

Annotation

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Religion and the Founding Fathers

BY JOHN P. KAMINSKI

RELIGION has always been important in America. During the colonial and Revolutionary eras, religion permeated the lives of Americans. Blue laws kept the Sabbath holy and consumption laws limited the actions of everyone. Christianity was one of the few links that bound American society together from Maine to Georgia. The Bible, in addition to being the divine word of God that would guide people through life's journey to the next world, served as a textbook for history, a source book for morals, a primer for mothers to teach their children how to read, and a window through which to view and understand human nature. With the high death rate, especially among infants, childbearing women, and seafarers, Americans stoically resigned themselves to the will of God. Because religion and morality were seen as necessary components of stable society, colonial and Revolutionary government supported religion. Clergymen were among the most influential members of the community and many of them actively participated in government.

James Madison. Portrait by Gilbert Stuart, 1821. (National Gallery of Art)

Although colonists often emigrated to the New World to escape religious persecution or intolerance, many new Americans readily discriminated against others on the basis of religion. Ironically, the liberal religious traditions embodied in the charters and fundamental laws of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and the Carolinas read very much like the declarations of indulgences promulgated by Charles II and James II that were so bitterly denounced by the Anglican clergy and members of Parliament. Like a magnet, however, these liberal policies attracted dissenters to these religiously benevolent colonies.

The first 12 American colonies were founded during the 17th century. Much of the fear and hatred of Catholics in England during this time found its way across the Atlantic. The four imperial wars between Protestant Great Britain and Catholic France and Spain intensified American animosity toward Catholics. Only in Maryland did Catholics find a welcome haven in Britain's New World.

Jews, although discriminated against in every colony, were tolerated and prospered in Newport, Philadelphia, and Charleston. After the Revolution, even the most tolerant states continued to

deny citizenship and voting rights to Jews, although they were allowed to practice their religion, but usually not publicly. Not until the 19th century did states extend full citizenship to Jews.

Quakers—banished, whipped, fined, imprisoned, and occasionally executed in early New England—found a refuge in William Penn's experiment. Discrimination against Quakers, even in Pennsylvania, intensified during and after the Revolution, especially against those who steadfastly practiced pacifism.

The combatants—both British and American—felt that if Quakers were not on their side, they must be enemies. During the war, Quakers were disenfranchised, and Americans rounded up wealthy Quakers thought to be dangerous and transported them to safe areas away from the fighting and their homes. Only slowly after the war were Quaker voting rights restored.

Religion played a significant role in the coming of the American Revolution. In New York, the demand by some for an American Anglican bishopric raised fears of heightened ecclesiastical controls similar to the civil controls being mandated by Parliament. American animosity and fear of Catholics increased, especially when Parliament passed the Quebec Act in 1774. The Act extended southward the borders of the captured Catholic French territory to the Ohio River and guaranteed "the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome." The Declaration of Independence listed the Quebec Act as one of the charges against

the king and Parliament. Ironically, because of America's desperate need for support in its struggle for independence, Congress allied itself with Catholic France, and His Christian Majesty Louis XVI was regularly toasted in America as a true friend of the new republic.

The American Revolution led to a significant separation between church and state. Increasingly, religion was thought to be a matter of personal opinion that should not be dictated by government. Of the nine states that had established religions during the colonial period, three separated church and state in their new constitutions—New York, North Carolina, and Virginia. In the remaining six states, concessions were made allowing public support of more than one church. Often in New England, this concession was nominal because public funds would be given to only one church in a town, and that always happened to be the Congregational church because of its dominance in every New England *(continued on page 4)*

ANNOTATION

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NHPRC Application Deadlines

THE COMMISSION'S MEETINGS FOLLOW THE FISCAL YEAR OF OCTOBER 1 TO SEPTEMBER 30. CONSEQUENTLY, THE FIRST MEETING OF THE FISCAL YEAR IS IN NOVEMBER AND THE SECOND IS IN MAY.

June 1 (for the November meeting)

Proposals addressing the following top priorities:

- The NHPRC will provide the American public with widespread access to the papers of the founders of our democratic republic and its institutions by ensuring the timely completion of eight projects now in progress to publish the papers of George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and papers that document the Ratification of the Constitution, the First Federal Congress, and the early Supreme Court
- The NHPRC will promote broad public participation in historical documentation by collaborating with State Historical Records Advisory Boards to plan and carry out jointly funded programs to strengthen the nation's archival infrastructure and expand the range of records that are protected and accessible
- The NHPRC will enable the nation's archivists, records managers, and documentary editors to overcome the obstacles and take advantage of the opportunities posed by electronic technologies by continuing to provide leadership in funding research and development on appraising, preserving, disseminating, and providing access to important documentary sources in electronic form

OCTOBER 1 (for the May meeting)

Proposals not addressing the above priorities, but focusing on an activity authorized in the NHPRC statute as follows:

- collecting, describing, preserving, compiling, and publishing (including microfilming and other forms of reproduction) of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States
- conducting institutes, training and educational courses, and fellowships related to the activities of the Commission
- disseminating information about documentary sources through guides, directories, and other technical publications
- or, more specifically, documentary editing and publishing; archival preservation and processing of records for access; developing or updating descriptive systems; creation and development of archival and records management programs; development of standards, tools, and techniques to advance the work of archivists, records managers, and documentary editors; and promotion of the use of records by teachers, students, and the public

APPLICATION GUIDELINES AND FORMS MAY BE REQUESTED FROM NHPRC, NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION, 700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW, ROOM 111, WASHINGTON, DC 20408-0001, 202-501-5610 (VOICE), 202-501-5601 (FAX), nhprc@nara.gov (E-MAIL), OR BY ACCESSING OUR WEB SITE AT www.nara.gov/nara/nhprc/

Important Documentary Sources Relating to the History of the United States



The separation of church and state is a fundamental precept of this nation, articulated in the First Amendment to our Constitution. Throughout our history, religious groups and those who defined themselves primarily by their religious beliefs have also helped to shape the American story.

Some areas of what now constitutes the United States of America were originally settled by those seeking the freedom to believe and worship as they preferred; other areas were developed by those for whom imperial and religious agendas were intertwined. As a consequence, those seeking to learn about the early experiences of European settlers or their contacts with the Native American populations must rely heavily upon accounts recorded by missionaries, among others.

In the 19th century, the movement to abolish slavery was driven to a great extent by religious belief and by those identified with specific churches. Religious groups and organizations influenced the development of communities, provided relief for the poor and destitute, and founded many of our health and educational institutions.

Historians of the 20th century, a time often dismissed as particularly secular, have written at length about the radio broadcasts of Father Charles Coughlin, the aid given by religious welfare societies to those fleeing Hitler's Germany, the questions raised during the 1928 and 1960 U.S. Presidential campaigns as to whether a Catholic could be elected President, and the leadership by some Baptist ministers within the civil rights movement.

Each successive wave of immigration has injected new ideas, cultures, and, often, religions into the American consciousness. How Americans of so many faiths have engaged one another in shaping a society based on religious pluralism is, in itself, a fascinating area of study for many historians.

Thus, in fulfilling its mission to support a wide range of activities to preserve, publish, and encourage the use of documentary sources relating to the history of the United States, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission has made grants involving the records of religious organizations, or focusing upon an individual or group affiliated with such an organization. However, it has done so only if the organization is a nonprofit institution, the records are of importance to understanding American history, and the records addressed will be accessible to all on an equal basis.

The NHPRC has supported a number of documentary editions of the papers of such individuals as Francis Asbury (Methodist), David Avery (Congregationalist), John Ireland (Catholic), Isaac Backus (Baptist), Howard Thurman (interdenominational), and Martin Luther King, Jr. (Baptist). It has sponsored editions documenting both the activities of Jesuit missionaries on the frontier and the creation of the Harmony Society.

Among its records access projects, the Commission has supported a project to process papers relating to the German Meth-

odist Church in America; a project to arrange and describe papers involving pioneers in religious radio broadcasting; a project to develop a records management program and to arrange and describe records relating to the Buddhist churches of America; a project to collect and make accessible historical records on conservative Judaism in America; and a project to conduct workshops across the country on basic archival techniques for persons designated as the archivists of their religious orders.

Church and synagogue records of ceremonies surrounding births, marriages, and deaths constitute an important source for historians and genealogists, and in some cases have proven to be the only means of establishing an individual's entitlement to benefits such as social security. Accordingly, a number of states have utilized NHPRC regrant funding, matched by state money, to award small grants to preserve such records.

This issue of *Annotation* presents articles on a number of such projects. There is a discussion of religion and the Founding Fathers, drawn in part from materials published by several of the NHPRC-sponsored documentary editing projects. Other articles describe projects focusing upon Lucretia Mott (a Quaker), Catholic social reformers, a major figure in the Pentecostal movement, and early 19th-century Cherokee and Moravian spirituality. There are accounts of NHPRC projects to preserve the records of Georgetown Visitation Monastery and to locate, accession and process the papers of the first women ordained as Episcopalian priests. And there is an article on an African missionary, his American family, and their links with South Africa.

I hope you enjoy this issue.

FROM THE EDITOR

The March 2002 issue of *Annotation* begins with John P. Kaminski's "Religion and the Founding Fathers," based in large part upon documentary editions supported by the NHPRC. The other articles in this issue appear in the following order:

Beverly Wilson Palmer, "Lucretia Coffin Mott and the Power of the Spirit"

Joseph M. Turrini, "Catholic Social Reform and the New Deal: The Papers of Monsignor John A. Ryan and Bishop Francis J. Haas"

Roger G. Robins, "Documenting Life in the Margins: David J. du Plessis, Fuller Theological Seminary, and the Safety Net of Collective Memory"

Rowena McClinton, "Early 19th-Century Cherokee and Moravian Spirituality Converges at Springplace, Georgia"

Sister Mada-anne Gell, VHM, "Preserving the Records of Georgetown Visitation Monastery"

Claire McCurdy, Leslie Reyman, and Letitia Campbell, "Processing the Papers of Women Religious Figures: The Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship Project"

David Anthony and Robert Edgar, "Religion and the Black (South) Atlantic"

town. However, as the 18th century ended, most states in which tax revenues supported churches passed legislation increasing the flexibility individuals had of earmarking their taxes for the support of their own minister.

Virginia disestablished the Anglican church merely by not specifically retaining the church-state relationship. The last provision of the Virginia Declaration of Rights (adopted in June 1776) provided "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our CREATOR, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity, towards each other." But when Patrick Henry, Edmund Pendleton, and Richard Henry Lee joined with Anglican ministers in an effort to provide public financial support for all Christian denominations (in essence creating a multiple establishment), James Madison revived Thomas Jefferson's bill for religious freedom, which provided for the complete separation of church and state. A convention of Presbyterian ministers advocated the bill "as the best safeguard short of a constitutional one, for their religious rights."¹ Jefferson's bill, adopted in January 1786, stated "that the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction." Madison happily reported to Jefferson that the act "extinguished for ever the ambitious hope of making laws for the human mind."²

John Jay. Portrait by Cornelius Tiebout after Gilbert Stuart. (New York Public Library)

In other state constitutions, like New York's, explicit provision was made that "the free exercise and employment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind." Complete religious liberty was limited, however. According to the New York constitution, "the liberty of conscience hereby granted, shall not be so construed, as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State." Such a libertarian position alienated Congregationalists in Vermont, who felt unsafe under New York's rule because their "religious rights and priviledges would be in danger from a Union with a Government" whose constitution tolerated all religions and excluded the establishment of any.³ In 1777 the Vermonters declared their independence not only from Great Britain, but also from New York.

Five state constitutions prohibited ministers from holding civil or military positions. The clergy, it was argued, should attend to the important job of tending to their flocks. Eleven states retained a religious test for officeholding, usually requiring belief in God, the Protestant religion, the divine inspiration of the Bible, and in life in the hereafter. Only the constitutions of New York and Virginia omitted a religious test for officeholding. In New York, Huguenot-descended John Jay argued unsuccessfully in the provincial convention for a prohibition against Catholic officeholding. In February 1788, however, the New York legislature approved an act requiring officeholders to renounce all foreign authorities, "in all

matters ecclesiastical as well as civil," an obvious exclusion of Catholics from holding office.

During and after the war, the states ceded their western lands to Congress. On July 13, 1787—when the Constitutional Convention was meeting in Philadelphia—Congress, meeting in New York City, adopted the Northwest Ordinance, which provided for the territorial government of the national domain north and west of the Ohio River and for its transition to statehood on an equal basis with the original states. The Ordinance included an abbreviated bill of rights guaranteeing religious freedom in the first article. "No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in the said territory." The third article acknowledged the necessity of "Religion, morality and knowledge" in promoting "good government and the happiness of mankind" and provided that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Two years later, the first Federal Congress reenacted the Ordinance.

Increasingly the Founding Fathers abandoned traditional Christian religion and became what could be called deists. Many of these converts publicly maintained their original religious affiliations, choosing to avoid the censures that prominent deists like Jefferson, Franklin, and Paine regularly received. Deists abandoned the belief in the divinity of Jesus, the trinity, any notion of predestination, the Bible as the divinely inspired word of God, and state-sponsored religion. Rather, deists believed in one God, a benevolent initiator of all events. The word of God was not to be found in the Bible, but in nature and the Creation.

When the delegates to the Federal Convention of 1787 drafted a new Constitution for the United States, they omitted any specific references to God or religion. Federalists, however, often asserted that the Constitution was divinely inspired. Dr. Benjamin Rush in the Pennsylvania ratifying Convention in December 1787 suggested that "the hand of God" was as assuredly employed in drafting the Constitution as it was in dividing the Red Sea or in fulfilling the Ten Commandments from Mount Sinai. Rush urged Antifederalists to differentiate between the inclinations of their constituents and the dictates of their consciences. Listen, Rush admonished, to the latter. "It is the voice of God speaking" to their hearts. Antifederalists condemned "this new species of DIVINE RIGHT." They "regretted that so imperfect a work should have been ascribed to God."⁴

Many Americans agreed with the freemen of Paxton, Massachusetts, that the Constitution, by its failure to explicitly guarantee the freedom of religion, was "Subversive of Liberty and Extremely dangerous to the Civil and Religious rights of the People."⁵ Speaking for Antifederalists, Patrick Henry argued in the Virginia ratifying Convention that the "sacred and lovely thing Religion, ought not to rest on the ingenuity of logical deduction." Without an explicit protection, religion "will be prostituted to the lowest purposes of human policy."⁶ Federalists, however, argued that the Constitution would create a Federal government of strictly enumerated powers that would never be capable of violating religious liberty. According to James Madison in the Virginia Convention, there was "not a shadow of right in the General Government to intermeddle with religion—Its least interference with it would (continued on page 19)



Lucretia Coffin Mott and the Power of the Spirit

BY BEVERLY WILSON PALMER

The reputation of Lucretia Coffin Mott today rests generally on her leadership in the woman's rights and antislavery movements, and specifically on her leadership in the 1848 Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention. Yet too often overlooked is the significance of religion in her life. The power of the spirit governed all Lucretia Mott's actions; her Quaker heritage gave meaning and context to every aspect of her life. Mott's belief that every human being must be open to the promptings of the spirit fueled her demand for equality for African Americans and for women. In *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott* (University of Illinois Press, 2002), sponsored by the NHPRC, Mott's tireless commitment to equal rights and the central role of religion in these lifelong efforts is clearly demonstrated.

Born in 1793 to Quaker parents, at age 13 Lucretia Coffin was sent to a coeducational Quaker school in Dutchess County, New York. Here the young student met James Mott, whom she married in 1811 when the couple established permanent residence in Philadelphia. James sold cotton and wool but later, as a protest against the slave-driven cotton culture in the South, focused only on wool trading. Between 1812 and 1828, Lucretia bore six children, of whom five, four daughters and a son, lived to adulthood. She began to speak at Quaker meetings in 1818, and in 1821 she was recognized as a minister in the Society of Friends in Philadelphia.

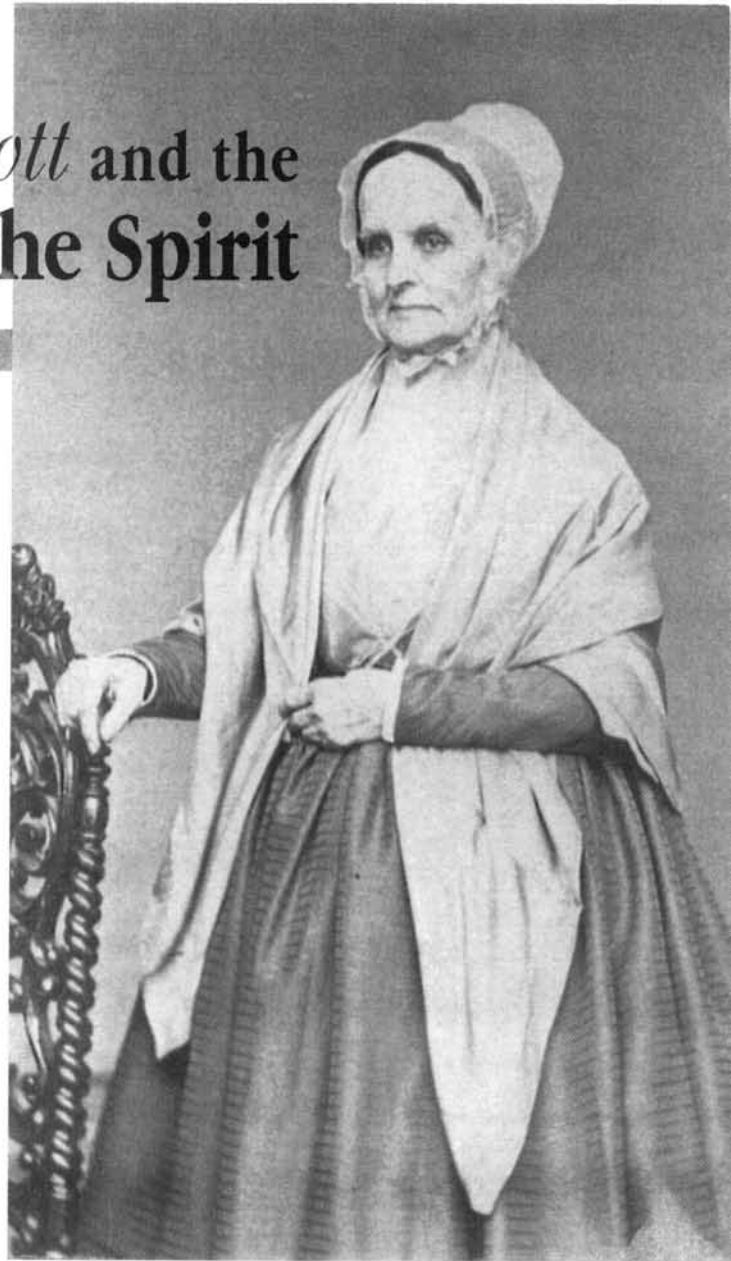
The Quaker tradition enabled women to take public positions on a variety of social problems. Recognized as a minister in 1821 and in the 1830s as clerk of the Philadelphia Women's Yearly Meeting, Mott enjoyed the privilege of speaking in her own meeting as well as traveling widely to minister to other meetings. The historian Susan Mosher Stuard cogently expresses the religious legacy Mott and other Quaker women inherited: "Women among the Friends may be credited with helping to arouse righteous indignation against the whole corpus of received scholarly thought and the mental constructs by which thinkers arrived at their conclusions. By rejecting the very endeavor of formulating orthodox doctrines

Lucretia Mott. Carte de visite photograph by Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia, 1860s. Courtesy of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

and rules, Quakerism as a movement found a way to discard the gender ideology that lay embedded within Western thought."¹

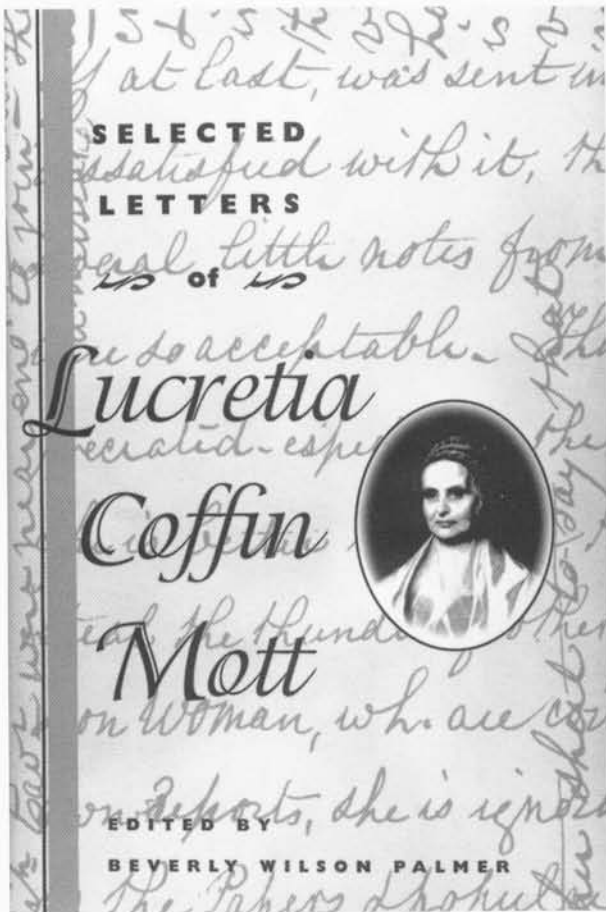
Mott understood and was empowered by this inheritance. In 1869, in a letter to the British reformer Josephine Butler, she reflected on the equality she had enjoyed as a Quaker: "In the executive department of the Society, the right conceded to woman to act conjointly with man has had its influence, not only in making her familiar with the routine of business relating to our 'Discipline,' but in giving her self-reliance in mingling with the various reformatory societies in the great movements of the age." (It is no coincidence that the largest group signing the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments at Seneca Falls consisted of Quakers or former Quakers.²)

During the 1820s a conflict between the stricter, more conservative Quakers and the tolerant, less orthodox followers of Elias Hicks (known as the Hicksites) caused the Motts to break with their original meeting. Already in an 1822 letter to her husband's grandfather, Lucretia had asked why a Quaker should be disowned (i.e., removed from membership) for marrying outside of meeting. In 1827 first James and then Lucretia Mott followed the Hicksite branch (Lucretia insisted it was the Orthodox Quakers who left the fold) which espoused free interpretation of the Bible and reliance on inward authority, as opposed to the guidance of historic Christian authority. Moreover, Hicks' strong condemnation of slavery resonated with the Motts' antislavery beliefs.



The Hicksite/Orthodox division did not end Mott's differences with her fellow Hicksites. "Oh how our Discipline needs revising—and stripping of its objectionable features," she wrote the Irish Quakers Richard and Hannah Webb in 1842. "I know not how far yours may differ from ours, but I know we have far too many disownable offences. Still with all our faults, I know of no religious association I would prefer to it."³ Indeed, Lucretia Mott remained a Hicksite Quaker throughout her life. Yet she often spoke outside Quaker meetings, and her sermons show her full commitment to liberal religious issues such as the inherent goodness of all humans and the importance of good works.

Addressing the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in November 1869, Mott stated how faith led to action, to her participation in antislavery activities in the 1820s. She recalled how she had felt herself obliged "to abstain from the products of the slave's



IN JANUARY 2002, THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS PUBLISHED *SELECTED LETTERS OF LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT*, EDITED BY BEVERLY WILSON PALMER, WITH HOLLY BYERS OCHOA SERVING AS ASSOCIATE EDITOR AND CAROL FAULKNER AS EDITING FELLOW. SUPPORTED BY A GRANT FROM THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS AND RECORDS COMMISSION, THIS WORK IS A VOLUME IN THE SERIES *WOMEN IN AMERICAN HISTORY*, EDITED BY ANNE FIROR SCOTT, NANCY A. HEWITT, AND STEPHANIE SHAW.

the hope that all religions would eventually abandon theological differences and unite under one supreme power.⁶

Mott emphasized her activism and her continued faith in humankind in this 1867 sermon at the Brooklyn Unitarian Church:

I believe that such proving all things, such trying all things, and holding fast only to that which is good, is the great religious duty of our age. . . . Our own conscience and the Divine Spirit's teaching are always harmonious and this Divine illumination is as freely given to man as his reason, or as many of his natural powers.⁷

Impelled by an "incorruptible spirit which searcheth all things," until the end of her life Lucretia Mott continued to advocate woman's rights, peace, temperance, rights for the freedpeople and freedom of conscience. This clear sense of her religious calling made her a natural leader and a major force in 19th-century American reform movements. ❖

BEVERLY WILSON PALMER IS THE EDITOR OF *SELECTED LETTERS OF LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT*, *THE SELECTED PAPERS OF THADDEUS STEVENS*, AND *THE SELECTED LETTERS OF CHARLES SUMNER*.

labor." Although she was "somewhat prepared" to speak out against the slave trade in meeting, she described the "unexpected" call in moving and personal language: "It was a trial to be obliged to appear needlessly peculiar. It was like parting with the right hand or the right eye, but when I left the meeting I yielded to the obligation, and then, for forty years from that time, whatever I did I did under the conviction that it was wrong to partake of the products of the labor of slavery."⁴ For Mott, faith was pointless unless connected to action.

What sort of action was appropriate when the end was admirable but the means reprehensible? The Civil War personally challenged the religious beliefs of Lucretia Mott, who as a Quaker espoused nonviolence yet had worked so assiduously to abolish slavery. This peace-loving woman protested the Civil War's violence, but not without some misgivings. In July 1861, she wrote a public letter disputing newspaper coverage of a recent speech she had given in Boston that imputed that she supported the war. She protested that "instead of the whole armor of God, we have the battle of the warrior, which is ever with confused noise and garments rolled in blood." Still, she continued, "terrible as war ever must be, let us hope that it may not be stayed by

any compromise which shall continue the unequal, cruel war on the rights and liberties of millions of our unoffending fellow-beings." As prospects for abolishing slavery increased, in 1864 Lucretia wrote her sister Martha, quoting Corinthians: "The Anti-S. sentiment is spread — not by battles with carnal weapons but the mighty 'armor of righteousness on the right hand & on the left' — It is no evidence of inconsistency, to be glad when the right is uppermost in the army—even if yr. depend[enc]e. is not on the arm of flesh."⁵ After the war the always optimistic activist helped found the Pennsylvania Peace Society.

Mott's distress over sectarian religion, expressed more formally in her frequent sermons, also appears in numerous letters through the years. To Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for example, Lucretia wrote of her concern: "It is lamentable, that the simple & benign religion of Jesus should be so encumbered with the creeds & dogmas of sects — Its primitive beauty obscured by these gloomy appendages of man." As a lifelong critic of sects and creeds, in the late 1860s she became active in the Free Religious Association, an organization dedicated to freeing all sects from dependence on Biblical authority and the divinity of Christ. In addresses to their meetings, Mott expressed

Notes

¹ "Women's Witnessing," *Witness for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries*, eds. Elizabeth Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), p. 14.

² Letter of 20 April 1869, *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott*, eds. Beverly Wilson Palmer, Holly Byers Ochoa, and Carol Faulkner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), p. 415. See Judith Wellman, "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: A Study of Social Networks," *Journal of Women's History* 3 (Spring 1991), p. 27; Nancy Hewitt, "Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Woman's Rights in America," *Feminist Studies* 12 (Spring 1986), p. 29.

³ Letter of 25 February 1842, *Selected Letters*, p. 106.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society*, 17 November 1869, published in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 27 November 1869, p. 1.

⁵ Letters of 6 July 1861 and 25 January 1864, *Selected Letters*, pp. 312, 339.

⁶ Letter of 23 March 1841, *Selected Letters*, p. 90. On the Free Religious Association, see letters of 20 May 1867 and 22 May [1874] to Octavius B. Frothingham, *Selected Letters*, pp. 387–88, 489–90. See also Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Friends General Conference, 1999), pp. 220–21, 239.

⁷ "When the Heart is Attuned to Prayer," *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons*, ed. Dana Greene (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), p. 302. For an informal expression of Mott's beliefs, see, for example, letter to Richard D. and Hannah Webb, 2 April 1841, *Selected Letters*, pp. 91–92.

Catholic Social Reform and the New Deal

The Papers of Monsignor John A. Ryan and Bishop Francis J. Haas

BY JOSEPH M. TURRINI

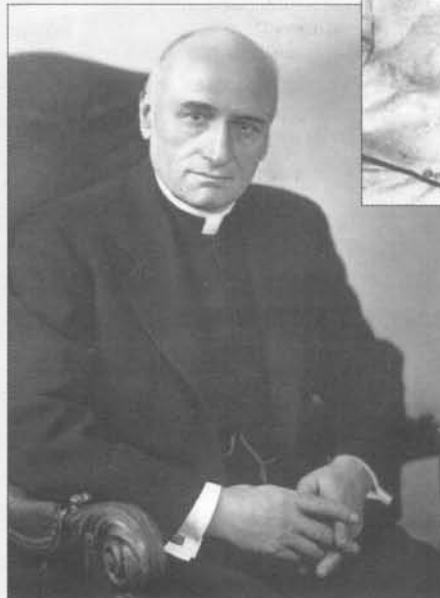
ON OCTOBER 8, 1936, Monsignor John A. Ryan urged millions of listeners to his nationally broadcast radio speech to reject the advice of fellow Catholic cleric Father Charles Coughlin and vote for President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the upcoming election. The Democratic National Committee had prodded a reluctant Ryan to step into the fray of national politics because it feared that Catholic voters might be swayed by Coughlin's weekly insistence that FDR was a communist who no longer deserved the support of Catholics. Coughlin, the famous radio priest and demagogue of the 1930s who was on his way to being an ignoble anti-Semite, had recently turned violently against Roosevelt.

Ryan's speech, "Roosevelt Safeguards America," was the most public and prominent moment in his long and illustrious career as a social justice advocate and theorist. Ryan created and nurtured a strain of Catholic progressivism that insisted that Catholic clergy should be active in social reform movements like the labor movement and the New Deal. Indeed, it might well be said that Ryan was the founder of an American tradition of Catholic economic and political progressivism that still inspires Catholics today.

The intellectual center of this Catholic social reform tradition was on the campus of The Catholic University of America (CUA), where Ryan taught and served as Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council for most of his productive career. The scholarship and activities of a number of CUA faculty and students embodied the social reform philosophy Ryan expressed through his voluminous writings, teaching, and occasional political activism.

Perhaps the most nationally prominent and active Catholic progressive in the Ryan tradition was Bishop Francis J. Haas. A student at CUA in the early 1920s who was profoundly influenced by Ryan, Haas played a pivotal role in Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal as a public representative on several Government boards in the 1930s and as one of the busiest and most respected labor arbitrators in the country.

The papers of Monsignor John A. Ryan and Bishop Francis J. Haas are housed at the Department of Archives, Manuscript, and Museum Collections at The Catholic University of America (CUA Archives). A recent National Historical Publications and Records Commission grant provided the CUA Archives with the resources



to process the Ryan and Haas Papers. The grant also provided funds to process the papers of Catholic labor leaders Philip Murray and John Brophy, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations Records.

John A. Ryan was the most prolific, well known, and important Catholic social reform advocate and theorist in America between the time of his first published book in 1906, *A Living Wage*, and his death in 1945. His economic and political philosophies were initially grounded in his experiences as the eldest child in a large Irish-Catholic farm family. Born in Minnesota in 1869, he witnessed firsthand the difficult plight of small farmers and supported the populist movement as a young man.

Ryan entered the St. Paul Seminary in 1892, the year Populist Party Presidential candidate James Weaver amassed just over one million popular votes. Ryan commented angrily in his journal *Father Francis J. Haas (center), with Minnesota Governor Floyd Olson (left) and Federal conciliator E. H. Dunnigan at the conclusion of the Minneapolis truckers' strike, 1934. Photograph courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society and the Minneapolis Tribune.*



nal following the Populist Party's defeat that the "time servers and hypocrites are rewarded while honest patriots are the object of mercenary ridicule. When will the eyes of the masses be opened?" Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, provided a solid religious basis and intellectual foundation for a philosophy grounded in Ryan's personal experiences and family background.

Ryan never wavered from his support of an economic system based squarely on the sanctity of private property and capitalism, but one that also distributed

Monsignor John A. Ryan, ca. 1935. Photograph from The Catholic University of America Archives.

wealth and power more equitably. Excessive individual greed, Ryan argued, created a morally and economically unhealthy misdistribution of wealth. These were radical ideas for many in the Catholic Church, and they sometimes led Ryan into confrontations with other clergy. Ryan's support for a Child Labor Amendment in the 1920s, for example, resulted in a dramatic clash with the powerful archbishop of Boston, Cardinal William O'Connell. O'Connell complained about Ryan's support of the Child Labor Amendment to Archbishop Michael Curly, Ryan's superior. O'Connell insisted that Ryan needed to be rebuked and stopped from his "public activities and irresponsible communications."

Although the Child Labor Amendment was not ratified, the idea of child labor legislation, and many of Ryan's other economic remedies for the vagaries of free market capitalism, eventually surfaced within mainstream political thought. In 1919 Ryan wrote the postwar *Program of Social Reconstruction*, issued by the bishops of the National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC). This *Bishop's Program*, as it came to be called, argued forcefully for increased government activism to create a more just distribution of wealth and power in a reconstructed post-World War I period. Many of the ideas Ryan expressed in the *Bishop's Program* emerged a decade and a half later during Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidential years in New Deal agencies such as the National Recovery Administration and the National Labor Board.

Ryan was both personally and politically close to the popular four-term president. In 1937 Ryan became the first Catholic priest to give the invocation at a Presidential inauguration. A genuine friendship and respect appears in the correspondence between the two men. Roosevelt congratulated Ryan and emphasized his tenacity and longevity in social reform struggles in a 1942 letter to Ryan: "But in these troubled times it is reassuring to hear so clear a call to duty and to know that you are still on the firing line. We need more men of your vision and courage." Ryan's political support and personal relationship with Roosevelt garnered him the nickname, "The Right Reverend New Dealer."

Although politically active at times, Ryan was first and foremost a Catholic economist and intellectual, so it is not surprising that his papers focus heavily on this component of his life. His output of articles, books, commentaries, reviews, and public speeches is impressive and well documented throughout the 42 linear feet that comprise his personal papers. The Ryan Papers also contain extensive correspondence that covers primarily the last 20 years (1925-1945) of his life; subject files that he accumulated and maintained as references for his writings and speeches; teaching notebooks; and a journal he kept as a seminary student in the 1890s. This thin journal is the only available source that provides a glimpse into Ryan as a young, radical Populist Party sympathizer. Finally, the Ryan Papers include a number of audio recordings of speeches and talks. Among the audio recordings is a copy of Ryan's 1936 speech in behalf of Roosevelt.

Monsignor Francis J. Haas' clerical and public life was firmly grounded in the Catholic social reform tradition created and nurtured by Ryan at CUA. Born in Racine, Wisconsin, in 1889, Haas was ordained as a priest in 1913 and worked as a parish priest at Holy Rosary Parish in Milwaukee until he began graduate studies at CUA in 1919.

Ryan and the social reform milieu he helped create at CUA deeply impacted Haas' intellectual development. The young priest's published dissertation, *Shop Collective Bargaining: A Study of Wage Determination in the Men's Garment Industry* (1922), examined collective bargaining agreements in the gar-

ment industry and foretold his lifetime involvement in labor relations and support of the collective bargaining process.

Haas vigorously championed labor unions as an essential component of a just, democratic society. He maintained in a 1933 speech that "every worker has a duty to himself and to his fellow men to join his union and to be proud of membership . . . Given two men of equal ability, one a union man and the other non-union, unquestionably the union man is the better. He recognizes his obligations to himself, his family, and his country."

Haas gained national prominence as a public servant after returning to CUA as a professor and administrator in the 1930s. He served as a public representative on a number of New Deal agencies, including the National Recovery Administration, the National Labor Board, the first short-lived National Labor Relations Board, and the Works Progress Administration.

But Haas kept busiest as an independent itinerant labor arbitrator and mediator. He flew and rode the train, often at a moment's notice, throughout the country to mediate labor impasses. Private industry, unions, the National Labor Board, the National Mediation Board, and the Mediation and Conciliation Services Department of the U.S. Department of Labor all utilized his keen arbitration services routinely from the mid-1930s through the mid-1940s. He arbitrated and mediated well over a thousand labor conflicts.

Haas was directly involved in settling some of the most important, confrontational, and violent labor battles in American history. He arbitrated the Minneapolis truckers' strike in 1934, a conflict that left two strikers dead, and difficult and trying strikes at Allis-Chalmers in Wisconsin in 1939 and 1941. The strikes at Allis-Chalmers pitted the militant left-wing United Automobile Workers Union Local #248 against an equally obstinate management team. The 1941 Allis-Chalmers strike seriously threatened America's wartime production.

Haas' public service work extended to civil rights. President Roosevelt named him the first chair of the Fair Employment Practices Committee in 1943. In 1947, 4 years after Haas had been advanced to the episcopacy and transferred to the Diocese of Grand Rapids, President Harry Truman appointed Haas to the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Haas remained the Bishop of Grand Rapids until he died in 1953.

The Francis J. Haas Papers concentrate heavily on his role as a public servant. Two-thirds of the collection's 64 linear feet document his work as an arbitrator and his work on Government agencies. These include the National Recovery Administration, Works Progress Administration, Wisconsin Labor Relations Board, National Labor Board, National Labor Relations Board, Fair Employment Practices Commission, the President's Commission on Civil Rights, and the National Resources Planning Board.

Haas' religious and professional activities are also documented in the collection. The Haas Papers include, for example, a large run of sermons dating back to his earliest days as a priest in the 1910s, and research notes, drafts, and galley proofs for *Man and Society*, a well-received sociology text written by Haas in 1930 (revised and republished in 1952).

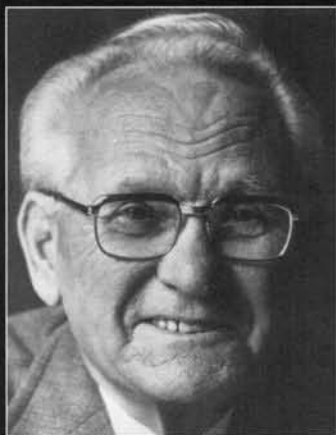
The activist Catholic social reform tradition encouraged by Ryan continues today among many Catholic clerics and lay people. Priests supporting Justice for Janitors campaigns in Los Angeles and a newspaper strike in Detroit, Michigan, in the 1990s carry on the social reform vision to which Ryan and Haas dedicated their lives.

The CUA Archives holds some of the most important collections documenting the social reform impulse in the Catholic Church. The Francis J. Haas Papers and the (continued on page 19)

DOCUMENTING LIFE IN THE MARGINS

David J. du Plessis, Fuller Theological Seminary,
and the Safety Net of Collective Memory

BY ROGER G. ROBINS



David du Plessis, the grand old man of Pentecost, ca. 1984. (David du Plessis Center, Fuller Theological Seminary)

Archives are the safety net of collective memory. Unfortunately, that net comes in wildly variable mesh and is rife with gaping seams. Individuals and movements aligned with prosperous and socially established institutions stand a very good chance of having the documentary evidence of their nature and existence preserved. The problem is that much of what is truly formative in society occurs, as we say, "outside the box," driven by some creative dynamo standing beyond the protective canopy of our existing social framework. The non-, trans-, and anti-institutional impulses have nowhere exercised more influence than in American religion. Consequently, the documentary record has nowhere been more ravished by time's forgetfulness than in that domain.

David J. du Plessis spent the better part of his life, by choice or compulsion, outside the box. Born in South Africa in 1905, his parents were expelled from the Dutch Reformed Church a decade later for their involvement with a small but vibrant sect, the Apostolic Faith Mission. The "Apostolics," as they were called, had recently sprung from a dynamic international religious movement, Pentecostalism, which had started in America at the turn of the century and then rapidly globalized.

Pentecostals claimed to have revived the supernatural wonders, charismatic gifts, and ecclesiastical order of earliest Christianity. In practice, that meant ecstatic worship, a valorization of supernatural phenomena like faith healing and glossolalia, and a fierce rejection of all existing religious organizations. Indeed, many Pentecostals rejected organization as such, since all order was expected to emanate directly from the Holy Spirit, not human agency. Finally, Pentecostalism was deeply millenarian. Not since

the Adventists of the 1840s had a movement so certain of the Return of Christ and the End of Time hit the American scene. With their eyes on the eastern sky and their artillery trained on the apostate establishment, it would be a while before they began to contemplate archives.

Young David du Plessis thrived in this society of outsiders. By age 15 he had earned his stripes as a fearless street-corner preacher—an important rite of passage within the spiritual-warrior culture of early Pentecostalism—and in the decade following he emerged as the man to watch among South Africa's Apostolics. Bolstered by his natural talent, the patronage of his organization's president, and the endorsement of the famous British faith healer, Smith Wigglesworth, he reached the Apostolic Faith Mission's second highest office, General Secretary, while still in his thirties.

Du Plessis' boundless energy and visionary ambition, however, would not let him rest content. By the time he reached the General Secretary's office he already had his eye on a global ministry. Extensive travels in Europe and the United States had increasingly drawn him into the circuits of international Pentecostalism, and in 1947 he resigned his post in South Africa and transferred his base of operations first to Switzerland, and then to the United States.

Meanwhile, the worldwide Pentecostal movement had been alternating between exponential and explosive growth. As one might expect from a movement congenitally hostile to organization, however, numerical growth and geographical expansion only compounded the problem of disunity. True, some of the largest bodies, such as the Assemblies of God, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, the Church of God in Christ, and the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), had evolved into virtual "denominations," but the movement as a whole remained a collectivity of coalitions augmented by hundreds of independent ministries.

Intra-Pentecostal relations ran the gamut from warm fraternity to closet rivalry to in-

ternequine warfare. But even when Pentecostals exchanged insults, they were at least talking. Between themselves and mainline Protestants, however, they had raised a veritable Iron Curtain guarded by a reinforced barbed wire fence. As for Roman Catholics, they existed mainly as mythical villains, a cross between rank apostates and minions of the Anti-Christ. Into this crossfire stepped David du Plessis. He would spend the better part of his life cultivating harmony within a factious movement and building bridges of understanding between it and a larger religious world that it instinctively viewed in oppositional terms.

Du Plessis began his career as a mediator by facilitating exchanges among those he knew best, his fellow Pentecostals. In sociological terms, the schismatic mode had perhaps served the movement well. It guaranteed local control, adaptability, clear boundaries, sharp identity, and high commitment. But factiousness cut both ways, and weakened as well as empowered the movement. Pentecostalism could capitalize on the social and cultural potential that its remarkable growth had afforded only if a spirit of collaboration prevailed among the welter of bodies and "anti-bodies" it had spawned.

Du Plessis' extensive contacts, along with his administrative, interpersonal, and linguistic skills, made him one of the few Pentecostals then qualified for the delicate diplomacy that such a task entailed. Formal unity, or course, was never a consideration for this diverse and rapidly evolving religious family. But Du Plessis did help orchestrate conversations that culminated in Pentecostal World Conferences in 1947 and 1949. Out of those meetings grew a series of triennial conferences that continues to this day.

Hard on the heels of these conferences, Du Plessis' career took the fateful turn that would later define him for posterity. The mid-century had witnessed an explosion of interest in Pentecostalism among mainline Protestants and Roman Catholics. At 50 years of age, it had just been "discovered."

Two interrelated developments helped bring this about. First, scholarly authors like Lesslie Newbigin and Henry van Dusen began to write about the movement, and popularized their findings for mass circulation weeklies like *Life* and *Time* magazines. This alerted the public to the fact that, while no

one was looking, Pentecostalism had grown into a burgeoning "Third Force"—alongside Protestantism and Roman Catholicism—in American Christianity. Second, a nascent "Charismatic" movement had begun to spread within the mainline denominations and the Roman Catholic Church. Often inspired by Pentecostal parachurch groups like the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International, the new movement had Catholics and middle-class Protestants raising their hands, strumming acoustic guitars, and speaking in tongues.

With Pentecostals on the newsstand and Episcopalians speaking in tongues, ecumenicists everywhere scrambled to catch up. Real, live, old-line Pentecostals were in great demand, and David du Plessis was one of the few ready to talk. The movement could not have found a more congenial ambassador. For the next 30 years he would interpret Pentecostalism for the mainstream, and try at least to interpret the mainstream for Pentecostals. An invitation to the 1952 World Missionary Conference led to his attendance at the 1954 World Council of Churches. His continuing involvement with the WCC opened up contacts with Roman Catholics. Those encounters produced an invitation to attend the Second Vatican Council as an official observer. In 1972, a series of Roman Catholic/Pentecostal dialogues were launched that would continue for the better part of two decades. David du Plessis had become the world's first "Ecumenical Pentecostal."

During these pivotal years, Du Plessis' professional fortunes moved, simultaneously, in opposite directions. As his star rose in the ecumenical and charismatic world it plummeted—for precisely that reason—among old-line Pentecostals. The main bodies of organized Pentecostalism had, to be sure, made their own overtures to the broader religious world. But that had taken the form of membership in the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), where they made common cause with moderate fundamentalists and evangelicals for whom Roman Catholics and WCC "liberals" were still anathema. Du Plessis, for his part, noted that his "liberals" had proved far more open to Pentecostal gifts—witness the Charismatic movement—than had the conservative evangelicals of the NAE.

Ecumenical activism came at a price. Since immigrating to America, Du Plessis had held ordination with the Assemblies of

God. Now, the denomination asked him to stop jeopardizing its reputation by consorting with Modernists. When he refused, it terminated his standing. Other Pentecostals also drew back from Du Plessis. He was even ostracized from the Pentecostal World Conference, which he had helped to start.

But Du Plessis persisted, continuing to reconnoiter the religious terra incognita. Slowly but surely, even his detractors began to come around. Additional venues, like the Society for Pentecostal Studies, emerged for the kind of interdenominational exchange he championed. Pentecostal distrust of Charismatics began to thaw. A new generation of Pentecostals, better educated, more irenic, and eager to engage the world, worked its way into positions of leadership. By the



Du Plessis, right, with Dean Russell Spittler, left, and project archivist Kate McGinn, center, at the 1995 grand opening of the post-NHRPC grant Du Plessis Center. (David du Plessis Center, Fuller Theological Seminary)

1980s, Du Plessis had come full circle. Now celebrated as the grand old man of moderate Pentecostalism, even the Assemblies of God welcomed him back, reinstating his credentials.

Throughout his lifetime, du Plessis had been a voluminous correspondent and a prodigious collector of documents. His was a well-recorded life. Du Plessis had a collection in need of a home.

Fuller Theological Seminary was born in 1947, the year Du Plessis left South Africa. Like Du Plessis, Fuller stood out as an ecumenically minded maverick in a sectarian world. In effect, it tried to do for evangelicalism what Du Plessis sought to do for Pentecostalism. From its inception, the seminary had assembled a distinguished faculty that steered fellow evangelicals away from cultural insularity and militant antimodernism and toward "neo-evangelicalism," a rigorous but charitable orthodoxy committed to academic excellence, social relevance, and religious toleration. Moreover, Fuller's founding president, Harold Ockenga, ar-

gued to broaden the definition of evangelicalism to include Pentecostals, and his views prevailed when Pentecostals were included as charter members of the National Association of Evangelicals.

In subsequent years Fuller's reputation as a sympathetic place for young Pentecostals to get an education grew. By the 1980s, Pentecostal scholars like Russell Spittler and Cecil Robeck had joined the faculty and risen to positions of influence.

Fuller Theological Seminary and David du Plessis shared one further point of symmetry. If Du Plessis had a collection in need of a home, Fuller was an institution in need of an archives. The young and forward-looking seminary had devoted little attention and fewer resources to its documentary legacy.

Spittler, Associate Dean of the School of Theology and one of the new generation of Pentecostals who saw in Du Plessis the best instincts of their tradition, began working behind the scenes to bring the aging patriarch to Fuller. He was joined in that effort by Fuller's president, David Hubbard, who had himself been raised in a Pentecostal home. At a meeting of Christian leaders held at Stanford University, Hubbard met with Du Plessis and extended an offer. A Center for the Study of Christian Spirituality would be established at Fuller in Du Plessis' name. Du Plessis would relocate to Fuller, where he would serve

as a consultant and where his extensive personal papers would form the basis of a new archive, managed by the Center. It was a match made in heaven, and in 1985 the Center was inaugurated.

That's when the trouble began. The David J. du Plessis Center for the Study of Christian Spirituality set sail in a giddy tailwind of enthusiasm, fanfare, and hefty financial pledges from the "Friends of David." But it scarcely made it out of port before it was becalmed. Only about 10 percent of the pledge-paper endowment materialized in legal tender, and when Du Plessis himself passed away in 1987, contributions dropped further still.

The Center faced a daunting dilemma. It had in its possession Du Plessis' valuable documentation of one of the largest and most dynamic movements of the 20th century. It had also begun to assemble vital archival records related to Fuller Theological Seminary and its founding sponsor, the renowned radio personality Charles E. Fuller, who was in his own *(continued on page 19)*

Early 19TH-CENTURY CHEROKEE *and* MORAVIAN *Spirituality* CONVERGES AT SPRINGPLACE, GEORGIA

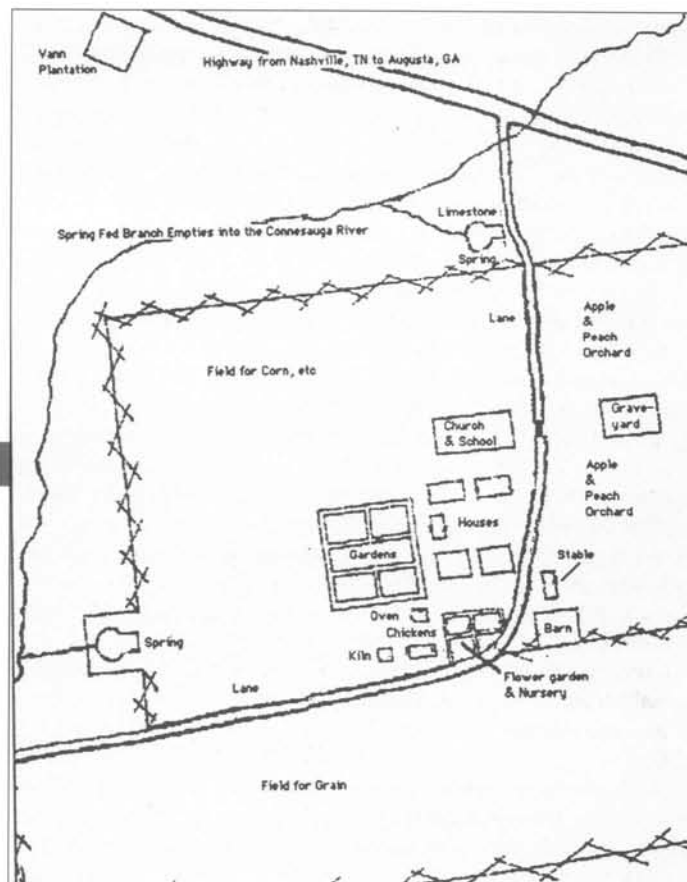
BY ROWENA McCLINTON

The Gambold Springplace Diary, located at the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is a handwritten manuscript recorded in an archaic writing convention called German script. Working with the diary involves entering two worlds that were as different from each other as they are from 21st-century America. The Moravian Church, or the Unity of the Brethren, predated the Protestant Reformation and had a history of persecution for its stances on nonviolence and objections to the machinery of church and state. The other world, that of the Cherokees, emerged from centuries-old Mississippian tradition that imbued the physical world with spiritual meaning. Their very rocks and streams held life unquenchable by the secular Anglo world that would displace the Cherokees in the 1838-39 forced removal.

The Gambold Diary opens a window to a bygone era where two distinct cultures interacted and reveals divergent spiritual aspects of Moravian and Cherokee convergence on the southern American landscape. Culling ethnographic material from these eyewitness accounts divulges these interchanges, often unfolding profound misunderstandings and mutual perplexity. Divergent beliefs about blood provide a good example.

One Cherokee guest at the Moravian's Springplace mission, The Bird, questioned the missionaries about the mystical properties of blood, thereby setting the stage for mutual doubts about each other's spiritual soundness. The Bird had attended the Passion Liturgy, which Cherokee students interpreted for him. Through his youthful translators, he told the missionaries that he had "already learned a great deal about the birth, life, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of the dear Lord, and he wanted to hear more." Consequently, the Cherokee pupils told him the "Old Testament story of the creation of the world, the first man and his fall, the unhappiness that came to all humans as a result of this, and the necessity of the Redeemer." The Cherokee students at Springplace concluded by emphasizing the "love of God for His poor fallen humans." Pupils explained, "We humans have to prevail on Him **alone** to have mercy on us, to suffer in our place, to atone for our sins, and to pay with His blood." Following this Bible lesson, "The Bird sat in deep thought." Finally, the old chief asked "if Jesus shed **all** of His blood." Then he raised the crucial question: "Did His blood fall onto all the earth?"

To the Moravians, blood represented Christ's mystical substance that could pardon sins and make the human heart pure and divine. The Savior's blood alone was powerful enough to atone for the sinfulness of human beings; it erased former and present wrongs. Therefore, a person who exhibited a contrite heart was not ultimately accountable for his or her behavior. The Savior had completed what no earthly being could do: grant mercy and forgiveness for all



Springplace, Georgia. Courtesy of the Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

human beings throughout the world. To the Moravians, His blood provided the means.

The Moravians maintained an uneasy peace within the confines of Lutheran orthodoxy when they became obsessed with "Blood Theology," a set of beliefs that made them questionable to Lutherans. So in addition to their unpopular stances on nonviolence, the established church, and political participation, Moravians brought to North America distinctive ways of worshipping that already had caused a furor in Europe.

In the 1740s, during the "Sifting Period," their leader, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, cultivated in his followers an obsession with blood that accentuated the very imagery of blood. Members sought to keep Christ's death and suffering on the cross always before them; His wounds and blood signified the total sacrifice God had made for human kind. Members were to feel **joy** for His oblation by uniting with Christ in a child-like way. This *Lebensgefühl*, or joyful feeling for life, appealed to the sensual and emotional nature of the communicants. So, during the time when Europe and British North America experienced the Age of Reason or Enlightenment, Moravians embraced the opposite: antirationalism. Zinzendorf discouraged members from using their own brains, their reason. Communicants did not need reason because they were only children in the arms of Christ, who banished all their cares and doubts. Self-named groups of little fools, little worms, baby chicks, "who could feel at home in the Sidehole and crawl in deep" formed throughout the "sifting" period.

Additionally, Moravian practices pertaining to the wounds of Jesus epitomized extreme and heightened lustful longings for His body. Christian Rhenatus, the son of Zinzendorf, built a "side wound" on the wall of the church at Herrnhut, Saxony, whereby the con-

gregation experienced the Savior's blood by marching through it. Therefore, the Sidehole became symbolic of their wound theology.

In the early 19th century, Moravians had not completely abandoned their obsession with blood and the wounds of Jesus, especially the stab wound in His side. The Gambolds, both descendants from the Bethlehem congregation where "Blood" or "Wound" theology had its most profound effect in British North America, centered their evangelical work among the Cherokees on the shedding of the Savior's blood and why lowly humans could never be grateful enough for His ultimate bloody sacrifice on the cross. Transparent pictures and living tableaux were part of worship services that depicted the mutilations and agonies of Jesus.

The Cherokee view of blood signified a vastly different mindset from the Moravians, a fact that intensified their mutual incomprehension. When the Moravian missionaries arrived in the Cherokee Nation, they encountered a people who valued order and believed things should stay in their place. Cherokees attached special meanings to anomalies because these occurred along the interstices of their categorical system. Substances that belonged inside the body but were expelled received particular attention, and thus blood, breath, and saliva possessed mystical properties that healed or induced death.

For healing purposes, the blowing or spraying of a special prepared concoction over a feverish body by post-menopausal women was common. Since these women no longer possessed hidden forces brought about by their menses, they lacked the powers to harm or cause death. But their long experience with blood had imbued them with extraordinary spiritual power. Therefore, post-menopausal women took care of warriors' wounds and attended to younger women while they secluded themselves during menstruation and following childbirth. Menstrual periods for Cherokees represented a time of exquisite bodily awareness and heightened spiritual power.

Likewise substantial ancestral meanings emanated from menstrual blood. The ancient myth of Stoneclad, the wicked stone-skinned monster, portrays how his advances terrified a Cherokee village. A Cherokee shaman could stop him only when Stoneclad came in contact with the seventh woman whose menstrual cycle had "just begun."

Women's blood also signified creation. Women embodied the very essence of birth, and it was their blood that held the future of the human race. In "Windigo Goes South: Stoneclad among the Cherokees," anthropologist Raymond Fogelson proposes that Stoneclad represented the masculine world in antithesis to the feminine realm.

Historian Gregory Dowd suggests that women, as "keepers of the village, as cultivators, stood in greater opposition to the monster than did men, who operated as hunters in 'nature.'" When men shed blood, it meant death; women's bleeding connoted life.

According to Cherokee myth, Selu, the first woman, had given her sons instructions on how to grow corn. Believing her a witch, they killed her and dragged her body around the circle. Wherever her blood spilled, corn grew. They took her around only twice; consequently, Cherokees work her corn twice. Her boys had only cleared seven spots, and that was why corn is grown just in a few places.

Cherokees found little practical value in blood as a means to absolve them of the sins that they did not believe they had committed. Furthermore, most adult Cherokees had little interest in adopting Moravian beliefs or in converting the Moravians to theirs, since they did not accept the notion of the universality of religious belief. Christianity probably seemed so mysterious to many Cherokees that they remained uncertain whether religion and western medicine even applied to them.

When Cherokee visitors entered the Springplace Mission, located on the federal road connecting Augusta, Georgia, with Nashville, Tennessee, they received a religious education, whether they wanted one or not. Parents of students and other visitors came often. A Cherokee student, Dawzizi, son of The Tiger and Oodeisaski of Big Spring, near the Springplace Mission, explained to his father, and another Cherokee, The Little Broom, and his wife, who all ate a noonday meal at the mission, about the important and necessary truths of the crucifixion. The Tiger, his father, listened thoughtfully, but The Little Broom laughed really loud in an Indian manner, as if it signified something new and strange.

In the missionary houses and on the walls of the mission school were paintings of the crucifixion. These represented not just the death of a person, but the death of God. Again the side hole was the focal point. Perhaps those representations evoked a sense of blasphemy for visiting Cherokees. The Moravians lamented the fact that the centerpiece of Christianity, the crucifixion, held little awe for the Cherokees. Some Cherokees politely listened to these stories, but showed little genuine interest. Native American scholar Gregory Dowd noted that Indians probably found the Europeans' treatment of their God rather appalling: "Here were a people who admitted to having killed their God." The Moravians also consumed the body and blood of their God, which to the Cherokees was taboo. The Cherokees placed blood and flesh in opposite categories, and they considered animals that ate flesh to be abominations.

Perhaps as intriguing as the profound differences between Cherokee and Moravian beliefs is the respect both Cherokees and Moravians exhibited for each other. Although the Cherokees had little interest in adopting Moravian Christianity and expressed mostly skepticism about the Moravians' most penetrating beliefs, Moravian missionaries and the community at Salem consistently extended hospitality to Cherokees, treated them with respect, educated their children, and performed any number of services for them.

Similarly, the Cherokees were cognizant of the missionaries' commitment to their fellow human beings, and they looked to the Moravians for ways to adapt peacefully to an ever-changing world that was far more intolerant of diversity than were the Moravians. In a period of hardening racial attitudes, demands for Indian removal, a fraudulent treaty, and ultimately dispossession, a conscientious religious group, the Moravians, applied principles of peace and exemplified human understanding.

According to Moravian historian Jon Sensbach, "peoples of color" from all over the world have historically reached out to Moravians, and they have helped form the modern Moravian Church. Moravian characteristics of humility and simplicity gave the Gambolds a sense of transnationalism and therefore access to the Cherokee people. As careful observers of Cherokee culture, the missionaries provide an important link to the past, and this edition of the Gambold Diary enhances our understanding of disparate worlds. Simultaneously, it suggests that there was an alternative to the racism and dispossession that characterized the interactions of Cherokees and most Americans of European descent. Dissimilar worlds did indeed meet at Springplace, and individuals challenged each other's most intellectual beliefs, but then human beings sat down together at "our table," *unser Tisch*, where there was room for all. These diaries perhaps make the Moravian concept of community plausible, not just for the past, but also for the future. ❖

ROWENA MCGINTON IS EDITOR/AUTHOR OF "THE MORAVIAN SPRINGPLACE MISSION AMONG THE CHEROKEES, 1805-1821," ENDORSED BY THE NHPRC. THIS DOCUMENTARY EDITING EDITION, A TRANSLATION AND ANNOTATION OF THE GERMAN SCRIPT DIARIES OF JOHN AND ANNA ROSINA GAMBOLD (1805-1821), WILL BE PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS IN 2003.

In June of 1799, three women traveled by stagecoach from Philadelphia to Georgetown, which had not yet been incorporated into the District of Columbia. Responding to the request of the Reverend Leonard Neale, President of Georgetown College, and member of one of Maryland's oldest and most prominent families, these nuns intended to found "... a permanent religious establishment, whence the inestimable advantages of a correct education might be derived, not only to the youth of the present day, but also to those of future generations as they might succeed in the progressive lapse of time."¹

The three nuns settled close to the Georgetown campus, arriving in the area 6 months before the United States Government officially moved to Washington. Georgetown Visitation Monastery has been in continuous operation on the same site for 203 years. When fire destroyed 80 percent of the main school building in July 1993, classes were suspended for just 1 day.

The School

The sisters (originally known as the "Pious Ladies") began three distinct educational efforts: a free school for the education of the poor; an academy patterned on the finest European girls' schools, which would eventually serve as a model for similar institutions throughout the nation; and individual classes for free blacks and slaves, held, of necessity, at odd times because these students were governed by the schedules of employers and masters. Most of the young people studying with the sisters were *not* Catholic; the Catholic population was limited, and the founders' aim was to provide educational opportunities for *all* young women, no matter what their religion or social class might be. Indeed, the tuition fees charged in the Academy were intended to offset the costs of running the free school.

During the 1800s, the Visitation Order expanded throughout the United States, with pioneer groups of nuns opening schools in Baltimore and Frederick, Maryland; Mobile, Alabama; and Kaskaskia, Illinois. The school in Kaskaskia was totally submerged in June

Preserving the Records of Georgetown Visitation Monastery

BY SISTER MADA-ANNE GELL, VHM

1844, when the Mississippi River suddenly changed course. The annals, a unique account of this natural disaster, state that the sisters sent a boat to hail a paddlewheel steamer, which was lashed to the third floor, "and the furniture carried aboard; pianos, harps . . .," the academy's most valuable instructional tools. The sisters treated river water with chemicals from the science laboratories to make it safe to drink.

Other Visitation schools were located in St. Louis, Missouri; St. Paul, Minnesota; Richmond, Virginia; Wheeling and Parkersburg, West Virginia; and further into the frontier



Georgetown Visitation Monastery, 1799. (Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives)

States of Kentucky, Iowa, Nebraska, and Washington. These in turn founded others, and all modeled their demanding curriculums on that of Georgetown Visitation, emphasizing science, math, and foreign languages. Thus the school became a defining influence on the course of the development of women's education in the United



Sketch of Georgetown Visitation Monastery, 1990. (Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives)

States. The Visitation archival holdings are priceless not only because of what they disclose about women's history but, also, for what they reveal about the developing philosophy and techniques of educating young women at the secondary level.

The Monastery

Hundreds of women have lived out their lives in the Visitation houses in this country. From 1800 on, the nuns represented a cross section of American society. Some were highly educated, some illiterate. The Visitation Order has always accepted older women and widows as well as younger candidates. The sisters' life experiences and social backgrounds were diverse. Some came from prominent American families: Winfield Scott's daughter, Virginia, died as a young nun at Visitation. During the Civil War, when Washington churches were being appropriated for hospitals, Scott begged Abraham

Lincoln to spare Visitation, considering that its use as a hospital would be "a desecration of his daughter's grave." The Visitation school in Frederick, Maryland, a town that changed hands repeatedly during the Civil War, *did* become a hospital, and had to replace the blood-soaked classroom floorboards when the conflict ended.

Many faced hardships to reach Georgetown. Margaret Marshall, daughter of a German family, crossed the Alleghenies on foot to reach the monastery after she overheard her father planning to marry her off to a farmer whose lands were adjacent to his. There were Northerners and Southerners: during the War between the States, the brother of one nun was the commandant of Fort Delaware, a Union prisoner-of-war camp; another's brother was a prisoner in the same camp. Gentle pressure was brought to bear, and the Confederate was discretely released.

An earlier series of letters describes the terror experienced by Ursuline nuns in Charlestown, a town outside of Boston, when an anti-Catholic mob rioted and burned their convent and school to the ground late one night. The flight of the Ursulines and their students—the youngest just toddlers—to the crypt at the bottom of the garden, their escape to the home of a distant neighbor, the dialogue between Know Nothing leaders and the nuns, the shouts of the mob as it torched the buildings, give incredible life to the narrative, written by a young nun to her mother, herself a Visitation Sister.

The religious community reflected the diversity of the American population at large, with some distinctive exceptions: Juana Iturbide (d. 1828), daughter of the Emperor of Mexico, attended the academy and, on her deathbed (tuberculosis was endemic at the time), begged to be received into the Order. She made vows and is buried in the crypt beneath Visitation's chapel.

The lives of all the sisters were—and continue to be—fully documented, chiefly through the *Convent Book*, a 37-pound ledger that the sisters sign, on their own pages, every year. After the death of a sister, a short obituary of the nun is written and entered in the book following her final entry.

Of equal historic value is the collection

of "Death Letters." These biographies, circulated when a sister dies, detail the life of each nun, linking the membership of Visitation to the wider community by supplying information on nationally and locally acclaimed American families. Even financial records reveal fascinating particulars. Thus the disposition of real estate or transactions involving the buying, selling, and care of slaves present important data for the analytical study of social change and the role of women in business affairs.

Because Visitation has remained in the same location for more than two centuries, and because of the continuity of the religious community—once a woman makes her vows, she remains in the same convent until death—the records, account books, ledgers, annals, diaries, letters, legal papers, property deeds, legacies, financial accounts, drawings, photographs, and other valuables that have accumulated over the years are of extraordinary historical significance.



The Visitation Archives contain a rich collection of personal records that document social and political life. Eyewitness accounts of key events in American history include a description of the 1814 burning of Washington by the British; an account of Commodore John Jacob Jones' capture, imprisonment, and escape from Algiers during the war with Tripoli; and a first-person description of a student's rescue from the sinking *Titanic*. And these are only a few of the stories. Annual letters, circulated among all of the Visitation houses in the country, as well as correspondence with European monasteries, offer varying views of national and world events as well as a comparison of women's social, economic, and religious perceptions at various times and places. Most of the Visitation holdings are *not* church related; a religious institution is composed of people. Their stories, and the records of their various transactions, form the bulk of the Visitation collection.

Until 1993 there was no systematic way for researchers to retrieve information from this rich lode of sources. Holdings had never been organized according to archival principles. Papers were stored haphazardly

in cardboard boxes, file cabinets, or in manila envelopes on open shelves in attic rooms. But when planning for the Visitation Bicentennial began in 1991, the organization of the archives assumed highest priority. There was no money to finance such a project, and the nuns were nervous about approaching the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, worried that as a Roman Catholic group, their holdings would be too specialized, of limited interest.

However, NHPRC staff members, after surveying some of the collection, affirmed the value of the social, cultural, political, and religious history of America contained in the Visitation archives. They offered invaluable assistance in the preparation of a grant proposal. Visitation received funding for a 3-year period, during which its holdings were read, organized, indexed, and made accessible to researchers. Several papers utilizing materials in the Visitation archives have been published by independent scholars since the organization of the holdings.

Many church-related institutions are being closed or turned over to new management at this time, largely because the number of men and women entering religious life is decreasing. It becomes vitally important, as these institutions dissolve or change hands, that their archival holdings be preserved intact. In the past 10 years, Georgetown Visitation has become the repository for the holdings of several other Visitation monasteries. Thus the preservation of its holdings, undertaken with the assistance of the NHPRC, has made possible access to knowledge of an important element of the American heritage.

SISTER MADA-ANNE GELL, VHM, DIRECTED THE NHPRC-SPONSORED PROJECT TO PRESERVE THE RECORDS OF GEORGETOWN VISITATION MONASTERY, WASHINGTON, DC.

¹ Archbishop Leonard Neale to Pope Pius VII, 1816. A copy is in the Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives.

Processing the Papers of Women Religious Figures

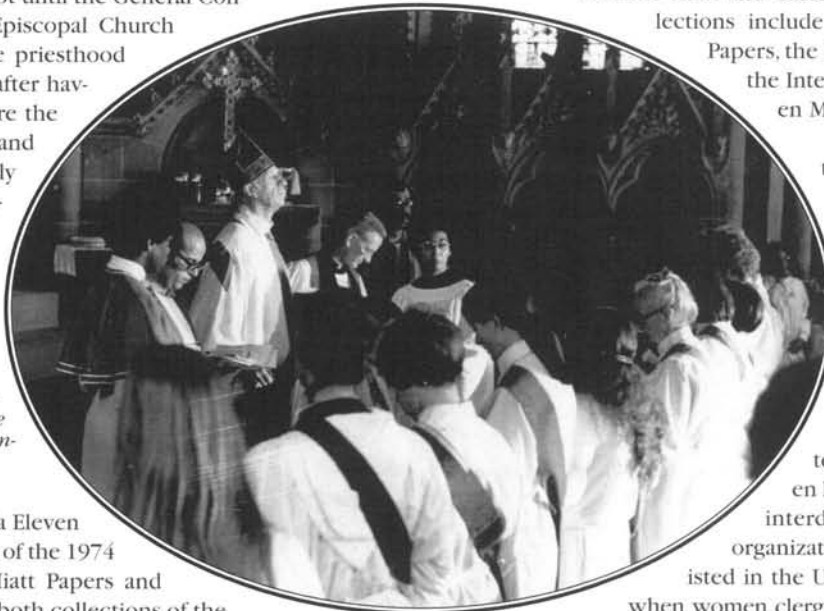
THE ARCHIVES OF WOMEN IN THEOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP PROJECT

BY CLAIRE MCCURDY, LESLIE REYMAN, AND LETITIA CAMPBELL

On a hot July 29, 1974, eleven Episcopal women known as the "Philadelphia Eleven" were "irregularly" ordained to the priesthood by three retired bishops at the Church of the Advocate in innercity Philadelphia. This controversial ordination was not authorized by the Episcopal hierarchy. Gathered from the fringes of society, women, African Americans, and supporters of human rights and women's ordination, the crowd of 2,000 waited in expectation. As the laying on of hands was carried out, the crowd burst into cheers.

However, not everyone in the Anglican Communion was overjoyed. The ordination set into motion a series of events that would transform the official policies of the Episcopal Church—but after an intense struggle. It was not until the General Convention in 1976 that the Episcopal Church voted to officially open the priesthood and episcopate to women, after having first attempted to declare the Eleven's ordinations invalid and having prohibited the newly ordained priests from exercising their priestly functions.

Philadelphia Eleven Ordination Services, Church of the Advocate, Philadelphia, PA, July 29, 1974. Photograph from the Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship, The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary.



Several of the Philadelphia Eleven have published recollections of the 1974 ordinations. The Suzanne Hiatt Papers and the Carter Heyward Papers, both collections of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission-funded Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship (AWTS) Project of Union Theological Seminary's Burke Library, are richly informative about the weeks and months leading up to the ordinations, the service itself, and the ensuing controversy.

It was Philadelphia Eleven ordinand Carter Heyward whose face made the cover of *Ms.* magazine as "Woman of the Year." Upon being denied her priestly rights, Heyward remarked "When you admit women into the mysteries—into the holy places—of a society, you have posed to men's traditional superiority the ultimate threat. You have invaded the last refuge. And they fight back. . . . we didn't anticipate the level of the anger. We didn't dream, I suppose, that we would seem such a threat."¹

Suzanne Hiatt was the chief architect of the Episcopal women's ordination movement. A close friend commented, "Without Sue Hiatt, there would have been no Philadelphia ordination, and perhaps no ordination of women in the Episcopal Church for many years to come. If modern church history does not disregard the lives and well-being of women, Sue Hiatt will be remembered as the

'bishop to the women,' consecrated by her sisters' strong need to be taken seriously and by her own remarkable pastoral gifts."²

Hiatt says that the Philadelphia ordination was intended to make it more trouble **not** to ordain women than to ordain them. "In retrospect, to have been ordained 'irregularly' is the only way for women to have done it," reflects Hiatt. "Our ordination was on our terms, not the church's terms, it was not accepted as a gift from the church but taken as a right from God."³

A number of AWTS collections contain materials related to the Philadelphia Eleven, the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church, and the ecumenical impact of the event. In addition to the Suzanne Hiatt and Carter Heyward Papers, these collections include the Patricia Wilson-Kastner Papers, the Patricia Donohue Papers, and the International Association of Women Ministers Collection.

Among the AWTS collections that form a useful contrast to those of the 1970s struggle for ordination of the Philadelphia Eleven is the records of the International Association of Women Ministers (IAWM), the world's oldest organization for ordained women. Organized in 1919 in St. Louis as The International Association of Women Preachers, it is the only national interdenominational professional organization of clergy that has ever existed in the United States. Until the 1970s,

when women clergy began to organize more actively within mainline Protestant denominations, the IAWM was the primary source of support for isolated women ministers. An April 1923 issue of the organization's periodical, *The Woman's Pulpit*, explains the IAWM's mission:

The original purpose was to bring women who preach into fellowship with each other, and this has been most happily accomplished in many, many instances. . . .

Another purpose . . . was to secure equal opportunity for women in the ecclesiastical world. Our Association can honestly claim the obtaining of the license for women to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church as a direct result of its work. . . . [Furthermore,] Through the publicity man of one denomination . . . thousands of items concerning women's preaching have been published. None of us had intended this publicity but 'it has fallen out to the furtherance of the Gospel,' as all such notions accustom people to the idea and this breaks down prejudice, our greatest hindrance.

The third purpose as stated in our constitution is to encourage young women whom God has called to preach.⁴

Additional materials related to the IAWM are found in the papers of Barbara Brown Zikmund, who researched the group and acted as



Carter Heyward and Suzanne Hiatt, Philadelphia Eleven Ordination Services, Church of the Advocate, Philadelphia, PA, July 29, 1974. Photograph from the Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship, The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary.

its archivist, and those of Joan Brown Campbell, a member of IAWM.

What is the AWTS Project? The Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship (AWTS) Project at Union Theological Seminary, funded by the NHPRC from June 2000 through November 2001, has as its mission to collect and make available for research precisely the kinds of collections mentioned above—"to serve as the living memory/documentary repository for materials pertaining to Christian women's contributions to, and movements for, progressive religious and social change by identifying, preserving and making available for use the movements' permanently valuable records."

The primary objective of the AWTS is to collect and provide physical and intellectual access to the personal papers and unpublished scholarly works of leading women in theological scholarship and the records of related organizations. As a result of the Project, descriptions of the collections will be available to the research public through the AWTS web site, <http://www.uts.columbia.edu/projects/AWTS/index.html>, and through the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN).

Why is such a documentation strategy needed? There is nothing like the Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship available in the United States to researchers or the church at large—not in repositories of women's history, in seminaries, nor in denominational archives. The context of the AWTS is partially rooted in the legacy of historical events such as the secular women's movement. The story of Christian women's contributions to progressive religious and social change must also be documented. The AWTS will provide an effective opportunity to redress an imbalance in archival collections, not only of the lack of records concerning the lives of women, but of progressive Christian women whose lives have yet to be chronicled.

The documentation strategy project of the AWTS began during the 1997-98 academic year. The first year was made financially possible through funding from the E. James Rhodes and Leona M. Carpenter Foundation, an allocation from the Friends of the Burke Library, a donation from the Chair of the Union Theological Seminary Board of Directors, and gifts from several philanthropists.

The second and third years, generously funded by the NHPRC, have resulted in the survey, appraisal, and accessioning of 22 col-

lections. Within this group, 12 have been arranged and described, with finding aids for each collection. The processed collections include those of

- ◆ CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS EDUCATOR MARY BOYS
- ◆ BAPTIST ECUMENICAL LEADER JOAN BROWN CAMPBELL
- ◆ CATHOLIC ETHICIST CHRISTINE GUDORF
- ◆ EPISCOPAL PRIEST AND THEOLOGIAN CARTER HEYWARD
- ◆ EPISCOPAL PRIEST AND SCHOLAR SUZANNE HIATT
- ◆ THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN MINISTERS, AN INTERNATIONAL ECUMENICAL ORGANIZATION
- ◆ EPISCOPAL PRIEST AND SCHOLAR PATRICIA WILSON KASTNER
- ◆ WRITER AND REPORTER PATRICIA KONSTAM
- ◆ THE RE-IMAGINING COMMUNITY, A NATIONAL ECUMENICAL ORGANIZATION
- ◆ BAPTIST BIBLICAL SCHOLAR PHYLLIS TRIBLE
- ◆ EPISCOPALIAN PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY AND RELIGION ANN ULANOV
- ◆ AND SEMINARY PRESIDENT AND UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST HISTORIAN BARBARA BROWN ZIKMUND.



Ordination of Jeannette Piccard, Philadelphia Eleven Ordination Services, Church of the Advocate, Philadelphia, PA, July 29, 1974. Photograph from the Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship, The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary.

Themes addressed in these collections include feminist interpretation of the Bible; the Jewish-Christian dialogue; the interconnection between psychiatry and religion; the effort to establish Christian unity towards justice and peace; the relationship between ethics, religion, and development; theological education; the ecumenical dialogue between Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and Methodists; the ordination of women; and the status of women in religion as a whole.

Accessioning and processing of additional recently accessioned collections will continue through 2005 under the Burke Library's newly received Lilly Endowment grant to revitalize the Library. ❖

CLAIRE MCCURDY, LESLIE REYMAN, AND LETITIA CAMPBELL ARE THE STAFF OF THE ARCHIVES OF WOMEN IN THEOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP (AWTS) PROJECT OF THE BURKE LIBRARY, UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK CITY.

Notes

¹ Frances Moore. "Carter Heyward: one year after the ordination . . ." *Charlotte Observer*, 30 July 1975. Carter Heyward Papers, Archives of Women in Theological Scholarship (AWTS), The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary.

² "The Reverend Dr. Suzanne R. Hiatt/primus inter pares." Forward, The 1994 Kellogg Lecture Planning Committee, 6 May 1994. Suzanne Hiatt Papers, AWTS, The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary.

³ Suzanne Hiatt Interview. Philadelphia Eleven Papers, AWTS, The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary.

⁴ *The Woman's Pulpit*, April 1923, p. 3. International Association of Women Ministers Papers, AWTS, The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary.

RELIGION *and the* BLACK (SOUTH) ATLANTIC


BY DAVID ANTHONY AND ROBERT EDGAR

bantsundu, the leading African newspaper in South Africa, editorialized in 1890 how the Americans challenged the racial order: "As Africans we are, of course, proud of the achievements of those of our race. Their visit will do their countrymen here no end of good. Already it has suggested reflection to many who, without such a demonstration, would have remained sceptical as to the possibility, not to say probability, of the Natives of this country being raised to anything above remaining as perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water."

As the Jubilee Singers were touring South Africa in the 1890s, African American missionaries began arriving. The National Baptist Convention founded a mission station in Cape Town in 1894, and the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and a lesser known body, the Church of God and Saints of Christ, followed suit. The AME established a presence at the invitation of the Ethiopian Church, an African independent church that had broken away from the Wesleyan Methodists.

A common denominator for all the African American denominations was how they interpreted and applied their slave experience in the United States to the African mission field. To them, the suffering they endured as slaves was part of a providential plan to expose them to civilization and Christianity. They had a special responsibility to return to Africa to civilize and uplift the continent. Thus, when Baptist missionary Charles Morris, a Howard University graduate, reached Zululand in 1900, he wrote a piece for the *Cleveland Gazette* (March 31, 1900) arguing that "the American Negro had been marvelously preserved and Christianized for a purpose, and that he was destined to play a star part in the great drama of the world's development." In particular, African Americans had to bring their professional skills and entrepreneurial abilities to guide the Zulus on the correct path to progress and civilization.

Africans also welcomed African American missionaries because they offered a possible avenue for attaining higher education, which was closed to black South Africans until the opening of Fort Hare College in



Cele family reunion, Lynchburg, VA, May 2000. Joyce Cele and Joyce Williams, two persons mentioned in the text, are in the middle of the second row. From the collection of Robert Edgar.

Madikane Cele posed in Zulu regalia. Photograph from Natalie Curtis, Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent (New York: G. Schirmer, 1920).



Africans looked for an understanding of European conquest and intrusions into their ways of life and culture. Desiring alternatives to the control of Christian missions by European missionaries, many Africans were inspired by the accomplishments of African Americans and the autonomy of their churches. African American theologians, searching for an explanation for the brutalities of the Atlantic slave trade and slavery, found one answer through staking out African fields for their evangelical endeavors.

Among the initial religious contributions of African Americans to black South Africans were the musical performances of Orpheus McAdoo's Jubilee Singers. They toured South Africa on three extended visits between 1890 and 1898, appearing before hundreds of black and white audiences. Their concerts, featuring spirituals and folk songs, left indelible impressions on African composers and choirs and their performance styles that are still evident today.

Black South Africans also drew inspiration from the Jubilee Singers because of their accomplishments and the way they carried themselves as equals to whites. *Imvo Za-*

The Atlantic has been a meeting point for peoples and ideas in the African diaspora for centuries. For example, since the late-19th century, groups of African Americans and Africans in South Africa have developed close ties with each other in a diverse range of areas: politics, economics and business, literature, music, theatre, the arts, and religion. These relationships are especially intriguing because most African Americans trace their ancestry to West and Central Africa, not southern Africa, and because there has not been a large-scale migration of blacks from southern Africa to the United States. Instead, African South Africans and African Americans found common ground in their shared experiences with white domination and segregation in industrializing societies.

As we began researching our documentary collection project to uncover these linkages (see www.founders.howard.edu/reference/bob_edgar_site/index.html), we affirmed the critical role that religion played in shaping interactions between African Americans and black South Africans in the late-19th and early 20th centuries. Both groups sought spiritual answers and explanations about the nature and reasons for white domination.

1916. The Baptists and AME clergy were the primary sponsors for at least several hundred African students in the United States, who found places at historically black institutions such as Wilberforce, Tuskegee, Fisk, Hampton, Morehouse, and Lincoln.

The first large group of South Africans to enroll at an American college was a South African choir left stranded in Ohio after their manager mismanaged their finances. AME ministers came to their rescue, and placed the choir members at the AME's Wilberforce College in Ohio, where one of their instructors was W.E.B. du Bois. After they educated him about conditions in South Africa, he sustained a lifelong interest in South Africa's political situation.

Prominent African clergy played a key role in selecting students to go overseas. Presbyterian minister Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba recruited students (most of whom ended up at Lincoln College in Pennsylvania) from the eastern Cape, while Rev. John L. Dube performed a similar role in Zululand. Dube was one of the earliest South Africans trained in the United States. Taking advantage of his associations with American Congregational missionaries in Zululand, he attended Oberlin College in the mid-1880s and returned to Brooklyn a decade later for theological training.

An admirer of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of self-help and industrial education, Dube transplanted the Tuskegee model to South Africa and founded Ohlange Institute in 1901 near Durban. Before returning to South Africa, he penned "A Zulu's Message to Afro-Americans," appealing for African American missionaries to establish a mission presence in South Africa: "If the Afro-American church was awakened to the realization of its religious responsibility and its duty to Africa many missionaries . . . would not only preach the Gospel on Sunday but . . . on six days of the week would teach our people how to handle a plow, build a house, raise sugar cane, tea and coffee."

Booker T. Washington's influence can also be seen in the career of one of Dube's protégés, Madikane Qandiyane Cele, whose family and the Dube's were among the earliest Zulu Christian converts. At Dube's encouragement, Cele attended Slater Industrial School in North Carolina before moving in 1907 to Hampton Institute, where he took the trade's course in wheelwrighting and blacksmithing.

Cele was also a popular attraction as a stage performer and public speaker. Playing on the curiosity of Americans with "primitive" and "uncivilized" societies, he staged a play, "For Unkulunkulu's [God's] Sake," in

which he dressed in Zulu garb, played musical instruments, sang Zulu songs, and regaled audiences with tales of growing up hunting "tigers" and other wild beasts. The underlying theme of the play was how mission Christianity could elevate uncivilized Africans.

After graduating from Hampton, Cele was a featured speaker on the lecture circuit. On one occasion he shared a platform at a Chatauqua gathering with two of his heroes, Booker T. Washington and Robert Russa Moton. On a New England tour in late 1913, Cele spoke at Harvard, where he decried the brutality of American football and revealed his plan to "introduce" a milder form of the game as well as basketball and baseball to his African compatriots.

During his years at Hampton, Cele also fell in love with one of his classmates, Julia Smith, from southern Virginia. After marrying in 1913, they journeyed to Cele's home to establish a mission station at Amatata in a rural African reserve about 30 miles from Durban. As we uncovered the story of Madikane's marriage to Julia, we wondered what subsequently happened to the couple. We learned something of their lives through their letters published in the Hampton journal, *Southern Workman*, but after the First World War, we came across only a few references to them in documents. However, one South African government document related that when Madikane died in the early 1940s, his widow subsequently made plans to resettle in America with several of her children.

With this slender lead, we turned to the Internet for some detective work. We tapped a database compiling all the names and telephone numbers in the United States and typed in the family name, Cele. About a dozen Celes were listed, but as we began calling them, we learned that most of them had arrived in the United States for studies in the 1990s. However, one contact, Joyce Cele of Los Angeles, turned out to be the daughter of Eddison Cele, who had come back to the United States with his mother to Virginia in 1948.

Joyce Cele knew the stories about her Zulu grandfather, but she had lost touch with the rest of the family after her grandmother Julia died in 1973 and her father a year later. Our contact spurred Joyce into action. She searched property records and family documents and eventually tracked down a daughter of Madikane and Julia living in Lynchburg, Virginia. It turned out that her aunt, Joyce Williams, had her own fascinating tale. When Julia planned to leave South Africa in 1948 with Eddison and Joyce, Joyce could not bear to leave and

snuck off the ocean liner in Durban harbor at the last moment. However, her mother eventually prevailed on her to immigrate with her husband and daughter in 1962 and join her in Lynchburg. She lives there today.

Once Joyce Cele reestablished contact with her aunt, they organized a reunion in May 2000 that brought together four generations of Celes. A year later, four of the Celes made a homecoming journey to Amatata, where their host was a grandson of John Dube, and where they worshipped at the Congregational church the Celes had founded over a century before. The reunion was joyous and emotional as the participants, African Americans and Africans, marveled at the strange turn of events that reunited them. Perhaps, they wondered, it was all simply part of a Providential Design. ❖

DAVID ANTHONY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SANTA CRUZ, AND ROBERT EDGAR, HOWARD UNIVERSITY, ARE CO-DIRECTORS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL LINKAGES WITH SOUTH AFRICA, CA. 1890-1965, AN NHPRC-SUPPORTED PROJECT BASED AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY IN WASHINGTON, DC.

(Continued from page 4)

be a most flagrant usurpation." Furthermore, with the "multiplicity of sects" throughout America, Madison asserted that no one sect "could oppress and persecute the rest."⁷

Throughout the ratification debate, Antifederalists demanded that freedom of religion be protected. A majority of ratifying conventions recommended that an amendment guaranteeing religious freedom be added to the Constitution. In recommending a bill of rights in the first Federal Congress on June 8, 1789, Madison proposed that "the civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, nor shall any national religion be established, nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience be in any manner or on any pretext infringed." He also proposed that "no state shall violate the equal rights of conscience."⁸

The prohibition on states was removed by the Senate, while the restrictions on the Federal Government were combined and recast into what came to be the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The exact meaning of this prohibition has not been easy to ascertain. Perhaps President Thomas Jefferson interpreted it best in his response to the Baptist Association of Danbury, Connecticut, on January 1, 1802. "Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state."⁹ ❖

JOHN P. KAMINSKI IS CO-EDITOR, WITH GASPARE J. SALADINO, OF *THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION*.

Notes

¹ Madison to Jefferson, Richmond, January 22, 1786, Robert A. Rutland et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison* (Chicago: 1973), VIII: 473.

² *Ibid.*, 474.

³ Egbert Benson to John Jay, Poughkeepsie, July 6, 1779, Henry P. Johnston, ed., *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (4 vols., New York, 1890-93), I: 211-12.

⁴ Merrill Jensen, John P. Kaminski, and Gaspare J. Saladino, eds., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* (16 vols. to date, Madison, WI: 1976-), II: 593, 595. Hereafter cited as DHRC.

⁵ DHRC, V: 1003.

⁶ DHRC, X: 1213.

⁷ DHRC, X: 1223-24.

⁸ Helen E. Veit, Kenneth R. Bowling, and Charlene Bangs Bickford, eds., *Creating the Bill of Rights: The Documentary Record from the First Federal Congress* (Baltimore: 1991), 12-13.

⁹ Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: 1984), 510.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL REFORM AND THE NEW DEAL

(Continued from page 8)

John A. Ryan Papers are complemented by other collections, such as the National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC) Records and the Monsignor George Higgins Papers. Monsignor Higgins is the retired director of the Social Action Department of the NCWC, an organization that Ryan founded in 1920 and headed until his death in 1945.

Higgins' work in the labor movement for the last 50 years represents the continuation of the Catholic social reform impulse

at CUA. These Catholic reform sources are supplemented by a strong core of related labor union collections, like the Philip Murray Papers, the John Brophy Papers, and the Terence Powderly Papers, also held at the CUA Archives. The NHPRC grant to process the John A. Ryan Papers, Francis J. Haas Papers, Philip Murray Papers, John Brophy Papers, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations Records has helped the CUA Archives provide increased access to a strong component of its holdings that document the social reform activities of the Catholic Church and organized labor in the United States. ❖

JOSEPH M. TURRINI IS PROJECT ARCHIVIST, DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES, MANUSCRIPTS, AND MUSEUM COLLECTIONS, THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, IN WASHINGTON, DC.

DOCUMENTING LIFE IN THE MARGINS

(Continued from page 10)

right a figure of signal importance in the history of American radio, the rise of mass media, and the emergence of Southern California as a disseminator of America's cultural and religious fare. All of this was at risk.

In 1990, Spittler turned to the NHPRC for help. His grant-writing fortunes offer sobering but instructive lessons for any institution facing a similar predicament. Between 1990 and early 1993, Spittler twice submitted extensively researched, well-considered, time-consuming proposals. Both bounced back. Instead of surrendering, however, he dug in. Aided by useful counsels from NHPRC staff, the New Testament scholar, writer, administrator, and religious historian now jumped on the steep learning curve of archival science and its funding peculiarities.

The two "starter" proposals taught Spittler the importance of working locally. NHPRC funding, he realized, was not merely a transaction between the Du Plessis center and a faceless agency in Washington. Rather, it was a collaborative effort between Federal, state, and local networks. In particular, he turned to the State Historical Records Advisory Board, not as a committee of impersonal "judges" but as colleagues and consultants. He found the board members eager to help; one even came to assess the institution's archival needs and make recommendations. Finally, the early proposals revealed the importance of interpreting a project for its reviewers. Archives often seek support for the preservation of records pertaining to individuals or movements that are virtually unknown to the public at large, including that share of the public reviewing its proposal. To address that reality, Spittler recruited a *known* authority—one of America's leading religious historians—to explain the *unknown*: the nature and importance of the Du Plessis materials and the urgent need to preserve them.

The third time was indeed a charm. In late 1993, Spittler submitted the proposal that brought the Center the support it so desperately needed. The Center hired its first full-time archivist, Kate McGinn, and took an important step toward professionalism. The years since that time have seen the archives grow toward its dreams. Fuller is currently undergoing a reorganization of its library and archives that may well mandate a more ambitious plan of archival preservation. As the archive, now under the direction of Dr. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., both widens and tightens its net, and as it matches increased documentary retention with broader access, it will more ably meet its responsibility as a curator of collective memory. ❖

ROGER G. ROBINS IS ARCHIVIST OF THE DAVID DU PLESSIS CENTER AT FULLER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN PASADENA, CA.

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Associate Justices of the Supreme Court Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and William O. Douglas (left to right) with Monsignor John A. Ryan (second from the left) at his 70th birthday testimonial dinner, May 25, 1939. Photograph from The Catholic University of America Archives. A related story begins on page 7.