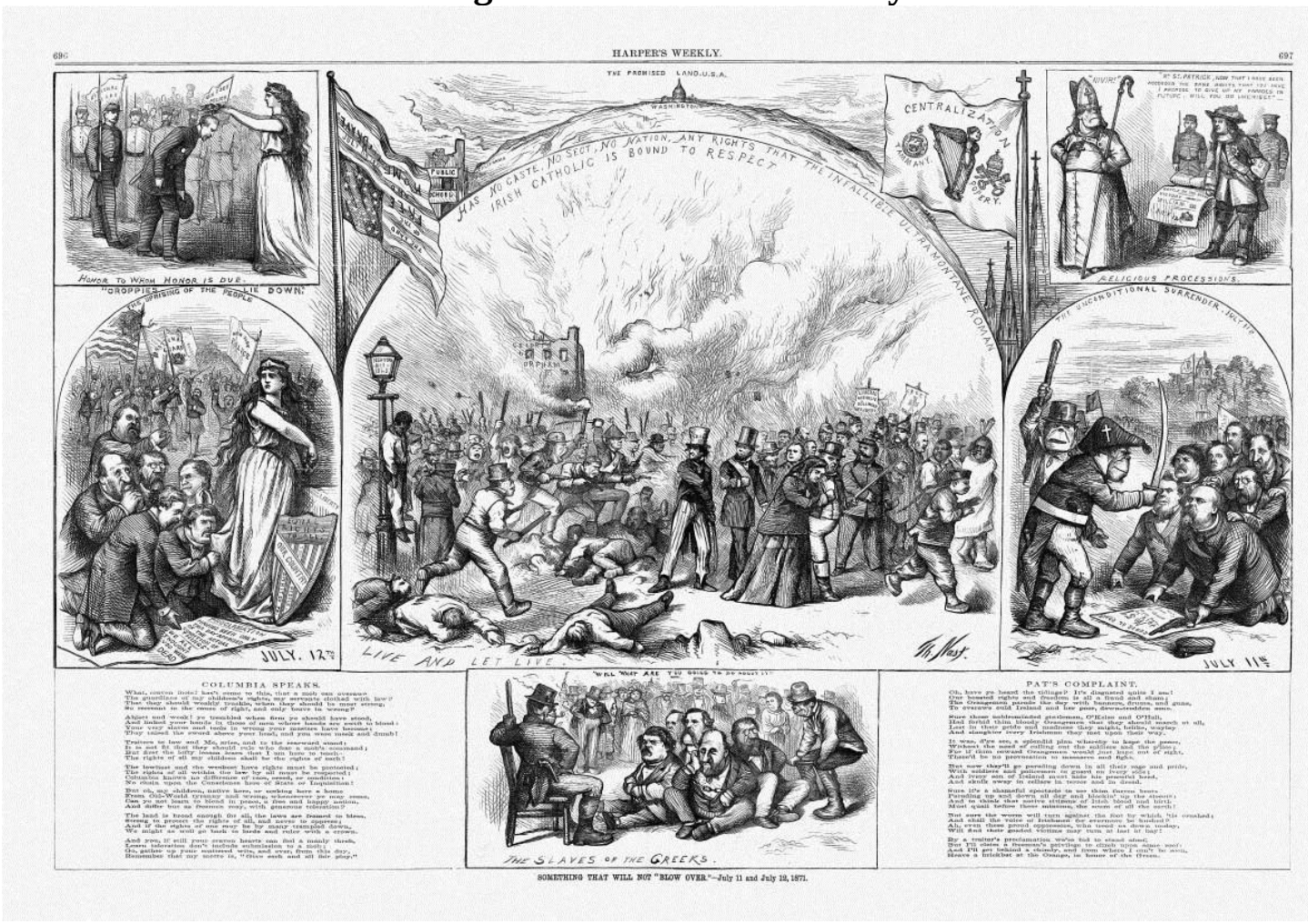
After the Famine, Ireland's slow economic progress resulted in a continued drain of talented, hard-working young people. Between 1851 and 1921, an estimated 4.5 million Irish left home and headed mainly to the United States.

Continued emigration combined with a lowered birth rate resulted in a steady decline of Ireland's population until the 1960s when it leveled off at about four million. Ireland since then has experienced a renewal of its economy due to the successful changeover from an agricultural to an industrial base, with 60 percent of the people now settled in urban areas. In the mid-1980s, however, another surge of emigration to America occurred after a severe downturn in the economy caused widespread unemployment. In all, over the past three centuries, an estimated seven million Irish are believed to have left Ireland for America.

Ireland today has a robust economy, equal with Britain, due in part to the arrival of high-tech companies from around the world seeking to make use of the country's hard working and conscientious work force. About 850 foreign companies, including 300 from the United States, now have operations in Ireland. In addition, tourism remains one of the most important sources of income, employing 15 percent of the entire workforce. Many of the visitors come from America, a nation with more than 40 million citizens who claim Irish ancestry.

ADDENDUM D

The 1871 Orange Riots in New York City



This elaborate double-page cartoon by Thomas Nast depicts the Orange Day Riot between Protestant and Catholic Irish-Americans, which occurred in New York City in July 1871.

In early July 1871, the Loyal Order of Orange, an organization of Protestant Irish-Americans in New York City, requested a parade permit from the city. They intended to display their ethnic and religious pride by commemorating the victory in 1690 of William of Orange, the new Protestant king of England, over the deposed James II and his mainly Catholic supporters at the Battle of the Boyne. The city's Irish Catholic associations lodged protests in order to halt the parade, arguing that the celebration offended Catholic Irish-Americans, and citing the Protestants behavior on the previous year when the marchers taunted Irish Catholic street crews with insulting songs and curses.

On July 10, Superintendent James J. Kelso of the Metropolitan Police denied the permit on the grounds that the parade would threaten public safety, as well as the fact that obscene or violently derogatory language or gestures in public were misdemeanors. Irish Catholics praised the decision, and the police chief had the further support of William Tweed, the political boss of Tammany Hall. Irish Protestants objected, demanding equal treatment with the Catholics at whose St. Patrick's Day parade Mayor Abraham Oakey Hall attended and for whose charities and schools the Tweed Ring allocated public funds. Protestants warned that cancellation of the parade would enhance the prospects of violent Irish nationalists, like the Fenians. Governor John Hoffman, in consultation with Mayor Hall and Boss Tweed, reversed the decision, letting the parade proceed as planned.

Irish Catholics were divided over how to respond, but some drilled in military units in case of trouble. The governor ordered 5000 members of the New York National Guard to safeguard the marchers and keep the public order. One member of the Guard's 7th Regiment was Private Thomas Nast, whose vantage point at 24th Street and Eighth Avenue allowed him to sketch scenes of the ensuing melee, as well as the featured cartoon, for *Harper's Weekly*.

The parade began down Eighth Avenue from 29th Street at 2 p.m., with the Orangemen surrounded by the guardsmen. Cheers for the Protestants clashed with jeers from the Catholics, many of whom began throwing rocks, bottles, and other projectiles. Guns were fired on both sides, and a confusing battle scene unfolded. The parade, however, reformed and continued forward to Cooper Union, where the marchers disbanded at 4 o'clock. The Orange Day Riot resulted in 60 civilians and two guardsmen killed, and over 100 civilians, 22 policemen, and one Orangeman injured. Irish Catholics hung Governor Hoffman in effigy, called the riot "Slaughter on Eighth Avenue," and turned out 20,000 strong for the funerals of the slain.

The July 29 issue of *Harper's Weekly* (in print July 19) included a description of "The Tammany Riot" which began by blaming Tweed, Hall, and other Tammany leaders for not restraining their Irish-Catholic supporters. The Orange Day Riot came in the midst of *The New York Times* exposés on July 8, 20, and 22 of Tweed Ring corruption. Mayor Hall had dismissed the allegations, claiming they would soon "blow over." Here, cartoonist Nast uses the phase to tar and feather the Tweed Ring as a whole.

The central arching design fills a space marked by the curving horizon of "The Promised Land. U. S. A." stretching from California to Washington, D.C., to New York. It portrays an enraged mob of stereotypical Irish-Catholic ruffians charging a single unarmed Irish-Protestant parade marshal, as Uncle Sam draws his sword to defend him. Real and symbolic world figures, including (left to right) Queen Victoria, John Bull, King Victor Emanuel of Italy, Emperor Franz Josef of Austria, and Tsar Alexander III of Russia, turn away in fear and disgust.

A line above the central scene asks pointedly, "Has No Caste, No Sect, No Nation, Any Rights That the Infallible Ultramontane Roman Irish Catholic Is Bound to Respect[?]" The use of "infallible" alludes to the recent announcement of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, while "Ultramontane" refers to those supporting papal supremacy in the Church. By contrast, Nast includes among the besieged world figures a banner for prominent liberal Catholics who rejected papal supremacy, Fathers Dollinger and Hyacinth.

Above the hypocritical phrase “Live and Let Live” are fallen bodies, while images of a lynched black man and the burning Colored Orphan Asylum incorporate memories of the bloody 1863 Civil War Draft Riots in New York City. On the upper-left of the central picture an American flag flies inverted (a symbol of distress) near a demolished public schoolhouse. It is paralleled on the upper-right by a flag promoting Tammany Hall, Irish-Catholics, and papal supremacy.

The center panel on the right shows “The Unconditional Surrender” of Tammany Ring officials, who grovel before ape-like Irish-Catholics. The Tweed members are (clockwise from front left): Sheriff Matthew Brennan, Peter Sweeny, Richard Connolly, John Hoffman, William Tweed, Abraham Oakey Hall, and James Kelso. A parallel image on the left shows most of the same group fawning on their knees before Columbia, who draws her sword. Brennan and Kelso are absent, replaced by Tom Fields in the back.

At the bottom of the page, there are two seven-verse poems constituting a dialogue of sorts between Columbia and the Irish-Catholic “Pat.” At the bottom center, the Tweed Ring sits in chains, guarded by two rioters, while surrounded by an Irish-Catholic crowd who jeer “Well What Are You Going To Do About It?”--a question famously posed by Tweed when the corruption charges against him and his cohorts surfaced.

Harper’s Weekly took out a boldface advertisement in the city's newspapers drawing attention to “The Late Riot” and to a “Splendid Double Page by Thomas Nast.” An editorial note in *The New York Times* of July 20 recommended that: "Everybody should see, and seeing, retain Nast’s great 'Riot Cartoons' on the New Number of *Harper's Weekly*." The artist work helped make the July 29 issue of *Harper's Weekly* a sell-out, and raise the following week's issue by 86,000.

ADDENDUM E

Preaching the Holy War[110]

What did Protestant ministers say about the raging national battle?

Dr. James H. Moorhead

When the men in blue and the men in gray marched off to fight in 1861, they carried more than rifles and knapsacks. They took the blessing of ministers and other Christian leaders. There were, of course, exceptions. Historic peace churches (Mennonites, Brethren, and other Anabaptist bodies) did not endorse participation in the conflict, and disaffected elements in each section of the divided country voiced dissent. On the whole, though, clergy of North and South found scriptural grounds for ardently supporting their respective causes. They preached that message unabashedly.

America in the mid-nineteenth century was a culture drenched in the images of the Bible. The ministers' ability to justify war in the name of the sacred Book did much to mobilize popular support and to maintain that loyalty until bullets and disease had claimed more than six hundred thousand lives.

North: Crusaders for God

When the election of Lincoln in November 1860 prompted southern secession, many northern ministers initially advised caution. Those with strong abolitionist convictions argued that departure of the errant states might prove a blessing, freeing the United States from the taint of slavery. The more numerous conservatives, some of whom sympathized with the South, hoped that a show of forbearance would cause the disunion movement to collapse and bring the seceded states to their senses.

When Confederate batteries opened fire on Fort Sumter in April 1861, however, reluctance to coerce the South vanished. The Union had to be preserved. Lincoln's call for volunteers to suppress the rebellion won nearly universal backing from ministers. The words of a Congregational minister in Northampton, Massachusetts, may fairly stand as the motto of countless other Protestant leaders: "If the crusaders, seized by a common enthusiasm, exclaimed, It is the will of God! It is the will of God!—much more may we make this our rallying cry and inscribe it on our banners."

The Union possessed sacred meaning because the hopes of humankind rested on its preservation. The United States stood in the vanguard of a biblical civilization. Its twin pillars—a pure Protestant Christianity and republican institutions—served as a model for the renovation of the world. If this elect nation were destroyed, said Baptist minister and educator Francis Wayland, "crushed and degraded humanity must sink down in despair."

Many Yankee ministers thought Union soldiers were preparing the way for the kingdom of God on earth.

William Buell Sprague, editor of the famed, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, predicted that northern success would usher in "a flood of millenial [sic] glory," "the great Thanksgiving Day of the World." When Julia Ward Howe, visiting Washington, D. C., in autumn 1861, awoke one

[110] *Christian History Magazine* pages 38-41

morning near daybreak to pen the familiar line, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," she expressed a widespread faith.

South: Defenders of a Holy Cause

Southern clergy also viewed their cause as holy. Several noted ministers, including Presbyterians James H. Thornwell and Benjamin P. Morgan, played a prominent role in the drive for secession. When the conflict began, the clergy justified it as a classic instance of a just war—and more.

The citizens of the new Confederate nation bore a special mission: to set before the world the ideals of ordered liberty, states' rights, and biblical values, all of which Yankees had perverted. Many religious leaders rejoiced that the Confederate constitution—unlike that of the United States explicitly recognized the nation's dependence upon God. Accordingly, said one minister, "the Southern Confederacy will be the Lord's peculiar people." In the words of another, "the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night was not more plain to the children of Israel."

Though southerners' "peculiar institution" of slavery seemed increasingly anachronistic in much of the western world, many believed Dixie represented the future. Robert L. Dabney, a theology professor at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond and later adjutant to Stonewall Jackson, contended that the South would save the world from false ideas of "radical democracy." One preacher popular with the troops asserted that God might use the Confederacy to inaugurate the kingdom of God. Although the ideal of millennial mission so prevalent in the North was generally more muted below the Mason Dixon line, it was by no means absent.

North: Eradicate Slavery

At the outset of the struggle, the North fought to save the Union, not to end slavery. But on January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation and fundamentally altered the character of the war. Northern churches reflected—and in some cases, promoted—this shift in direction. Initially most ministers were reluctant to support an all-out campaign for abolition, but events convinced them otherwise. During the first two years of the conflict, the North won notable victories in the west; but in Virginia its Army of the Potomac stumbled through successive defeats. Believing the hand of God was in every event, the northern clergy averred that through the defeat of Union arms, God had punished the United States for slavery. God had thus signalled that the oppressed should go free.

Conversion to this point of view did not proceed at an even rate. Some clergy and church bodies were demanding liberty for the captives in 1861; others did not speak out until well after the Emancipation Proclamation. But early or late, northern Protestants concluded that God wished slavery to die.

South: Preserve Slavery

With a few notable exceptions, southern ministers believed that preserving slavery was an integral part of their nation's mission. God ordained the institution as the most humane means of relating labor to capital, of protecting an inferior race, and of introducing that race to the blessings of Christianity.

Far from being the oppressors of African-Americans, southerners were their defenders. "We do not place our cause upon its highest level," wrote Episcopal Bishop Stephen Elliott in 1862, "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 and against whom the whole world is banded."

To demonstrate the moral superiority of the Confederate system, sermons, art, and painting frequently invoked images of contented, loyal slaves. As historian Drew Gilpin Faust has observed, "slaveholders needed to regard slavery as a benevolent institution, appreciated by blacks as well as whites, in order to preserve and propagate their self-image as paternalistic masters."

Proving that slavery was desirable required that abuses within the system be eliminated. Led by such persons as Elliott, Presbyterian Charles Colcock Jones, and Baptist I.T. Tichenor, ministers demanded an end to laws prohibiting slave literacy and limiting slave preaching, for these kept African-Americans from the gospel. Similarly, reformers desired statutory recognition of slave marriages and families.

Although such proposals encountered opposition and were never enacted into law, they did win much favorable comment. Advocates suggested that reform might be necessary to the success of Confederate arms. Southern ministers thundered that God would not bless the Confederacy until it honored its covenant with God and made bondage fully humane.

Baptism of Blood

Presidents Davis and Lincoln designated various fast days during the war. On these occasions, Christians gathered to hear ministers enumerate national failings and to express repentance. Despite regional differences over the sinfulness of slavery, the transgressions named by the clergy were often surprisingly similar in North and South: intemperance, Sabbath breaking, avarice, unrestricted individualism, and lack of loyalty to authorities.

Although fast days sometimes gave the clergy an excuse to damn the enemy, generally each side reflected on its own transgressions. As Charles Jones wrote to his aunt on July 4, 1861: "We have been sinning with the Northern people as a nation for seventy or eighty years, and now we have become two nations, and the Lord may use us as rods of correction to each other."

Protestants hoped that the Civil War might prove a baptism of blood. As Charles Reagan Wilson has pointed out, that phrase recurred frequently in the utterances of Confederate clergy. Even before the first shot had been fired, James H. Thornwell was warning that "our path to victory may be through a baptism of blood." In 1863 an Episcopal rector declared: "A grand responsibility rests upon our young republic. Baptized in its infancy in blood, may it receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and be consecrated to its high and holy mission among the nations of the earth." Through the shedding of blood might come atonement for sin and newness of life.

On the Union side, Horace Bushnell, Congregational pastor in Hartford, Connecticut, explored this theme with peculiar force. Shortly after the northern defeat at Bull Run in 1861, he told his parishioners that more reverses were needed: "There must be tears in the houses, as well as blood in the fields." Only by the path of humiliation and suffering could America purge its dross and attain a new, more nearly perfect identity. But once the ordeal had been passed, he prophesied, the United States would become a true "nation—God's own nation."

For northern clergy, the blood baptism received a final ritual enactment when Abraham Lincoln was struck down by an assassin's bullet on Good Friday, 1865. The president's death symbolized the expiation of national sins. His shed blood—token of all similar effusions during four years of war—purchased new life for America. As one group of Presybterians suggested; "He has been appointed … to be laid as the costliest sacrifice of all upon the altar of the Republic and to cement with his blood the free institutions of our land."

Lost Cause and Legacies

Long after the guns fell silent, some ministers persisted in sounding battle cries. Years after the war, Theodore Munger, a prominent Congregationalist, continued to interpret the war as God's righteous retribution on the wicked South. Similarly, many southerners such as Robert Dabney nursed grudges against perfidious Yankees and longed for a "retributive providence" that would obliterate the Union.

But most people gradually transformed earlier convictions. Southerners often admitted that the preservation of the Union had ultimately been for the best. They found ways, however, to salvage honor and meaning from defeat. Through Confederate memorial days, statues of fallen heroes, and an outpouring of literature, they surrounded the defeated South with an aura of sentimental nobility. Playing down the role of slavery in the conflict, advocates of the Lost Cause converted Confederate warriors, especially Robert E. Lee, into pious men who had reluctantly taken up arms to fight for the right as they understood it. In a haze of moonlight and magnolias, the Confederate great thus were transfigured into romantic heroes whose virtues might be appreciated even by former enemies.

Many clergy wished to bury the acrimony of the past. In the process, the deeper moral issues of the 1860s were often trivialized or obscured. African-Americans paid the price.

Victor and vanquished soon tacitly agreed to end Reconstruction without securing the political rights of the former slaves. As North and South tentatively clasped hands, epidemic lynching, the gutting of civil rights legislation, and the creation of Jim Crow laws took place. Surely this outcome fell far short of the moral rebirth that Protestants had hoped would follow their baptism of blood.

Selections from sermons during the Civil War era [111]

David B. Chesebrough

The North

The following words were part of a sermon delivered by Henry Ward Beecher on Thanskgiving Day 1860.

The southern states … have organized society around a rotten core,—slavery: the North has organized society about a vital heart,—liberty.… They stand in proper contrast. God holds them up to ages and to nations, that men may see the difference. Now that there is a conflict, I ask which is to yield? …

The truth that men cannot hush and that God will not have covered up, is the irreconcilable difference between liberty and slavery! Which will you advocate and defend? …

The secret intentions of those men who are the chief fomenters of troubles in the South cannot in anywise be met by compromise.… What do those men that are really at the bottom of this conspiracy mean? Nothing more or less than this: Southern empire for slavery, and the reopening of the slave-trade as a means by which it shall be fed.… Their secret purpose is to sweep

[111] From *God Ordained This War: Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830–1865* edited by David B. Chesebrough (University of South Carolina press, 1991), as presented in *Christian History Magazine,* page 41

westward like night, and involve in the cloud of their darkness all Central America, and then make Africa empty into Central America, thus changing the moral geography of the globe. And do you suppose any compromise will settle that design, or turn it aside, when they have made you go down on your knees, and they stand laughing while you cry with fear because you have been cozened and juggled into a blind helping of their monstrous wickedness?
They mean slavey. They mean an Empire of Slavery. They don't any longer talk of the **evil** of slavery. It is a virtue, a religion! … You cannot compromise with them except by giving up your own belief, your own principles, and your own honor. Moral apostasy is the only basis on which you can build a compromise that will satisfy the South!

The South

These words were delivered by J.W. Tucker, Presbyterian minister in Fayetteville, North Carolina, in May 1862.

We should pray to God to give success to our cause, and triumph to our arms. God will defend the right.…

Our cause is sacred. It should ever be so in the eyes of all true men in the South. How can we doubt it, when we know it has been consecrated by a holy baptism of fire and blood. It has been rendered glorious by the martyr-like devotion of Johnson, McCulloch, Garnett, Bartow, Fisher, McKinney, and hundreds of others who have offered their lives as a sacrifice on the altar of their country's freedom.

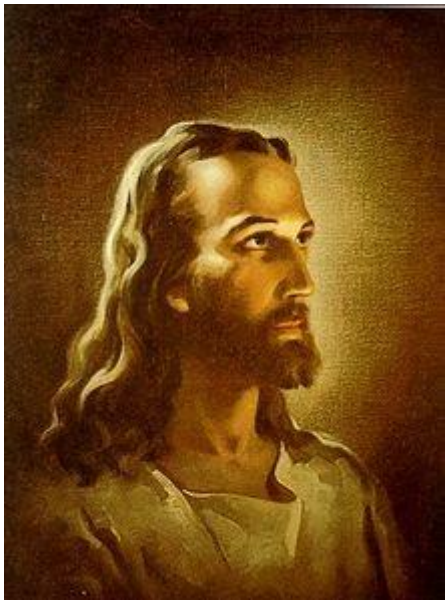
Soldiers of the South, be firm, be courageous, be brave; be faithful to your God, your country and yourselves, and you shall be invincible. Never forget that the patriot, like the Christian, is immortal till his work is finished.

You are fighting for everything that is near and dear, and sacred to you as men, as Christians and as patriots; for country, for home, for property, for the honor of mothers, daughters, wives, sisters, and loved ones. Your cause is the cause of God, of Christ, of humanity. It is a conflict of truth with error—of the Bible with Northern infidelity—of a pure Christianity with Northern fanaticism—of liberty with despotism—of right with might.

In such a cause victory is not with the greatest number, nor the heaviest artillery, but with the good, the pure, the true, the noble, the brave. We are proud of you, and grateful to you for the victories of the past. We look to your valor and prowess, under the blessing of God, for the triumphs of the future.

ADDENDUM F

Warner Sallman



The *Head of Christ* originated as a charcoal sketch entitled *The Son of Man* done in 1924 and sold to be the cover of the *Covenant Companion*, the denominational magazine for the Evangelical Covenant Church. He did several variations of the painting over the years, and the first oil version was done in 1935 for the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Evangelical Covenant Church. In 1940 he was asked to reproduce that painting by the students of North Park Theological Seminary. This reproduction was seen by representatives of the Gospel Trumpet Company, the publishing arm of the Church of God (Anderson), who created a new company called Kriebel and Bates to market Sallman's work. For the next thirty years Kriebel and Bates marketed over 100 Warner Sallman works. When Kriebel and Bates dissolved, the copyrights to these works were acquired by Warner Press. The Baptist Bookstore initially popularized the painting, distributing various sized lithographic images for sale throughout the southern United States. The Salvation Army and the YMCA, as members of the USO, handed out pocket-sized versions of the painting to American servicemen heading overseas during World War II. After the war, groups in Oklahoma and Indiana conducted campaigns to distribute the image into private and public spaces. One Lutheran organizer in Illinois "said that there ought to be 'card-carrying Christians' to counter the effect of 'card-carrying Communists.'"[6]

Sallman is also well known for his rendition of the popular image *Christ at Heart's Door*. Other popular images produced from 1942 to 1950 include *Christ in Gethsemane*, *The Lord is My Shepherd*, and *Christ Our Pilot*.

ADDENDUM G[112]

Emma (Revell) Moody: Dwight L. Moody's indomitable spouse

Emma Revell emigrated from England with her family in 1849. The eldest of four children, Emma was her father's favorite because of her calm sensibility, sensitivity, and keen sense of humor. Nine years later, those qualities attracted the attention of Dwight L. Moody, who later commented in a letter to his mother that his fiancee was "a good Christian girl."

She was 15 when she met Moody in a Baptist Sunday school class; he was recruiting workers for his Sunday school on Chicago Avenue and Wells Street. Emma worked in Moody's organization for one year before she and Moody were engaged in 1859. Not long after, the successful young businessman decided to renounce business to preach the gospel. Emma faced a choice: become the wife of an itinerant evangelist with no guarantee of support, or abandon the man she had grown to love. She took a teaching position in a Chicago public school to support herself during their three-year engagement and continued to work alongside Moody in the Sunday school. On August 28, 1862, amid the confusion of the Civil War, Emma Revell became a bride.

The records of the Moodys' early years together are scanty, due in part to the war and to the fact their first house probably burned down. This was only the portent of a life that would test Emma Moody's mettle. In 1871 the Chicago Fire gutted the section of the city where the Moodys lived. Moody was preaching at church on the Sunday evening the blaze lit up the Chicago skyline. Alone at home with their two small children, Emma calmly dressed each child in two suits of clothing and led them to the window before they fled, promising them a sight they would never forget: a cityscape engulfed in flames.

Emma provided direction and support throughout her husband's demanding public life. Although responsible for the care of their three children, Emma wrote D.L.'s correspondence and handled their money. From age 15 until her death in 1903 (she outlived her husband by four years), Emma seized every opportunity to teach. In the last year of her life, in fact, she resumed her Sunday school class at the Old Home in Northfield.

The dignity and serenity with which the "good Christian girl" encountered potentially defeating situations counterbalanced her husband's impulsive, emotional nature and became the backbone of Moody's success.

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[112] This article is excerpted and slightly edited from *Christian HistoryMagazine,* "Key People in the Life of D.L. Moody" Sketches by Vinita Hampton & C. J. Wheeler, Volume IX No.1, Issue 25 (Carol Stream, IL, Christian History Institute) 1990, page 12

ADDENDUM H

"Auntie" Sarah Cooke: Her prayers changed Moody's ministry

A memorial article for "Auntie Cooke" in the September 1921, *Moody Monthly,* stated,

> "Few persons in Chicago were better known in certain religious circles than she, for she was continuously going to the missions, street meetings, conventions, camps, conferences, lectures and every kind of religious gathering within her reach. She was the living personification of aggressive evangelism, instant in season and out of season, ever exhorting sinners to flee the wrath of God and urging believers to plunge in the fountain of cleansing."

Sarah Cooke arrived in Chicago in 1868—in her words, "a perfect stranger"—but it didn't take her long to become involved in God's work, both by helping the YMCA on Madison Street and by becoming involved in the church led by fellow YMCA worker, Dwight Moody.

Years later, Cooke described Moody when she first met him as a " 'diamond in the rough'—with the one burning desire do good …his very earnestness moving people, but withal such a lack in his teachings of the divine unction and power."

During a St. Charles camp meeting in 1871, she felt special burden for Moody—he needed an anointing of power from the Holy Spirit. She and her friend, Mrs. Hawxhurst, who usually sat on the front row, told Moody they were praying for him to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire. Moody was unsure this was a need and really was not certain what they were talking about. Even so, he asked the two ladies to meet with him in Farwell Hall every Friday afternoon to discuss this matter and pray. Apparently his hunger increased. Cooke reports that on the Friday before the Great Chicago Fire, "Mr. Moody's agony was so great that he rolled on the floor and in the midst of many tears and groans cried to God to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire." Nothing happened.

Both the Chicago YMCA and the church building were destroyed in the Chicago fire of 1871.[113] Following the fire, Moody went to New York shortly thereafter to raise funds for the rebuilding of these two structures. In New York, while walking down Wall Street, the young preacher finally received the spiritual blessing that Sarah Cooke and Mrs. Hawxhurst had prayed for. Moody felt such a sense of the Holy Spirit's filling that he cried, "Hold, Lord, it is enough!"

"I went to preaching again," Moody testified. "The sermons were not different; I did not present any new truths, and yet hundreds were converted. I would not now be placed back where I was before that blessed experience if you should give me all the world."

Auntie Cooke continued in vigorous service and died in Chicago in 1921.

[113] The Great Chicago Fire was a conflagration that burned from Sunday, October 8, to early Tuesday, October 10, 1871, killing hundreds and destroying about 3.3 square miles (9 km^2) in Chicago, Illinois.[1] Though the fire was one of the largest U.S. disasters of the 19th century, the rebuilding that began helped develop Chicago as one of the most populous and economically important American cities.

ADDENDUM I[114]

Questions About Moody's Theology: The five that people ask most often
Stanley N. Gundry

1. Was Moody a Calvinist or an Arminian?
Both Calvinists and Arminians cooperated with him in his meetings, although neither camp was entirely comfortable with his views. Moody had been profoundly affected by both the Arminianizing trends of North American evangelicalism and the more Calvinistic views of British evangelicals.

Arminians were ill at ease with Moody's "once in grace, always in grace" views, and they were not happy with Moody's statements about election. But Calvinists felt uncomfortable with Moody's evangelistic emphasis on human responsibility to believe and the universal provision and offer of salvation. In Moody's words, "I don't try to reconcile God's sovereignty and man's free agency."

2. Did Moody experience or teach a second work of grace, commonly known a the "second blessing?"

Moody believed that the Holy Spirit established a permanent relationship with the believer at the moment of regeneration. Nevertheless, he believed that something more was needed for effective Christian work. That "something more" was the "Holy Spirit upon us for service." He had such an experience himself in 1871, and on those rare occasions when he referred to it, he spoke of it as a filling, a baptism, an anointing, an empowerment for service. However Moody disavowed that such an experience led to entire sanctification, eradication of the sin nature, or perfection.

3. Did Moody speak in tongues or advocate the practice?

No. Moody seldom mentioned the subject; when he did, he never did so in a way suggesting sympathy with the practice or the belief.

4. Was Moody a premillennialist? a dispenstionalist?

Moody was clearly a premillennialist; in fact, he was the first premillennial evangelist of note in North American history (the rest had been postmillennialists). History was on a downhill trend, and Christ would return in judgment before his kingdom would be set up. In Moody's words, God had given him a lifeboat to rescue people off this world as off a sinking vessel. This was a key motive to evangelism. But Moody's eschatology was hardly more specific than this. He was sympathetic to dispensationalists and dispensationalism, but his sermons only indirectly reflect dispensational themes. It is even difficult to establish that he believed in the pretribulation

[114] Dr. Stanley N. Gundry's book *Love Them In: The Life and Theology of D. L. Moody* (Moody, 1976, and Baker, 1982) is the definitive study of Moody's theology. This article is excerpted from *Christian History*, Volume 25, page 19

rapture of the church. When premillennial ranks began to splinter on this point in the 1890s he said, “Don’t criticize if our watches don’t agree about the time we know that he is coming.” He later warned, “I don’t think anyone knows what is going to happen.”

5. Was Moody tolerant of theological liberalism?

Moody had cordial relationships with several scholars and theologians known for their liberal tendencies (e.g., Henry Drummond, William Rainey Harper, George Adam Smith). He even would invite them to speak under his auspices if he thought they had a positive contribution to make to his ministry. But this reflected his high regard for them as individuals and for the genuineness of their faith, in spite of his reservations about their theological tendencies. He specifically disapproved of their theology and often expressed concern and dismay over trends that, after his death, were to come to fruition in what we now call modernism.

ADDENDUM J

The New Birth

Excerpts from a sermon that Moody preached at least 183 times.

I will direct your attention to the third chapter of John and the third verse: "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." … If there are a thousand people here tonight who want to know what love God has for them, let them read the third chapter of John, and they will find it there, and find eternal life. They need not go out of this hall tonight to find eternal life. They will find it here in this chapter, and find eternal life before these services close.…

Now, let me say what regeneration is not. It is not going to church. Very often I see people and ask them if they are Christians. "Yes, of course I am, at least I think I am; I go to church every Sunday." Why, I could say to them, the very Devil goes to church every Sunday, and no one goes more regularly to church than he does.… Why if going to church was regeneration—being born again—there is hope even for Satan himself. But there never was a church erected but that the Devil was the first to enter and the last to leave.

But still there is another class of Christians, or who think they are Christians. They say, "I am trying to do what is right—am I not a Christian? Is not that a new birth?" No; I tell you, no. What has that to do with being born again?

There is yet another class those who have turned over a new leaf and think they are regenerated. No; forming a new resolution is not being born again. That will not do you any good…

But another man comes and says, "I say my prayers regular." Still, I say, that that is not being born again. That is not being born of the Spirit.

It is a very solemn question, then, that comes up before us, and would that every one should ask himself earnestly and faithfully: "Have I been born again? Have I been born of the Spirit? Have I passed from death unto life?"

Now there is another class of men who say that these meetings are very good for a certain class of people. That they would be very good if you could get the drunkard here, or get the gambler here, or get other vicious people here—that would do a great deal of good.

There are certain men that need to be converted, who say: "Who did Christ say this to? Who was Nicodemus? Was he a drunkard, a gambler, or a thief?" He was one of the very best men of Jerusalem; no doubt about that He was an honorable councillor; he belonged to the Sanhedrim [sic]; he held a very high position; he was one of the best men in the state; he was an orthodox man; he was one of the very soundest men. Why, if he were here today, he would be made a president of one of our colleges; he would be put at once into one of our seminaries and have the "Reverend" put before his name, "Reverend Nicodemus, D.D.," or even "LL.D." And yet, what did Christ say to him? "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

See Nicodemus. He, with Joseph of Arimathea, took down the body of Jesus and brought it away, and stayed by Jesus to the last. I never knew a man that had a personal interview with Jesus that did not stay by him. Oh, make up your mind that you will seek him and follow him until you have an interview with him; for never man spake as that man spake. He is just the man that everyone wants.

But I can imagine someone say, "If that is to have a new birth, what am I to do? I can't create life. I certainly can't save myself." You certainly can't, and we don't preach that you can. We tell you it is utterly impossible to make a man better without Christ, and that is what men are trying to do. They are trying to patch up this old Adam's nature. There must be a new creation. Regeneration is a new creation, and if it is a new creation it must be the work of God. In the first chapter of Genesis man don't appear. There is no one there but God. Man is not there to help or take part. When God created the earth, he was alone. When God redeemed the world he was alone. "That which was born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit."

… A man might just as well try to leap over the moon as to serve God in the flesh. Therefore that which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. Now God tells us in this chapter how we are to get into his kingdom. We are not to work our way in, not but that salvation is worth working for. We admit all that. If there were rivers and mountains in the way, it would be worth swimming those rivers and climbing those mountains. There is no doubt that salvation is worth all that, but we don't get it by our works. It is to him that worketh not, but believeth. We work because we are saved; we don't work to be saved. We work from the cross but not towards it.

Now it is written, “Work out your salvation with fear and trembling.” Why you must have your salvation before you can work it out. Suppose I say to my little boy, “Go and work out that garden,” I must furnish him the garden before he can work it out. Suppose I say to him, “I want you to spend that $100 carefully.” “Well,” he says, “let me have the $100 and I will be careful how I spend it.” I remember when I first left home and went to Boston, I had spent all my money, and I went to the post office three times a day. I knew there was only one mail a day from home, but I thought by some possibility there might be a letter for me. At last I got a letter from my little sister, and I was awful glad to get it. She had heard that there were a great many pickpockets in Boston, and a large part of that letter was to have me be very careful not to let anybody pick my pocket. Now I had got to have something in my pocket in order to have it picked. So you have got to have salvation before you can work it out.

“It is to him that worketh not but believeth.” When Christ shouted on Calvary, “It is finished,” he meant what he said. All that men have to do now is just to accept of the work of Jesus Christ. There is no hope for a man or a woman as long as they are trying to work out their salvation. I can imagine there are some people here who will say, as Nicodemus did, “This is a very mysterious thing.” I see the scowl on that Pharisee’s brow as he says, “How can these things be?” It sounds very strange to his ear. “Born again; born of the Spirit? How can these things be?” A great many people say, “You must reason it out, but if you don’t reason it out, don’t ask us to believe it.” Now, I can imagine a great many people in this hall saying that. When you ask me to reason it out, I tell you frankly I can’t do it. “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and you hear the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit.” I can’t understand all about the wind. You ask me to reason it out. I can’t. It may blow due north here, and up to Boston it may blow due south. I may go up a few hundred feet and find it blowing in an entirely opposite direction from what it is down here. You ask me to explain these currents of wind, but because I can’t explain it, and because I don’t understand

it, suppose I stand here and assert, “O humph! There is no such thing as wind.” … My friends, you might just as well tell me tonight that there is no wind as to tell me there is no such thing as a man born of the Spirit. I have felt the Spirit of God working in my heart just as much as I have felt the wind blowing in my face…

I can't help believing in the regeneration of man when I see men that have been reclaimed…

Look you, down there in the dark alleys of New York is a poor drunkard. I think if you want to get near hell, go to a poor drunkard's home. Go to the house of that poor miserable drunkard. Is there anything nearer like hell on earth? See the want and distress that reigns there. But hark! A footstep is heard at the door, and the children run and hide themselves. The patient wife waits to meet him. The man has been her torment. Many a time she has borne about for weeks the marks of blows. Many a time that strong right hand has been brought down on her defenseless head. And now she waits expecting to hear his oaths and suffer his brutal treatment. He comes in and says to her: "I have been to the meeting, and I heard there that if I will I can be converted. I believe that God is able to save me." Go down to that house again in a few weeks and what a change! As you approach you hear someone singing. It is not the song of a reveler, but they are singing the "Rock of Ages." The children are no longer afraid of him, but cluster around his knee. His wife is near him, her face lit up with a happy glow. Is not that a picture of regeneration?

I can take you to thousands of such homes, made happy by the regenerating power of the religion of Christ. What men want is the power to overcome temptation, the power to lead a right life.

The only way to get into the kingdom of God is to be born into it. If the archangel Gabriel was to wing his way here tonight, and we could have a chance to tell him all our wishes, we couldn't ask him for a better way of getting into the kingdom of God. Christ has made salvation ready for us, and all we must do is just to take it. Oh, may we not hesitate to take it! There is a law in this country requiring that the president must be born in the country. When foreigners come to our shores they have no right to complain against such a law which forbids them from ever becoming presidents. Now hasn't God a right to make a law that all those who become heirs of eternal life must be born into his kingdom? An unregenerated man would rather be in hell than in heaven. Take a man whose heart is full of corruption and wickedness, and place him in heaven among the pure, the holy, and the redeemed, and he wouldn't want to stay there. My friends, if we are to be happy in heaven we must begin to make a heaven here on earth. Heaven is a prepared place for a prepared people. If a gambler or blasphemer were taken out of the streets of New York and placed on the crystal pavement of heaven and under the shadow of the tree of life he would say,

"I don't want to stay here." If men were taken to heaven just as they are by nature, without having their hearts regenerated, there would be another rebellion in heaven. Heaven is filled with a company of those that are twice born. When I was born in 1837 I received my old Adam nature, and when I was born again in 1856 I had another nature given to me.

It is impossible to serve God a right unless you first make up your mind to be born again. If a house is built upon the sand, it falls; but if it is founded upon a rock, it stands firm against the wind and wave.

Our faith can never endure unless it is founded on Christ. We may travel through the earth and see many countries, but there is one country—the land of Beulah, which John Bunyan saw in vision—that country we shall never see unless we are born again—regenerated by Christ. We look abroad and see many beautiful trees, but the tree of life we shall never see until our eyes are made clear by faith in the Savior. You may see the beautiful rivers of the earth—the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Hudson—you may ride upon their bosoms, but bear in mind that your eye will never rest upon the river which bursts out from the throne of God and flows through the upper kingdom. God has said it, and not man. You will never see the kingdom of God except you are born again. You may see the kings and lords of the earth, but the King of Kings and Lord of Lords you will never see except you are born again. When you are in London you may go to the Tower and see the crown of England, which is worth millions, and is guarded there by soldiers; but bear in mind that your eye will never rest upon the crown of life except you are born again. You may come to these meetings and hear the songs of Zion which are sung here, but one song—that of Moses and the Lamb—the uncircumcised ear shall never hear that song unless you are born again. We may see the beautiful mansions of New York and the Hudson, but bear in mind that the mansions which Christ has gone to prepare you shall never see unless you are born again. It is God who says it. You may see ten thousand beautiful things in this world, but the city that Abraham caught sight of—and from that time he became pilgrim and a sojourner, you shall never see unless you are born again. Many of you may be invited to marriage feasts here, but you will never attend the marriage supper of the Lamb except you are born again. It is God who says it, dear friend. You may be looking on the face of your sainted mother tonight, and feel that she is praying for you, but the time will come when you shall never see her again except you are born again. I may be speaking to a young man or a young lady who has recently stood

by the bedside of a dying mother, and she said to you, “Be sure and meet me in heaven,” and you made the promise. Ah! You shall never see her again except you are born again. I believe Jesus of Nazareth sooner than those infidels who say you do not have to be born again.

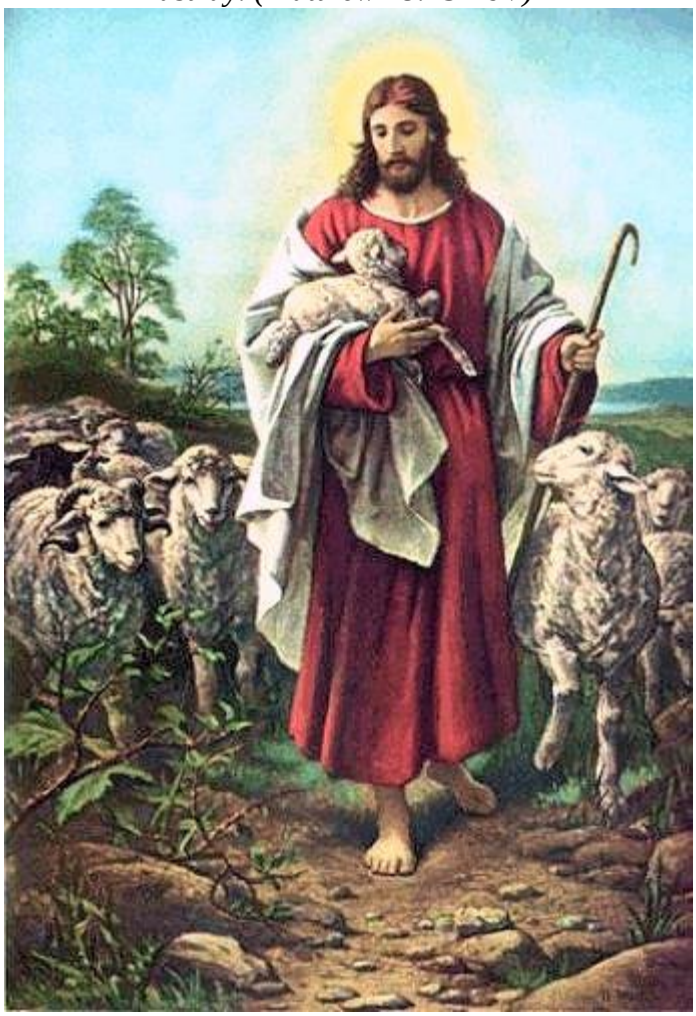
If you see your children who have gone before, you must be born of the Spirit. I may be speaking tonight to a father and mother who have recently borne a loved one to the grave, and how dark your home seems! You will never see her again except you are born again. If you wish to meet your loved ones you must be born again…

Yes, we all have an elder Brother there. Nearly 1,900 years ago he crossed over, and from the heavenly shores he is calling you to heaven. Let us turn our back upon the world. Let us give a deaf ear to the world. Let us get our heart in the kingdom of God, and cry, “Life! Life! Eternal life!” Let us pray that God may keep every soul now here from going out of this building tonight without being born again!

ADDENDUM K

THE NINETY AND NINE[115]

....verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray. (Matthew 18:13 KJV)



Christ the Shepherd, by Bernhard Plockhorst (1825-1907)

Elizabeth C. Clephane (1830-1869)

Ira D. Sankey (1840-1908)

While in Scotland, on an evangelism tour with Dwight L. Moody, Sankey read in a British newspaper a poem composed by Elizabeth C. Celphane. The poem touched him deeply. He tore the poem from the paper, put it in his pocket, and in the busyness of the day, he forgot about it. Later that day, at the end of their service in Edinburgh, Moody asked Sankey for a closing song. Ira was caught by surprise,

[115] Excerpted and edited from the article at www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/n/i/90_and_9.htm

but the Holy Spirit reminded him of the poem in his pocket. He brought it out, said a prayer, then composed the tune as he sang. Thus was born "The Ninety and Nine." This impromptu event was Sankey's first attempt at writing a hymn tune.

ADDENDUM L

Martin Luther's Ninety-Five-Theses

The *Ninety-Five-Theses,* were Luther's challenge of the Roman Catholic practice of giving indulgences. An indulgence is a remission of the temporal punishment for sins that already have been forgiven. Catholic belief was that even though one might be forgiven of a sin (the forgiven sin would not keep one from going to heaven), time in purgatory still would be imposed as a temporal punishment for the sin.

All Saints' Church in Wittenberg, Germany held one of Europe's largest collections of holy relics. These had been piously collected by Frederick III of Saxony. Pious veneration of relics was purported to allow the viewer to receive relief from temporal punishment for sins. By 1509 Frederick had over 5,000 relics, purportedly including vials of the milk of the Virgin Mary, straw from the manger [of Jesus], and the body of one of the innocents massacred by King Herod.

As part of a fund-raising campaign commissioned by Pope Leo X to finance the renovation of St Peter's Basilica in Rome, Johann Tetzel, a Dominican priest, began the sale of indulgences in the German lands. Albert of Mainz, the Archbishop of Mainz in Germany, was deeply in debt because he had borrowed heavily to pay for his high church rank (church positions often were sold to the highest bidder). He agreed to allow the sale of the indulgences in his territory in exchange for a cut of the proceeds.

Even though Luther's prince, Frederick III, and the prince of the neighboring territory, George, Duke of Saxony, forbade the sale of indulgences in their respective lands, Luther's parishioners traveled to other regions to purchase them. When these people came to confession, they presented their plenary indulgences which they had paid good silver money for, claiming they no longer had to repent of their sins, since the document promised to forgive all their sins.

Luther challenged not only the bestowal of indulges, but especially the sale of indulgences. Selling indulgences represented a financial transaction rather than genuine contrition. Luther's *Theses* argued that the sale of indulgences was a gross violation of the original intention of confession and penance, and that Christians were being falsely told that they could find absolution through these purchases.

Luther became outraged that his parishioners had paid money for what was theirs by right as a free gift from God. Luther strongly objected to a saying attributed to Johann Tetzel that "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory [also attested as 'into heaven'] springs."

He felt compelled to expose the fraud and called for a scholarly debate/discussion at the University of Wittenberg. The accepted manner in which a proposal was presented for debate and discussion in the university, was for the proposal to be posted on the door of the Wittenberg Castle Church.

On the eve of All Saint's Day, October 31, 1517, Luther posted on the door of the church the ninety-five theses, which he had composed in Latin. On the same day, Luther sent a hand-written copy, including honorable comments to Archbishop Albert of Mainz and Magdeburg (the one responsible for the practice of the indulgence sales), and another copy to the bishop of Brandenburg, Luther's ecclesiastical overseer. The Ninety-Five Theses outlined the items to be discussed and issued the challenge to any and all comers.

Within two weeks, copies of the Theses had spread throughout Germany and within two months copies had spread throughout Europe. In January 1518 Christoph von Scheurl and other friends of Luther translated the *Ninety-Five Theses* from Latin into German, printed, and widely copied them, making the controversy one of the first in history to be aided by the printing press.

The Ninety-Five-Theses

Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences

Dr Martin Luther

Out of love and concern for the truth, and with the object of eliciting it, the following heads will be the subject of a public discussion at Wittenberg under the presidency of the reverend father, Martin Luther, Augustinian, Master of Arts and Sacred Theology, and duly appointed Lecturer on these subjects in that place. He requests that whoever cannot be present personally to debate the matter orally will do so in absence in writing.

1. When our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, said "Repent", He called for the entire life of believers to be one of repentance.
2. The word cannot be properly understood as referring to the sacrament of penance, i.e. confession and satisfaction, as administered by the clergy.
3. Yet its meaning is not restricted to repentance in one's heart; for such repentance is null unless it produces outward signs in various mortifications of the flesh.
4. As long as hatred of self abides (i.e. true inward repentance) the penalty of sin abides, viz., until we enter the kingdom of heaven.
5. The pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties beyond those imposed either at his own discretion or by canon law.
6. The pope himself cannot remit guilt, but only declare and confirm that it has been remitted by God; or, at most, he can remit it in cases reserved to his discretion. Except for these cases, the guilt remains untouched.
7. God never remits guilt to anyone without, at the same time, making him humbly submissive to the priest, His representative.
8. The penitential canons apply only to men who are still alive, and, according to the canons themselves, none applies to the dead.
9. Accordingly, the Holy Spirit, acting in the person of the pope, manifests grace to us, by the fact that the papal regulations always cease to apply at death, or in any hard case.
10. It is a wrongful act, due to ignorance, when priests retain the canonical penalties on the dead in purgatory.
11. When canonical penalties were changed and made to apply to purgatory, surely it would seem that tares were sown while the bishops were asleep.
12. In former days, the canonical penalties were imposed, not after, but before absolution was pronounced; and were intended to be tests of true contrition.
13. Death puts an end to all the claims of the Church; even the dying are already dead to the canon laws, and are no longer bound by them.
14. Defective piety or love in a dying person is necessarily accompanied by great fear, which is greatest where the piety or love is least.
15. This fear or horror is sufficient in itself, whatever else might be said, to constitute the pain of purgatory, since it approaches very closely to the horror of despair.

16. There seems to be the same difference between hell, purgatory, and heaven as between despair, uncertainty, and assurance.
17. Of a truth, the pains of souls in purgatory ought to be abated, and charity ought to be proportionately increased.
18. Moreover, it does not seem proved, on any grounds of reason or Scripture, that these souls are outside the state of merit, or unable to grow in grace.
19. Nor does it seem proved to be always the case that they are certain and assured of salvation, even if we are very certain ourselves.
20. Therefore the pope, in speaking of the plenary remission of all penalties, does not mean "all" in the strict sense, but only those imposed by himself.
21. Hence those who preach indulgences are in error when they say that a man is absolved and saved from every penalty by the pope's indulgences.
22. Indeed, he cannot remit to souls in purgatory any penalty which canon law declares should be suffered in the present life.
23. If plenary remission could be granted to anyone at all, it would be only in the cases of the most perfect, i.e. to very few.
24. It must therefore be the case that the major part of the people are deceived by that indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of relief from penalty.
25. The same power as the pope exercises in general over purgatory is exercised in particular by every single bishop in his bishopric and priest in his parish.
26. The pope does excellently when he grants remission to the souls in purgatory on account of intercessions made on their behalf, and not by the power of the keys (which he cannot exercise for them).
27. There is no divine authority for preaching that the soul flies out of the purgatory immediately the money clinks in the bottom of the chest.
28. It is certainly possible that when the money clinks in the bottom of the chest avarice and greed increase; but when the church offers intercession, all depends in the will of God.
29. Who knows whether all souls in purgatory wish to be redeemed in view of what is said of St. Severinus and St. Pascal? (Note: Paschal I, pope 817-24. The legend is that he and Severinus were willing to endure the pains of purgatory for the benefit of the faithful).
30. No one is sure of the reality of his own contrition, much less of receiving plenary forgiveness.
31. One who bona fide buys indulgence is a rare as a bona fide penitent man, i.e. very rare indeed.
32. All those who believe themselves certain of their own salvation by means of letters of indulgence, will be eternally damned, together with their teachers.
33. We should be most carefully on our guard against those who say that the papal indulgences are an inestimable divine gift, and that a man is reconciled to God by them.
34. For the grace conveyed by these indulgences relates simply to the penalties of the sacramental "satisfactions" decreed merely by man.
35. It is not in accordance with Christian doctrines to preach and teach that those who buy off souls, or purchase confessional licenses, have no need to repent of their own sins.
36. Any Christian whatsoever, who is truly repentant, enjoys plenary remission from penalty and guilt, and this is given him without letters of indulgence.

37. Any true Christian whatsoever, living or dead, participates in all the benefits of Christ and the Church; and this participation is granted to him by God without letters of indulgence.
38. Yet the pope's remission and dispensation are in no way to be despised, for, as already said, they proclaim the divine remission.
39. It is very difficult, even for the most learned theologians, to extol to the people the great bounty contained in the indulgences, while, at the same time, praising contrition as a virtue.
40. A truly contrite sinner seeks out, and loves to pay, the penalties of his sins; whereas the very multitude of indulgences dulls men's consciences, and tends to make them hate the penalties.
41. Papal indulgences should only be preached with caution, lest people gain a wrong understanding, and think that they are preferable to other good works: those of love.
42. Christians should be taught that the pope does not at all intend that the purchase of indulgences should be understood as at all comparable with the works of mercy.
43. Christians should be taught that one who gives to the poor, or lends to the needy, does a better action than if he purchases indulgences.
44. Because, by works of love, love grows and a man becomes a better man; whereas, by indulgences, he does not become a better man, but only escapes certain penalties.
45. Christians should be taught that he who sees a needy person, but passes him by although he gives money for indulgences, gains no benefit from the pope's pardon, but only incurs the wrath of God.
46. Christians should be taught that, unless they have more than they need, they are bound to retain what is only necessary for the upkeep of their home, and should in no way squander it on indulgences.
47. Christians should be taught that they purchase indulgences voluntarily, and are not under obligation to do so.
48. Christians should be taught that, in granting indulgences, the pope has more need, and more desire, for devout prayer on his own behalf than for ready money.
49. Christians should be taught that the pope's indulgences are useful only if one does not rely on them, but most harmful if one loses the fear of God through them.
50. Christians should be taught that, if the pope knew the exactions of the indulgence-preachers, he would rather the church of St. Peter were reduced to ashes than be built with the skin, flesh, and bones of the sheep.
51. Christians should be taught that the pope would be willing, as he ought if necessity should arise, to sell the church of St. Peter, and give, too, his own money to many of those from whom the pardon-merchants conjure money.
52. It is vain to rely on salvation by letters of indulgence, even if the commissary, or indeed the pope himself, were to pledge his own soul for their validity.
53. Those are enemies of Christ and the pope who forbid the word of God to be preached at all in some churches, in order that indulgences may be preached in others.
54. The word of God suffers injury if, in the same sermon, an equal or longer time is devoted to indulgences than to that word.
55. The pope cannot help taking the view that if indulgences (very small matters) are celebrated by one bell, one pageant, or one ceremony, the gospel (a very great matter)

should be preached to the accompaniment of a hundred bells, a hundred processions, a hundred ceremonies.

56. The treasures of the church, out of which the pope dispenses indulgences, are not sufficiently spoken of or known among the people of Christ.
57. That these treasures are not temporal are clear from the fact that many of the merchants do not grant them freely, but only collect them.
58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and the saints, because, even apart from the pope, these merits are always working grace in the inner man, and working the cross, death, and hell in the outer man.
59. St. Laurence said that the poor were the treasures of the church, but he used the term in accordance with the custom of his own time.
60. We do not speak rashly in saying that the treasures of the church are the keys of the church, and are bestowed by the merits of Christ.
61. For it is clear that the power of the pope suffices, by itself, for the remission of penalties and reserved cases.
62. The true treasure of the church is the Holy gospel of the glory and the grace of God.
63. It is right to regard this treasure as most odious, for it makes the first to be the last.
64. On the other hand, the treasure of indulgences is most acceptable, for it makes the last to be the first.
65. Therefore the treasures of the gospel are nets which, in former times, they used to fish for men of wealth.
66. The treasures of the indulgences are the nets which to-day they use to fish for the wealth of men.
67. The indulgences, which the merchants extol as the greatest of favours, are seen to be, in fact, a favourite means for money-getting.
68. Nevertheless, they are not to be compared with the grace of God and the compassion shown in the Cross.
69. Bishops and curates, in duty bound, must receive the commissaries of the papal indulgences with all reverence.
70. But they are under a much greater obligation to watch closely and attend carefully lest these men preach their own fancies instead of what the pope commissioned.
71. Let him be anathema and accursed who denies the apostolic character of the indulgences.
72. On the other hand, let him be blessed who is on his guard against the wantonness and license of the pardon-merchant's words.
73. In the same way, the pope rightly excommunicates those who make any plans to the detriment of the trade in indulgences.
74. It is much more in keeping with his views to excommunicate those who use the pretext of indulgences to plot anything to the detriment of holy love and truth.
75. It is foolish to think that papal indulgences have so much power that they can absolve a man even if he has done the impossible and violated the mother of God.
76. We assert the contrary, and say that the pope's pardons are not able to remove the least venial of sins as far as their guilt is concerned.
77. When it is said that not even St. Peter, if he were now pope, could grant a greater grace, it is blasphemy against St. Peter and the pope.

78. We assert the contrary, and say that he, and any pope whatever, possesses greater graces, viz., the gospel, spiritual powers, gifts of healing, etc., as is declared in I Corinthians 12 [:28].
79. It is blasphemy to say that the insignia of the cross with the papal arms are of equal value to the cross on which Christ died.
80. The bishops, curates, and theologians, who permit assertions of that kind to be made to the people without let or hindrance, will have to answer for it.
81. This unbridled preaching of indulgences makes it difficult for learned men to guard the respect due to the pope against false accusations, or at least from the keen criticisms of the laity.
82. They ask, e.g.: Why does not the pope liberate everyone from purgatory for the sake of love (a most holy thing) and because of the supreme necessity of their souls? This would be morally the best of all reasons. Meanwhile he redeems innumerable souls for money, a most perishable thing, with which to build St. Peter's church, a very minor purpose.
83. Again: Why should funeral and anniversary masses for the dead continue to be said? And why does not the pope repay, or permit to be repaid, the benefactions instituted for these purposes, since it is wrong to pray for those souls who are now redeemed?
84. Again: Surely this is a new sort of compassion, on the part of God and the pope, when an impious man, an enemy of God, is allowed to pay money to redeem a devout soul, a friend of God; while yet that devout and beloved soul is not allowed to be redeemed without payment, for love's sake, and just because of its need of redemption.
85. Again: Why are the penitential canon laws, which in fact, if not in practice, have long been obsolete and dead in themselves,—why are they, to-day, still used in imposing fines in money, through the granting of indulgences, as if all the penitential canons were fully operative?
86. Again: since the pope's income to-day is larger than that of the wealthiest of wealthy men, why does he not build this one church of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with the money of indigent believers?
87. Again: What does the pope remit or dispense to people who, by their perfect repentance, have a right to plenary remission or dispensation?
88. Again: Surely a greater good could be done to the church if the pope were to bestow these remissions and dispensations, not once, as now, but a hundred times a day, for the benefit of any believer whatever.
89. What the pope seeks by indulgences is not money, but rather the salvation of souls; why then does he suspend the letters and indulgences formerly conceded, and still as efficacious as ever?
90. These questions are serious matters of conscience to the laity. To suppress them by force alone, and not to refute them by giving reasons, is to expose the church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christian people unhappy.
91. If therefore, indulgences were preached in accordance with the spirit and mind of the pope, all these difficulties would be easily overcome, and indeed, cease to exist.
92. Away, then, with those prophets who say to Christ's people, "Peace, peace," where in there is no peace.
93. Hail, hail to all those prophets who say to Christ's people, "The cross, the cross," where there is no cross.

94. Christians should be exhorted to be zealous to follow Christ, their Head, through penalties, deaths, and hells.
95. And let them thus be more confident of entering heaven through many tribulations rather than through a false assurance of peace.

ADDENDUM M

The Augsburg Confession (June 1530)

On January 21, 1530, The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V issued letters from Bologna, inviting the Princes and Free Territories of German to meet in Augsburg on April 8 as an Imperial Diet[116] for the purpose of discussing and deciding various important questions. His desire was to restore religious and political unity in the Holy Roman Empire – motivated out a concern over the ability of the Holy Roman Empire's ability to withstand the Turkish invasion. The Protestant movement that had resulted from the work of Martin Luther had brought religious division in the empire, which previously had been united in Roman Catholicism.

Although the invitation was written in very peaceful language, it was received with suspicion by the Protestants, fearing that it was some sort of a scheme to arrest and possibly execute them. Landgrave Philip of Hesse was especially fearful and expressed hesitation about attending the diet. The Elector John of Saxony, received the invitation on March 11. After wrestling with his own suspicions for three days, on March 14 he directed Martin Luther, Justus Jonas, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Philipp Melanchthon to meet him in Torgau, and present a summary of the Lutheran faith which the Germans could present to the Holy Roman Emperor at the diet. The document that came out of that meeting is called, the "Torgau Articles."

On April 3, the elector and the above named reformers left began their trip to Augsburg. They reached Coburg on April 23 and left Luther there because he had had been declared an outlaw by the Diet of Worms.[117] The rest reached Augsburg on May 2. On the journey, Melanchthon worked on an "apology", using the Torgau articles, and sent his draft back to Luther at Coburg. Luther approved the apology. After Luther's approval, Melanchthon made several minor alterations , in conference with Justus Jonas, the Saxon chancellor Christian Beyer, the conciliatory Christopher von Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, and the imperial secretary Alfonso de Valdes.

On June 23, the final form of the text was adopted in the presence of the Elector John of Saxony, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, the Dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneburg, the representatives of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and other counselors, besides twelve theologians. After the reading, the confession was signed by the Elector John of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the representatives of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and probably also the electoral prince John Frederick and Duke Francis of Lüneburg.

During the diet, the cities of Weibenburg in Bayern, Heilbronn, Kempten, and Windesheim also expressed their concurrence with the confession.

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[116] A *diet* is an official, formal, deliberative assembly

[117] Because of the division in the Empire being caused by Martin Luther's Ninety-Five-Theses and the Pope's response, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V called a diet to hear Luther's positin and seek to bring some sort of resolution. At the conclusion, Luther was condemned and The Edict of Worms was issued on 25 May 1521 by Emperor Charles V, declaring: "For this reason we forbid anyone from this time forward to dare, either by words or by deeds, to receive, defend, sustain, or favour the said Martin Luther. On the contrary, we want him to be apprehended and punished as a notorious heretic, as he deserves, to be brought personally before us, or to be securely guarded until those who have captured him inform us, where upon we will order the appropriate manner of proceeding against the said Luther. Those who will help in his capture will be rewarded generously for their good work."

The emperor ordered the group to present the confession to him at the next session, June 24. The Protestant princes did not want the confession to be read in a closed meeting, but wanted the public to hear the reading. They asked that it be read in public but their petition was refused. The emperor and other diet officials put forth an effort to prevent the public reading of the document altogether. The Protestant princes responded by declaring that they would not part with the confession until its public reading had taken place. In response, the officials of the diet agreed that the confession could be read in public on June 25, but they decreed that the public reading would take place in the little chapel of the episcopal palace, rather than in the spacious city hall, where the meetings of the diet were held. They thought that this small room, when occupied by the diet dignitaries and delegates, would not be big enough for the public to attend. The two Saxon chancellors Christian Beyer, with a copy written in plain German and Gregor Bruck, with a copy in the Latin, stepped into the middle of the assembly, and against the wish of the emperor, Christian Beyer began reading the German version. His reading lasted two hours and was so distinct that every word could be heard outside. The reading being over, the copies were handed to the emperor. Emperor Charles handed the German copy to the imperial chancellor, the Elector of Mainz. He kept the Latin copy (neither of the copies is now extant).

The Augsburg Confession consists of 28 articles, declaring with the Lutherans confessed in positive (theses) and negative (antitheses) statements. The theses are 21 Chief Articles of Faith describing the normative principles of Christian faith held by the Lutherans; the antitheses are seven statements describing what they viewed as abuses of the Christian faith present in the Roman church. Here is a summary of the Augsburg Confession:[118]

THESES AFFIRMED

Article	Title	Description
I	God	Lutherans believe in the Triune God and reject other interpretations regarding the nature of God.
II	Original Sin	Lutherans believe that the nature of man is sinful, described as being without fear of God, without trust of God and with concupiscence. Sin is redeemed through Baptism the resurrection of Jesus Christ.
III	The Son of God	Lutherans believe in the incarnation, that is, the union of the fully human with the fully divine in the person of Jesus. Jesus Christ alone brings about the reconciliation of humanity with God.
IV	Justification By Faith	Man cannot be justified before God through our own abilities; we are wholly reliant on Jesus Christ for reconciliation with God. (This is the article by which the "Lutheran church stands or falls".)
V	The Office of Preaching	Lutherans believe that to ensure that the gospel of Jesus Christ is proclaimed throughout the world, Christ has established His office of the holy ministry.
VI	Of The New Obedience	Lutherans believe that good deeds of Christians are the fruits of faith and salvation, not a price paid for them.
VII	Of The Church	Lutherans believe that there is one holy catholic church, and it is found wherever the gospel is preached in its truth and purity and the

[118] This chart is from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augsburg_Confession (slightly edited by JWG)

		sacraments are administered according to the gospel.
VIII	What The Church Is	Despite what hypocrisy may exist in the church (and among men), the Word and the Sacraments are always valid because they are instituted by Christ, regardless of the sins of the man who administers them.
IX	Of Baptism	Baptism is necessary, and that through Baptism is offered the grace of God. Children are baptized as an offering to them of God's grace.
X	Of the Lord's Supper	Lutherans believe that Christ's body and blood is truly present in with and under the bread and wine of the sacrament and reject those that teach otherwise.
XI	Of Confession	Lutherans believe that private absolution should remain in the church, though a believer does not need to enumerate all of his sins as it is impossible for a man to enumerate all of the sins for which he should be forgiven.
XII	Of Repentance	Repentance comes in two parts: in contrition for sins committed according to the Law and through faith offered through the Gospel. A believer can never be free from sin, nor live outside of the grace of God.
XIII	Of the Use of the Sacraments	The Sacraments (Baptism and the Eucharist) are physical manifestations of God's Word and His commitment to us. The Sacraments are never just physical elements, but have God's word and promises bound to them.
XIV	Of Ecclesiastical Order	Lutherans only allow those who are "rightly called" to administer the Sacraments.
XV	Of Ecclesiastical Usages	Lutherans believe that church holidays, calendars and festivals are useful for religious observance, but that observance and ritual is not necessary for salvation. Human traditions (such as observances, fasts, distinctions in eating meats) that are taught as a way to "merit" grace work in opposition to the Gospel.
XVI	Of Civil Affairs	Secular governments and vocations are considered to be part of God's natural orders; Christians are free to serve in government and the military and to engage in the business and vocations of the world. Laws are to be followed unless they are commandments to sin.
XVII	Of Christ's Return to Judgment	Lutherans believe that Christ will return to raise the dead and judge the world; the godly will be given everlasting joy, and the ungodly will be "tormented without end". This article rejects notions of an millennial kingdom before the resurrection of the dead.
XVIII	Of Free Will	Lutherans believe that we have free will in the realm of "civil righteousness" (or "things subject to reason"), but that we do not have free will in "spiritual righteousness". In other words, we are free to choose and act in every regard *except* for the choice of salvation. Faith is not the work of men, but of the Holy Spirit.

XIX	Of the Cause of Sin	Lutherans believe that sin is caused not by God but by "the will of the wicked", turning away from God.
XX	Of Good Works	The Lutheran notion of justification by faith does not somehow condemn good works; faith causes them to do good works as a sign of our justification (or salvation), not a requirement for salvation.
XXI	Of the Worship of the Saints	Lutherans keep the saints, not as saviors or intercessors to God, but rather as examples and inspirations to our own faith and life.

ANTITHESIS: CORRECTIONS TO ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Article	Title	Description
XXII	Of Both Kinds In The Sacrament (Eucharist)	It is proper to offer communicants the consecrated bread *and* wine, not just the bread.
XXIII	Of the Marriage of Priests	Lutherans permit their clergy to enter the institution of marriage, for the reasons that the early Church bishops were married, that God blesses marriage as an order of creation, and because marriage and procreation is the natural outlet for human sexual desire.
XXIV	Of the Mass	Lutherans retain the practice of the Mass, but only as a public gathering for the purposes of community worship and the receiving of the Eucharist. Lutherans reject the practice of using the Mass as a "work" for both salvation and worldly (monetary) gain.
XXV	Of Confession	Lutherans uphold the need for confession and absolution, but reject the notion that Confession should induce guilt or anxiety to the Christian. Absolution is offered for all sin, not just sins that can be recounted in a confession, as it is impossible for a man to know all of his transgressions.
XXVI	Of the Distinction of Meats	Human traditions that hold fasting and special observances with dietary restrictions as a means of gaining the favor of God are contrary to the gospel. While fasting and other practices are useful spiritual practices, they do not justify man nor offer salvation.
XXVII	Of Monastic Vows	Man cannot achieve purity in community or isolation from the rest of the world, and perfection cannot be attained by any vow taken or actions of man alone.
XXVIII	Of Ecclesiastical Power	The only power given to priests or bishops is the power offered through Scripture to preach, teach and administer the sacraments. The powers given to the clergy in issues of government or the military are granted and respected only through civil means; they are not civil rulers of governments and the military by divine right.

Conclusion:

"That in doctrine and ceremonies nothing has been received on our part against Scripture or the Church Catholic." (Signatures of several secular leaders in Saxony attached)