



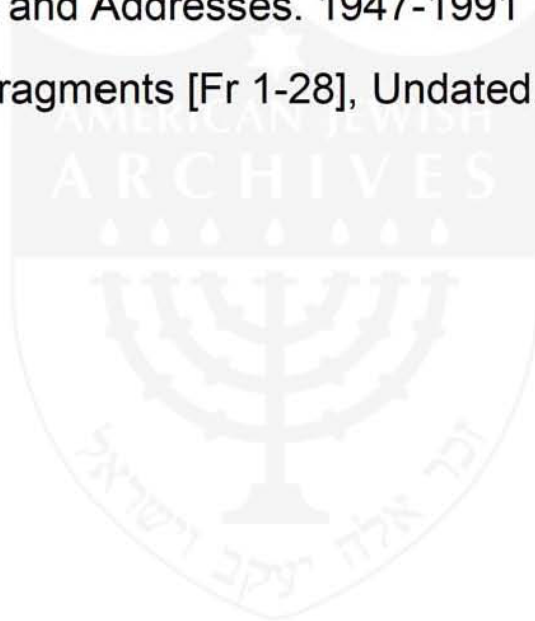
THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series A: Writings and Addresses. 1947-1991

Box 7, Folder 9, Fragments [Fr 1-28], Undated.



That is also a myth, and its repetition tends to immobilize us in unnecessary guilt and self-doubt, rather than energize us to face the truth about our past and our moral responsibilities in the complex, real world today.

As every major church historian documents, "the great majority of Americans in the eighteenth century were outside any church, and there was an overwhelming indifference to religion." Dr. William Warren Sweet wrote (Revivalism in America) that "taking the colonies as a whole, the ratio of church membership was one to 12." Dr. Robert R. Handy states, "No more than ten percent of Americans in 1800 were members of churches" (A History of the Churches in the United States and

- 1760- NEW ENGLAND- 1 TO 8 CHURCH MEMBERS
Canada). MIDDLE COLONIES - (German, Scotch-Irish) 1 TO 15 or 18
- SOUTHERN COLONIES - 1 TO 20

As a result of the vast labor and the rough, uncouth hardships encountered by the pioneers, frontier communities became coarse and partially wild societies, with little or no social restraints, and filled with low vices and brutal pleasures. The West was described as "the land of sinful liberty" with large sections of the frontier society debauched and whiskey-sodden. The violence and anarchy resulted in a breakdown of respect for emerging civic authority.

The Three Great Awakenings in America -- the first in the 13 colonies from 1725-1770; the second, West of the Alleghenies, 1770-1830; the third, 1865-1899, with the rise of city evangelism -- were all responses to the widespread decline of religion and the degenerated moral conditions of the times. (We may well be in the midst of The Fourth Great Awakening today.)

The point is that there are more people affiliated with our churches and synagogues today than any time in the past. And while we face real and serious moral issues in contemporary America and in the troubled world, it serves no useful purpose to imply that we are a generation of moral pygmies when contrasted with our forbears who were supposedly moral giants. Precisely because there are more Americans who are religiously committed today than in the past we are in a far better position to mobilize conscience and moral will to cope constructively and realistically with our many problems. That means that religious and civic leadership needs to speak to our better selves rather than evoke paralyzing images of our worst selves.

A vital lesson that should be derived from our past is that when confronted with the massive moral challenges of the frontier societies, evangelical leaders -- to their everlasting credit -- launched a wide range of moral reform movements as voluntary expressions of the churches. Organized benevolence ("The Benevolence Empire" these efforts were called) were created for the poor and downtrodden, anti-slavery groups, temperance societies, aid to youth, and the military. With the exception of the Prohibition legislation calling for total abstinence from alcoholic beverages adopted as the 18th amendment in 1920, the anti-evolution law, and the Puritan Sabbath -- all of which subsequently collapsed and resulted in general disillusionment and loss of morale -- all of the great moral reform movements were effected through internal, voluntary church resources, rather than through legislative means of dominating the government or the nation's political machinery.

3) Several "New Christian Right" spokesmen have asserted or implied that "the Founding Fathers" of our nation perceived America as "a Christian Republic." If you check their writings, you will find that such assertions contradict everything Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others stood and fought for.

Thus, Thomas Jefferson wrote in his Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom -- which became the basis for the First Amendment -- "Almighty God hath created the mind free, and that all attempts to influence it by tempt or punishments or burns or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion."

The exercise of religion, Jefferson added, is "a natural right" which has been infringed by "the impious presumption of legislators and rulers" to set up their "own modes of thinking as the only true and infallible," and "to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves," which is "sinful and tyrannical."

In his Notes on Virginia, Jefferson stated, "The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God ... Subject opinion to coercion; whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? No more than of face and stature."

WHEN THOS. JEFFERSON DIED, ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, HE LEFT HIS OWN EPITAPH, SUMMING UP WHAT HE CONSIDERED TO BE HIS MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS,

"HERE WAS BURIED THOS. JEFFERSON, AUTHOR OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, OF THE STATUTE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, AND FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA."

STATUTE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM EMERGED FROM HIS EPOCH - "I HAVE SWORN UPON THE ALTAR OF GOD ETERNAL HOSTILITY AGAINST EVERY FORM OF TYRANNY OVER THE MIND OF MAN."

Thus, it was because Jefferson believed in religion that he thought religious belief should be uncoerced. Religion itself, he contended, tells us to leave religious opinion & practice free. His belief in a "free people" was the core of all his thinking.

In sum, Jefferson's invariable oneness was that he devoted his life to resisting the attempt to enforce uniformity of belief upon men & fought with his pen unceasingly against "every tyranny over the mind of men."

SPECIAL SYMBOL OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION

- Humanistic & Scientific Genius

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN - d. 1790 - Boston - "admission to arbitrary power

18 - to England - Painter - unity of intellectual world

"Private Vices make public benefits" - moral: every member of society, by act of seeking his own advancement, contributes to balanced functioning of society - competition is better regulator of society than any form of planning.

380 - IT IS NOT EASY TO DEFINE FRANKLIN'S RELIGIOUS & MORAL BELIEFS, REPRESENTATIVE OF LARGE BODY OF MEN OF HIS TIME, WHOSE WORKS SUCCESS CERTAINLY DERIVED FROM THEIR BELIEFS.

1730 - ILLEGITIMATE SON

FRENCH LADIES - "THE MOST EFFECTUAL WAY TO GET RID OF A CERTAIN TEMPTATION IS, AS OFTEN AS IT RETURNS, TO COMPLY WITH AND SATISFY IT. PRAY INSTRUCT ME HOW FAR I MAY VENTURE TO PRACTICE UPON THIS PRINCIPLE" (Personal letter) age 72

- Poor Richard's Almanac - "WELL DONE IS BETTER THAN WELL SAID"

361) HE WAS OPPOSED TO FORMALITY & RIGIDITY OF BELIEF; HE THOUGHT IT WRONG IN PRINCIPLE TO WISH TO FORMULATE RELIGION IN FIVE POINTS.

ENGLAND
SEND HIM SUCH NEW IMPRINTS AS ARE WORTH READING ON ANY SUBJECT (RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY EXCEPTED.) HE DID NOT ACKNOWLEDGE ANY SECTARIAN MONOPOLY OF TRUTH;

AND WHEN AT AGE 83, HE STATED HIS BELIEF IN GOD, HE COMPARED IT WITH ANOTHER BELIEF, "THAT THE MOST ACCEPTABLE SERVICE WE RENDER HIM IS DOING GOOD TO HIS OTHER CHILDREN."

I would commend such writings of our Founding Fathers to the Rev. Bailey Smith and others who share his views about uniformity of conscience and religion. Rev. Smith's utterance about "God not hearing the prayer of a Jew" is not only religiously presumptuous and morally offensive; it is dangerous to the future of our democratic pluralistic society. He is saying not only that the Jewish people have been living a religious lie for 4,000 years across 30 civilizations; he is also saying that because they are religiously invalid there is no place for them at Presidential inaugurations or political conventions, and ultimately, no legitimate place for them in American democratic society. Some evangelical pastors spoke such theological obscenities about the Jews in Nazi Germany.

It is encouraging to us that literally hundreds of Baptist pastors, Christian seminary faculties and lay people have issued statements repudiating his narrow views as un-Christian and un-American.

4) The campaign by some members of the "New Christian Right" to elect "born-again Christians" only to public office is anathema to everything American democracy stands for. It violates Article 6 of the United States Constitution which forbids the exercise of "a religious test" for any citizen running for public office. The American people must repudiate that anti-democratic practice. Candidates must continue to be judged on the basis of their competence, their integrity, and their commitment to the common welfare. That is the American way.

5) The most effective critique of "single politics" campaigns and candidates is provided by the leading Evangelical journal, Christianity Today (Sept. 19, 1980):

"Moral Majority and Christian Voice appear to emphasize the first three principles of Evangelicals for Social Action more than the others (that is, the family; every human life is sacred (abortion); religious and political freedom are God-given inalienable rights). The Bible deals with all of them. In fact, probably more space in the Bible is devoted to calls for justice and the care for the poor than to the fact that human life is sacred, though none can deny that both are Biblical mandates. The concerns of the religious lobbies will appeal to a broader range of Christians to the extent that they emphasize these other equally biblical principles of justice, peace, stewardship of our resources, and care for the poor, as well as profamily and prolife issues. It is a case of "these ye ought to do but not to leave the others undone." Too narrow a front in battling for a moral crusade, or for a truly biblical involvement in politics, could be disastrous. It could lead to the election of a moron who holds the right view on abortion."

6) Many of us are concerned about the militant apocalyptic style of some "New Christian Right" spokesmen. This mentality dates back to antiquity when in every century where there was vast social disarray and disorientation, there emerged a widespread yearning among the masses, especially the poor and disinherited, for a Messianic savior joined by an Emperor of the Last Days who would relieve society of its oppression and moral decay and usher in the Millenium "in which the world would be inhabited by a humanity at once perfectly good and perfectly happy" (Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium).

This revolutionary apocalypse was dominated by eschatological phantasies of a new Paradise on earth, a world purged of suffering and sin, a Kingdom of Saints. A prodigious final struggle would take place between the hosts of Christ and the hosts of the Antichrist through which history would attain its fulfillment and justification.

Before the Millenium could dawn, however, misbelief had to be eliminated as a prelude to realizing the ideal of a wholly Christian world. In the eyes of the crusading Messianic hordes (which began to form in the Middle Ages), the smiting of the Moslems and the Jews was to be the first act in that final drama which was to culminate in the smiting of the Prince of Evil (Satan, the Devil).

Much of the present "New Right" public discussion of issues seems to be characterized by that traditional scenario of political conflict between "the children of light" and the "children of darkness." There is too much demonology in the current discussion which appears to consign political candidates to being demolished as "satanic" -- the moral hit lists with "zero ratings," "secular humanists standing at the side of satan." Reasoned, civil debate in an open democracy requires another, higher order of discourse.

One has a sense that some "New Right" advocates perceive America as if it were a vast camp revival meeting whose characteristic method was to plunge into anguish the sinner over the state of his soul, then bring about a confession of faith by oversimplifying the decision as a choice between a clear good and an obvious evil. The Civil War was rendered all the more intransigent and destructive

Marc H. Tanenbaum
"New Evangelical Right"

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by each side claiming that God was on their side, and by portraying the other side as "infidel" and "atheist." A mature America deserves a far more balanced and thoughtful method to analyze its problems and to formulate its responses; anything less than that is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.



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INDIVIDUALISM - DEMOCRACY (swt 40)

From N England on the north to Georgia on the South, the revivalists stressed individualistic religion. The emphasis everywhere was upon man's personal needs; everyman was expected to find his own way to God. In a pioneer society, this emphasis was both natural and inevitable for a pioneer society is a self-reliant individualistic society. Under such conditions even the LEGALISTIC THEOLOGY OF CALVIN BECAME IN THE HANDS OF THE COLONIAL PREACHERS A PERSONALIZED THEOLOGY MEETING PERSONAL NEEDS AND SEARCHING XM OUT THE HEARTS OF INDVS. ALL THIS IMPLIED THE RIGHT OF EACH IND TO HAVE HIS OWN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, WHICH DID NOT NEED TO BE LIKE ANY OTHER. THE EMPHASIS UPON THE INDIVIDUAL THEREFORE MEANT VARIABILITY: IMPLIED IN IT IS THE RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT. AND IS THIS NOT BASIC IN DEMOCRACY: THE RIGHT OF THE IND TO LIVE HIS OWN LIFE: HIS RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

The revivalist placed stress on the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. When this doctrine is preached to humble people, it inevitably develops self-respect and a desire to have a part in the management of their own affairs. The preachers of the Great Awakening sought to reach all classes of men; slaves as well as masters; poor as well as rich; ignorant as well as learned. They knew no social distinctions. To them all were on the same plane; All were sinners and in need of a savior, whose grace alone availed. Thus the revivals were a great leveling force in American colonial society; they sowed the basic seeds of democracy more widely than any other single influence.

LEADERSHIP (41)

For the first time in colonial America, the common people found a leadership from among their own numbers. This was true everywhere. But particularly true among the Presb, Baptists, and Methodists. Their preachers were men of their own kind, most of them from the humbler walks of life. They were in most instances it is true uneducated as far as the schools were concerned, but in native ability it would be difficult to find among any other class of men ~~xxxx~~ of their time the equal of Samuel Harris, John Leland, George Shadford, Philip Gatch, and a long list of others. Thru their leadership and others like them, the great mass of the plain people came to a realization of their own importance as well as their own strength.

VOLUNTARISM 420

Among the democratic influences coming out of the revivals was the great increase in the number of congregations which had popular forms of church govt. BAPTIST CONGREGATIONAL GOVT IS PURE DEMOCRACY, AND MEN WHO HAD NEVER BEFORE HAD A VOICE IN GOVT OR ANY KIND FOUND THEMSELVES, AS MEMBERS OF A BAPTIST CONG. WITH AN EQUAL VOICE IN MANAGING THE AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH. The Methodist form of organization, though highly centralized and authoritarian, nevertheless gave full right of self-expression to every member, women as well as men, and in the class meetings. Not only was this his or her right, it was duty; and as a matter of fact, NO RELIGIOUS BODY PLACED GREATER STRESS UPON THE ACTIVITY OF INDIVS THAN DID THE METHODIST. THIS AS HAS ALREADY POINTED OUT, IS THE REAL ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY. The Presby also though nominally tied to the Church of Scotland in the colonial period were in practice a self-governing body. Presby, like that of Hanover in Va, managed their own affairs with little or no outside influence.

POLITICS

As the colonial period drew to a close and the War for Independence ~~approached~~ approached, these new revivalistic groups gave increasing evidence of their consciousness of political strength. The BAPTISTS, PARTICULARLY, TOOK THE LEAD IN THE AGITATION FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL RELIGIOUS BODIES. IN Va. they were responsible for a great flood of petitions making this demand. A Baptist petition of 1784 reads:

128) THE GREAT PROTAGONISTS of frontier revivalism were the BAPTISTS AND THE METHODISTS. Each pursued their own way in carrying on their work, but both were effective in bringing the Gospel of repentance to the common man. Until the formation of the Baptists Home Mission Society in 1832 the Baptist work on the frontier was carried on almost entirely by the farmer-preachers. The pattern for this type of ministry was found in the Baptist phase of the Va. and NC revivals. It was largely an undisciplined and an uneducated ministry, that is, uneducated as far as the schools were concerned. It was a devoted and self-sacrificing ministry, but with an extremely limited outlook, as the anti-mission movement among the frontier Baptists which began about 1820s indicates. Unlike the Methodists the frontier Baptists had no conception of the world as their parish. The great bulk of the frontier Baptists preached a modified Calvinism, while their form of church govt was a pure democracy. a fact that undoubtedly gave them a large popularity in frontier societies.

by the 1820s, the whole settled position of the West was covered with a network of Baptist Assns, which were Voluntary orgs made up of Baptist churches. The meetings of these assns corresponded somewhat to the camp meetings.

132) THERE HAS BEEN ENTIRELY TOO MUCH STRESS PLACED UPON THE EMOTIONAL EXCESSES OF CAMP MEETINGS AND ALL TOO LITTLE UPON THE ROUTINE WORK OF THE FRONTIER CHURCHES AND PREACHERS.

133) The frontier Baptist churches held monthly congregational meetings at which all members were required to be present. It was here that the life of each member came under the scrutiny of the Church. It was the duty of each member to watch over the conduct of fellow members and to bring charges against anyone guilty of any infraction of the rules of Christian conduct or church order. Indeed a good share of the business of these congregational meetings was devoted to hearing the charges, and unrepentant members were excluded without fear or favor. INTOXIATION WAS THE MOST FREQUENT CAUSE FOR CHURCH DISCIPLINE, THOUGH SUCH THINGS AS ADULTERY, UNCHRISTIAN BUSINESS DEALINGS, GAMBLING, IMMORAL CONDUCT, STEALING, REMOVING LANDMARKS, SWEARING, QUARRELING, DISHONEST HORSE TRADING, CRUELTY TO SLAVES, MISUSING WIVES, ARE SOME OF THE OTHER CAUSES. ("The Churches as Moral Courts of the Frontier, Church History, March 1933, WW Sweet).

CALVINISM - ANTI*DEMOCRACY

sweet 23) Calvin had a very low opinion of the common people, and his spiritual children among the Presby, the Congregationalists, and the Reformed bodies were in full agreement with him in this as in other matters.

The N. England fathers had a poor opinion of democracy and considered it the "meanest" of all forms of govt. They conceived it to be their principal task to see to it that the "elect," the chosen of God, controlled in both Church and State. G. K. Chesterton: "the majority are always wrong".
(See Puritan Oligarchy)

The principal colonial churches in their organization were aristocracies. The Anglican Church in Virginia was under the management and control of the planter aristocracy. The lay vestries, made up of the great tobacco gentry, were self-perpetuating bodies and managed the affairs of the parish, largely for the benefit of their own class. A religion which would be a vital concern of everyday life was foreign to their desires. *Southern Anglicanism was the religion of the planter class.*

They considered democracy a dangerous thing in a government such as theirs pledged to carry out God's will, for they asked, "HOW COULD UNGODLY RULERS KNOW THE WILL AND PURPOSE OF GOD?" Therefore it seemed to them necessary to keep the godly minority in control and the whole machinery of govt both in church and state was directed to that end.

PIETISM

24) lies at the heart of the Great Colonial awakenings. By pietism we mean a type of religion which places the principal emphasis upon what is often termed the religion of the heart, rather than a religion of the head. It is a religion which appeals primarily to the emotion. Its principal theme is redemption for individuals. Its object is to awaken man and women to personal repentance.

25) The English Baptists, Quakers, and in the 18th cent the Methodists were imbued with piety, stressing inner religion and their emotional response, repudiating salvation through an institution, and emphasizing individual responsibility. These sects were despised by "Churches" in Europe. The individualistic emphasis in pioneering gave them an opportunity such as could not have been found anywhere else in the world.

In the history of revivalism, the outstanding individual revivalists have been Calvinists, exactly contrary to what might have been expected. (Bishop McConnell - logician becomes more concerned about the system than about individuals.

Paradoxically, THE GREAT CALVINIST PREACHERS HAVE NOT BEEN CONSIDERED CALVINISTS: AND THEY HAVE GONE AHEAD IN SPIRE OF THEIR DOCTRINE OF ELECTION AS THOUGH THERE WERE HOPE FOR EVERYMAN. (The famous Dr. Johnson once remarked ~~that~~ to Boswell that "All theory is against the freedom of the will, experience for it.") IN THEIR BOOKS THE CALVINISTS, WITH GREAT LEARNING UPHELD THE DOCTRINES OF ELECTION AND PREDESTINATION, IN THEIR SERMONS AND IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH PEOPLE THEY HAVE PRECEDED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT EVERY MAN HAD HIS OWN DESTINY IN HIS OWN HANDS. WHAT THE COLONIAL CALVINISTEC REVIVALISTS DID WAS TO PERSONALIZE CALVINISM: TO MAKE IT APPLY TO INDIVIDUALS.

CALVINISM - PERSONALIZED 19)

The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood of all Believers; Luther first set forth this revolutionary idea in his The Liberty of a Christian Man - Scripture makes no distinction bet laity and clergy

Colonial environment - personalizing of religion - IN OLD WORLD RELIGION WAS LARGELY AN INSTITUTIONAL MATTER RATHER THAN AN INDIVIDUAL CONCERN.
- THERE SALVATION WAS ACHIEVED THRU THE CHURCH RAATHER THAN THRU INDIVIDUAL EFFORT (see Littel on church-sect)

Preaching came largely to deal with everyday needs and individual concerns. CALVINISM IS A LEGALISTIC SYSTEM AND THE TENDENCY OF THE EARLY CALVINISTIC CLERGY WAS TO DEVOTE THEIR SERMONS TO AN EXPOSITION AND DEFENSE OF THE SYSTEM BUT IN THE COURSE OF TIME THE LEGALISTIC THEOLOGY OF CALVINISM BECAME IN THE HANDS OF MEN LIKE ESWARDS AND TENNANT A PERSONALIST CALVINISM SEARCHING OUT THE HEARTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

-decline of religion and morality among the colonists; Times were ripe for a new emphasis and a new method in religion, as well as for a new type of religious leadership to meet the peculiar needs presented by the American colonial religious situation.



COLONIAL AWAKENINGS BEGAN in Central N. J. through the activities of Dominie Theodore Jacobus Frelinghuysen. He sought to bring about religious reformation among the Dutch Reformed in Raritan Valley in central N. J.

When the first communion time began came he announced that only "the penitent, believing, upright and converted persons" were to be invited to the Lord's Table. His idea of the Sacrament and its purpose he set forth in an early sermon, as follows:

"We have also a sanctuary under the NT - the Lord's Supper, which has come in place of the Passover, and which, it is explicitly and solemnly declared, that none of the unconverted, who are still in natural and unconverted state, because not sanctified by the Holy Ghost, should approach the sanctuary, and partake of the holy things. He has at the same time enjoined upon the overseers of the church, that they debar strangers and the ungodly, and put them from among them, that the covenant of God may not be profaned and his wrath stirred up against the whole congregation, and the Lord remove from his blessing, spirit and grace from his church." (T.J. Frel, Sermons, transl from Dutch and prefaced by a sketch of the author's life by Rev. Wm Demarest (NY 1856), 26ff.

On the occasion of his administering the Lord's Supper for the fourth time, he stated from the pulpit:

"Truly, it is manifest that the Lord's Supper is now frequently thus desecrated; for not only does one unworthy approach, but how many of those who receive the sacred elements are either ignorant, or ungodly; as drunkards, slanderers, backbiters, profaners of God's name and day, vain and worldly minded, or merely moral persons who do not possess, but hate true godliness!... I have three times (it is now the fourth time) administered the Lord's Supper and urged this point, that the unconverted may not approach and the wicked must, acc to our doctrine, be debarred. But what murmuring has this excited... Say you that I speak too hard and sharply? Must I not speak in accordance with the word of God?"

In his preaching, Frel continually stressed the necessity of a personal religious experience. He bore down constantly on a change of heart as an essential for Christian living, and all his energies were directed toward helping his people secure such a personal experience. This end, however, the young dominee did not always pursue gently. Perhaps he believed that it was only a stern denunciation that would avail to move some of his hardened parishioners, which accounts for the following fear-producing harangue:

"Come hither, ye careless, at ease in sin, ye carnal and earthly minded, ye ~~xxx~~ unchaste whoremongers, adulterers, ye proud, haughty, men and women, ye devotees of pleasure, drunkards, gamblers, ye disobedient, ye wicked rejecters of the Gospel, ye hypocrites and dissemblers, how suppose ye it will go with you? The period of grace is concluded. All earthly satisfaction ceaseth. Your agonish and pains as to soul and body have no end, for ye shall be cast into that lake which burns with fire and brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth, where the smoke of their torment ascendeth forever, where your worm dieth not and your fire is not quenched. Be filled with terror, ye impure swine, adulterers, and whoremongers, and consider that without true repentance, ye shall soon be with the impure devils; for I announce a fire hotter than that of Sodom and Gomorrah to all that burn in their lusts." (Fr op cit, 311-314)

SUCH PREACHING GAINED TWO KINDS OF RESPONSES. ONE WAS RESENTMENT AND BITTER OPPOSITION: AND THE OTHER SINCERE REPENTANCE AND CONVERSION (Klagte-complaints)

(2)

In 1727, the coming of Rev. Gilbert Tennent, Scotch-Irish Presby, to New Brunswick marks Presby phase of colonial revival.

Oct. 2, 1731 - Frelinghuysen defended coming of G. Tennent to NJ -graduates of William Tennent's "Log College" completely changed the course of American Presbyterianism. (Geo Whitefield said they resembled the school of Old Prophets for their habitations were mean; and they sought not great things for themselves...all we can say of most our universities is they are glorious without)

-G Tennent, son of thunger; GT sermons, "Solemn warning to the Secure World, from the God of Terrible Majesty; or the Presumptuous Sinner Detected, His Pleas Considered, and his Doom Displayed."

"The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry" - plastered hypocrites, moral negroes, caterpillars who labor to devour every green thing; resembled the Pharisees of Christ's Day as one crow does another.

60) GT in 1749 published Irenicum Ecclesiasticum, or A Humble, Impartial Essay Upon the Peace of Jerusalem

A MARK FOR MANY ARCHERS

Samuel Blair, born in Ulster Ireland as was his brother John; in 1739 called after study with Wm Tennent to Scotch Irish community of Londonderry, Chester County, Pa.. "religion, lay, as it were, a-dying, and ready to expire its last breath of life in this part of the visible church". His sermon on Luke 13:7 started one of the ~~past sweeping religious xxxxxx~~ upheavals in the Middle Colonies.; his sermons produced "manifest evidences of impressions on the hearers". Often some would "overcome and fainting; others deeply sobbing, hardly able to contain; others crying in a most dolorous manner; many others more silently weeping." There appeared also some unusual bodily exercises.

SAMUEL DAVIES - the outstanding preacher of colonial America", "the animating soul of the whole dissenting interest in Va. and N. Carolina" spent 10 years in Va. (1748-58), organized revivalistic Pres into cohesive body; won battle for the rights of dissenters in Va. NEW SIDE REVIVALISTIC PRESBY FREE FROM EXTRAVAGANCES AND EXCESSIVE EMOTIONALISM.

- "The Nature and Necessity of True Repentance" "strongly enforced by the Jewish religion" - Repent not because of fear of punishment but because of crime.

1759)- S Davies succeeded Jonathan Edwards as Pres of College of New Jersey, died 3 years later at 37

119) SECOND GREAT AWAKENING - which came in the latter years of the 18th and early 19th century started as a PRESBYTERIAN MOVEMENT. began in 21 little backward colleges Hampden-Sidney and Washington, both in Va. Together with Jefferson college in W. Pa (f. in 1801) they furnished a good share of the revivalistic Presb leadership in early West.

DEADNESS IN RELIGION which characterized entire nation during and following the Revolution affected them until year 1786. In that year a great religious concern began to take hold of the students at Hampden Sidney College largely engendered by the students themselves.

trained a college trained ministry for new west over the Alleghenies.

120) CONGREGATIONAL PHASE at Yale, Pres. Timothy Dwight and ANDOVER - for Cong.

YALE AND PRINCETON COLLEGES FURNISHED PATTERN FOR PRACTICALLY ALL EARLY FRONTIER COLLEGES.

121) Presby rigidity of creed and polity - revivalist preachers ACCUSED OF BEING LOOSE IN DOCTRINE ("soul-stupefying creed")

122) CAMP MEETING ORIGINATED AMONG PRESBY, most spectacular one ever held at Cane Ridge, Ky in Aug 1801. James McGready, preacher Logan County, Ky, July 1800

124) great Cane Ridge camp meeting in Bourbon county in Aug 1801 is the dividing pt in Presbyt - during the course of the meeting the NUMBER WHO FELL WAS ABOUT 3,000. "THE FALLING EXERCISE" was generally considered a clear manifestation of the power of God working on the hearts of people. The other exercises which agitated hundreds as JERKING, ROLLING, DANCING AND BARKING, WERE LOOKED UPON AS DUBIOUS, TO SAY THE LEAST. Throughout it all, the meeting lasted for several days - there was constant noise and confusion (like discotheque). Many who attended were dissolute and irreligious characters and they outnumbered by far those who came with religious intent. There was much DRINKING OF RAW WHISKEY PLENTIFULLY SUPPLIED BY HUCKSTERS FROM WAGONS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CAMP GROUNDS/CAMP. THOSE ACCUSTOMED TO QUIETNESS, DIGNITY, AND ORDER IN WORSHIP SUCH CONFUSION WAS, OF COURSE, MOST DISTASTEFUL AND MANY LOOKED UPON IT AS A FRAMERY OF RELIGION. From this time forward the Presby sharply divided over the camp meeting and revivalism.

125) To the Pres and Cong now working together in the West, under the plan of Union of 1801, a GENUINE REVIVAL WAS ONE WHERE THERE WAS "NO WILDNESS AND EXTRAVAGANCE AND VERY LITTLE COMMOTION OF THE ANIMAL FEELINGS, AND WHERE THE WORD OF GOD DISTILLS UPON THE MIND LIKE THE GENTLE RAIN AND THE HOLY SPIRIT COMES DOWN LIKE THE DEW, DIFFUSING A BLESSING INFLUENCE ON ALL AROUND.

Archibald Alexander, prof of theology at Princeton, said Metho Cumberland Presby, and Baptists have carried on revivals but they preach a gospel in which much error is mingled with evangelistic truth.

American Home Missionary Society Sept 1846 "souls are saved at too great an expense"

Lyman Beecher

Nathaniel W. Taylor - revivalistic preacher, first prof of theology at Yale Divinity School "all his theology was shaped and framed in ref to the doctrine and work of the conversion of sinners to God"

128) Pres-Cong revivalism of 1700-1750s made only a limited appeal. It was a type of revivalism which was based on Calvinistic doctrines; the kind of revivalism which swept the frontier was ARMINIAN in emphasis. THE FIRST OFFERED SALVATION TO THE FEW; THE SECOND OFFERED IT TO ALL. THE FORMER WAS

(3)

JONATHAN EDWARDS (and Jonathan Dickinson, 1706) graduated Yale College in 1720; gained distinction as theologian as well as revivalist, defender of Calvinism; introduced into Calvinism a personal emphasis which gave to preaching and emotional appeal. Wrote to defend Great Awakening; sought to refute notion that ONLY THE IGNORANT AND UNEDUCATED MINISTERS WERE ADVOCATES OF REVIVALISM, AND ONLY THE EMOTIONALLY UNSTABLE HAVE STRESSED PLACE OF FEELING IN RELIGION. Started ministerial career as Congregationalist, ended lives as President of College of N.J., and an Presbyterian. Famous Dr. John Erskine of Edinburgh! "the British Isles had produced no such writers on Divinity in 18th cen as Dickinson and Edwards.

73) Though a strict Calvinist himself, Dickinson opposed creeds and confessions of faith "drawn up by uninspired men." he held that strict subscription to a creed, instead of being a bond of union, would be a major cause of disunion.

78) Edwards, the philosopher and theologian, preacher and revivalist; 1727-50 - J Edwards was minister of Northampton Church, did not preach prior primarily upon terrifying themes such as the wrath of God and the endless punishment of sinners - until Whitefield jarred him out of his old ways, he was a ms. preacher.

-HE WAS A "QUIET SPOKEN TEACHER, AND A KINDLY THOUGH UNSPARING CRITIC IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR RELIGIOUS OBLIGATIONS." He did preach a number of hell-fire and brimstone sermons, and with terrifying effect upon his hearers. To us of this day these sermons seem incredible - "The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners."

"You are in God's hands, and it is uncertain what He will do with you. It may be your portion to 'suffer eternal burnings; you have reason to fear and tremble every moment.' But whatever the Lord does with you...God's justice is glorious in it."

82) John Wesley was accustomed to say: "You cannot reason concerning spiritual things." "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." (Some began to say that J. Edwards was confusing God with the Devil.)

- "I think it is a reasonable thing to fright persons away from hell."

JEd in spite of all his logic believed profoundly that the sense of God is an emotional experience, not an intellectual one.

Mrs. Winslow: "the central fact in the great upheaval in American life, which we call the great Awakening, and with which J Ed had so much to do, was that religion, is a personal matter, that is an inner experience or it is nothing."

4

BAPTISTS III (92) the two best sources of information concerning the preachers who carried forward the Baptist phase of Va and N Car revivals are Robert B. Semple's History of the Baptists in Va. and James B. Taybor's Lives of Va. Baptist Ministers.

SAMUEL HARRIS - man who occupied before his conversion the highest social position among the Va. Baptist preachers - by the middle 30s became a man of substance; acquired considerable property, held numerous offices as church worker, sheriff, Burgess of the county, and ~~minister~~ colonel in the militia in 1759, after conversion, preached in Pittsylvania County and in neighboring counties for ten years throughout Va and N Carolina; preached to soldiers at Fort.

Like other early Baptist preachers in Virginia, Harris suffered considerable persecution though no doubt his social position saved him from the extreme opposition experienced by some of the other Baptist preachers. In his manner HE WAS GENTLE AND HIS PREACHING WAS LARGELY AN APPEAL TO THE HEART. His better education undoubtedly gave him a larger hearing among the upper classes but his main work as was that of the other Baptist preachers of his time, was the common people who had been largely overlooked and neglected. S Harris was REPRESENTATIVE OF A NEW TYPE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP arising in America.

94) The fact that the Baptist preachers were generally men with little education, the appeal of whose preaching was almost entirely to the emotion naturally encouraged extravagances. But as a whole they were men of good common sense, often superior in native ability, with profound religious conviction and a sacrificial zeal that did not flinch even before persecution. They felt themselves called of God and they did not hesitate to go wherever that call seemed to lead. Most of them were unwilling to secure a license for preaching, as required by Va., since that seemed to them a violation of their first great principle - complete religious liberty and complete separation of church from state. As a consequence persecution fell heavily upon them. Their mode of preaching and certain peculiar mannerisms brought ridicule. One such mannerism was called the "HOLY WHINE" which consisted in rising and falling of the voice supposedly to relieve the strain of outdoor preaching. They were also inclined to indulge in exaggerated gesticulations, and "odd whoops" and their impassioned manner often moved their congregations to trembling, screams and fallings.

95) The Baptists naturally found their largest following among the poor, illiterate and ignorant people and they gained the contempt of the upper class Anglicans and Presb. But religion has a strange way of lifting people out of the lowest social stratum in a relatively short time and that is what happened to the Baptist in Va. and the Carolinas.

IDEALIZATION OF PAST (swt 2) VIOLENCE, BARBARISM

We Americans have been accustomed to ~~over~~idealize our colonial forefathers and give them, as a whole, virtues which the majority never possessed. We think of them in terms of the best rather than in terms of the average. The vast labor and the ~~ough~~, uncouth hardships which of necessity accompany pioneering in every new land will inevitably react upon the people themselves and result in an uncouth and a partially wild society.



A Baptist petition of 1784 reads:

"We do not ask this, Gentlemen, as a favor which you have a privilege either to grant or withhold at pleasure, but as we have a just claim to as freemen of the Commonwealth." The Pres were also demanding equal rights for all denominations, "not as a pittance of courtesy, but, ... as their patrimony which cannot be withheld without flagrant fraud, pride and injustice ...". The Hanover Presbytery made certain definite demands upon govt that their meetings be protected as adequately as were those of the Establishment, that they have freedom in speaking and writing upon all religious subjects; that they have the right to hold property for the support of their churches and schools and their full right to enjoy the free exercise of their religion "without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever." The petition end with: "We are petitioning in favor of a church that is neither contemptible nor obscure."

Virginia couldnot have played her part in the movement for the independence of America if there had not been present within her borders a large dissenting element, created by the revivals, favorable to her principles of the revolution; not only was this true of Va. but everywhere the revivalistic bodies which had been greatly increased by the revivals, took almost unanimously the side of the party demanding all the rights of free men.



reality of hell, its primary concern has always been and still is to reach and convert people who have met defeat in the struggle of life.

Hotels, food depots.

It lives up to its articles of war" which pledges every soldier to fight unendingly against all sin and sinful conditions in our cities.

Oxford group movement, American Lutheran Frank Buchman, college students persons in up per economic and culutral levels; upper classes where sex and money have been primarily responsible for wrecking God's plan for lives - among Episc

Salvation Army fomred to deal with "down and outs", Buchman movement with "ups and ~~downs~~ outs".

-International church of four square gospel - Aime Semple McPherson -1921 Los Ang, Angelus Temple Chruch of Four Square Gospel, radio station, Bible College - born again experience; showmanship of most modern kind.

REVIVALISTIC SECTS SINCE 1880 arose in reaction to waning of revivalism in most large evangelistic bodies

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION - in 1937, 4,500,000 members
1936 - 13,815 whurches - 11,972 were rural chruches, less than 2,000 in urban centers

LARGEST REVIVALISTS SECTS - reported in 1936, 12,091 cong of which 7,630 were rural

Assemblies of God (~~Anderson~~)

Church of God (Anderson, Indian

Church of Christ

Conservative Dunkers

Progressive Dunkers

Pentecostal holiness

Pentecostal Assemblies of JC

PilgrimHoliness

Nazarene -rural and urban -same cult and econo level

CHURCHES OF THE DISINHERITED/OR CHURCH OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

Among themold type of revivalism succeeds andthey reach large numbers of people who do not feel at home in the larger evangēlical churches

During depression they were the most rapidly growing religious bodies in the U. S.

Assemblies of God formed in 1914; in 1926, 48,000 membe s; 1937, 175,000 and 3,470 churches

Church of God in Cleveland Tenn, increased 1926 to 1937 about 400%

176) Similar revivalist bodies have also risen among Negroes in cities as well as in rural sections of south

ALL OF THEBODIES STRESS PREMILLENIALISM AND DOCTRINE OF HOLINESS

their god is a god of love, who cares for their condition, and with whom they can walk andtalk. This close relationship with God if obtained through a conversion experience, which is ofthe accompanied with joyous acclaim.

The members of these churches stress Puritan virtues together with total abstinence from all harmful habits. The very fact that they have increased so rapidly is an indiction that they occupy a necessary place

177) new submerged groups will grow numerically strong and eventually emerge as middle class churches, gradually changing their methods and emphases.

As long as American society is madeup of such uneven social, economic, and cultural groups, such divertisty of religion will of necessity continue.

(see Lee, Church unity)

(IT IS THE CRANKS WHICH TURN THE WORLD)

* See Wm. JAMES ON CONVERSION - Age of Ignorance

REVIVALISM AND REFORM

- 163) The end of the 1800s saw that gulf considerably lessened. Clerical culture and learning were no longer a monopoly of the congreg., presby and episco. Education, refinement, and diggity now characterized the ministry and services of many metho, the baptists, and the disciples, equally with those of the formerly elite churches. Indeed the Method in the towns and cities by the end of the century began to get out the rokes and the prayer books which had been carefully put aside in the early years of the church's independent existence and many of them in form and ritual went far beyond presby and congr.
- 164) There was a corresponding change also in the cultural and educational status of the laity of the revivalistic churches. The denominational colleges following the civil war grew with amazing rapidity and the meth and baptist institutions outnumbered all others. The result was the mounting number of college graduates sitting in Baptists, Methodist and Disciples pews. This does not mean necessarily that revivalism and education were mutually exclusive, but it did mean that an excessive emotional appeal would no longer be effective. Without doubt, the presence of an educated and school-reared leadership exercised a restraining influence on an overemotionalized company of people. Deep feeling may spread with utmost abandon thru a congreg under a vivid emotional appeal unless there are a number of controlled individuals present - people accustomed to subordinate feelings to rational considerations. These will act as bulwark against the advancing tide of emotionalism; where there are educated persons in any congreg and an educated ministry in the pulpit, there is small chance that an extreme emotional revivalism will arise. On the other hand, a congreg made up of people with little education or critical training may easily be led into emotional excesses by a revivalistic preacher, who gives way to his own deep feeling, who shouts and gesticulates wildly, while tears stream down his face as he speaks. Highly emotionalized revivalism has always made the greatest appeal to persons of little education. The emotions of such persons "pass swiftly and impulsively into action." (F. M. Davenport, "Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals," Chap 1, advanced 3 laws which help explain emotional revivalism from the psych standpoint. These are the laws of sympathetic likeness, the law of spread, and the law of restraint.)
- 165) In pioneer communities where the emphasis was placed upon bodily development at the expense of mental equipment and there were no people of educational attainment, revivalism of the extreme emotional type naturally flourished. It was the changing cultural climate that has been responsible for the elimination of much of the extravagant type of revivalism.
- 165) The great number of Methodist camp meeting grounds to be found all over the U.S., still owned by the conferences of camp meeting assoc but now turned into middle class summer resorts or meeting places for summer convs are mute witnesses to the social, religious, and cultural change which has taken place in American methodism. The conditions which gave rise to the camp meeting have passed.

166) CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y. - 1874 influence spread all over the nation. (Jewish con Gordis)

REVIVALISM AND REFORM

159) The period in American history from about 1830 to 1860 has been most aptly termed "The Sentimental Years" (E. Douglas Brauch, 1836-60 N.Y. 1934). It was a period in which organized benevolence flourished in a hitherto unheard of fashion. Missionary societies, home and foreign, for the conversion of the heathen, came into existence in bewildering numbers.

Bible and tract societies were organized with the slogan "put a bible in every home and a tract in every hand".

Societies were formed to advance the cause of temperance, to promote Sunday schools, to save sailors at the ports and along the canals; to fight the use of tobacco, to improve the diet, to advance the cause of peace, to reform prisons, to stop prostitution, to colonize Negroes in Africa, and to support education.

There was scarcely an object of benevolence for the advancement of which some institution had not been formed. The greatest among these organizations had no formal connection with the churches; outside missionary societies, but they were all the legitimate children of the revival of the time. There were eight great societies: --the great eight-- as they were called - which were largely officered by the New School Presby revivalist laymen, most of whom had come under the influence of Charles G. Finney. The most conspicuous of these were the brothers, Lewis and Arthur Tappan, wealthy N. Y. merchants whose benevolent giving reached out in every direction and in every good cause.

160) It has been stated that wherever Charles G. Finney went he always left behind scores of young men "emancipated from sin and Calvinism and overflowing with benevolence for unsaved mankind." The gospel he preached encouraged men "to work as well as believe," and as a result there was always "a mighty influence toward reform". Perhaps the chief significance of Charles G. Finney lies not much in the fact that he was the instrument in adding tens of thousands to the active ranks of the American churches as in the circumstance that these new converts became active participants in every forward movement of the time. (Seldes, 1820-30s revival last to have any profound effect upon the social and ~~internal~~ life of the American people.

national

Revival of 1857, out of what came the introduction of the YMCA into American cities. It produced the leadership such as that of DWIGHT L. MOODY, out of which came the religious work carried on in the armies during the civil war. It gave impetus to the creation of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions and the numerous Freedom Societies which were formed in the midst of the War. It is a significant fact that all the benevolent enterprises flourished during the civil war, and the period saw charities on a larger scale than ever before. Though war always loosens the purse strings, charitable giving at any time must depend chiefly upon people whose sympathies are the most touched by the suffering of their fellowmen, and in the great majority of instances they are the ones whose hearts have been warmed by a divine flame.

163) Changes in American revivalism largely as result of the changes in cultural, economic, social and religious climate

1865-1878 - The emergence of Modern America - country no longer predominately a frontier and although new population from Europe were moving rapidly into great prairie regions they were brought to their new homes by steamboat and rail, and the day of the oxcart and covered wagon was rapidly fading into the past.

THE RISE OF THE CITY 1878-1898 - rapid changes in the social and economic climate of America. The years following the war bet the states saw rapid cultural changes in the two principal revivalistic churches, the Methodists and Baptists. At the beg of the 1800s, the educational and cultural chasm bet the churches which had a college-trained ministry and those in which the educational standards for the ministry were practically non-existent was deep and wide.

REVIVALISM & REFORM MOVEMENTS (Swt)

152) The many Reform movements which swept over the English-speaking world in the latter ~~17~~ 1700s and early 1800s owed much of ~~their~~ their impetus to revivalism. The new humanitarian impulse which lay back of all such movements has a direct relationship to the revivalistic emphasis upon the inestimable worth of each individual soul. If all men are equal in God's sight then it behooves Christian men to see to it that they underprivileged, the unfortunate, and the downtrodden have a better chance in this world.

The men back of the crusade in England TO ABOLISH THE SLAVE TRADE - Wm Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, and Thomas Clarkson - were evangelicals. Up to about the middle of the 18th cent, salvery and slave trade had been accepted as a matter of course. Although slavery had been outlawed in England (by Lord Mansfield's decision in 1792) that any slave brought to England automatically became free, many Englishmen had grown rich through slave trade. It had been estimated that the English slave traders alone, from first to last shipped ~~it~~ somewhere like 2 million Negroes to America. One of the results of the 18th cent revivals was the tendering of men's consciences in regard to such matters as the slave grade and the holding of human beings in bondage. As the evangelical movement grew in England, the number of slavery haters likewise increased. They were joined by men like Wm Pitt, Edmund Burke, and Charles James Fox - men imbued with the revolutionary philosophy that all men are created equal and have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Together these two groups were eventually able in 1807 to force thru Parliament the bill fathered by Wilberforce to abolish the slave trade.

1550 John Wesley letter, Feb. 24, 1791, sent to Wilberforce

154) The story of the relationship of the evangelical groups to slavery in Va. has been excellently told by Pro. Gwahr in His Great Awakening in Va. (Ch x). ALL THE REVIVALISTIC RELIGIOUS BODIES IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES DEVELOPED STRONG ANTI-SLAVERY VIEWS AND BY THE CLOSE OF THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, MANUMISSION OF SLAVES HAD BECOME INCREASINGLY COMMON, PARTICULAR AMONG THOSE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN RELIGIOUSLY AWAKENED. The revival had also reached great numbers of Negroes and many slaves were received into the church. The Presby, Baptists, and Methodists took strong official anti-slavery actions in the 1780s.

THE FIRST ANTI-SLAVERY IMPULSE IN N. ENGLAND CAME FROM SAMUEL HOPKINS, the minister the First Congreg Church in Newport, R.I., one of the most active slave-trading ports in America. HOPKINS WAS THE NEXT PRINCIPAL EXPONENTS OF THE REVIVALISTIC CALVINISM OF JONATHAN EDWARDS, STRESSING PARTICULARLY THE DOCTRINE OF DISINTERESTED BENEVOLENCE * THE IDEA THAT HOLINESS CONSISTS IN DISINTERESTED BENEVOLENCE OR DISINTERESTED LOVE FOR "BEING IN GENERAL". Since Negroes, Indians, and underprivileged people, wherever they may be, are a part of "being in general" they must come in for their share of the true Christian's concern. It was this emphasis in N. England theology that was largely responsible for the reinvigorating of N. England religious life, and for the sending out of an ever-increasing stream of young men imbued with these ideas, who were able to take leadership in many reform movements in America during the 1800-1850s. Young men went about asking themselves, "Am I willing to be damned for the glory of God?" A part of Samuel Hopkins theological system was a general atonement - that is, that Christ died to save all sinners, Indians and Negroes as well as N. England Congregationalists.

No phase of religious development of America has been more misunderstood and as a consequence more maligned than has revivalism. It has ~~chexx~~ been the victims of much cheap debunking and has suffered at the hands of writers who have been interested only in its excesses.

- 1) Revivalism has been the chief pattern of Prot activity in America from the first third of the 18th cent to within a generation of our own time.

140) POSITIVE BY PRODUCTS OF REVIVALISM

Revivalism has been a major influence in Amer social history. Its primary influence, however, has been in the REALM OF PERSONAL RELIGION, WITHIN THE LIVES OF MEN AND WOMEN. Such an influence is, of course, impossible to ~~assess~~ accurately. IT HAS RAISED MORAL STANDARDS IN COUNTLESS COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT THE LAND; IT HAS AFFECTED REFORMS IN LIFE AND MANNERS; IT HAS ENABLED RELIGION TO REACH DOWN TO THE LOWEST LEVELS OF SOCIETY AND THEREBY TIME WITHOUT NUMBER HAS RENDERED LESS soddan the great unleavened masses of men. It has served to enlarge the mbership of churches, of all denominations and greatly incre sed the impact of religion on Amer life.

HIGHER ED -147) Strange as it may seem to those WHO THINK OF REVIVIALISM ONLY IN TERMS OF IGNORANCE, SUPERSITITION, AND AN AN EXGERRATED EMOTIONALISM, THERE IS A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BET. THESE HISTORY OF HEGHER EDUC IN AMERICA AND REVIVALISM.

Of the 9 colonial colleges, the 6 est between 1740 and 1769:

PENN: PRINCETON (College of NJ, was the child of the Pres revivalists, and was est in 1746); COLUMBIA, RUTGERS, BROWN DARTMOUTH

these 6 colleges had some relationship either directly or indirectly to the great colonial awakening. Previous to the colonial revivals, only the 2 est churches - the Cong and the Episcop - had founded colleges. None of the dissenter bodies were numerous enuf to support a college until the revivals had increased their members, nor could they have done so except in the Middle coloni and RI where there wer no est. churches.

PRINCETON, the college of NJ, was the child of the Presby revivalists and was est in 1746 (the year that Wm Tennents Log College was closed as reulst of the founder's death.)

PRINCETON'S FIRST FIVE PRESIDENTS - Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr, and JONHATHAN EDUARDE, SAMUEL DAVIES, AND SAMUEL FINLEY - WERE ALL OUTSTANDING REVIVALIST PREADHERS.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD (see GW) part in the est of colleges in colonial America funishes an interesting chapter in the hist of the beginnings of higher ed in this country. He was the indirect founder of the College of Phila; and was an important influende in the founding of Brinceton and Dartmouth. He did his best also to turn his Georgia opphanage into a college and the refusal of the Kings Privy Council to permit to est int on an interdenominati nal basis, as h desired, which caused him to abandon the enterprise.

The influence of the second great awakening upon the est of colleges is also easily discernible. Naturally many young men who had experienced conversion in the great revivals felt the call to the ministry. To carry out that desire meant edu. catinal prppration; that in turn meant the est of academies and colleges to meet the imcreased demand for an educated ministry. The requirement in Presby law that all candidates for the ministry must have a diploma of Bachelor or Master of Arts from a college or universitiy, or at least a testimonial of having gone throuh a regular course of study, meant that the PRESBYT WERE THE FIRST TO FEEL THE DEMAND FOR COLLEGES IN THE EEST. HOW THEY MET THAT DDMAND IS INDIVICATED BY THE FACT THAT OF THE 40 COLLEGES AND UNIV

REVIVALISM AND REFORM MOVEMENTS

EARLY 19th cent. Revivalism, likewise was the CREATOR OF STRONG ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT. David Rice, the father of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, held that slave ~~as~~ was as much a creature of God and as entitled to his liberty as was his master, and that slavery was entirely out of harmony with the Republican form of govt. Many of the frontier BAPTIST PREAACHERS WERE STRONG ADVOCATES OF EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. David Barrow, a well-known Va. Baptist preacher, was convinced that slavery contrary to the laws of God and anture as well as inconsistent with the republican forms of govt and in order to escape from it, he moved over the mts. Letters show Va. Methodists who moved to Ohio in the early 1800s in order to get away from the inequities institution. Their letters to Va. relatives containng numerous refs to the satisfaction they feel in living in a land of liberty, and they are constantly urging their Va. relations to join them.

(slave-owning Methodist bemoans the ownership of slaves, "Is this ~~xxxx~~ a life for a Christian to lead?"

Among the most interesting anti-slavery movements in the early years of the last century was that among West. Baptists. In 1807, the anti-slavery Baptists in Ky organized a separate Association of anti-Slavery Baptist churches which was known as the "Friends of Humanity Assoc.". It was adopted what was known as the Tarrant's Rules, the first one being that no person was to be admitted to the churches composing the Assoc if he appeared friendly to perpetual slavery. Another rule provided that in no case was a member to purchase a slave except to rescue a slave from perpetual slavery, and even in such a case it was to be done in such a way as the churches approved. "Friends of Humanity Assoc" were later formed in Illinois and Missouri, all pledged to the same anti-slavery principles. (WW Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists, N.Y. 1931, Ch V, Anti-Slavery Movements Among Baptists" 22xxx 77-101

THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT FATHERED BY WM LLOYD GARRISON FOUND ITS LARGEST SUPPORT IN N. ENGLAND AMONG BAPTISTS AND METHODISTS, AND NOT AMONG CONG AND UNITARIANS AS HAS BEEN GENERALLY ASSUMED. TOO much credit, or discredit, for the abolition movement has been given to conspicuous Unitarian leaders such as Theodore Parker, whereas it would have amounted to little if there had not been a large following in the rural town and countryside where the revivalistic churches had their greatest strength.

(G. H. Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse (NY 1933) 90-91.

A check on the delegates attending the Anti-Slavery Society convention in 1835 showed that 2/3 were ministers, and 2/3 of them were either Baptists or Methodists. It was assumed by Bostonians that Boston was the moral reform center of the nation, which is certainly not borne out as far as anti-slavery reform is concerned. In this respect Boston lagged far behind the rural and small towns.

157) Lane Theolog Seminary, Cincin-Theo Dwight Weld, a Chas Finney convert promised NY philanthropist Lewis Tappan to agitate and discuss among students the abolition of slavery. Students opened schools for blacks, reading rooms, libraries, mingled / Student abolition society was abolished, students were forbidden to discuss subject. Lane students migrated to Oberlin, in its infancy, Asa Maham became first pres; students insisting on call to Chas Finney as prof of theology to Oberlin. Finney carried on as revivalist and teacher. His solution of the slavery issue was to connect the slaveholders and all his early students, who went forth from Oberlin to carry on anti-slavery evangelism, used the finney methods. It was this movement which created a new anti-slavery impulse destined to be far more important historically than Garrisonian abolition

The Witch That Learned Her Lesson

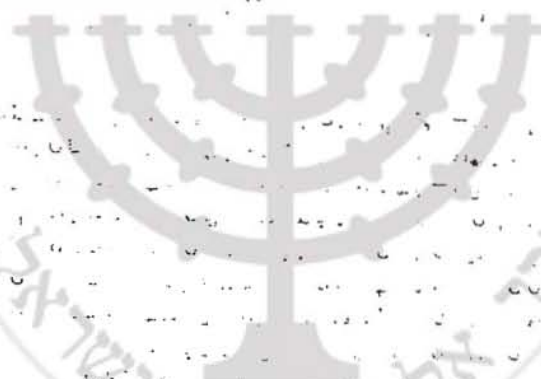
Sibel-the witch

Susan-the giraffe

Nnoyem-Sindy and Peter a mouse and a donkey

Giraffe: Sindy and Peter, isn't

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



דבר אלה יעקב וישראל

IMMORALITIES OF EARLY AMERICA

117) In the period of the Revolution, and in the years immediately following, RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE REACHED THE LOWEST EBB TIDE IN THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. And it was in the very midst of this period of moral and religious depression that the great western migration began.

One missionary reporting from the Western Reserve of Ohio in 1826, region settled largely by Conn. people, observed that the people of the region through coming from "a land of Bibles and Sabbaths and Ministers and Churches," now act like freed prisoners". "He find themselves in a country "where they can fight against God without fearing man."

In N. England they walked the courts of God's house; "They deny X in this land of sinful liberty."

118) The greatest sin is curse of the whole country at this period and esp of the raw frontier, was home-made whiskey.

p.7) Perhaps no immigrant society ever resisted more successfully the effects of their immigration than did New England. This was due to the type of leadership which such men as Bradford, Brewster, Winthrop, the Mathers, and the Cottons furnished.

-COARSE AND RUDE CONDITIONS OF LIFE

1679, the Congregational churches of NE met in reforming synod to consider "decay in religion."

some of the evils listed by the Synod were "imprecation in ordinary discourse intemperance, want of truth and promise breaking.

-EXTENT OF INTEMPERANCE - 1730s in Boston alone, A MILLION AND A QUARTER GALLONS OF RUM WERE MANUFACTURED MUCH OF IT FOR HOME CONSUMPTION. Busy rum mills were turning out their liquid poison in every seaboard town in NE

-WIDESPREAD SEXUAL LOOSENESS in N. E., even among the most respectable families

14) Of the 101 colonists who came over in Myflower, only a mere dozen constituted the membership of the first church; scarcely a 1/5 of the Mass Bay settlers who founded Boston and the other settlements about the Bay, were even professing Christians.

1662 - the famous half way covenant was adopted, which permitted a 1/2 way church membership whereby moral people who had not had a religious experience were admitted to a 1/2 way relationship. This permitted them to receive baptism but not to partake of the Lord's supper. Great majority of the people were fully satisfied with this half way relationship.

The American society throughout most of our history may be characterized as a people in motion. Under such conditions religious is bound to languish resulting in the decline of church membership, and calling for new ways of bringing religion to the attention of individuals, since social pressure is either entirely absent or greatly lessened.

A society in motion is always an individualistic society. It is in a static society that institutions flourish, where the individual is more or less automatically merged into the group. A religion therefore which was to make an appeal to an individualistic society must make its chief concern the problem and needs of the common man; it must emphasize the fact that salvation is to a large degree a personal matter, that it is dependent upon individual decisions. Revivalism flourished because its appeal was to individuals, in a real sense it may be characterized as an Americanization of Xty, for in it Xty was shaped to America's needs. The Prot churches in America which have the largest membership today and are the most evenly distributed throughout the nation are those which stressed the personal in religion at a time when Amer society was dominantly individualistic. The emphasis in American democracy upon freedom of the individual conscience has given the personal emphasis in religion its great opportunity. And one of the reasons for the gradual decline of revivalism is because the IMPERSONAL IN RELIGION HAS BEEN GRADUALLY BECOMING DOMINANT OVER THE PERSONAL.

To personalize religion is to EMOTIONALIZE IT. Jonathan Edwards in his "RELIGIOUS AFFECTIONS" made religion ~~emotionally and~~ theologically and intellectually respectable. But Xty has never been simply emotional fervor; on the other hand, it is more than reason and intellect. In certain realms of life emotion is a better guide than reason. And that is true as in the higher realms more frequently than in the lower. And yet overemotionalized religion deserves all that can be said in condemnation.

NEGATIVE BYPRODUCTS OF EVANGELISM

140) Revivalism has not been a 100% asset to religion; indeed, in not a few instances it has been the cause of unfortunate consequences.

AMONG THE CHIEF OF THESE HAS BEEN CONTROVERSY AND DIVISION. REVIVALISM IN FACT HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST DIVISIVE FACTORS IN ORGANIZED RELIGION IN AMERICA. IN EVERY ONE OF THE SEVERAL PHASES OF COLONIAL REVIVALS, CONTROVERSY AND DIVISION RESULTED.

-Dutch ministers and churches in N. J. divided into two warring camps, and bitterness engendered, especially on the part of the anti-revivalists, bore little resemblance to that meek spirit which the New Testament enjoins.

-The Log College Revival divided colonial Presby into 2 hostile divisions, New Side and Old Side.

-New England Congregationalism - most prolonged and most disastrous in its consequences - a turmoil which lasted more than a half century

SECOND AWAKENING WAS EVEN MORE DIVISIVE IN ITS EFFECTS than the colonial revivals

The Presby were the principal victims of division, especially those which arose as a result of the frontier influences. THE INELASTICITY OF PRESBY DOCTRINE AND POLITY was largely responsible for these unfortunate results. Any attempt to modify stiff backed Calvinism of the Westminster Creed or the polity these embodied brought controversy and eventually schism. In fact, there were three distinctive Presby divisions which took place on the early frontier all as a consequence of revivalism: THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYT SCHISM, THE NEW LIGHT SCHISM, AND THE SHAKER SCHISM. (Princeton Ill. in 1850 11 Pres churches for a few thousand people; Bloomington, Indiana, 8 churches)

REV. CHARLES CHAUNCEY of First Church, Boston, most influential Boston minister of his time, was most able critic of colonial revivalism. His book, SEASONABLE THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND published in 1743 condemned

CENSORIOUSNESS of revivalists; invading parishes of other ministers uninvited; practice of permitting uneducated persons to take upon themselves the preaching of the word of God, and confusions and tumults which accompanied revivals. Revivals also fostered doctrinal errors contrary to the correct doctrine of the gospel. Another argument advanced was that the practice of revivalists holding meetings on weekdays took poor people away from their work and thus encouraged shiftlessness, an indication that the so-called upper classes were becoming fearful of what revivalism might do to their privileged position.

113) The confusion and disorder which revival undoubtedly fostered in the frontier and especially at the camp meeting struck a blow at order and dignity in worship from which the revivalist churches have not yet fully recovered. Often in the camp meetings a dozen different hymns or songs would be sung at once.

Another unfortunate influence coming out of revivalism was the type of religious songs used, many of which were the crudest doggerel.

145) Rev has been responsible for overemphasizing the emotional and underestimating the rational element in religious experience. Too often even today the ministers of revivalistic churches entirely overlook or at least largely neglect their teaching function. Their people are not well grounded in the great Christian truth. They have come into the church on the basis of an emotional experience and when that emotional experience cools off there is little of anything left. To use Davenport's words, "It becometh not religion to disparage reason. She owes too great a debt to it." Christianity has never been simply emotional fervor, much less... fanaticism or superstition. "On the other hand, religion is more than reason or intellect; it is fundamentally a great emotion and a plan of life; most of our great decisions are made emotionally. In certain realms of life, emotion is a better guide than reason. And that is true of the higher realms more frequently than in the lower. Our homes are built on the basis of a great emotion; men and women undertake the great sacrificial duties of life carried forward by a great emotion.

Errors of thought are as frequent and profound as errors of emotion. Borden P. Boune (?) thus criticizes purely emotional religion. Though Xty is the religion of love, he says, yet love is more than a great emotion, for it "abides in the will rather in the feeling" and its distinguishing mark consist in the set purpose to please and to serve?" One cannot live a rounded Xan life w.o. both reason and emotion; they go hand in hand and both are nec. in the development of the higher life.



CITIES 167

ASTONISHING GROWTH OF AMERICAN CITIES FROM 1880 TO 1900s WAS ONE OF MARVELS OF AGE

-Bet 1880 and 1890, Rural population declined not only in old N England states but in such states as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.

From close of civil war to 1900, NO LESS THAN 13,760,000 FOREIGNERS OF ALL KINDS ENTERED U.S., MORE THAN DOUBLE POP OF N. ENGLAND - caused grave apprehension that the basic American ideals and principles would be completely swamped by the first mass of foreign born. Following turn of the century at 1900s, numbers entering the country was even larger - 1889, 68 towns of Mass. including largest were governed by Irish.

168) RELIGIOUS CRISIS WAS CREATED THRU MASS IMMIGRATION, COMPARABLE TO THAT OF EARLY PART OF LAST CENT. AS A RESULT OF WESTERN MOVEMENT OF POPULATION - CUT OFF FROM MOLD HOMES, OLD CHURCHES, COMPETITION FROM CITY ENTERTAINMENT; NEW TYPE OF SPECTACULAR CITY REVIVALISM AROSE: THE CITY GAVE RISE TO PROF REVIVALIST - VOCATIONAL EVANGELIST

169) SWIGHT L. MOODY WAS GREATEST OF ALL PROF REVIVALISTS - evangel career began immediately following Civil war, ended in 1899 in the midst of ~~the~~ great meeting in Kansas City

-All his great meetings were city campaigns. Conservative in theology, a literalist in his interpretation of Scripture though never a bigot, with a flat voice, often UNGRAMMATICAL IN SPEECH, WITH SERMONS PREACHED OVER AND OVER AGAIN, MOODY'S SUCCESS IN POINTING MEN TO THE XAN way of life was truly astonishing.

THE IMPRESSION WAS LEFT THAT THERE WAS TRUTH BEHIND THE MAN GREATER THAN HE

170) CITY EVANGELICALS WHO FOLLOWED MOODY were all more or less in Moody tradition though none ever equaled him in the total and lasting influence which they exerted - all conservative in theology, majority Presbyt. Reuben Torrey, college grad; Wilbur Chapman, B. Fay Mills, Sam Jones, George Sturges, W. E. Biedenwolf

BILLY SUNDAY - WITHOUT FORMAL SCHOOLING, ALL PREACHED A SIMPLE, EASILY UNDERSTOOD GOSPEL MESSAGE

In the latter years of this type of city evangelism, there was a great emphasis placed on high organized machinery set up by business agents who demanded that great sums of money be subscribed before the meetings could begin. BILLY SUNDAY CARRIED THE BIG TIME EVANGELISM TO AN EXTREME EQUALED BY NONE OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES. HE UTILIZED ALMOST TO PERFECTION THE TECHNIQUES OF BIG BUSINESS IN ORGANIZING HIS CAMPAIGNS. A VERY LARGE SUMS WERE SUBSCRIBED TO CARRY THEM FORWARD. He claims to have preached to 80 million people during the course of his career. He always rated large headlines in the newspapers and in other ways attracted the attention of the public generally. This technique, however, by the middle of the 1920s had begun to fall on the public and during the last years of his life his influence and popularity had greatly declined.

✓ 171) They reached thousands of people who had lost contact with the churches, they fought the grosser sins common to city life and they lifted moral standards. None seem to have effected any large social reforms except Ys that was brought about through reformed lives. Billy Sunday, however, did have a determining influence in bringing in the dry era. From Moody influence, a new type of college, union revivalism - YM YWCAs appeal for dedication of young life to the cause of converting the world in a generation.

172) During years when Moody influence at its highest, SALVATION ARMY introduced from England to America in 1878 - in ten years worked in every large city in America. Using old revivalistic methods, with preaching based upon the reality of sin, the divinity of X, and his atoning death, and the awful

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South" and Southerners prevailed in so much ^{of} in the national media and in the discussions of many non-Southerners during the primary campaigns, and even later, that suggested that the world from which Jimmy Carter springs continues to be perceived as one not distantly removed from "the exotic and primitive peoples" of the Orient that Prof. Eleade alludes to in his essay. Even in the face of the torrents of newsprint and radio and television reportage about Carter ~~personally~~ ^{familiarity with the} and the ~~instant~~ ^{achieved} political Mecca that Plains, Georgia, has ~~been~~ ^{achieved} (in every American living room. William V. Shannon wrote with justification on September 11, 1976, ^{seven weeks before the election} in an Op-Ed column in the New York Times ("The Friendly Stranger")) about "those voters" in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin "who find him (Gov. Carter) 'different' and a little puzzling". Shannon then admonished that "He (Carter) must cease being a friendly stranger and be seen as their forceful champion."

In an effort to respond to this puzzlement about him, Gov. Carter gave an extensive interview to the National Catholic News Service on August 10th. In the ^{of} article, Carter sought to minimize the reported estrangement toward ~~him~~ him because of "the religious issue" and the actualities of prejudice against him because of his pronounced Southern Baptist religious convictions. "I believe," Carter said, that the so-called prejudice ^{of} against me because I'm a Baptist was overestimated to begin with. Most people in this country, I think, have a remarkable absence of prejudice because of one's religion."

1 Carter then added, "Because of my success in the primaries, people began to study the beliefs of Southern Baptists and they detected a very strong inclination to separate church and state on my part, as was expressed very clearly by John Kennedy when he met with Protestant ministers in Houston in 1960⁴. I think as they've learned what our religious beliefs were, their concerns were alleviated." Carter's final point was that "our public opinion polls have shown, since the (Democratic) convention, on a nationwide basis, that I have strong support among all religious groups and that there is no prejudice against me because of my religion."

The political wisdom of wanting to downplay the religious factor

are to develop on more than a superficial level.

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But there are "existential situations" and a "cultural universe" of which ^{valid and} ~~need~~ ^{to be known and far better understood by non-Southerners if communication and collaboration} the emerging South ^{and} ~~and~~ ^A simple reference to Southern Baptist ^{commitment to "the separation of church and state" only} ~~records or platforms~~ ^{papers ever} facing the challenge. Such slogans do ^{the issues} ~~not~~ ^{not} begin to do justice to a much broader and ^{disappearing mutual understanding between the South and the rest of the country.} richer inheritance of ideals and values that are part of Southern culture and religion, nor ^{may} ~~do~~ it face up adequately to the ^{5 in} ~~problematics~~ and threats to American democracy and pluralism which are also part of that complex legacy, all of which are now rising to the national surface.

The wide sense of surprise, even astonishment, that a Southerner, and an "up-front" evangelical Southern Christian (to use the Rev. James Wall's phrase) could contend successfully ^{as} ~~for~~ the Free Democratic Party's Presidential nominee suggests that the bitter legacy of regional pride, ~~and~~ prejudice, and political suspicion deposited by the tragic War Between the States is ~~xx~~ still not ^{wholly} ~~spent~~. In a poignant essay entitled, "Could the Civil War Have Been Prevented?" (Christian Century, March 31, 1976), Prof. Samuel S. Hill, Jr., author of Religion and the Solid South, deplors "the ravages" suffered by America over the past 110 years in the wake of "the harsh conflict of 1861-1865." In addition to the loss of an estimated 610,000 lives - 360,000 in the service of the Union and 250,000 in the service of the Confederate States of America - with countless thousands of others maimed, dismembered or less severely wounded, Prof. Hill counts among the costs of the Civil War to America "the ~~xx~~ pride and prejudice the conflict engendered in both regional societies. Unlike President Lincoln, each was convinced that the Lord was on its side and so denounced the other as immoral or imperious. Until very recently most Yankees and Rebels spoke openly of their superiority over the other

in terms of quality of their life and moral responsibility. If the South is open to the charge of having squandered most of its psychic energy on the ~~anachronism~~^{anachronism} of segregation (and slavery before that), the North may be accused of having misdirected many of its attitudes toward the benightedness and inferiority of southerners and southern ways."

Dr. Hill cites the case of a distant relative from the Deep South who "as a child refused to step outside his family's car parked on a Cincinnati street out of a sense of bestrangement, fear, and contempt for the residents of that (border) northern city. As recently as two decades ago such a response was not altogether exceptional - and the same might be said of analogous incidents involving northern condescension toward citizens of Dixie." Is that mentality ~~xxxx~~ not unlike the tendency Eleade refers to as that of viewing the other as "immature episodes or aberrations from an exemplary history of man," and something alien, not integral with the history of the human spirit?

So extensive have been such psychological obstacles in the past that it is virtually inevitable that many people, including various elites, have failed ^{to confront} or resisted facing the data of the changes of the New South. While there is a growing literature documenting these momentous changes, ^{one of} the clearest profiles of the beginnings of those trends are to be found in the portrait of the South drawn by Ben J. Wattenberg in collaboration with Richard M. Scammon (This USA).

"In liberal circles," Wattenberg and Scammon write, "it is common to hear about the inordinate amount of congressional control exercised by a few southern legislators who represent the

and to try to create a bandwagon effect is of course understandable. And indeed, on one level, Carter's responses are astute insofar as they are congruent with Erik Erikson's reading of the ~~the~~ American political character.² In an essay on American identity, Psychohistorian Erikson expresses the belief that Americans are uniquely responsive to reducing complex ideological issues to easily-assimilable and repeatable slogans and cliches, a method that advertising has tested as remarkably successful in selling prodigious quantities of cars, soaps, and toothpaste, and that works even in selling the appeal of political candidates.

But there are "existential situations" and a "cultural universe" of the emerging South which need to be known and far better understood by non-Southerners if communications and collaboration in the national interest are to develop on more than a ^{an external} superficial ~~the~~ level. A simple reference to the Southern Baptist commitment to "the separation of church and state" by Governor Carter and his supporters - however accurate and historically valid - only evades or postpones facing the challenge of deepening mutual understanding between the South and the rest of the country. Such slogans, in the first instance, fall on the public ear as vague abstractions and fail to respond to the deeper, "gut level" anxieties and suspicions about Southern evangelical commitments to social reform ^{to combatting prejudice,} and to pluralism that continue to hover in large parts of the rest of the nation. And, at the same time, such slogans do not begin to do justice to a much broader and richer inheritance of progressive ideals and values that are also embedded in Southern culture and ~~main~~ religion. With due deference for Mr. Carter's optimistic assertion, it is my clear impression that most people have not begun to study either the historic role of Southern Baptists in the shaping of American society nor their beliefs, and it ^{is} because of that widespread ignorance that - analogizing to Eleade's scenario of Occidental-Oriental alienation - that voters continue to "regard them" - the South and ~~their~~ ^{its} eponym in Jimmy Carter - ~~as immature episodes or~~ ^{as} aberrations from an exemplary history of men," not valued, as yet, as ^{democratic} integral with the history of the human spirit," that is, (fully/and trustworthily American in the modern sense. The not yet popular conviction appears to remain in the 1970s the same as it was in the 1940s when W.J. Cash wrote in his near-classic, The Mind of the South, "There exists among us - both North and ->

II- YANKEES AND REBELS- SECTIONAL EGOS AND STEREOTYPES

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To a substantial extent, these lingering emotions of "strangeness" and "differentness" that have peaked in special ways during this Presidential campaign suggest that the bitter legacy of regional pride, prejudice, and political suspicions deposited by the tragic War Between the States is still far from wholly spent. In a poignant essay entitled, "Could the Civil War Have Been Prevented?" (Christian Century, March 31, 1976), Prof. Samuel S. Hill, Jr., author of Religion and the Solid South, deplors "the ravages" suffered by America over the past 110 years in the wake of "the harsh conflict of 1861-1865," ^{the first "total war" in the history of warfare.} In addition to the loss of an estimated 610,000 lives - 360,000 in the service of the Union and 250,000 in the service of the Confederate States of America - with countless thousands of others maimed, dismembered or less severely wounded; the economic devastation and wastage of farms and cities; families sundered or diminished; ~~political~~ political suspicion and belligerency; internecine strife; a divided people; regional isolation - Prof. Hill counts among the lasting costs of the Civil War to America, which ^{he says,} is hardly over in 1976, "the pride and prejudice the conflict engendered in both regional societies."

Observing that "unlike President Lincoln, each was convinced that the Lord ~~was~~ was on its side and so denounced the other as immoral or imperious," Prof. Hill adds that "until very recently most Yankees and Rebels spoke openly of their superiority over the other in terms of quality of their life and moral responsibility. If the South is open to the charge of having squandered most of its psychic energy on the anachronism of segregation (and slavery before that), the North may be accused of having misdirected many of its attitudes toward the benightedness and inferiority of southerners and southern ways."

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While both North and South had (and perhaps the tense should be present rather than altogether past) tremendous sectional egos, a number of historians argue that the South suffered more from a

false sense of superiority than the North. In part, ^{this} exaggerated sense of superiority and low conception of Northerners, derived from what W. J. Cash (The Mind of the South) termed the "legend of the Old South in its classical form" whose "social pattern was manorial, its civilization that of the Cavalier, its ruling class an aristocracy coextensive with the ~~planter~~ planter group". What had really happened here, Cash observes, was that "the gentlemanly idea, driven from England by Cromwell, had taken refuge in the South and fashioned for itself a world to its heart's desire: a world singularly polished and mellow and poised, wholly dominated by ideals of honor and chivalry and noblesse."

The Southern aristocratic ruling class, which Cash believed dominated the Southern way of life despite its numbering no more than some 500 families, ^{by 1860,} "required above all things a fixed background, the sense of absolute security and repose which proceeds from an environment which moves in well-worn grooves, and in which change occurs rarely and never abruptly."

Employing the categories of cultural anthropology in analyzing a society's value orientation around the issues of space and time, Prof. Hill proposes that the South has been predominantly oriented to "fixed time" and "fixed space" rather than to "moving time" and "moving space". "Fixed time" is the posture of nostalgia in which "a people may take its cues and derive its norms from what it once was or alleged to have been, before circumstances placed it at a disadvantage." "Fixed space" describes a society wed to its own boundaries and the traditional practices and arrangements of those who have lived within them. "Fixed space" fastens onto how things have been and endeavors to preserve the past against erosive forces. It absolutizes or sacralizes the way of life of the province. Further, "fixed space" is a posture of abstraction, with emphasis on the rightness of institutions and formal policies. Cultures appear to find it easier to be tightly parochial with abstractions than with events or memories.

Of the four societal value-orientations, Hill notes, "fixed space is the most conservative, and commitment to it accounts in large measure for the South's parochialism, its containedness, or

cultural "sacredness," in the sociological sense of the term.

Southernness and the relatively separatist way of life in the South stayed alive, Prof. Hill observes, "not because of events or leaders or wars or symbolic ceremonial occasions," but from the energizing and identity-providing force that came from the structure or pattern of a specific and inviolable arrangement for living involving blacks and whites. It seems to have been the sheer presence of Negroes - affirmed to have their special place in this structural arrangement - which intensified and perpetuated regional distinctiveness.

Hobbled - some historians say "hypnotized" - by an exaggerated sense of honor and ^{that went beyond common sense} "sacred right" ^{provincial-minded} antebellum Southerners did not realize the strength of the North. (The North consisted of 23 states as compared with 11 states in the Confederacy - although personal loyalties were sharply divided in 4 of the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ slave-holding border states that officially remained in the Union. The North had a population of 22,000,000 compared with the South's 9,000,000, including 3,500,000 slaves. The North possessed 92% of the country's industry, including almost all the iron and steel mills and armament and textile factories. The South had to depend upon imports and its few factories for manufactured goods. The North contained over 20,000 miles of railroad, more than double the railroad facilities of the South. The North had sufficient foodstuffs provided by the West, whereas Southern agriculture was devoted to tobacco and cotton. The North had more than two-thirds of the nation's money resources to help finance the war. The North maintained control of the navy and merchant marine.)

The growth of industrial wealth and the commercial activity in the North prior and subsequent to the Civil War produced in the South a stereotyped conception of the Yankee as a "counter-jumper" and a moneygrabber, and inclined Southerners to think they would simply overrun "those popinjays, those tradespeople of the North." With its economy and the Southern way of life based on the "peculiar institution" of slavery and "king cotton," southerners have not until relatively recent times properly valued the businessman, ~~and, in fact,~~ Evidence of this is seen in the statistic that on the

eve of the Civil War, 11 southern states of the Confederacy produced only 10 percent of the manufactured goods of the nation's output.

At the same time, Northerners felt themselves at a disadvantage and inferior because the original political "establishment" was Southern - the Virginia dynasty. Four of the first five Presidents were Virginians. The Virginia dynasty elevated the presidents by simply designating the vice-president or a cabinet member in a set pattern. The United States and the Constitution were made by Southerners. The idea seemed to develop that somehow or other the government was run by Southerners. The South had been the dominant force in American political life before the Civil War. After the Civil War, the Republican party emerged as the national party, and the South was now subordinate to the North.

Nevertheless, through much of American history, our political parties have in fact been sectional in nature. Even with the assertion of the Republican party under Lincoln, after the Civil War each party dominated a different part of the country, the Democrats in the South, and the Republicans over most of the North. It was not until the revolution of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932 that this balance of separate geographical dominances was upset. Roosevelt touched off a race to nationalize the basis of support for both parties. By transforming the Democratic following in the North from a largely Catholic party to one whose main appeal was economic, Roosevelt began the process of undermining Republican voting strength. The key to that erosion was a new tendency to vote on the basis of income and ~~sectional~~ economic class. Our ability to vote more sharply in economic terms, as Samuel Lubell notes, appears also to have been strengthened by the ebbing of anti-Catholic feeling during John F. Kennedy's administration and by the slow weakening of anti-Negro prejudice in the South.

The real drama of American politics, Mr. Lubell has noted in his perceptive study on "The Future of American politics," lies "in the constant struggle for national unification, in a ceaseless striving for 'a more perfect union' made essential first by our continent-spanning expanse and later on by the astonishing variety of peoples who were drawn to this country. The screws of internal adjustment have been tightened by the mounting burdens of leadership

in a time-shortened world." Lubell adds: "My basic ~~belief~~...runs to the belief that in the long run the political future belongs to the forces of unification. Somehow, often in ways that are not readily perceived, the unifying force eventually win out over the dividing, separatist influences."

Lubell points to economics, culture, politics, and technology as "nationalizing forces" which tend to impose their influences across the whole nation, overriding its sectional cleavages and differences and tradition. These nationalizing forces, he adds, are the carriers of change which disrupt the present and shape the future.

The current era of the Democratic party dominance as the majority coalition on the national political scene has been, in Lubell's words, "an adventure in social unification." For the elements of the New Deal coalition - the children and grandchildren of all the urban minorities, blacks and white Southerners, workers and farmers, - the problems of social unification have been "life or death issues." The essential quality of the majority coalition gathered today in the Democratic party is not its "liberalism" or "conservatism" but its timeliness. The elements in this coalition must be alive and responsive to the newer problems around which the unification of the nation spins.

Of the many trends remaking the politics of our time, Lubell singles out "the quickening economic revolution in the South, which has altered the dynamics of Southern sectionalism to where it has become a pressure for political unification with the rest of the nation." Lubell made that observation in 1965. Were he commenting on that development today, I feel sure that he would underscore and attribute even greater political saliency to "the economic revolution in the South". Indeed, as I suggested earlier, it is that striking renaissance of the South which is today the "nation's fastest growing region" which makes understandable the meteoric rise of Gov. Carter from obscurity to a leading contender for the presidency of the United States.

A great deal has been written in recent months - a front-page series in The New York Times during February on the "Subelt" and books such as those of Kirkpatrick Sale on The Power Shift, and

The Transformation of Southern Politics by
all documenting the magnitude of the shift of power from the North to the South. Perhaps it is inevitable that there is a time lag when shifts of almost seismic significance occur for the very fact of the changes, not to speak of their profound implications, to be absorbed, evaluated, and responded to. Prof. Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky, a leading authority on Southern Civilization, tells this story in an essay dealing with the confederacy:

When William H. Russell, the correspondent of the Times of London, was traveling in the United States in the late 1850s gathering material for a travel book on America, he interviewed William H. Seward, the then Secretary of State. Southerners believed that Seward was the real power behind Abraham Lincoln. In his interview with Russell, Seward told him that the Southern people were very different from the Northern people. He said that the society of the South (which Eaton says he knew very little about) was based on "black labor and idle extravagance." He described tumbledown old hackney coaches such as had not been seen north of the Potomac for half a century, harnesses that were never cleaned, ungroomed horses, badly furnished houses, bad cooking, imperfect education. He spoke of the North, on the other hand, as a section of the country where "all was life, enterprise, industry and mechanical skill." ~~xxxxxx~~

Prof. Eaton concludes: "Now, if so intelligent a man had a stereotype of the South such as Seward had, what must have been the view of the average, untutored Northerner?"

The point of that anecdote is that it is not without its analogue today in many circles outside the South, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ not excluding Northern intellectual, media, and religious elites. "In liberal circles," Ben J. Wattenberg has written in collaboration with Richard M. Scammon, (This NAS: USA), "it is common to hear about the inordinate amount of congressional control exercised by a few southern legislators who represent the minority, backwoods, rural interests of an otherwise urban, liberal, and sophisticated nation. Oddly, this diagnosis is propagated not only by other-than-southern liberals, but by Southerners as well, who often stress their minority role in the American scene."

"It is, then, peculiar to note this first pertinent regional fact: the sixteen states that make up the region we call the South comprise the most populous single area in the nation, and it has been the most populous area since the year 1820." Some eighty million people live there, "and more Americans can claim to be Southerners than can claim to be anything else." (Italics are mine.)

(The Sunbelt or "Southern Rim" , according to Kirkpatrick Sale, consists of ~~thirteen~~^{fourteen} States - Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona - and parts of two others, Nevada and California. The 1975 population figure for these states was 77,651,000. Wattenberg and Scammon also include in their South, the border states of Maryland, Delaware, Washington, D. C., and Kentucky.)

Further, Wattenberg and Scammon observe, "Southerners comprise almost a third of our population" and are today the fastest growing region in the nation. (In the 1960 census material that the authors used, the South was referred to as "second fastest-growing region in the nation.") They ~~add~~ urge that "we cease ^{talk} taking about it (the South) as a minority culture. When critics stop thinking of ways to bring it into 'the mainstream' we will be striking a blow for accuracy. One third of a nation, after all, is nearly a mainstream in itself."

By a ~~mix~~ similar token, Wattenberg and Scammon add, the perpetual view of the so-called 'Solid South' as a homogeneous, poor, pastoral, politically powerful but growthless whole is becoming equally ridiculous. In 1960, as a matter of straight census fact, the South was more urban than not (almost 60%), and there was solid evidence of wealth, modern industry, and vibrant growth in many Southern areas.

The Census Bureau's estimates of population changes in metropolitan areas between 1970 and 1974, according to Jon Nordheimer ("Sunbelt Region Leads Nation in Growth of Population," New York Times, Feb. 8, 1976), "show a continuation of the pattern - enormous 'growth' in the 'boom' areas of the South and Southwest and a slowing of growth, an end of growth or even a loss of population in the older Northern cities... In the last ten years, nearly eight million people have moved into the states of the Southeast alone, far outnumbering

the economic exiles, most of them poor whites and blacks, who left to seek opportunity outside the region." (Wattenberg and Scammon note that "in the decade from 1950 to 1960, the four East South Central States - Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky - lost a net of almost one and a half million persons, by far the largest number of out-migrants coming from any single American sector, and the smallest of the southern divisions. The Negroes - 620,000 - did out-migrate from these four states, but the more esoteric fact is that whites left the area in even greater numbers - an 845,000 net out-migration over the decade. These relative amounts of black-white out-migrations continued well into the mid-1960s, and led to the common belief that 'the South is losing population.'")

Florida has doubled its population in 15 years, and a million or more people have streamed into Arizona and New Mexico. Sprawling boom towns like Houston and Phoenix attract new residents at the rate of nearly 1,000 a week. At the same time, movement away from metropolitan areas has sharply increased. Most recent Bureau of Census statistics show that the New York metropolitan area, in a pattern typical of many older Northern cities, lost 635,000 residents in the period from 1970 to 1974 - at a time when the population of the South and Southwest was mushrooming at double the national average.

Jobs and money are pouring into the Sunbelt at an unprecedented rate. In his book, The Power Shift, K. Sale cites what he terms "an authentic economic revolution," which introduced the new postwar industries of defense, aerospace, electronic, agribusiness, oil and gas extraction as chief impetus in the Sunbelt's emergence as a power. In 1974 alone, the Southern Rim states received \$13 billion more from the Federal Government than they paid out in Federal taxes - while for the same period, nine Northern states suffered a net loss of \$20 billion. Employment rose 21% in Houston and 26% in Phoenix in the period from 1970 to 1973, compared to a drop of 7% and 6% in New York and Philadelphia, respectively. Although New England, the North Central and Mid-Atlantic states are still home to 349 of the nation's 500 largest corporations the number of industries located in the Sunbelt has doubled since 1960, with companies such as Shell Oil settling in Houston, and M.W. Kellogg, Greyhound, and Lear Jet moving either their entire plans or

national headquarters or major branches southward.

The metropolitan expansion of the South and Southwest, Network (publication of the National Urban Coalition, Summer 1976) observes, is characterized for the most part by a frontier atmosphere of optimism and an exuberant faith in the power of capitalism, hard work, and self-reliance. However, for many of the poor and minorities in the region, the Sunbelt boom is still only a phrase in the newspapers, or a talk-show topic on TV. "Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and many poor, rural whites remain, at best," James Sterba notes in the New York Times, "marginal participants in the region's boom." Houston, for many the archetypal Sunbelt city, reflects the region's sometimes harsh emphasis on self-sufficiency and the work ethic in its minimal social service programs. It has been called "No. 1 in business climate and No. 1 in poverty," by the president of the Texas AFL-CIO.

The Sunbelt's influence on national political affairs is likely to be two-sided. On one level it will continue to gain electoral votes and seats in Congress because of its population growth. But in a trend under way for a decade, noted by Norheimer, the South has lost through death or retirement of political defeat a good share of the powerful committee chairmen who served so well in obtaining outsized appropriations and job-producing military installations - including an estimated \$8 billion a year by 1980 that will be funneled into these states in military retirement pay alone, a figure that far exceeds the current total of Federal general revenue sharing nationwide.

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work in the South as elsewhere in the nation: people are leaving the problem areas, but thousands are flocking to southern areas where progress of various sorts is apparent.

The South comprises a third of our nation, and for the most part, it stands clearly within our cultural and economic mainstream. Radical differences of opinion have the South appear at times to be a land apart, but its citizens, both whites and non-whites, reveal to the Census motivational behavior quite identical to that of other areas of the country: ~~But~~ Southerners are seeking more and better, and so are we all.

~~The political ascendancy~~

This economic growth has serious cultural and social consequences in that it represents a radical reversal in both the self-concept of the South, and of the North's traditional perceptions of Southern economic backwardness, and by inference other kinds of backwardness as well - social, cultural, religious, political. Dr. Roy F. Nichols, in observations of "the causes of the civil war," asserts that the growth of industrial wealth and the commercial activity in the North prior and subsequent to the civil war produced in the South a concept of Yankee as a "conterjumper" and a moneygrabber. With its economy and the Southern way of life based on the "preuliar institution" of slavery and "king cotton", southerners have not until ~~recent~~ relatively recent times properly valued the businessman, and, in fact, the south has lacked good businessmen (Dr. Eaton). Evidence of this is seen in the statistic that on the eve of the civil war, 11 southern states of the confederacy produced only 10 percent of the manufactured goods on the nation's output.

While both North and South had tremendous sectional egos, the South suffered more from a false sense of superiority ~~than the North~~ ~~than the North~~ than the North. Hobbled by an exaggerated sense of honor and a low conception of Northerners, provincial-minded antebellum southerners did not realize the strength of the North and were inclined to think that they would simply overrun

The Transformation of Southern Politics by Jack Bass and Walter de Vries
 all documenting the magnitude of the ^{growing} shift of power from the North to the South. Perhaps it is inevitable that there is a time lag when shifts of almost seismic significance occur for the very fact of the changes, not to speak of their profound implications, to be absorbed, evaluated, and responded to. Prof. Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky, a leading authority on Southern Civilization, tells this story in an essay dealing with the confederacy:

When William H. Russell, the correspondent of the Times of London, was traveling in the United States in the late 1850s gathering material for a travel book on America, he interviewed William H. Seward, the then Secretary of State. Southerners believed that Seward was the real power behind Abraham Lincoln. In his interview with Russell, Seward told him that the Southern people were very different from the Northern people. He said that the society of the South (which Eaton says ^{he} knew very little about) was based on "black labor and idle extravagance." He described tumbledown old hackneyed coaches such as had not been seen north of the Potomac for half a century, harnesses that were never cleaned, ungroomed horses, badly furnished houses, bad cooking, imperfect education. He spoke of the North, on the other hand, as a section of the country where "all was life, enterprise, industry and mechanical skill." ~~xxxxxx~~

Prof. Eaton concludes: "Now, if so intelligent a man had a stereotype of the South such as Seward had, what must have been the view of the average, untutored Northerner?" *(Interpreting American History, by John A. Garraty, Macmillan, 1970)*

The point of that anecdote is that it is not without its analogue today in many circles outside the South, ~~including~~ not excluding Northern intellectual, media, and religious elites.

✓ "In liberal circles," Ben J. Wattenberg has written in collaboration with Richard M. Scammon, (This Was USA), "it is common to hear about the inordinate amount of congressional control exercised by a few southern legislators who represent the minority, backwoods, rural interests of an otherwise urban, liberal, and sophisticated nation. Oddly, this diagnosis is propagated not only by other-than-southern liberals, but by Southerners as well, who often stress their minority role in the American scene."

To be sure, a problem South does exist; it is poor, rural, and underdeveloped but it by no means compromises the entire South - nor are poor, rural, underdeveloped areas found only in the South.

The problems of the South - poverty, education, poor housing, threadbare rurality - are white as well as Negro problems, ^{Wattenberg and Scammon} they assert, and these are especially concentrated in the East South Central states of Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky. However, they note, there are many areas of the South that measure up closely to , or actually surpass, national averages. For example:

Delaware, Maryland, and Washington, D. C. all surpass national income medians. These areas and Florida are above the national education medians. Texas and Florida have less sub-standard housing than the national average. Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Florida, Texas, and Oklahoma all surpass the national percentage of white-collar workers. Other southern areas - right in the southern heartland - also surpass the national averages: unemployment, for example, was lower than the national rate in all southern states except West Virginia and the East South Central States.

Among cities, Atlanta, Austin, Baton Rouge, Dallas, Huntsville (Alabama), Jackson, Lexington, Lubbock (Texas), Midland (Texas), Miami, Nashville, Oklahoma City, Raleigh, Richmond, Roanoke, and San Antonio all have proportionately more white-collar workers than the average American city (more than Chicago, to name one instance). Some of these cities exceed the national family median income figure, although generally, wages are still lower in ^even the prosperous parts of the South. We've heard a good deal about below-average southern rates of education, but seventeen southern ^{Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas} (SMSAs all match or surpass the national SMSA average of 11.1 years of schooling for persons over twenty-five.

Wattenberg and Scammon conclude: There is, then, not only a Problem South but a New South: a growing, urban, industrial, educated South. Part of the South has economic (and social) problems - most of it does not. Further, the national demographic correctives are at

"It is, then, peculiar to note this first pertinent regional fact: the sixteen states that make up the region we call the South comprise the most populous single area in the nation, and it has been the most populous area since the year 1820." Some eighty million people live there, "and more Americans can claim to be Southerners than can claim to be anything else." (Italics are mine.)

(The Sunbelt or "Southern Rim" , according to Kirkpatrick Sale, consists of ^{fourteen} ~~thirteen~~ States - Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona - and parts of two others, Nevada and California. The 1975 population figure for these states was 77,651,000. Wattenberg and Scammon also include in their South, the border states of Maryland, Delaware, ^{and} Washington, D. C., ~~and~~ Kentucky.)

Further, Wattenberg and Scammon observe, "Southerners comprise almost a third of our population" and are today the fastest growing region in the nation. (In the 1960 census material that the authors used, the South was referred to as "second fastest-growing region in the nation.") They ~~and~~ urge that "we cease ^{lk} taking about it (the South) as a minority culture. When critics stop thinking of ways to bring it into 'the mainstream' we will be striking a blow for accuracy. One third of a nation, after all, is nearly a mainstream in itself."

By a ~~similar~~ token, Wattenberg and Scammon add, the perpetual view of the so-called 'Solid South' as a homogeneous, poor, pastoral, politically powerful but growthless whole is becoming equally ridiculous. In 1960, as a matter of straight census fact, the South was more urban than not (almost 60%), and there was solid evidence of wealth, modern industry, and vibrant growth in many Southern areas.

The Census Bureau's estimates of population changes in metropolitan areas between 1970 and 1974, according to Jon Nordheimer ("Sunbelt Region Leads Nation in Growth of Population," New York Times, Feb. 8, 1976), "show a continuation of the pattern - enormous 'growth in the 'boom' areas of the South and Southwest and a slowing of growth, an end of growth or even a loss of population in the older Northern cities... In the last ten years, nearly eight million people have moved into the states of the Southeast alone, far outnumbering

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Tanenbaum

the economic exiles, most of them poor whites and blacks, who left to seek opportunity outside the region." (Wattenberg and Scammon note that "in the decade from 1950 to 1960, the four East South Central States - Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky - lost a net of almost one and a half million persons, by far the largest number of out-migrants coming from any single American sector, and the smallest of the southern divisions. The Negroes - 620,000 - did out-migrate from these four states, but the more esoteric fact is that whites left the area in even greater numbers - an 845,000 net out-migration over the decade. These relative amounts of black-white out-migrations continued well into the mid-1960^s, and led to the common belief that 'the South is losing populations.'") The flow of blacks has reversed as race relations in the South have improved, while those in the North seem to be worsening under the impetus of court-ordered integration.

More than 85% of the nation's population growth now takes place in these states. Within the past 30 years, the population of the Southern Rim has jumped from 40 to 80 million. Texas has seen a 100 percent increase in its population. California has 200 percent, Florida 400 percent, and Arizona-Nevada 450 percent. Of the 50 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) - the big cities and their surroundings - 38 with the largest anticipated increases by 1980, are located in the Sunbelt. Topping the list are Tampa-St. Petersburg, followed by California's Anaheim-Garden Grove and then by Phoenix.

Florida has doubled its population in 15 years, and a million or more people have streamed into Arizona and New Mexico. Sprawling boom towns like Houston and Phoenix attract new residents at the rate of nearly 1,000 a week. At the same time, movement away from metropolitan areas has sharply increased. Most recent Bureau of Census statistics show that the New York metropolitan area, in a pattern typical of many older Northern cities, lost 635,000 residents in the period from 1970 to 1974 - at a time when the population of the South and Southwest was mushrooming at double the national average.

17A
Tanenbaum

In all the exchanges in population between the regions, the Sunbelt has gained economically. Those moving South tend to be above average in income and education, while those going North are below average. Jobs and money are pouring into the Sunbelt at an unprecedented rate. In his book, The Power Shift, K. Sale cites what he terms "an authentic economic revolution," which introduced the new postwar industries of defense, aerospace, electronics, agribusiness, oil-and gas-extraction as chief impetus in the Sunbelt's emergence as a power. In 1974 alone, the Southern Rim states received \$13 Billion more from the Federal Government than they paid out in Federal taxes - while for the same period, nine Northern states suffered a net loss of \$20 billion. Employment rose 21% in Houston and 26% in Phoenix in the period from 1970 to 1973, compared to a drop of 7% and 6% in New York and Philadelphia, respectively. Although New England, the North Central and Mid-Atlantic states are still home to 349 of the nation's 500 largest corporations the number of industries located in the Sunbelt has doubled since 1960, with companies such as Shell Oil settling in Houston, and M.W. Kellogg, Greyhound, and Lear Jet moving either their entire plants or

national headquarters or major branches southward.

W.J. Cash - Frontier of South

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Wall St Journal

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Throughout the 1976 Presidential election campaign, the 11 states of the old Confederacy and their cousins in the border states dangled 163 electoral votes - 60 per cent of the magical 270 needed for victory. No political party can win a Presidential election without some of the South and some of the border states.

* From 1948 until 1976, the Democrats have been writing off the South and losing. In 1972 Sen. George McGovern asked for nothing from the South and got nothing. In 1968 Sen. Hubert Humphrey won only Texas. As the National Observer noted (Aug. 14, 1976), such showings seemed to climax a development that had been going on since the civil rights →

struggle of 1948, when South Carolina's Strom Thurmond led the Dixiecrat rebellion and engineered the first Deep South bolt from the Democratic party in 80 years. Republicans have been exploiting possibilities in Southern Presidential politics ever since. The candidacy of Jimmy Carter quite literally turned his party on its head.



THE EVANGELICAL RENAISSANCE

"A reshuffling of power is taking place in America today that has nothing at all to do with political parties or elections," Governor Reuben Askew of Florida has said. "The wheel of power in this nation is turning, unmistakably and undeniably from the North to the South."

Making the necessary allowances for boosterism or for the revival of sectional egotism, it is evident from all the information about economic, demographic, and political trends in the South that there is a realistic basis for that growing self-confidence in the ascendancy of the South in the affairs of the nation that is expressed in Governor Askew's comments. But Governor Askew is not only an important Southern politician. He is also, like Gov. Carter a "born again" evangelical Christian, and that buoyant observation he offered about ~~the~~ the future of Southern power he could apply with equal certitude to the ascendancy of Southern religion.

And there is much statistical ~~data~~ and other kinds of data to support such optimistic claims. Thus, the National Council of Churches, in May 1976, reported that 132,287,450 persons are members of religious groups - a gain of 1,042,311 (.8) percent over the previous year. The percentage of the U. S. population holding formal membership in churches (62.3%) also increased slightly over the 61.9% membership a year ago. While

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In addition to their members who are affiliated with 34,000 Southern Baptist churches, seminary and college enrollment are at record highs. "More southern whites are Baptists than any other thing," comments church historian James T. Baker of Western Kentucky University, "and more southern blacks are Baptists than any other thing."

According to the Southern Baptist Handbook, the populations of the Sunbelt states, excluding California and Hawaii, grew 38% 1950-1970, while the population percentage of Southern Baptists grew 64%. In Arizona - which tripled its populations in 25 years to more than 2.2 million people - Arizona Baptists have undertaken as part of the denomination's "Bold Mission Thrust," to start 100 new Sunday school and Bible fellowships each year, plus 30 church-type missions. The Arizona-Nevada Southern Baptists have developed this year 22 new missions and "preaching points," they have also started a "saturation witness" effort, in which they plan to personally confront every person "within the convention's area."

Texas and Arizona Baptists hope to increase the Baptist percentage of their states' populations, which have remained relatively constant since 1960.

Florida Baptists, since 1950, have maintained a constant Baptists to general populations ratio of one in 10 - despite huge jumps in numbers of people living in the state. By 1980, Florida is expected to add another million-plus residents, and Florida Baptists project a three-year "bold advance" effort to have 200 new missions by the end of the decade.

The Baptists have spread far beyond the Southern and Border states in recent years and there are now Baptists in all 50 states who are aligned with the Southern Baptist Convention. Today, the Southern Baptists are the largest Protestant denomination in the U.S. They are confident, Dr. Baker comments somewhat caustically, that "given enough time and patience and energy, all three of which they have in abundance, they will eventually become the largest church in the world." (Southern Baptists in the Seventies, Christian Century June 27, 1973.)

In 1974, Southern Baptists contributed a total of \$1,342,479,619 or \$107 per capita. Women in Baptist churches have contributed more than \$25 million, surpassing their goal by more than \$1 million, and reaching it much earlier than anticipated. Their Home Missions Board has projected an evangelizing program for 1976-1979 whose purpose is to realize an "innovative, strong mission policy for all America."

In 1974, they conducted interracial crusades in seven major cities of New England, which was an expression of their growing involvement in inner cities, and in working with blacks, Hispanics, ethnic groups, the aging, young people, as well as with Arab Muslims, Buddhists, Jews and a special ministry geared for the United Nations personnel.

All of which suggests that the general images of Southern Baptists as "rednecks," "crackers," "dirt-eaters" have little congruence with the socio-economic transformation in recent decades of that large community into a predominantly white-collar denomination. In a recent study, it was found that Georgia Baptists are far more white-collar than the state as a whole. The state's population consists of about 49 percent white-collar workers and 51 percent blue-collar. "But 73 percent of the people in the average Baptist church on Sunday morning are white-collar."

(Home Missions, Sept. 1976.) And the same is true of Southern Baptists in all states where the denomination has long been established, the study adds. Most "First Churches" are led by first families, professional people, business owners - the establishment of the community. (The president of Holiday Inn is a Bible-believing Baptist, as are the presidents of Genesco, Raytheon, among ~~numerous~~ others ^{top echelons of} in the corporate life.)

One index of the growing cultural impact of the evangelical Christians is registered in the booming sale of religious books. According to the Association of American Publishers, religious or inspirational books posted a sales increase more than twice as large as secular works. The latest selling titles in the nation during each of the last four years has had a religious or inspirational theme. The

Rev. Billy Graham's latest book, Angels - which has sold close to 1.5 million copies - was the biggest selling book of 1975. The Christian Booksellers Association, a trade group consisting of mainly evangelical book stores and publishers, expects a 17 to 21 percent annual increase in religious book sales ^{through} until 1982.

Another sign of such cultural impact is seen in the growth of several hundred "Christian" radio and TV stations that carry a large number of evangelical programs, most of which are related to the National Religious Broadcasters Association. In December 1975, the World Satellite Network inaugurated "a global satellite television network for Christ - man's first telecast of the Gospel from outer space on Christmas for 1975." Billed as "God's plan for reaching the world with the 'good news' entering the 6th revolution of speech (1st/spoken word; 2nd/writing; 3rd/printing; 4th/radio; 5th/television; 6th/satellite), the satellite program featured Colonel James B. Irwin, Apollo 15 astronaut as ^{evangelical} host.

Dr. George Gallup, after documenting "the fact that Americans are extraordinarily religious people," ^{found it paradoxical that} wondered why "social commentators have expressed surprise that so many people in what they describe as a 'secularized and largely agnostic nation' have supported a devout evangelical Southern Baptist, Jimmy Carter."

Who are these Southern Baptists now so prominent in the nation's consciousness? What are their beliefs, their "system of values" (again Elsie)? Will knowing more about their "cultural universe" shed any clearer understanding about Gov. ~~Carter~~ Carter's views and commitments, as well as about the resurgent South itself? The answers to questions such as these call for a look into American history, briefly surveyed in the following pages:

III - B - INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON "JUSTICE AND PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST"

Forty delegates from Youth, Student, and University Christian movements from the U.S., Europe and the Middle East met in Beirut, Lebanon, and Amman, Jordan, May 10-18, for an international consultation on "Justice and Peace in the Near East." This seminar, ~~originated~~ organized by the Student Christian Coordinating Committee of Lebanon and co-sponsored by the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), was attended by nine American Protestants^{*1} affiliated with the University Christian Movement (UCM).^{*2} Other delegates, including teachers, pastors, and students, came from Egypt, Jordanian, Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian groups, as well as from European youth movements, YMCA, YWCA, World Council of Churches Youth Departments, Pax Romana (Roman Catholic), Youth Commission of the Christian Peace Conference (Eastern European), The Secretariat for the Seminar of Arab Students in Europe, The John Knox Student Home in Geneva, and the Councils of Near East Missions in the U.S. and in Europe. (Britain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, The German Federal Republic, and Czechoslovakia)

A report on the proceedings of the Seminar was published in Al Montada (June - July 1968 issue) and highlighted the following developments:

1) "There was at times rather violent confrontation between the young Europeans and Americans, conditioned as they were by → (p.2)

*² The University Christian Movement, founded in Sept 1966, as successor to the → (other side)

National Student Christian Federation (NSCF) was "phased out" as of June 1969. The termination of the national UCM structure does not affect the local or regional student work carried on under eccumenical or individual church auspices. UCM plans an Annual Assembly on the Middle East, June 11-16, at Boulder, Colorado. Its members are also invited to take part in another study seminar on the Middle East at the Church Center for the United Nations in the fall of 1969.

#1 - The UCM delegates to the WSCF Beirut Seminar were:
William Bangson, New York Theological Seminary;

various sources of information including a theological judaism vision of the people of God and a concept of Zionism lacking ^{nuance} nuance, and the young Arabs wounded in their basic rights for justice. But little by little theologians, scripture experts, philosophers and experts in politics, economics and information managed to place the problem in its true light. The final declaration was approved (adopted) unanimously.* (See below text of anti-Israel declaration).

2) The delegates visited fedayeen encampments, ~~and~~ ^{and the shelled village of Karamah, near} Arab refugee camps, and "acquired an objective picture of the Palestinian drama." They were received by the General Director of the Jordanian Information Ministry and the Minister of Reconstruction and took part in meetings organized for them by the Orthodox Club of Amman where Father Moubarac (See p. 20 - "Israeli Zionism is surely no better an answer than the medieval Crusades") led the prayer at the end of the evening.

3) "At the end of the Seminar, each delegate studied the possibilities of making his own association aware of what he had learned and experienced, in order to give Europe and the USA a more objective picture of the Israeli-Arab Conflict".

The declaration adopted by the 40 delegates from eleven countries who attended the WSCF seminar contained 11 points. Dated May 20, 1968, and reprinted in full in Al Moutada (June-July 1968), the following are major conclusions of the declaration:



WSCF BEIRUT SEMINAR

In the Middle East today the world is paying the price for its willingness to ignore explosive situations of human need and national hatred as though time alone would remove them. The National Council of Churches confesses its participation in this sin of neglect.

A Consultation on Justice and Peace in the Near East was held in Beirut (May 10-18) with nine participants under UCM auspices. The issues revolve around the confrontation between modern Western-orientated geo-political Zionism represented by Israel and indigenous modern Arab Nationalism. America's implicit and explicit support of Israel forced the Americans to think more about the "American Problem" than about the Jewish or Arab problem. The consultation was highlighted by a trip to Jordan and the refugee camps. Joe Morris, Jr. in Los Angeles Times-Washington Post dispatch writes in the New York Post of May 23 entitled "Christian Students Ask New Palestine State":

A group of Christian students from 11 countries have called for establishment of a new, pluralistic state in Palestine with equal rights for Jews, Moslems and Christians.

They condemned the "ideology of Zionism" as contrary to the Old Testament and the source of "Israeli aggression" against the Arabs, and said it was "anachronistic and dangerous" to found a modern society on "a particular religious tradition."

The statement came at the end of a weeklong seminar attended by 40 students, teachers and pastors from the Near East, Europe, and the U.S. It was sponsored by the World Student Christian Federation. The seminar expressed understanding for the sufferings of world Jewry but said "this injustice in no way legitimatizes what Israel has wrought upon the Palestine Arabs--people who have not been responsible for the sufferings of Jews elsewhere."

The proposed state and a lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict depend on the return of 1.5 million Palestinian Arabs to their homes, the statement continued. History has shown that Arabs and Jews can live together, but this demands a political system which guarantees real freedom and equality to all, it said.

The statement expressed deep concern that Israel was going in the other direction, and "seems to be seeking to establish permanent occupation in the territories it has seized in Jordan, Syria, and Egypt."

This has led to the establishment of the "Palestine Liberation Movements." The communique said the available evidence showed these movements represent "the popular aspirations of the Palestinian Arabs" and were not terrorist organizations.

It likened them to other "national liberation struggles" in the third world, and made specific mention of the suffering of the Vietnamese people because of American aggression."

Reports from some UCM'ers who attended are also available. UCM participants were: William Bengtson - New York Theological Seminary; the Rev. Bartlett Beavin - campus minister in Ann Arbor, Michigan; John Dillon - student in London; Mr. and Mrs. Richard Ittner - minister in Brooklyn; George Pike - minister in Bettendorf, Iowa; Jesse Truvillion - minister in New York City; and William Weisenbach - student at New York Theological Seminary.

Delegates attending Annual Assembly will raise issues on the Near East Crisis and search for ways to raise them in the university community throughout the coming year.

● Is Zionism an Important and Necessary Part of Judaism?

OVER

1) "We are opposed to the conquest by military force that has marked Israel's role in the Near East since its inception... The present broad enmity towards Israel is a product not of anti-Semitism, but rather of repeated acts of Israeli aggression."

2) "The source of this Israeli aggression lies in the ideology of Zionism, with all of its exclusiveness and intolerance. The ideology fosters a type of religion and politics which we believe to be contrary to the spirit of the Old Testament... we do not believe that the present policies of Israel are grounded in the best traditions of the Jewish religion. We believe that the Old Testament vision of Zion is one which cannot be transposed into that of a particular state within human history." [This statement is evidently one of the results that "the experts... managed to place in its true light" as they had delegates sought to correct "the theological Judaic vision of the people of God" that the Western Christians brought to the Seminar.] - EDITOR

3) In our times it is anachronistic and dangerous to found a society upon the primacy of a particular religious tradition. This is true not only in the case of Israel, but throughout the world. Our hope therefore, for the people of Palestine - Jewish, Muslim, and Christian - is an open, pluralistic society that guarantees the same real rights and opportunities for all citizens." [The Seminar delegates had not read apparently the Israeli Declaration of independence nor had consulted with thousands of Israeli Christians and Muslims who have repeatedly testified to their complete freedoms in Israel. See,

(4)

for example, declarations of the Rev. Dr. Douglas Young, president of the Institute of Bible Studies in the Holy Land, Father Bruno Hussar, St. Isaac House of Dominican Studies, Jerusalem, among many other testimonies.]

4) "We affirm the right of the Palestinian Arabs to live in their own lands, and deplore the forced evacuation of more than one and a half million of them from their homeland in the war prompted by the existence of Israel in 1948, 1956, and 1967." ^{that six Arab States initiated the 1948 war against Israel and} [that the Palestine Arab High Command called upon Arabs in 1948 to leave Palestine in order to return with victorious Arab conquering armies who would share with them Jewish booty is simply dismissed in the pre-Arab line of this declaration.]

5) "Our hope is that each side will refrain from resorting to violence in attempting to resolve the conflict. But at the same time we realize that this becomes increasingly problematic for Palestinian Arabs with each further act of Israeli aggression."

6) "An essential first step to the resolution of the conflict is Israeli compliance with the United Nations Resolution calling for the withdrawal of troops from the areas occupied as a result of the June 1967 aggression." [The declaration makes no reference to any other conditions contained in the Nov. 1967 UN resolution, including a call for an end to Arab belligerency, the recognition of the sovereignty of all the states in the region, free access to international waterways, etc.]

7) quote #7 " [The declaration reflects an incredible moral brutality in that it does not regard as "terrorist" the wanton murder of innocent ^{Israelis} Arabians in supermarkets, of students in university cafeterias, of passengers

in civilian aircraft. That Christians mindlessly endorse such terrorism overseas but decry it in their cities at home ^{when it strikes at their own homes,} reflects the moral and spiritual soft-mindedness, ^{of not schizophrenia,} at work in some current moral theologies].

8) quote

9)

10)

11)

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

~~Then~~ This declaration opened with ~~the~~ ^{following} appeal: "we urge our respective national organizations and the World Student Christian Federation to continue to initiate programs and projects to carry forward the concerns defined by this consultation (i.e., the above 11 points). In response to that call to action, one of the 9 American delegates, representing the University Christian Movement, the Rev. Richard E. Ihner, pastor of the Arlington Ave. Presbyterian Church (Arlington Ave. and Elton Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11208) drafted "a strategy that ought be implemented (by the ~~to~~ American delegates) upon their return home".

The strategy, whose programs and projects are detailed below, was published in the June-July issue of Al Montada, the English language "Christian News Bulletin" published by the Documentation Center for Youth and Students in the Middle East, whose headquarters are in Beirut. The strategy was distributed to all the organizations from eleven countries ^{at} represented in the seminar. In the United States,

America is a Christian nation - That assertion flies in the face of historic truth. The only time America was truly a "Christian nation" was during the period of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Founded in 1629 as a Biblical theocracy, that colony lasted no more than sixty years. It foundered because it imposed Puritan orthodoxy on the political order and could not tolerate dissent.

Fundamentalist preachers and politicians continually appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the Pilgrims and Founding Fathers as validation of their vision of America as "a Christian nation." But they suppress or selectively ignore such facts as documented in the Puritan Oligarchy, by T. J. Wertenberger who writes (p.76):

"As for religious toleration, the Puritans sought religious freedom for themselves but did not believe in religious toleration for others. 'Tis Satan's policy to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration,' declared Thomas Shepard, while Urian Oakes denounced freedom to worship as one chose as 'the first born of all abominations.' "

Beyond that, it is sheer myth, revisionist history, to claim that America in the good old days ~~xx~~ as a "Christian nation." All major church historians - Drs. Martin Marty, Sidney Ahlstrom, Sidney Mead, Winthrop Hudson, Timothy Smith, William Warren Sweet concur in Robert Handy's judgment, "No more than ten percent of Americans in 1800 were members of churches."

Today, some 145 million Americans are affiliated with churches or synagogues; that is, four out of ten Americans are "churchgoers." It is appropriate therefore to say that America is a predominantly Christian society. But the American state remains neutral, ~~xxxx~~ pluralist, and secular assuring first-class citizenship and tolerance to all its citizens.

"CHRISTIAN AMERICA WAS A MORAL AMERICA" -

FAX # " 212-556-4607

TO: Peter Steinfeld, Religion Editor, New York Times

FROM: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, American Jewish Committee

WINS SCRIPT; JTA COLUMN

WJC POPE BOYCOTT PROPOSAL "ABSURD" AND SHOULD BE REVOKED

by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, retiring chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) and AJC International Relations Consultants

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The proposal of the American section of the World Jewish Congress that Jewish communities throughout the world "refrain from meeting with the current ~~Pope~~ Pope during his future visits abroad" is absurd and mischievous and should be revoked before it does any more damage to Catholic-Jewish relations.

The ostensible reason for the proposed "boycott" - a term used widely in newspaper headlines, but not by the WJC itself, although the effect of their proposal would be the same - is "the failure by Catholic Church authorities to close down the Carmelite convent on Auschwitz grounds by the February 22, 1989, agreed-upon deadline.

At the March 23 meeting of the International Jewish Committee for International Consultations (IJCIC) held in New York, at which I represent the American Jewish Committee, I went on public record as disassociating the American Jewish Committee and myself from both the concept and the rhetoric of that "boycott" resolution. My reasons were as follows:

- 1) The assumptions of that "boycott" proposal are false and distorted. The facts of the situation are that the key Catholic authorities in Poland, Vatican City (including the Pope), France and Belgium have agreed in writing several times to remove the convent from the grounds of Auschwitz and to move it to another center away from that death camp.

During 1988, while I served as chairman of IJCIC, I helped European Jewish

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One of "the fateful events" of American Protestant history, writes Dr. Martin Marty (The Righteous Empire, p. 179), was the emergence of "two types of Christianity". One party, which may be called "Private" Protestantism, seized that name "evangelical" which had characterized all Protestants early in the 19th century. It accented individual salvation out of the world, personal moral life congruent with the ideals of the saved, and fulfillment or its absence in the rewards or punishments in another world in a life to come. The second informal group, which can be called "Public" Protestantism, was public insofar as it was more exposed to the social order and the social destinies of men.

In 1857-58, during a financial panic, there occurred the last revival of religion which was linked to the interpretation of temporal events. Laymen gathered in noon prayer-meetings across the nation in a largely spontaneous revival of self-examination and scrutiny. This revival showed that those who advocated revivalism, soul-saving, and rescue out of the world were the same people who wanted to devote virtually equal energies to the reform of society. While a certain contentment with the approved social contract still lingered with them, they were mostly POSTMILLENNIAL in their outlook. That is, they believed ^{reign} that the coming of Christ would occur after the earth and society had been partially transformed by the efforts of men. This gave them a motive and basis for a more radical view of the way "the powers that be" that ran society affected the lives of people.

During frontier period, millennialism spread - looked forward to perfection of human society by the Gospel message.
After the Civil War, there was a surprising rebirth of

PREMILLENNIALISM, which seemed to be more pessimistic and fatalistic about the world. The shattering effects of the war, the trauma of strikes and financial panics of the 1870s and 1880s, the formation of an urban

The conviction that no substantial improvement in the human condition is possible before the second coming of Jesus. Degradation of the individual character all - human undertakings to failure.

Perse (p. 94) of dissatisfaction with the present world and the expectation of a better age which lay down at any moment have never faded from American religion. The doctrine of the imminent return of Jesus has always been a central fundamental & Christian

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world with its apparently intractable problems - all these together led many people of good will to give up on the idea of preparing for the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth or transforming the world. ~~inx~~ Under the guidance of the second half-century's major urban revivalist Dwight L. Moody and a score of lesser men, PREMILLENIALISM was revived. With it came a certain passivity about the social order. Since men would do little ~~about~~ to improve the world, they would do best to get their own souls saved and to wait as holy men and women for Christ's coming, at which time a new order would begin. *They preached to the uneducated & the poor. Salvation is an escape from the cruelness of everyday existence.*

According to the PREMILLENIALIST interpretation of the Bible - which is shared by the majority of Fundamentalists (~~see later section~~) - we are living in the last days. As described in Religion and the New Majority by Lowell Streiker and Gerald Strober, "moral and social ills - wars, famines, earthquakes, political corruption, etc. - are signs of the impending end of the present evil age. When the situation reaches the pinnacle of wickedness Jesus will descend from heaven, and the true company of the righteous then alive as well as the resurrected saints of former times will rise to meet him in the air. There Christ and his church will abide for seven years. With this removal or RAPTURE of the righteous from the world, a period of tribulation shall descend upon mankind; strange and fearsome events shall occur. THE JEWS WILL RETURN TO THEIR NATIONAL HOMELAND. The Antichrist will appear, establish his capital at Babylon, and demand the allegiance of all men. His forces shall ravage the earth. REFUSING TO ACKNOWLEDGE HIS SOVEREIGNTY, THE JEWS WILL FEEL THE FULL WEIGHT OF HIS WRATH. In their darkest hour, as they are surrounded by the hordes of the Antichrist, they shall be miraculously rescued. Jesus will descend upon the Mount of Olives with his heavenly company and rout the forces of the Anti Christ climactic battle of

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MESSIAH AND LORD, AND HE WILL REIGN FOR A THOUSAND YEARS FROM HIS TEMPORAL THRONE IN JERUSALEM."

At the end of the "millenium" Satan will be released from the pit and war against Christ and his saints. In the final battle Satan and his cohorts will be defeated. Satan will be condemned forever to torment, the ungodly dead will be resurrected "unto judgment" and consigned to the eternal flames. The universe will perish by fire as Jesus and the redeemed ascend to the eternal bliss of heaven.

Although not all fundamentalists will accept every detail of this prophetic scheme, they are in essential agreement on this essential outline.

In England, The Plymouth Brethren under John Nelson Darby had fashioned DISPENSATIONALISM, which divided history into a sequence of ages in which God dealt with man in a different way each time. The Darbyite influence extended far beyond the circle of his gatherings of Brethren. Beginning in 1878 prophetic conferences were held in the United States, and with the publication of the dispensationalist SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE in 1909, the premillennialists had an authoritative commentary to help unite them.

WHAT IS FUNDAMENTALISM?

The word FUNDAMENTALIST was born out of the controversy that lasted from 1918 to 1931 between the forces of "old-style" Christian orthodoxy and "newfangled" religious and social ideas known collectively as MODERNISM.

The issue best known to the public was evolution focused in the Scopes trial of 1925. *In Wm. Jennings Bryan (former Sec of State & three Dem. Pres. Candidate, fundamentalist) had a nationally famous & popular leader.*

In 1895 a Bible conference at Niagra Falls had drawn up a statement of "fundamental" truths which separated "true" Christians from "modern apostates". These essential doctrines were: 1) the virgin birth of Jesus, 2) Christ's death on the cross as payment for man's sins; 3) Christ's bodily resurrection; 4) the actual, bodily return of Jesus to earth to establish

Amzi Dixon and Ruben Torrey published their (10) small volumes called "The Fundamentals" (in early 1900s) & later laws of the Watchman-Examiner in 1920 coined the term "Fundamentalist" to designate those who are ready to fight for the "fundamentals" of the faith. They were claiming in their position as the theological spectrum was to find the essentials, the basics, of Xty. Implied in their use of the word "fundamentals" was the suggestion that they had a corner on the gospel and believed truth of Xty in general. the earthly kingdom of God; and 5) the absolute inerrancy of the Bible.

In 1909 two wealthy Californians, Lyman and Milton Stewart, underwrote the publication and distribution of the "Fundamentals," a series of twelve volumes which defended the five essential truths of the Niagara Falls conference and which attacked the position of the modernists. Henceforth the term FUNDAMENTALIST would refer to those who combined the emotionalism of the revivalists with uncompromising dedication to the "fundamentals". American Christianity would be split into two warring camps.

Regardless of specific sectarian differences, Streiker and Strober write, (p. 105), all fundamentalist groups advocate regular Bible reading and prayer, attendance at church services, participation in the sacraments or ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, financial contributions to the support of one's local congregation, avoidance of worldliness (prohibited by most groups as "wordly" are gambling, social dancing, attendance at movies or the theater, smoking, sexual contact outside of marriage, etc.) and above all, the winning of others to Christ.

They add: "The essential negativity of fundamentalism is most apparent in its understanding of morality. A good man is one who refrains from behavior such as smoking, drinking, social dancing, and card playing; a good woman refrains from using cosmetics, jewelry, and immodest dress. As long as a man or woman avoids these temptations, he or she is considered righteous in the eyes of the community of BORN-AGAIN CHRISTIANS. The result is a negative or cultic ethic more concerned with status in the religious in-group than responsibilities to one's neighbor. The revivalistic Christian has been so concerned with shunning trivial social practices that he has been generally unconcerned with major social issues."

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FUNDAMENTALISM SINCE WORLD WAR II

Since the Second World War, fundamentalism has moved in three

directions: 1) anti-Communism; 2) mass evangelism; and 3) neo-evangelicalism. Each movement is a response to the over-all decline in fundamentalist influence for almost three decades before 1960.

Christian Anti-Communism

Christian anti-Communism, headed mainly by Carl McIntire and Billy James Hargis, is dedicated theoretically to informing the public of the Communist threat to democracy. In fact, it has lent religious coloration to reactionary politics, branding as "Communist" all programs with which it disagrees; i.e., civil rights, the peace movement, campus radicalism, etc.

Mass Evangelism

The mass evangelistic crusades of Dr. Billy Graham, who first started in 1949 in Los Angeles, have brought the widest hearing ever given to a conservative Protestant message which for generations had been relegated to the fringes of American life. The current revival of fundamentalism is also seen in the youth-oriented evangelistic organizations such as Youth for Christ, Campus Crusade for Christ, Inter-Varsity Youth Fellowship.

Neo-Evangelicalism

This development holds perhaps the greatest significance for our concerns in this document. In an attempt to overcome the social isolationism and harsh dogmatism of classic fundamentalism, a group of "new evangelicals" - who often reject the label "fundamentalist" - have sought to bring about the revival of orthodox Christianity in the midst of the secular world, to make Christian faith the mainspring of needed social reforms, and to establish broad-based cooperation between all conservative Protestants. In the past three years, they

have joined in broader acumenical and interreligious activities relating to the problems of world hunger.

In pursuit of these goals, the new evangelical movement has founded several new seminaries, undertaken the publication of a major periodical, Christianity Today, and has begun to challenge the "modernists" for control of the denominations from which the earlier fundamentalists have fled.

The new evangelicals have condemned the fundamentalist disregard for the problems of society as irresponsible individualism. In an editorial concerning the 1964 Civil Rights Bill debate, Christianity Today, wrote:

"Patriotism demands individual concern in a matter so close to the public welfare. And patriotism is neither sub-Christian nor outmoded, even in this sophisticated age. For Christians it is plainly enjoined in Scripture. Moreover, ethics are united with patriotism; no Christian can stand passively by when the good of others is jeopardized. Obedience to the law of love for one's neighbor requires concern for the welfare of one's neighbor."

In 1973, a Workshop on Evangelicals and Social Concern was held in Chicago resulting in the publication of the "Chicago Declaration". That manifesto read in part:

"As evangelical Christians...we acknowledge that God requires love. But we have not demonstrated the love of God to those suffering social abuses. We acknowledge that God requires justice. But we have not proclaimed or demonstrated his justice to an unjust American society. Although the Lord calls us to defend the social and economic rights of the poor and the oppressed, we have mostly remained silent. We deplore the historic involvement of the church in America with racism and ^{the} conspicuous responsibility of the evangelical community for perpetuating the personal attitudes and institutional structures that have divided the body of Christ

along color lines. Further, we have failed to condemn the exploitation of racism at home and abroad by our economic system."

The Chicago Declaration was also critical of the materialism of our culture, the maldistribution of the nation's wealth and services, the imbalance and injustice of international trade and development, over-reliance on economic and military might, discrimination against women.

Earlier, the editors of Christianity Today formulated principles to guide the conscience of evangelicals in the social arena:

(1) The necessity for informed opinion. (2) The right of all Americans to equal rights of citizenship. (3) The obligation to respect those whose conscience leads them to convictions different from one's own. (4) The recognition that, essential as legislation is, moral problems are ultimately solved not by passing laws but by changing hearts.

WHAT ARE SOME IMPLICATIONS?

A number of insights or convictions flow from the brief overview of evangelism and fundamentalism:

First, it is evident that there has existed in the past and that there exists today a diversity or pluralism of viewpoints within the evangelical or fundamentalist communities. These range from the ultra-fundamentalism^M of a Carl McIntyre to the neo-evangelism of the younger ^{Social activist} Conservative Protestants. Conclusion: It is no more accurate nor responsible to lump together all evangelicals into one group ~~reducing them to~~ than it is to generalize about "the Jews" or "the Catholics". It is equally unfair to select out the characteristics of one segment of the evangelical community whose qualities may be

*Evangelical
imagination*

offensive and to project a negative stereotype which besmirches the reality as well as the honor of other segments of that community whose qualities may well be, and probably are, wholly at variance with the less acceptable ~~gr~~ faction. Non-evangelical Americans should regard it as their moral obligation

election campaign - and all other times - against the entire evangelical community

to condemn any bigotry or prejudice that may be leveled during this Second, there is a strong tradition within the evangelical community, especially its Southern Baptist denomination, of support for religious liberty and for freedom of conscience. That tradition appears to be compromised frequently by the vigorous assertion of proselytizing campaigns which seems to exploit freedom of conscience

for the purpose of vanquishing non-evangelicals and reducing them to conversionist trophies. Conclusion: While respecting the right of every group and person to testify to the truth as he or she sees it, non-evangelical America, it seems to us, has a stake in affirming the contributions that Baptists have made in the spirit of Roger Williams to "complete freedom of conscience". In the advocacy of that ~~of~~ respect for the conscience of all American citizens in our pluralist democracy, non-Evangelical Americans have a right and duty to expect that evangelical leadership repudiate all proselytizing campaigns which resort to manipulation, intimidation, and deceitful means for bringing about a decision for Christ. The same expectation would apply to all groups who engage in programs that seek to influence

persons to change their religious commitments. The office of the President of the United States should never be used, either directly or indirectly, for the promotion of

such sectarian purposes.

Third, the Jewish community should develop a greater awareness of the extent and depth of commitment of the majority of the evangelical community to the right to existence of the State of Israel. For some evangelicals, the rebirth of Israel is part of an eschatology that reduces Israel to a role in the first-act of a two-act

Carter and
"Bible school"
which came

religious in
public
schools

play. Nevertheless, the very fact of the centrality of Israel in the evangelical cosmology provides an opportunity for serious dialogue between Evangelicals and Jews that affords an occasion for communicating to Evangelicals a better appreciation of the historic and religious meaning of Israel to Jews and Judaism. Conclusion: While few in the Jewish community would expect American foreign policy ~~xxxx~~ in relation to Israel or other nations to be based on particularist theological exegesis, a President of evangelical persuasion clearly would need to take into account ~~a~~ a national consensus of a middle America that would find the compromise of Israel's existence intolerable for moral as well as theological reasons. As one ^{American} former highly placed/government official recently told us, "A President who would sacrifice Israel's security for reasons of commercial or political expediency would soon find millions of American Christians protesting in the streets in a way that would make the Vietnam protests look like child's play."

Fourth, side by side with the tradition of Roger Williams there exists the contradictory tradition in evangelical thought of Isaac Backus; namely, that the covenant of Moses has been abrogated only to be superseded by the covenant of grace of the Gospel. That exaggerated opposition between the two covenants led Backus to conclude that there could be "no religious fellowship" between Christians and Jews. When joined with the harsh, ~~judgmental~~ judgmental, and even hostile reactions of some fundamentalists who believed, as Dr. Martin Marty declared, that "coexistence means denial of ~~faith~~ faith," the Isaac Backus tradition could well undermine commitments to pluralism. Worse still, it could continue to feed a harsh anti-Semitism as it has in the past among some ultra-fundamentalists who were politically reactionary. Conclusion: It would be profitable for Evangelical and Jewish

scholars to examine together their views toward ~~the~~ "covenant theology" and their implications for their respective theological stances toward each other. A recovery by Evangelical theologians of Calvin's original deep love and appreciation of the "Old Testament" tradition and its ongoing vitality, and a parallel Jewish appreciation of the theological vitalities of Evangelical Christianity would constitute an important step forward in strengthening mutual respect and reciprocal appreciation between enlightened Evangelicals and Jews. A forthright statement by Dr. Billy Graham in 1974 that "God's covenant with Israel is forever, is everlasting," and similar declarations during the 1975 conference ^{condemning anti-Semitism and antisemitism} of Evangelical and Jewish scholars were important ~~xxx~~ steps in this constructive direction.

A final word: the issue of Evangelical attitudes toward non-Evangelical ~~x~~, and of non-Evangelicals toward Evangelicals is ~~xxxxxxx~~ obviously brought to the fore at this moment in light of the Evangelical commitments of both ~~xxx~~ Democratic and Republican candidates for the Presidency of the United States. This is therefore a moment of opportunity for Evangelicals, mainline Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and Greek Orthodox, to clarify basic attitudes and beliefs toward one another.

In that process, a paradox must be acknowledged. Jews living in the midst of Evangelical communities in Georgia, in Michigan, and in California, have been active in support of the campaigns of Gov. Jimmy Carter, ^{President} Gerald Ford, and of Gov. Ronald Reagan. Clearly, Jews and Evangelical Christians have learned to live together in mutual regard and in mutual helpfulness. ^(Living outside these communities) Jews and other northerners have not had the experience of day-to-day living relationships, and in that vacuum there is a temptation and even danger, that false images and caricatures will surface. The democratic

process rests ultimately on making choices on the basis of informed decisions, on actual realities. That process will be seriously compromised should decisions rest on stereotypes rather than on the basis of the demonstrable merits and qualifications of the candidates for the ~~kgi~~ highest office of our nation. All of us have a stake in applying the canons of reason and fairness during the coming electoral campaign. This memorandum is intended as contribution to helping the American people sift out fact from fictions, for the sake of our country as well for our own consciences.



The second involves a proposal to establish a central Jewish urban instrument on a national basis, which, in addition to serving such other purposes as aid to the Jewish poor, black Jews, and the poor and deprived of other communities, can become a vehicle for leadership training and community organization work for young competent Jewish activists.

We fervently hope that, in time, such programs will become the tangible expressions of the prophetic universalism of Judaism which is so alive, and often so anonymously alive, among our young.



were defeated in some of these campaigns, who were described not only in terms of their voting records, and how they may have been deficient in one way or another, but because they are anti-Christian and therefore anti-American. They are in league with Satan and they have to be wiped out politically, and some of them have been. Literally finished as the result of this kind of what for me is a kind of fanatical campaign. And it is a disturbance of the political process.

These are issues that people of good will can discuss, however emotionally charged they may be. That process has begun this evening, and will continue. I would not want to see 1984 repeat itself, where Jews vote because they feel fear on both sides, fear in the sense of political homelessness, nowhere to go. We have not labored in this country, we have not enriched this country, we have not sunk roots in this country, to wind up at the end of the twentieth century feeling marginal to this society. And we need people like Reverend Jerry Falwell and Billy Graham and many others to engage us in this dialogue, not only for our sake, but for the future of the democratic health of this religious pluralist society, which is the greatest bastion of civil and political liberties in the world today.

(While sounds continue, they are no longer audible)

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another declare that whatever the outstanding problems are between Catholics and Jews, the movement of mutual respect and solidarity is "irreversible."

And then on Thursday, Dec. 6, in the presence of some 60 Catholic and Jewish leaders from many parts of the world, Pope John Paul II reiterated his oft-stated conviction that God's covenant with the Jewish people is permanent.

He then added that no dialogue between Catholics and Jews should take place without reflecting on the horrors of the Nazi Shoah against the Jews, and the anti-Semitism which made it possible.

The weakest link in his pronouncement was his vague, mystical reference to the holiness of Jerusalem and the Holy Land to Jews, Christians and Moslems. Some Jews were disappointed by that refrain, but my realism tells me that only the Government of Israel has the authority to negotiate full diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and will do so in its own good time.

Some Jewish skepticism or cynicism emerged since this 25th observance in Vatican City. What is the value of these pronouncements by Vatican authorities and the pope about anti-Semitism, and respect for Jews and Judaism? It has been said already; there is nothing new.

There are nearly a billion Catholics scattered around the world. Except for the United States, parts of Western Europe and clerical leaders in parts of South America, the majority of the world's Catholics do not know that there is such a document as *Nostra Aetate*, and are ignorant about the Church's fundamentally changed doctrines toward Jews and Judaism:

At the meeting with the pope, a Polish bishop, Henryk Muszynski, presented to John Paul II the first volume of a Polish translation of *Nostra Aetate*, other basic Vatican documents and most of the pope's positive speeches on respect for Jews and Judaism. It has taken 25 years for these critical Vatican Council documents even to become known to Polish Catholics.

Similar ignorance of these historic changes are common in much of Eastern Europe, where anti-Semitism flourishes, and in large parts of South America, Africa and Asia.

The repetition of these statements by the pope and other respected Vatican authorities are not a luxury. They are a necessity if we are ever to uproot the sources of this social pathology of demonizing Jews and Israel.

I do not expect to be around for the 50th anniversary of *Nostra Aetate*, but on a personal note, let me just say that I feel privileged and deeply gratified to have been part of this historic movement, which has literally transformed the course of the 1,900 years of Catholic-Jewish relations.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is the former international relations director to the American Jewish Committee, and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Relations.

pZRTLY ACCEPTABLE. x

The Vatican's concern over the Holy Land's future clearly centered a fear EITHER ARAB OR JEWISH DOMINATION WOULD PREJUDICE CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN PALESTINE. These interests, the Vatican believed, would be better protected by a solution where "NEITHER JEWS NOR ARABS, BUT A THIRD POWER, SHOULD HAVE CONTROL IN THE HOLY LAND." (John V. Pwroqnw, British Plenipotentiary Minister to the Vatican, passed these views on as the thoughts of Msgr. Giovanni x Montini, then Acting Secretary of State and later Pope Paul VI, 1963-78.) Consequently, the Vatican favored at this time these alternative solutions:

A) Either a continuation of the British Mandate (or a mandate given to another Christian power, Italy or France);

B) Or - internationalization of all Palestine under UN supervision..

EITHER A SOLUTION MEANT THAT CONTROL OF THE HOLY LAND WOULD BE SAFELY IN XCHRISTIAN HANDS and that the danger of the Arab-Jewish conflict degenerating into open war and the possible ~~xxx~~ threat of irreparable destruction to the Holy Places would be averted.



Both the cartoon used in this leaflet and the rhetoric of the blood libel and Protocols article are virtual replicas of material that originally appeared in Der Sturmer and other Nazi publications. There is reason to surmise that this Egyptian document is in fact the creation of or influenced by the Nazi propagandists operating in Cairo.

At the end of World War II, a number of Nazis fled to Egypt in order to escape capture by the Allies. It is known that among those who reached Cairo and Alexandria were former members of the Nazi propaganda machine under Goebbels and Streicher.*

The Egyptian leaflet by Ibrahim Saada was brought to the attention of the American Jewish Committee by Christian and Jewish professors on the faculties of departments of religion at several leading universities in the United States. They indicated that the leaflets had been sent to Arab students or Arab faculty members on their campuses. In several cases the Arab students inquired whether Jews continue to follow these practices today.

There is no exact estimate of the number of Arab students on the campuses of American universities--the range given is from 8,000 to 13,000 or more, whatever the number, it appears from their activities and pronouncements in many situations that their efforts are closely orchestrated with those of the Arab Information Offices in various parts of the United States.

The contents of this leaflet would appear on the surface to be counterproductive to Arab propaganda purposes since it would tend

to alienate any thoughtful Christian, or other civilized person. As was demonstrated by the "bih lie" technique of the Nazis the constant repetition of extreme propaganda had the impact of destroying the conventional limits of psychological restraints, and in lifting taboos from thinking the unthinkable about the Jews.

An extraordinary recrudescence has taken place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe of the themes and caricatures employed in The Protocols, which found their principal expression in Tsarist Russia, and now provides the ideological keystone of every anti-Semitic movement in the 20th century. In an article entitled "Anti-Semitism: A Soviet Political Weapon," Dr. William Korey (Hadassah Newsletter, Feb. 1969) documents that "in the summer of 1967 Moscow launched a great propaganda campaign depicting Zionism as a powerful insidious force threatening the world-wide Communist and national-liberation movements. The first shot was fired during the first week of August when an article entitled What is Zionism? appeared simultaneously throughout the USSR. Its opening paragraph struck the appropriate note: 'A wide network of Zionist organizations with a common center, a common program and funds exceeding by far the funds of the Mafia 'Cosa Nostra' is active behind the scenes of the international theater.'"

The basis of another propaganda attack against the "invisible but huge and mighty empire" of international Zionism published in

Young Communist League's Komsomolskara Pravda in the winter 1968 was found to be a pamphlet of 81 pages entitled America - A Zionist Colony published in Cairo in 1957. The author was Saleh Dasuki. Specialists in the field of hate propaganda recall, Dr. Korey notes, that in 1957 Cairo set up a veritable factory for the production of anti-Semitic literature.

Lebanon

The extent of the distribution of this anti-Semitic material by Arab sources was confirmed in a letter dated February 9, 1969, to Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of interreligious affairs of the American Jewish Committee, written by Dr. William L. Holladay, Professor of Old Testament at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut, Lebanon. Prof. Holladay writes from Beirut:

Let me first discuss the matter of the vicious anti-Semitic material being circulated here. Your information is absolutely correct. Some months ago I first noticed copies in English of the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' and of Henry Ford's 'The International Jew' in bookshops here; These pamphlets are published, as you no doubt are aware, by Gerald L.K. Smith and his 'Christian Nationalist Crusade' in Los Angeles...Many Americans here, let alone Englishmen and Arabs, know nothing of Smith and his activities, so I have been carrying on a kind of one-man campaign of education in this matter. It is also quite true (and far more regrettable) that such material has been translated into Arabic and is being printed here in Beirut."

Prof. Hooladay adds that "hundreds ask for it," that is, for copies of the Protocols in the Arabic language at libraries in Beirut.

Latin America

It is also widely known in Latin America, in particular in Buenos Aires, that Nazis cooperate actively with Arab League propagandists in waging a vigorous anti-Semitic and anti-Israel campaign. They have had the collaboration of the most reactionary elements of



Great Britain

Oxfam, the overseas relief agency of the British Council of Churches, published anti-Israel articles on two pages of a recent issue of its "Young Oxfam Bulletin." The British Board of Deputies has charged that Arab propaganda had penetrated a number of charitable and social organizations, including Oxfam. According to the London Jewish Chronicle (April 4, 1969), Oxfam spokesmen issued a statement regretting that ~~Oxfam~~ had offended its Jewish friends."

An earlier report in the Chronicle (Feb. 7, 1969) reports that "Arabs are spending about £2 million a year on propaganda and public relations in Britain alone. In contrast, the entire Israeli public relations budget for the world amounts to only £20,000." A member of Parliament, Raymond Fletcher, stated that "Israel's enemies were syphoning off large amounts of their oil revenues into the field of propaganda" in Britain and in other countries.

One of the most active groups in promoting pro-Arab propaganda in Great Britain is the "Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding" (CAABU). Representatives of this group attended the second International Conference in Support of the Arab People in Cairo in Jan. 1969. The conference, dominated by Arab terrorist organizations, was called to mobilize world opinion

against Israel.

France

Arab propaganda activities have become more aggressive and widespread in France in recent months since the establishment of the "Arab-French Solidarity Committee." The committee recently sponsored a special "Palestine Week" devoted to the plight of Arab refugees and of Arabs in Israel-held territory.

Switzerland

A secretariat for the Seminar of Arab Students in Europe has been established at the John Knox Student Home in Geneva. Representatives of this group took part in the International Seminary on Justice and Peace in the Near East held in Beirut, Lebanon, and Aman, Jordan, from May 10-18, 1968 (see p.), sponsored by the World Student Christian Federation.

In addition to Vatican City, Patriarch Kyrillos will visit Rumania, the Soviet Union, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and several European and African states. (Religious News Service, Jan. 8, 1969).

Patriarch Kyrillos has made clear his position regarding the Jewish people on a theological level during Vatican Council II when he publicly declared through the Middle East news agency in Cairo that "the Coptic Church proclaims that the Jews' responsibility throughout the ages for crucifying Christ." In a pointed criticism of the Vatican Council's proposed declaration repudiating deicide, Kyrillos pointed out that his church had "placed on record that no Christian authority, exalted or powerful, could amend or interpret these facts (of Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus) in the opposite sense."

According to the United Press International, Patriarch Kyrillos plans to call a "summit conference" of the world's Christian leaders in Cairo aimed at "liberating Jerusalem from Jewish rule." He added, "the whole Christian world, particularly its religious leaders will have to rise as one man and call for a more effective check on Israeli aggression and for saving Jerusalem from its usurpers."

President Naasser recently gave financial support for the building of the Coptic Orthodox Cathedral in Cairo, which was dedicated at a widely-publicized international ecumenical ceremony. Patriarch Kyrillos joined with two other Coptic churchmen in sending a letter to the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. addressed "To

letter, generally moderate in tone as compared with earlier pronouncements by Kyrillos, seeks to explain why "it is easy for (our young men) to learn to hate the hand by which injustice comes,"--that is, Israel. The letter also notes that "one year ago,



ORTHODOX CHURCHES

Leaders of the Orthodox Churches in Arab countries have been particularly active in seeking to use their official positions in the Structures of the World Council of Churches to influence an anti-Israel and pro-Arab policy and program among the 232-member denominations of the WCC. The significance of the Orthodox church bodies is underscored by the fact that for the first time the Orthodox and pre-chalcedonian church delegates attending the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, July 4 to 20, 1968, in Uppsala, outnumbered any other confessional family of churches.

In an interview on the subject of "Possibilities of Christian-Moslem Dialogue" published in the Dec. 19, 1968, issue of the Ecumenical Press Service, the World Council's official news service to its member bodies, Gabriel Habib, Middle East Secretary for the World Student Christian Federation and the WCC Youth Department, called for "a 'copernican' mental change in the Christian understanding of Islam."

Mr. Habib, who is also general secretary of SYNDESMOS, a world federation of 17 Orthodox youth movements, declared in his interview:

"Today there is a scandalous association of Christianity and Israel, since the State of Israel is considered a new form of Western aggression or a crusade against the Arabs and Islam."

In seeking to present Islam in a positive light to Christians, Mr. Habib contrasts it with Judaism which he suggests is anti-Christian. "This religion (Islam)." Mr. Habib asserts. "which.

* SYNDESMOS, founded in 1953, has constituents youth movements in Argentina, England, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Japan, Korea, Lebanon, and Uganda. "Friend movements" exist as Russian Synan, Romanian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Armenian, Ethiopian, and Indian Orthodox and pre-Chalcedonian youth bodies in North and South America.

unlike Judaism, recognized the Christian faith as the line of God's revelation in history." In doing so, Mr. Habib ignores the anti-Christian traditions in Islamic teaching as well as the pro-Christian traditions in Judaism.

Mr. Habib concludes his interview with a call to "the World Council of Churches...to help Christians all over the world, through its publications, its staff and conferences, to reach a new understanding of Islam, to get rid of the prejudices, and to shift from polemics to real dialogue and acceptance of Islam." He asks that a special WCC advisory committee on Islam should be named.

The interview was subsequently reprinted in part in the Jan. 22, 1969, issue of the Christian Century.

Twenty representatives of the Moslem and Christian religions from 10 nations met together from March 2-6, 1969, at Cartigny, near Geneva, and agreed on the need for Constructive conversations

the Ecumenical Press Service reported (March 13, 1969) are "the special responsibilities both religions bear to the problem that exists in Palestine, and their common interest in its peaceful and just solution."

Another Lebanese Greek Orthodox theologian, Father Jean Corbon of Beirut, submitted to the World Council of Churches a document, dated June 17, 1967, entitled, Memorandum on the Requirements of Christian Faith in Front of the Palestinian Problem.

Father Corban attacks Israel as being based on "a racist state of mind, which no human or Christian conscience can accept: As long as the Israelis want to establish a Palestinian state based on this racism, it will be the duty of all Christians to be against them."

In a lengthy theological analysis of Judaism and Zionism, Father Corbon imposes pre-critical, 19th century Christian categories on the Jewish people, and then criticizes them for behaving as Jews in their own terms. "The vocation of the Jewish people is to reveal in its own history the history of the whole humanity; a history in which God delivers man. It is because of this vocation that this people has not a temporal or political destiny but it is the 'prototype' of all peoples in their heavenly destiny...The Jewish people has been chosen to serve the salvation of humanity and not to establish itself in a racial or religious peculiarity...In regard to the Christian faith, it is clear from this moment, that the

creation of an Israeli state exclusively Jewish goes directly against the aim of God on the Jewish People and on the world."

Father Corbon adds, "For a Christian to want to establish a Jewish nation as a political entity only means a misunderstanding of the whole history of salvation and corruption of the aim of God." The Greek Orthodox priest concludes his essay with an appeal for "a world-wide campaign for truth...which requires the Christian conscience to 'demythify' the religious and sentimental motives of which the money powers are covered in the racist and Zionist campaign."

Father Corbon's "memorandum" was distributed widely in the United States among Protestant clergymen and church authorities as part of a packet of background materials on the Middle East issued July 10, 1967, by the University Christian Center (P.O.B. 235, Beirut, Lebanon).

The University Christian Center is a major center of pro-Arab penetration into Christian denominations and their official education and publication programs. The Center is sponsored by fifteen organizations:

Action Chretienne en Orient

Arab Episcopal Evangelical Church

Arab Evangelical Synod of Syria and Lebanon

Beirut College for Women

Community Church of Beirut

Ge 1 Speaking Evangelical Church

Haigazian College

Memnonite Central Committee

National Evangelical Church of Beirut

Near East School of Theology

Society of Friends

Union of the Armenian Evangelical Churches in the Near East

United Presbyterian Church, USA

Young Men's Christian Association

Young Women's Christian Association

ARAB CHRISTIANS AND JERUSALEM

In September 1968, the heads of Arab Christian communities in Jordan sent a message to U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, condemning "the immorality that is going on around the Holy Places" in Jerusalem, now occupied by Israel. They demanded that a UN investigator be sent to report on the situation in Jerusalem and the measures to be taken "in order to protect the Holy Places from the immoral acts being committed there."

The message was signed by Bishop Nehmet Semaan (Latin Rite), Archbishop Assof (Melchites), Archimandite Anouchavion (Armenian Orthodox), Archbishop Theodoros (Greek Orthodox) and Father Haritroun (Armenian Catholic). The protest was reported in the September 5, 1968, bulletin #32 of the Ecumenical Press Service. The bulletin added the following information:

"Similar protests have been made by various Arab civic groups in Jerusalem, calling attention to the opening of places of cheap and vulgar entertainment, the increased availability of drugs and

narcotics, the increased incidence of prostitution, and similar conditions which they call an affront to the traditional morals and sensibilities of the Arab populace of the Old City."

At an International Seminar on "Justice and Peace in the Near East," sponsored by the World Student Christian Federation (see p.) and held in Beirut, Lebanon, from May 10 to 16, 1968, Father Youakim Monbarac presented a paper on "The Islamic Calling of Jerusalem." Though not a Moslem, Father Moubarac presents to the Christian student delegates from eleven countries "the Islamic viewpoint on the Holy Land" as "a work of justice for a third group," that is, the Moslems.

After tracing the history of "the Islamic presence in Jerusalem" from "the Coramic and Moslem" viewpoint, he notes that "the Christians had let (the Temple Esplanade in Jerusalem) turn into a garbage dump," and that the Caliph Omar on entering Jerusalem "demanded that the place be cleaned and restored to its original sacred character."

He then states: "Israeli Zionism is surely no better an answer than the medieval crusades. Pope Urban, fulminating the Crusade and ordering the soldiers of Christendom to chase the sons of Ishmael to the desert, was, effectivly, of the same inspiration as the sons of Israel claiming ownership of the land in virtue of the same promise. Now it is a disgrace for the Jewish people thus to parody the Christian crusade, just as it is for them to be the mercenaries of a colonialist

world on the decline...Meanwhile, the military entry into Jerusalem, even more than the bloody promenade into Sinai (sort of Exodus in reverse), is a sinister parody, not to speak of an abomination of Desolation, which would give those vain demonstrations of a significance they in no way possess.

MELKITE CHURCH

His Beatitude Marimos V. Hakim, Patriarch of Antioch and of the East, of Alexandria and of Jerusalem visited New York in the Fall of 1968 and addressed an ecumenical luncheon at Hotel Biltmore, sponsored by Catholic Near East Welfare, and Near East and Europe Department of National Council of Churches. According to the September 1968 issue of LINK, the newsletter of the American Friends for Middle East Understanding (see p.), the meeting was "an ecumenical first" in which Orthodox, Protestant, and Roman Catholic clergy and laity collaborated. It was the first public event ever sponsored by the two groups jointly.

The Patriarch pleaded for help in stemming tides which threaten that "in 10 or 15 years there will be no more Christians in the land of Christ." Part of this, he stated, is the difficulty Christian Arabs have in finding employment in the Middle East, especially in Israel, so that many of them are emigrating.

Church leaders -- including Rev. Frank L. Hutchison, Church World Service director for Interpretation of World Hunger Priority

Program; Ellsworth Stanton III, Overseas Mission Treasurer for National Council of Churches; the Rev. Harry G. Dorman, Jr., NCC Executive Director in the Middle East and Europe Dept.; and the Rev. Newton M. Fink, Moderator of the Presbytery of New York City, discussed with the Patriarch their hopes for fuller ecumenical collaboration in building bridges of understanding between the Arab world and the West, and in serving the needs of Palestinian refugees.

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, son of a Palestine pastor sponsored by the Kuwait Embassy, has delivered 80 addresses in 15 states throughout the U.S.A., has appeared on 57 broadcasts from 115 radio and TV stations, and has held 10 press conferences. He addressed 34 campus groups, 27 non-campus groups on "the Arab view of the Middle East crisis."

ARAB PRESSURE ON ARAB CHRISTIANS

In addition to the position taken by a number of Arab Christian leaders on the basis of their anti-Jewish theological views, an important factor involved in their intensifying their anti-Israel campaign derives from a mounting pressure from Arab governments to undermine Christian institutions in their countries. For example:

On the recommendation of the Syrian government, the education ministers of the Arab League decided at a conference in Kuwait to close all Christian schools in countries belonging to the Arab League. The justification given for this move was that the religious communities

were in opposition to Arab culture and were guilty of proselytism.

The education minister of Lebanon did not participate in the conference. Half of Lebanon's inhabitants are Christians.

Syria closed all Christian schools last year (9/11/67). Since all schools in Saudi Arabia are state schools, this measure affects primarily schools in Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan. (EPS, April 11, 1968).

The Roman Catholic congregation of priests and Brothers called the Little Brothers of Jesus have been expelled from Syria. Observers here fear that this may be the beginning of the expulsion of all foreign clergy from Syria which last year nationalized almost all the Christian schools there.

According to the Syrian newspaper Al Ba'ath (9/12/67), the Syrian Minister of Education has decreed that all instruction in these nationalized schools will be given, from now on, by teachers and from books approved by the Ministry. Al-Hayaat reports (11/28/67) that "the decision to nationalize and close the private schools was taken in accordance with a legislative decree from the period of union of Syria and Egypt." Under this law, an administrative committee may publish final and irrevocable decisions concerning the expropriation of property without compensation and without bearing the opinion of those affected.

As a result of the nationalization of the private schools, which primarily affect those in rural areas administered by nuns, some 10,000 Syrian pupils have been registered in Lebanese schools, Al-Hayaat reports (12/3/67).

In Iraq, the National Council of the Revolutionary Command made an official pronouncement of its plans for the nationalization of Al-Hikma University in Baghdad which is conducted by the Jesuits of New England. The university, which offers courses in arts, business administration and civil administration, has been accused by members of the Arab Socialist Union in Iraq of being influenced by the policies of the Western nations, particularly the U.S., and of serving as a spy center for Israel and for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Attacks on Al Hikma have come not only from segments of the Iraqi press but also from the press and radio of the Soviet Union (RNS, 9/13/68).

The least visible but largest of all Christian minorities in the Middle East are the Coptic Christians of the Nile Valley who number 4 to 5 million, or one out of every 6 Egyptians. According to E. Makin (Christian Century), "what happens to them will be the most significant test of what faces Christian minorities under Moslem Arab hegemony." In a clause contained in the agreement forming the United Arab Republic - Article 4 of the section titled, "Establishment of the Unified State and The Characteristics peculiar to It-- the governments of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq agreed to establish the

principal, "Islam shall be the religion of the State."

As a result of this policy, Mr. Hakim writes that the Copts are "languishing in Egypt itself, where the fires of Arab solidarity are stoked." He adds: "The steady attrition and continuous deprivation facing it is not spectacular. Their problem is not the usual minority problem, for it lacks sensational attacks and open wounds. The problem is one of steady decline, and for those suffering the decline it is exceedingly difficult to find a dramatic moment in which to cry or to complain to the outside world. Both the community and church leaders of the Copts are continuously reminded of the rising pressures facing this lonely minority. But they dare not complain in public—and must be cautious in private conversation."

III. AMERICAN CHRISTIANS IN ARAB COUNTRIES

In the spring of 1968 a group of 66 Protestant missionaries and pastors living in Lebanon sent "An Open Letter to Christians of the West." This group included missionaries and pastors from the following churches:

The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations; the United Church of Christ Board of World Ministries; the Reformed Church of America; the Near East Baptist Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention; the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; the Community Church of Beirut; the University Baptist Church of Beirut; the Action Chretienne en Orient; and the

The letter urged American Christians to adopt "a responsible and informed position toward the continuing Middle East crisis." It then proceeded to make the following points:

- 1) The Israelis are primarily responsible for the Arab refugee problems of 1948 and 1967, since "we who live here know that there has always been a great deal of pleasure, and not a little force (by the Israelis) to "encourage the Arabs to leave."
- 2) "Jerusalem has been overwhelmingly Arab from the seventh century until...the 19th century" (This is untrue historically);
- 3) They romanticize the "fedayeen" and support the Arab comparison of the terrorists with "the underground fighters in Europe during the Nazi occupation."
- 4) They challenge the interpretation of the reuniting of Jerusalem and of the return of the Jews to Israel as representing "the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy." Their explanation is that "such promises of return were understood as part of the action of God at the very end of history rather than of men within history." They add that "the church is the new 'Israel of God'" and ask "can Christians believe that God's promise is fulfilled by the occupation of Palestine by the modern political state of Israel?"

5) They assert, "just as Christians were called upon to do all within their power 25 years ago to relieve the suffering of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution so now we are called upon to do all within our power to relieve the suffering Arab refugees." (The missionaries and pastors give no indication of what they did to relieve the suffering of the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution.)

They conclude their letter to the "Christians of the West" suggesting "the time has come to exert specific political and economic pressures on Israel because of her continued defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations." They ask that this campaign be carried out "not only through our own church agencies but also through our government and the United Nations."

For further information, the 66 missionaries "recommend the publications of the following groups: The American Council for Judaism, the American Friends of the Middle East, and Americans for Justice in the Middle East," all of which are anti-Zionist and pro-Arab groups.

These views were brought to the attention of American Christians through the publication of the full text of the "Open Letter" in the influential ecumenical weekly, The Christian Century, Monday Morning, a magazine for Protestant ministers; the Middle East Newsletter, published in Beirut, Lebanon, by the Americans

for Justice in the Middle East; and Al Montada, an English-language Christian News Bulletin, June-July 1968 issue, published by the Documentation Center of the Ecumenical Secretariat for Youth and Students in the Middle East, whose headquarters are in Beirut, Lebanon.



CHAPTER III - ADVENTURE IN SOCIAL UNIFICATION

Through much of American history, our political parties have in fact been sectional in nature. Even with the ascendancy of the Republican Party under Abraham Lincoln, after the Civil War each party dominated a different part of the country, the Democrats in the South, and the Republicans over most of the North.

That sectionalism and its divisiveness was perhaps most dramatically expressed during the 1924 Democratic convention. William Jennings Bryan, the "Great Commoner" from Nebraska - Richard Hofstadter characterized him as "a circuit-riding evangelist in politics" - had a galvanic effect on the farmers and laborers of the South and West when at the 1896 Democratic convention he delivered his fiery "Cross of Gold" speech which won him the Presidential nomination. ("You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.") Bryan's campaign was the last protest of the old agrarian order against industrialism, and the last attempt of the new order to clean house, to sweep away the cynicism and apathy which had been characteristic of American politics for thirty years.

Bryan, whom the Populists called "the Boy Orator of Platte," through his revivalist oratory might inflame the Bible Belt; but in the Eastern cities he was regarded as a repellent, even comic figure. Running for President on the strength of a monomania, namely, free silver and cheap money for the farmers, Bryan was ridiculed and condemned by all "Eastern Respectability."

When Bryan rose before the 1924 Democratic convention in New York to oppose the denouncing of the Ku Klux Klan by name, contending that "we can exterminate Ku Kluxism better by recognizing their honesty and teaching them that they are wrong," he was hissed and booed by the galleries.

Tanenbaum/III

By 1924, the East - which Bryan had called "the enemy's country" - had given birth to its own Great Commoner in Al Smith. Prohibition and the Klan were the immediate foils in the duel Smith and Bryan had fought. But behind each antagonist were ranged the habits and prejudices, hopes and frustrations, prides and hatreds of two different cultures and two historical eras.

The very eccentricities and mannerisms of the two men were symbolic. The brown derby and rasping East Side accent, which stamped Smith as "one of our boys" to the sidewalk masses, sent shivers down the spine of Protestant respectability. In turn the traits which made Bryan seem like the voice of pious morality and orthodox religion to his Prohibitionist rural Protestant following - the liberal use of Biblical images and quotations, the resonant Chautauqua tones, the heaven-stomping energy - made him sound like the voice of bigotry to the urban masses.

Bryan had made no appeal to class hatred. But his followers were full of it, and "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman of South Carolina called upon the people to throw off their bondage to the Eastern money powers who, he said, were more insolent than the slave power.

Both men were mouthpieces of protest - Bryan of the overmortgaged Bible Belt, Smith of the underpaid melting pot. Whether either was understood in the other's country was doubtful. Could the factory worker really share the despair of the farmer watching a sheriff tack a foreclosure notice on the barn door? Could the farmer feel the vicarious terror of the factory masses reading of a shirt-waist factory fire in which 144 women were trapped and burned alive? The year of the Triangle fire, 1911, was the year Smith first went to Albany. It marked the beginning of his fight to improve factory conditions, reduce the hours of labor for women, and for other social legislations.

What Smith embodied was the revolt of the underdog, urban immigrant against the top dog of "old American" stock. His Catholicism was an essential element in that revolt. The so-called "old" immigration which settled the farms was drawn largely from Protestant countries - England, Norway, Sweden, and Germany. The "new" immigration after 1885 which crowded the teeming cities came mainly from Italy, Poland, Russia, Greece, and the disintegrating Hapsburg Empire. The larger part of these new immigrants were Catholic. They also included perhaps 1,500,000 Jews.

Because they came to this country late, these immigrants and their children were concentrated in the lower economic rungs. Moreover, they resented what seemed to them efforts to force conformity to an Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture, through Sunday Blue Laws, prohibition, and the Klan. Throughout the industrialized East, the make-up of society was such that Protestantism coincided largely with the Republican party, with mill owners and financiers, with the snobbish members of the exclusive clubs - in short, with the discrimination and sweated labor, with immigrant minorities who were looked down upon as inferior beings - in short, the lower class.

It was not until the revolution of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932 that this balance of separate geographical dominances was upset. Roosevelt touched off a race to nationalize the basis of support for both parties. By transforming the Democratic following in the North from a largely Catholic party to one whose main appeal was economic, Roosevelt began the process of undermining Republican voting strength. The key to that erosion was a new tendency to vote on the basis of income and economic class. The ability of growing numbers of Americans to vote more sharply in economic terms, appears also to have been strengthened by the ebbing of anti-Catholic feeling during John F. Kennedy's administration and by the slow weakening of anti-Negro prejudice in the South.

The real drama of American politics, Samuel Lubell has noted in his perceptive study on The Future of American Politics, lies "in the constant struggle for national unification, in a ceaseless striving for 'a more perfect union' made essential first by our continent-spanning expanse, and later on by the astonishing variety of people who were drawn to this country. The screws of internal adjustment have been tightened by the mounting burdens of leadership in a time-shortened world." Lubell adds:

"My basic faith...runs to the belief that in the long run the political future belongs to the forces of unification.. Somehow, often in ways that are not readily perceived, the unifying forces eventually win out over the dividing, separatist influences."

Lubell points to economics, culture, politics, and technology as "nationalizing forces" which tend to impose their influences across the whole nation, overriding its sectional cleavages, differences and traditions. These nationalizing forces, he adds, are the carriers of change which disrupt the present and shape the future.

The current era of the Democratic party dominance as the majority coalition on the national political scene has been, in Lubell's words, "an adventure in social unification." For the elements of the New Deal coalition - the children and grandchildren of all the urban minorities, black and white Southerners, workers and farmers, - the problems of social unification have been "life or death issues." The essential quality of the majority coalition gathered today in the Democratic party is not its "liberalism" or "conservatism" but its timeliness. The elements in this coalition must be alive and responsive to the newer problems around which the unification of the nation spins.

Of the many trends remaking the politics of our time, Lubell singles out "the quickening economic revolution in the South, which has altered the dynamics of Southern sectionalism to where it has become a pressure for political unification with the rest of the nation."

-2-

I'm sorry that it did not occur to me to send printed galleys to you at an earlier date, but I had intended to send the advance copies of the actual magazine with a covering letter to all of you, even before I heard from the Rabbi, and the alternative of sending galleys earlier had simply not occurred to me. I undoubtedly would have written to you about the use of this material earlier if I had planned on including it in any different form in the magazine, or if transcripts of the programs had not previously been released to the press by WINS.

I do hope, however, that any uneasiness that may exist on the publishing of this material will be put to rest by this covering letter of explanation and the galleys of the actual December Philosophy that are enclosed.

I will certainly be sorry if the appearance of this material causes the slightest embarrassment to any of you, as that was certainly not my intention. And I think that several thoughts on that very question--since it was raised in my phone conversation with the Rabbi--may be helpful.

First of all, the presence of this material within PLAYBOY cannot properly be construed as an endorsement of this publication by any of you, since the material appears as a part of The Playboy Philosophy, over my by-line, and it is made very clear in the opening paragraphs exactly how, why and where these discussions took place. (With a plug for "Trialogue" and WINS Radio in both the introductory portion of the article and on the Playbill page, indicating what is included in the issue, at the very front of the magazine, Murray.) In other words, no one can assume that these statements were prepared by you specifically for publication in PLAYBOY, which might imply approval of the magazine; nor is it possible for anyone to mistakenly assume that we gathered for this discussion under PLAYBOY's auspices.

The excerpts taken from the transcripts of our discussions were edited, both for greater clarity and to permit expanded answers to some of the questions that you put to me, in which I felt our readers would be especially interested. I was extremely careful throughout, however, to make certain that your individual positions and points of view were left complete and unaltered, and that no inaccurate implication was permitted through the more subtle effect of anything else around it being altered or excluded.

In the introduction to the "Trialogue" material, I make a point of establishing that our particular discussion, rather than being unique, is but part of a much larger re-examination and discussion of these subjects, going on within and between our secular and religious society today.

-5B

Prof. Holladay adds that "hundreds ask for it," that is, for copies of the Protocols in the Arabic language at libraries in Beirut.

Latin America

It is also widely known in Latin America, in particular in Buenos Aires, that Nazis cooperate actively with Arab League propagandists in waging a vigorous anti-Semitic and anti-Israel campaign. They have had the collaboration of the most reactionary elements of



CLOSING SECTION - RELIGION, SOCIETY, AND STATE

The final section of the book will examine the controversial issues that have emerged regarding the relationship of religion to state and society.

Citing historical, theological, and social ethics sources, the book will make the point that power, wielded in the name of God, is subject to special perversions. The only corrective for either religious fanaticism or the secular fanaticism of political religions, as Reinhold Niebuhr has pointed out, "is an open society, as it has developed in the last three centuries, which grants no immunity from criticism or review to any authority proclaiming the truth, whether in the political, the religious or the scientific realm."

There will be an examination of the moral dilemma emerging out of the exercise of corporate power by religious institutions: ~~where~~ on the one hand, those committed to the prophetic tradition cannot escape the responsibility of moralizing power; on the other hand, they must resist all temptations to make a bid for direct power. The religious groups - Fundamentalist as well as Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish - should seek to make effective use of indirect methods of pressure, namely, motivation of the moral will and persuasion. Of ~~the~~ all the steady contributions which religion makes to American life, its creating a moral atmosphere and consciousness, within which social and political decisions are made, is more significant than that of supplying political proposals for these decisions. It is more a policy of religious institutions indirectly shaping a whole pattern of national thinking than of supplying precise doctrines.

It will be shown that mainstream Evangelical Christians pursued this path of consciousness-raising, transforming the individual attitudes and behavior rather than resort to the ~~made~~, direct use of political power. It is essential that we help all Americans understand that the ~~Majority~~ Moral Majority is a radical deviation from the historic course of Evangelical Christianity and that its present trends constitute not only a betrayal of its own church but a genuine threat to the viability of a fragile democratic society.

decisive expression when the American Catholic hierarchy designated a special sub-commission on Catholic-Jewish relations charged with the responsibility of implementing the objectives of the Declaration in every level of Catholic culture and society. The determined action of the Vatican that put an end to the veneration of Simon of Trent--that ritual blood libel episode which since the 15th Century has been celebrated by annual procession through the streets of Trent, repeating an insult to the whole of the Jewish people--was another impressive demonstration of the commitment of the Catholic Church to express in deeds its new attitude of respect and esteem for the Jewish people. The order of Cardinal Dopfner of Munich to the organizers of the Oberammergau Passion Play to revise the text so that all anti-Jewish references are removed is another earnest of the Catholic Church's commitment to the uprooting the sources of anti-Semitism.

In the face of the agonizing history that the people of the cross had wrought in the transformation of the Jews into a cross among the peoples there should not be too great bafflement or wonder over some of the skepticism of a number of the Jewish people in this country and abroad as to the real meaning of the Vatican Council Declaration to them and their children. As long as Father Julio de Meinville of Buenos Aires is allowed by the Catholic hierarchy to serve as Chaplain to a group of young Catholic

Fascists, who ruthlessly exploit anti-Semitism for their economic and political purposes; as long as hostile references to the Jewish people, and Judaism and the Synagogue, continue to appear in Catholic textbooks, missals, liturgical commentaries and sermons, a great many Jews will continue to view the Vatican Council Declaration as a vain and even hypocritical show. Having worked closely with members of the Catholic community both here and abroad, especially in the fields of religious history and religious education, I am deeply persuaded that a vast and irreversible tide of self-purification and self-correction with regard to the portrayal of Jews and Judaism in the teaching process of the Catholic Church -- nor should the Protestants be slighted -- is under way and that the fruits of this process are already in evidence. That is not to overlook the hard reality that a great deal more needs to be done before the last weeds of anti-Jewish teaching and anti-Jewish poison are removed. But in my judgment, no Jew has a right to scant or to belittle the great advances that have been made already. I am persuaded that we are now going through a period of transition which will find both Jews and Catholics fumbling and stumbling as they seek to find appropriate new modes of relating to each other in a growing climate of mutual tolerance and esteem.

"Transition" may be too loose a word. As one looks beneath the surface of events that have taken place in Jewish-Christian relations during the past five years, one is probably

justified in asserting that Catholics and Jews, and Christians and Jews generally, have reached a critical stage in their relations perhaps even a crisis. The present encounter, in fact, is not unlike that which is taking place between the Negro and white societies both in the United States and abroad. For generations, indeed, centuries, the Negro and white societies on the one hand, and the Christian and Jewish societies on the other, have lived side by side relating to each other in the main through abstractions, stereotypes, and mythologies. The evolutionary world situation, the growing interdependence of the whole human family, the restless yearning for elementary human rights, the terrible risk that hatred and divisiveness poses for the survival of the human race in an age of intercontinental ballistic missiles--all these forces have rendered anachronistic the ancient modes of caste, class and racial and religious pride.

During the course of the deliberations of Vatican Council II in connection with the "Jewish declaration," the contradictory and at times confused views expressed with regard to the inclusion or elimination of a passage in the third version of the text relating the question of the conversion of the Jews brought into sharp focus the fact that the Catholic Church has done very little serious thinking about the place of Jews and Judaism in the divine economy. That episode alone underscored the need for Catholic theologians and

scholars to develop a theology of Israel and the Synagogue in salvation history that has some correspondence with the historic realities of the present-day living Jewish people. At the same time, the bewildering and bewildered response of many Jews to the Vatican Council II, whose attitudes toward present-day Christians are based on old world memories of Christians as persecutors, threw into sharp relief the critical need for Jews to develop a theology of Christians and Christianity that is consonant with the realities of an emerging "new Christian" society that is struggling in unparalleled fashion to uproot anti-Semitism and to restore her traditions to Biblical modes of thought and practice.

At the heart of Christianity's problem of what to make of the Jew is the Christian's immense ignorance, if not illiteracy, regarding Judaism. If the Jews were supposed to have committed deicide against Jesus, then a great many Christians in fact have committed homicide against him. They have killed Jesus as a Jew and as a man. The weapon was ignorance of Jesus' Jewishness. But Jesus' life, his preaching, his teaching, his vision of the Kingdom of God, the very ground of his messianism cannot be accurately nor profoundly understood apart from his background in the Synagogue, his life of worship and observance as a Jew, and his education with the Pharasaic rabbis of the first century. Indeed, the New Testamaent itself cannot be fully comprehended as other

than a Jewish book, written almost entirely by Jews for Jews, and in the Jewish mode of exegesis, known as Hagaddah. Long passages of the New Testament are, indeed, actually nothing less than new and different exegesis of the Jewish Bible, the difference being determined by the belief in the divinity of Jesus, which stands in opposition to the uncompromising monotheism of Judaism.

The significance of this Christian amnesia regarding the Jewishness of the origins of Christianity is that the Christians who live in this ignorance are expressing the Marcionite heresy. God bestowed promises upon the Jews, and he chastised them with curses, in order that they might repent. But a certain tradition of Christian teaching appropriated the promises for "the new Israel" and imposed upon the "old Israel" the left-over curses. In this way, many Christians found it possible to cease to identify religiously with Judaism and, worse, perceived the Torah and Judaism as "stagnant" and "dessicated." From this conviction it was but a short step to the belief that the Church "superseded" Israel -- despite St. Paul's admonition in Romans that God's call and promises to the Jews are irrevocable.

When one adds to this ignorance of first century Judaism the even greater lack of knowledge about post-Biblical Judaism, the ground of misunderstanding becomes an abyss. To most Christians, Judaism came to an abrupt end with the close of the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. But Judaism did not come to an

end with the Old Testament. Just as a non-Catholic does an injustice to Catholicism by failing to take into account the significance of tradition, Church teaching and canon law, in addition to Sacred Scripture, so do non-Jews distort Judaism by failing to recognize that modern Judaism is the product of a long and rich development of post-Biblical thought, devotion, and piety that the great Rabbis and Sages of the Jewish people developed over the past 1,500 years. In the absence of that knowledge, the continued use by Christian pedagogues of the stereotypes of "Pharisees" for hypocritical post-Biblical Jesus, the false antimony of Judaism as a religion of law and justice versus Christianity as a religion of love, mercy, and compassion, will only serve to perpetuate bias and no-nothingism in religion.

In this perspective, it has now become very clear that there are at least three major and decisive areas of scholarship that must be vigorously pursued by Catholic, and other Christian scholars, if the Vatican Council II call for "biblical and theological studies" are to be translated into "mutual understanding and respect." These are: first, critical commentaries and interpretations of the New Testament that will remove any possibility for bigots to exploit certain expressions in the Gospels for anti-Semitic purposes. An excellent example of such studies is to be found in the essay "Anti-Semitism and the Gospel," by Father Dominic M.

But I think there are probably more proximate historical and psychological forces at play. Many Americans, especially politically active Christians, see American foreign policy primarily through the disasters of Vietnam. An unnecessary war, the tragic huge losses of American lives. That perception, I believe, dominates much of this Christian response to Saddam Hussein and ~~Iraq~~ Iraq's aggression as another kind of Vietnamese folly.

Much of ~~Israel's~~ Jewish leadership, both in Israel and the diaspora, is probably far more haunted by the Nazi holocaust and the disastrous failure of Western governments to contain Hitler and his juggernauts and thereby prevent the unprecedented massacres and destruction of World War II.

Most Jews I know do see in the public record of Saddam Hussein the megalomania, the brutality, and the potential massive destructiveness of Iraq's missiles and military power to wreak ~~havoc~~ havoc throughout the Middle East, and especially against Israel. It is difficult for Jews to understand how Christians minimize those real threats^s not only to Israel but to the entire Arab world there.

In many ways, this polarizing situation between Christians and Jews is developing because of the failure of the Bush-Baker administration to make a convincing moral-political case for American efforts at containment of Iraq. A Franklin Roosevelt, a Winston Churchill, even a Jack Kennedy might have set forth a compelling vision that would not have ^(left) such a vacuum in which American Jews are becoming so isolated.

But World War II has taught Jews another vital lesson. In the 1930s and 1940s, an overwrought fear of unleashing anti-Semitism ~~paralyzed~~ paralyzed American Jews from exerting their political muscle in coming to the defense of European Jewry. It will take skill, wisdom and sensitivity to make the Jewish - and American case - but this time Jews will not be intimidated into silence.

--- Rabbi Tanenbaum, former director of international and interreligious religious relations, is past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

The critical question ~~is how~~ is how Jewish agencies will define ^e their relationships with the ascendant ethnic bodies.

For a period of time, some theoreticians and practitioners in the Jewish community appeared to support ethnic assertion in unconditional terms. Such ethnic assertion quickly became ethnic aggression demanding entitlements from the society but owing it few ~~duties~~ duties.

Dr. Martin Marty, a leading Protestant scholar, wrote some years ago that the dynamic of American pluralism involves a tension between identity and exposure. Each group has a right and a duty to define its identity in its own terms. But if it cares only for itself, America will become Balkanized into rival camps.

There is an obligation, Dr. Marty added, that once identity is realized, each religious, racial and ^e ethnic group has obligation to expose its values and culture for the benefit of the general society.

It is such a conception of the duties and responsibilities to one's own group and to the general welfare that should become the basis of the new cycle of ethnic relationships in our changing nation.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, for thirty years DIRECTOR OF INTERRELIGIOUS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, IS A LECTURER, WRITER, AND CONSULTANT.

same time, the closest friends of Tanenbaum, the future rabbi, were non-Jews "who wouldn't play baseball without me."

"I couldn't reconcile my friendships," he said, "with the image of the church. As I grew up, I couldn't understand how a gospel of love was a gospel of hate for the Jews. I was not concerned about theocide [the killing of Jesus], but with homicide of the Jews."

Eventually, with studies in rabbinical seminary and his own readings, Tanenbaum came to the conclusion that there are elements in Judaism that allow for "a systematic conception of Christianity." Among these:

The common origin of all mankind and Biblical admonitions of compassion and tolerance. Tanenbaum cited passages in the Bible that encourage kindness: "A stranger shalt thy not oppress for as strangers were you in the land of Egypt" and "Strangers you shall love as yourself."

Jesus and Paul's faithfulness to Jews' obligations to bring the Noachian Laws to all mankind. These two men, the latter of whom is generally considered the founder of the church, said Tanenbaum, perceived their mission as preaching these key rules of morality to gentiles. While Jews are customarily obliged to observe 613 laws, they are also obligated to bring the seven Noachian Laws to non-Jews. Traditionally, obeying these laws is considered to be the duty of all mankind as descendants of a common ancestor.

Considered to have been given to Noah by God, these laws precede the Torah and halachah. According to Maimonides, acceptance of the Noachian Laws means that a righteous gentile will receive his share in the world to come. Among the laws proscriptions are non-cruelty of animals, abandoning idolatry, sexual morality, and prohibiting murder, theft and false witness.

Whether to preach to gentiles was the basis of a dispute in the First Century, B.C.E., between two schools of Judaism in Israel. The school known as Bet Hillel encouraged teaching among gentiles. This was opposed by a rival school, known as Bet Shammai.

After Hillel's death in 10 C.E., Bet Shammai became dominant. But in the Middle Ages, Maimonides wrote that Bet Hillel's teachings were the normative doctrine for Jews. Another rabbi ruled that Jesus and Paul had performed a blessing by bringing the Noahide Laws to gentiles.

Tanenbaum admitted that teaching young Jews about the central unity of mankind poses a dilemma: "How do we teach respect among youth for our traditions, and also respect for others?" The answer to this, he said, might lie in the motto of the U.S. Army chaplaincy, "Community without compromise." This, said Tanenbaum, lets one "be faithful to one's faith and still recognize the commonality of humanity."

But Tanenbaum was concerned that efforts to bridge the gap between Judaism and Christianity will be futile "unless there is some connection between the new thinking and how people live their lives." Links must be made, he said, between religious teachings and the social sorrows and injustices of the world, such as the planet's 14 million refugees and the 40,000 children

who die each year in Africa and Asia.

"Unless a way is found for religious communities to share their insights about God, man and the dignity of human life," said Tanenbaum, "I don't know how much all of our good theologies will do to us."

Inter-ethnic or interreligious alliances, he said, "will explode if we only want to talk for our own ends." As examples of such misguided ventures, Tanenbaum cited the black-Jewish alliance of the 1960s and the current Polish-Jewish dialogue in several U.S. cities. The latter was too easily derailed, said Tanenbaum, during the fracas last summer about the Catholic monastery at Auschwitz.

"The easiest thing for Christians and Jews to do together," said Tanenbaum, "is social justice. But if we do not find a way to face the underlying fears and perceptions and misperceptions, then the social justice alliance will crack. We will only fool ourselves if we meet to talk about social justice and then only talk about our own fears."

Marc Tannenbaum: "No longer a luxury" for Jews to study Christianity.

Photo by Craig Terkowitz

"I was not concerned about theocide, but with homicide of the Jews."

"Unless a way is found for religious communities to share their insights about God, man and the dignity of human life, I don't know how much all of our good theologies will do to us."

found in the temptations of their environment a real test. It was so easy to do as others were doing, and so difficult to remain always apart and different. The cost of fighting the environment was always great, and it involved the rejection of so much that was tempting and alluring. The blandishments of one's neighbours were not easy to ignore. Especially was this true at those times in their history, and that meant almost always, when the Jews lived as a minority in the midst of a majority whose way of life was different.

Throughout their history whenever the Jews faced this test of the environment they were able to meet it successfully only when, like Abraham, they believe in something more important than the approbation of their fellows. When the Jews considered themselves as a people with a reason for existing, and their concept of God and of the universe superior to that held by those in whose midst they lived, it was a foregone conclusion that they would not find the factor of environment a difficult test to face. But when they had no *raison d'être*, when they were indifferent to the doctrines of Judaism, they faced an almost invincible test in their environment. Perhaps it was this which the prophet Elijah had in mind when from Mt. Carmel he cried out to the Israelites who were falling prey to the way of life of the Canaanites: "How long will you halt between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow Him; but if Baal, follow him." Elijah knew that until the Israelites made up their minds that the Lord was God, they would not be able to meet the test of their environment.

Jewish survival during the past two thousand years has frequently been called a miracle. To be able to maintain its identity as a people without a homeland, to be able to continue to live in spite of a hostile environment, were achievements which caused every historian to marvel. And yet, as we read Jewish history, we cannot help feeling that the rabbis who spoke of the test faced by Abraham and that faced by his descendants in Canaan would have found little difficulty in comparing these Jews, who had survived expulsion from their land and endless exile, with Abraham. The test they had to face was more than one of the environment. They too had to bring sacrifices in pogrom and crusade. But because they believed that their continued existence had meaning they were able to survive even their environment. There have been cases where Jews left their faith out of conviction, unable to stand the test, but these were so rare as to be insignificant. The vast majority were able to meet the test of a *raison d'être* successfully.

Today, in this land, we are again being tested. And as has been repeated so often of late, the outcome of the test we are facing today is more important to the survival of Judaism than it has ever been before. It can hardly be called an exaggeration when we say that American Jewry holds the answer as to whether or not Judaism will survive in this world.

The question properly arises: which test are we facing today? Is it one to be compared with that faced by the Israelites in Canaan, or is it one similar to that faced by Abraham?

I believe that it is quite apparent that increasingly the Jew in America is being tempted by his environment, and because he is weak in knowledge of Judaism, he is in danger of not meeting the test, and of succumbing. It is revealing to read some of the recent novels which have dealt with Jewish themes. There have been "Earth and High Heaven", "Focus", "Wasteland", and "Gentleman's Agreement". In none of these books do we find a Jewish character who is admirable from the traditional, Jewish point of view. The only thing which holds these Jews within the fold is anti-Semitism. Nowhere in these novels do we find a positive approach to Judaism. We find in them, a Judaism, if one may call it that, which is bereft of all character and meaning.

Increasingly Jews are taking on the coloration of their environment ~~in spite of the fact that by and large they are considered by their neighbours as guests in the land.~~ The worst feature of this failure to meet the test of the environment lies in the fact that Jews are taking on the materialistic and hedonistic attitude to life which characterizes, not the best elements in American life, but its worst. We are faced with a situation where hundreds of thousands of Jews find themselves ignorant of all that could make Judaism meaningful to them, and unable to feel at home to the fullest extent in the civilization of America, because always they are conscious of invisible barriers. To the extent they think of Judaism, they think of it as irrelevant and as an unnecessary burden.

Yet we have, in this land, an opportunity to develop something we could consider with pride. We have the possibilities of restoring to Jews the feeling that their Judaism is something which has meaning not only for ourselves, but also for a world which is confused, and tottering on the brink of catastrophe. We have the chance, nay, the duty, of restoring to our people the

factor of the worthwhileness of Judaism, of its aspirations and beliefs, which alone can make it possible for us to face the test of the environment with dignity and self-respect. Judaism, if it is not to be a burden, must take on character in the eyes of Jews, that character which is inherent in it but has only to be rediscovered by the hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Jews who are walking in darkness.

The only way this can be done is through strengthening the hand of those institutions whose purpose it is to bring the message of Judaism to Jews who have lost it. And beyond any question, foremost among these institutions stands the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Those who direct the planning of the Seminary are not unaware of the magnitude of the task which faces them. But they have the confidence that it can be done. They know that the academies founded by Rab and Samuel in Babylonia in the early part of the third century changed the whole future of the Jews in that country. They know that a school founded by Rabbi Moses ben Enoch in Spain in the tenth century changed the course of Judaism in that land. They know, that if only the Jews of America support them, their task must meet with success.

It is no petty enterprise they are engaged in. It is literally the saving of Judaism for this country today, and for the world of tomorrow. They do not see their task as one of training rabbis alone. There is no aspect of Judaism which is not receiving their support. Teachers are being trained, leaders are being instructed, camps are being developed, Jewish scholars are being encouraged, Jewish writers are being stimulated, artists are being shown the possibilities in Jewish themes, a great library and a great museum are made to bring their message to all who wish to know more of the heritage of Israel. The task is one which staggers the imagination, but it is nevertheless a task which must be carried out if the challenge which destiny has placed before the Jews of America is to be met successfully.

The Jewish people is engaged in a war for survival, but the only weapons which will succeed are those which are made of books and schools and which are manned by devoted teachers. In any war the question arises: will the people pay the cost? If we were strong we could float loans and sell Victory Bonds. But then, if we were strong, we would not be engaged in this war for survival. Ultimately the question of victory or defeat lies in the hands of the Jews who today sit in congregations like this one. If they cannot see the challenge then surely

no other group can be expected to see it. We must meet the challenge or we shall not be able to meet the test. We shall be swallowed up by the worst elements in the environment. We shall not disappear as others do, but we shall continue as a colorless, empty group whose existence means nothing to itself or to those around it.

The Christian world in its own way attempted long ago to explain the miracle of the continued existence of Israel. It invented the story of the Wandering Jew, doomed to live as an example of the punishment which came upon the Jews for the rejection of Christianity. However, throughout his history Israel gave the lie to this fantastic explanation. His existence was not meaningless to himself nor to the world. His existence could not be construed in terms of a punishment. God forbid that we should, by neglecting the opportunities we have today, seem to give credence at this late date to something which we have always been able to refute in the past. As we pray today for life, let us resolve to do our part so that Judaism itself will also be inscribed in the book of life.



The philosophical pattern of the Puritans, in turn, are rooted in the images, principles, and laws of the Hebrew Bible. America's roots lie deep in biblical soil, planted there from the country's very beginnings.

The Puritans were English Protestants who in the early 17th century adopted John Calvin's creed, and the Bible, especially the Old Testament - which Jews ~~prefer to~~ call the Hebrew Scriptures - became their principal theological authority. Like the Hebrews, the Puritans looked upon themselves as God's chosen people, comparing their New England states to those of the ancient Israelites. From the Biblical accounts of the Hebrew tribal struggles and wanderings, the Puritans borrowed their imagery and formed their thinking patterns. For both the Hebrews and the Puritans, the central theme of their identity was the covenant between God and man. In their Bible commonwealth of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, they sought to realize the Biblical commandments of concern for the poor, orphaned, and mistreated, and that became the basis of the Puritan view of equality of all people before God, (especially the brotherhood of the elected saints)

For both Hebrews and Puritans, God was the only true monarch; no man could be more than His chosen agent. And to God the humblest slave equaled the mightiest prince. They saw their defiance of the English monarchy and the Church of England in terms of Moses' defiance of Pharaoh, and of Nathan's rebuke to King David. And when they embarked on the Great Migration from England, they viewed the New World as their "wilderness Zion" and the Promised Land.

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Despite the overwhelming preoccupation with the Persian Gulf crisis, American and other Jewries - especially Israeli Jewry - merit much tribute for their intensified support of Soviet Jewry through Operation Exodus. The absorption and resettlement of Soviet Jewry, and Ethiopian Jews, should clearly become a predominant ~~/~~ priority for world Jewry during the coming decade, despite all the diverting external problems.

On the international scene, several other developments which require much examination but can only be listed here:

The reunification of Germany ~~xxx~~ raised widespread anxieties in world Jewry, but was also balanced by the awareness that next to the United States, the Federal Republic remains the largest financial and commercial supporter of Israel.

The explosion of democratic forces in Eastern Europe is largely welcomed by Jews, but enthusiasm is diminished by the deep-rooted anti-Semitism that seems married to ~~xxx~~ xenophobic nationalism. Israel's quiet but growing trade and cultural ties with Hungary, Poland, and other East European countries will be watched with interest.

~~Ex~~ ~~xxx~~ Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and elsewhere became a major issue of constructive concern with Vatican authorities in Prague in September, and later in Rome with Pope John Paul II in December.

Foreign affairs often obscured pressing Jewish domestic concerns, of which there are many. The rise in intermarriages nationally to 49 per cent, as recent studies revealed, and the decline of conversions of non-Jewish partners posed deeply nettlesome questions to all of Jewry.

On the "joyous" side, the turn to tradition of increasing number of Reform and Conservative Jews is reassuring. The emergence of modern Orthodoxy, including the ~~xxx~~ burgeoning Hasidic movements, bids to influence the national policy making of established national Jewish agencies. But mainstream Jewry, I believe, will watch carefully that some of the exclusionary and anti-democratic stands of ultra-Orthodox forces in Israel not be imported to distort U.S. Jewish life.

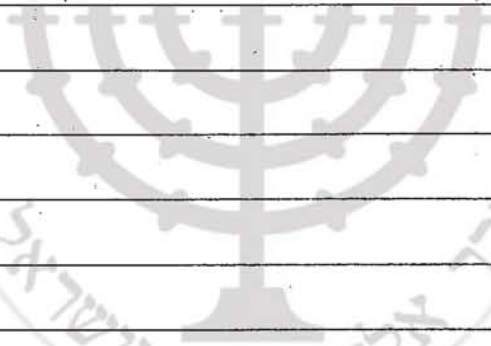
The best way I can suggest the mod^o of this vastly complex foreign and domestic Jewish scene is to recall a line from ~~the~~ my Mother, of blessed memory. When we asked her to define a genuine Jewish pleasure, she wryly answered,

"A Jewish pleasure, my children, is a cool Yom Kippur."

The 1990s may well be such a cool Yom Kippur for world Jewry.

--Rabbi Tanenbaum, former international relations director of the American Jewish Committee, is past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC).

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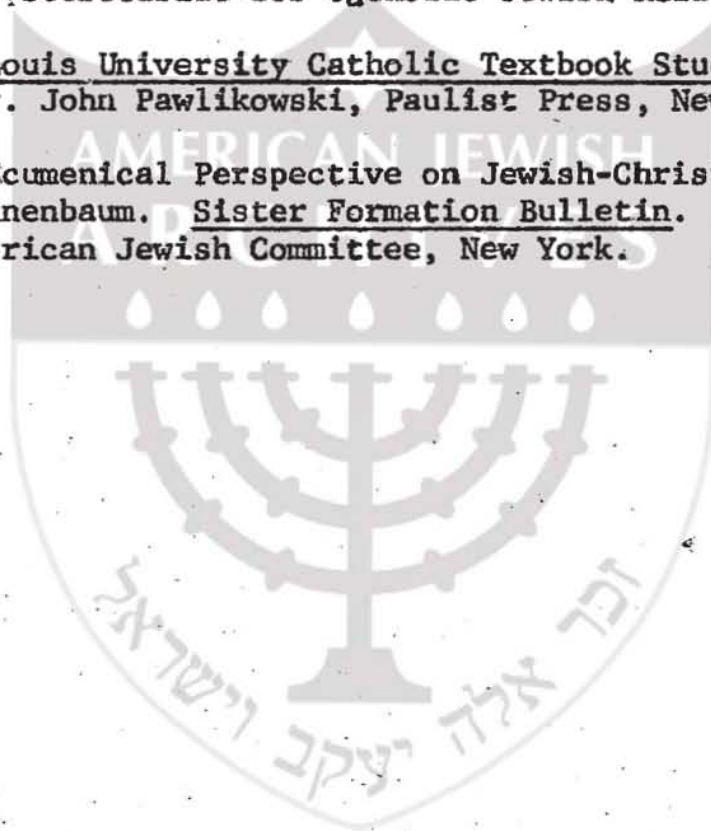
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D R A F T

-6-

THAN DISCRIMINATION AND BIGOTRY THAT IF LEFT UNCHALLENGED WILL UNDERMINE THE DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THIS GREAT AND BELOVED COUNTRY. IN THIS DEMOCRACY, FROM THE DAYS OF ROGER WILLIAMS TO THIS MOMENT, WE VOTE FOR PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF THEIR QUALIFICATIONS AND THEIR MERITS, NOT ON THE BASIS OF THEIR RELIGIOUS OR RACIAL OR ETHNIC IDENTITIES. IF SUCH RELIGIOUS OR OTHER FORMS OF GROUP CHAUVINISM ARE ALLOWED TO PREVAIL, WE WILL BALKANIZE AMERICA. BEYOND THAT, WE WILL VIOLATE EVERY ARTICLE OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION AND THE VERY SPIRITUAL PRINCIPLES OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THIS NATION.

- THERE HAS BEEN MORE THAN ENOUGH NATIVIST, ANTI-CATHOLIC BIGOTRY IN THIS COUNTRY IN PLACES OF COMMERCE AND EDUCATION. THERE HAS BEEN MORE THAN ENOUGH RACISM IN THIS COUNTRY. THERE HAS BEEN MORE THAN ENOUGH REGIONAL PREJUDICE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH IN THIS COUNTRY. UNITY IN THE MIDST OF DIVERSITY REQUIRES THAT WE FINALLY GIVE UP THE FALSE BASIS OF GROUP SECURITY.

IT IS AN IRRATIONAL MENTALITY AND IT IS BASICALLY ANTI-AMERICAN TO BELIEVE THAT YOU ACHIEVE A SPURIOUS SENSE OF SUPERIORITY BY POINTING TO SOMEONE ELSE'S SUPPOSED INFERIORITY.

V - ULTIMATELY THE STRENGTH - THE VERY GENIUS OF AMERICA - RESTS ON OUR CONTINUING TO SUSTAIN A HEALTHY BALANCE BETWEEN LEGITIMATE GROUP IDENTITY AND GROUP INTERESTS IN TENSION WITH THE COMMON WELFARE. IF A GROUP ELEVATES ITS OWN INTERESTS AS AN ULTIMATE END IN ITSELF THAT BECOMES GROUP IDOLATRY AND WILL DESTROY THE COMMON GOOD. IF WE SEEK TO SERVE THE COMMON GOOD AND NEGLECT

THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE MANY GROUPS WHICH COMPOSE OUR NATIONAL MOSAIC, WE WILL LOSE TOUCH WITH THE REALITIES OF LIFE OF AMERICA. (THAT IS WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ANCIENT HELLENISTIC EMPIRE. IT WAS THE MOST POWERFUL AND MOST ADVANCED ECUMENICAL EMPIRE THEN KNOWN TO MANKIND, BUT IT LOST CONTACT WITH THE CITY-STATES OF THE EMPIRE WHERE THE HUMAN VITALITIES WERE NOURISHED. ULTIMATELY EVEN THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT COLLAPSED. WE SEEK TO LEARN FROM THAT HISTORY, AND NOT BE FATED TO REPEAT IT.)

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Hasdai ha-Levi, the great sage added, "In regard to your question concerning the Gentile nations, you should know that God demands the heart, that matters are to be judged according to the intent of the heart. There is, therefore, no doubt that everyone from among the Gentiles who brings his soul to perfection through virtues and wisdom in the knowledge of God has a share in eternal blessedness."

[With this understanding of major features of Biblical and Rabbinic Judaism, it should be clearer why Jewish festivals, fasts and holy days play such a crucial role in shaping Jewish consciousness.

