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Part I.

Anglo-American Protestant Philanthropy, 1600 to the Present

By Angelo T. Angelis

Introduction

Throughout its history, American Protestantism has played a dominant role within the country's philanthropic community. Benefitting from their national presence and majority membership, the Protestant churches have consistently succeeded in mobilizing voluntary labor and charitable donations by providing the needed organizational structure and motivation. In doing so, American Protestantism has played a major role in shaping the social agenda as a whole.

Over the course of three centuries, American religious philanthropy appears to have gone full circle. The mainstay of social welfare in the settlement communities of British North America, Protestant philanthropy continued to provide the major share of benevolence following the American Revolution. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Protestant philanthropy became a senior partner in state-sponsored social welfare programs, underwriting, supplementing and often shaping the direction of social welfare in the United States. Beginning in the 1980s, the disengagement of the state has shifted the burden of social welfare away from public and back to private sources of philanthropy. Once again, various religious organizations are being called on to meet the challenge of need in a progressively more complex and diverse society.

In a sense, the return to limited government, underwritten by the Reagan-Bush-Clinton administrations, has begun to shift the care of the poor, mentally ill, elderly, and dependent onto their families and local communities. In turn, this creates new demands for private philanthropy. It seems logical, therefore, that a thorough understanding of the experience of Protestant philanthropy in America will help scholars and experts understand the current status of philanthropy and social welfare, allowing them to develop responses as social pressures mount.

This curriculum guide follows the experience of American Protestant philanthropy from the earliest days of colonial settlement to the late twentieth century. In order to deal with the difficulty of separating religious from secular philanthropic effort, "Protestant philanthropy" is defined as those efforts and enterprises which were underwritten by organizations having identifiable connections to the organized Protestant churches, or which clearly espoused Protestant religious goals. The material contained in this guide is not limited, however, to the study of American Protestantism or American philanthropy. Structured as fourteen separate units, it is both a self-contained course in American Protestant philanthropy and a series of separate modules which can be used individually to supplement undergraduate and graduate level curricula in many other subjects or disciplines.

The curriculum guide is organized into three sections. The first section (Units 1, 2, and 3) deals broadly with Protestantism and philanthropy. It also raises the issue of church and state. A general understanding of each of these issues is crucial to developing a thorough understanding of the relationship between Protestantism, philanthropy and the American public sector. The guide assumes that students will not have had extensive exposure to one or more of these topics. If the opposite is true, the lesson plans on Protestantism and philanthropy can be combined. It is recommended, however, that the lesson plan on church-state relations not be omitted, since it has direct relevance to the subsequent lesson plans. These three lesson plans, however, can be effectively combined.

The second section (Units 4 and 5) engages the issues of gender and race, focusing on the experience of Protestant women and minorities in the American colonies and the United States. Both of these sections are relevant to the follow up lesson plans. They can be omitted or combined. Since it appears throughout the curriculum guide, the issue of class is not treated separately.

The third section (Units 6 through 14) is organized around the commonly understood periodization of American history, covering the Protestant philanthropic experience from the colonial period to the present. The final topic within this section also addresses the future of Protestant philanthropy in the United States. Instructors are encouraged to update each of the lesson plans with current materials and discussion questions. This last section, however, would benefit significantly if readings were added that reflected recent issues in religious philanthropy.

Each of the lesson plans includes an overview that summarizes the period and the suggested readings. The overview also offers suggestions for possible use as a module in courses covering other subjects or disciplines. Wherever possible, the suggested readings represent recently published and available editions. Older literature and literature that is currently out of print has been included if it represents an important study in the field. Suggested readings that apply to more than one topic or period have been included in one or more of the subsequent lesson plans. Each lesson plan includes a selection of background readings. Instructors and students may find these background readings helpful in developing a broader understanding of the topic and the events surrounding it. Suggestions have also been made for alternate sources of information, including primary sources, published collections, and bibliographies.

Each lesson plan includes a list of discussion questions divided into two categories: undergraduate and graduate. These questions are based on the suggested readings and are offered as guidelines for in-class discussion and examination. They can also be offered to students as guidelines for independent reading courses. The discussion questions are followed by a list of research topics. Once again, the research topics are grouped into two categories. The initial list of topics has been developed with the standard, undergraduate paper or project in mind. The majority of the research for these topics can be easily satisfied through secondary sources. The second group of research topics is intended for graduate or advanced undergraduate students and will require the use of primary sources.



Unit 1

Protestantism in America

The influence of Protestantism on American institutions is undeniable. As the majority religion, Protestantism has played a major role in shaping the social agenda. This influence, however, has undergone significant changes from the religious monopoly of the early settlements to the highly competitive, pluralistic, and secularized environment of the late twentieth century. These dynamics are also reflected in the philanthropic activities of the Protestant churches. A broad understanding of the history and structure of the Protestant church in America is, therefore, necessary to develop a more complete understanding of Protestant philanthropy.

Instructors wishing to assign a single monograph should consider Marty Martin's *Righteous Empire*, which offers a comprehensive overview of the American Protestant experience. The remaining readings work well in combination, allowing the instructor to assign specific essays and chapters. Jon Butler offers an excellent analysis of the European roots of American religion in his study, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*. George Marsden's *Religion and American Culture* follows the generally accepted periodization of American history, offering discussions that include politics, gender, class, and race/ethnicity. Patricia Bonomi's *Under the Cope of Heaven* offers a splendid overview of religion in colonial America. Philip Greven, Alan Heimert, and David Hall explore the Protestant experience in colonial America, focusing on the social history of religion during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nicholas Tyacke's journal article and the collection of essays edited by Mark Noll et al. investigate the British roots of American Protestantism, broadening the discussion to include comparative study.

Possible uses as a module:

American social history.

American cultural history/studies: Protestantism as a social, cultural and intellectual experience.

Comparative colonial studies: the British roots of Protestantism.

English literature: American Protestant literature.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. To what extent does the concept "American" reflect the traditions and values of Protestantism?
2. Is Protestantism still a dominant element of American identity, or has it become sectionalized or regionalized over the past one-hundred years?
3. What effect has post-World War II new immigration had on the relationship between Protestantism and the American society as a whole?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. In what ways has Protestantism worked to unite and/or divide American society?
2. To what extent have non-Protestant groups assimilated what could be reasonably identified as Protestant values and traditions?
3. Is the Protestant tradition in the United States largely a reflection of its European antecedents, or has it evolved into an identifiably "American" form?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Develop a "family tree" for American Protestantism. Research and chart the major branches of Protestantism in America, tracing each branch back to its European antecedent and forward to its current organizational form. Include the dates and a brief synopsis of any major change in organizational structure.

2. Protestant demography. Select any two time periods and prepare a comparative demographic study of Protestantism that includes race, class, gender, and geographic location. What major trends can be identified? What can these trends be attributed to?
3. Protestant traditions and values. Using a creative range of sources, including visual and literary evidence, investigate the objective understanding of Protestantism in America. Are Protestant traditions identifiable? Are they limited to a religious role or do they permeate other sectors of American society?

Graduate research topics:

1. Protestantism and social conflict. Select any time period and analyze the role Protestantism has played in aggravating or ameliorating social conflict. Topics can include: the American Revolution (patriot versus loyalist); the Civil War (the antislavery debate); westward expansion (missionaries to the Indians); industrialization (poverty in the midst of plenty).
2. Protestant traditions and values. Select a time period and using primary sources (including letters, diaries, autobiographies, and oral histories) investigate the subjective understanding of American Protestantism. Have (or do) American Protestants identify themselves as a separate group? How do non-Protestants view this same issue?
3. It's as American as apple pie . . . or is it? Select one or more of the major American myths or themes and investigate its sources. In what ways are these myths reflective of Protestant tradition? In what ways do they transcend the Protestant tradition and incorporate multiple understandings of Americanism?

Suggested readings:

Patricia U. Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Jon Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977).

David Hall, Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989).

Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

George M. Marsden, Religion and American Culture (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1990).

Martin E. Marty, Righteous Empire: Protestantism in the United States (New York: Scribner's, 1986).

Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyck, eds., Evangelism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1900 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Nicholas Tyacke, "The Ambiguities of Early-Modern English Protestantism," The Historical Journal 34 (September 1991): 743-54.

Background readings:

James G. Moseley, A Cultural History of Religion in America (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981).

Thomas A. Tweed, ed., Retelling U.S. Religious History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

John T. Wilson, "Religious Movements in the United States," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 23 (Autumn 1992): 301-7.

Sources:

William Henry Allison, Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and other Repositories (New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1965; 1910).

Robert L. Ferm, Issues in American Protestantism: A Documentary History from the Puritans to the Present (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969).



Unit 2**Voluntarism and Philanthropy**

As both a concept and as phraseology, “philanthropy” and “voluntarism” are subject to broad interpretation. To properly understand the experience of American Protestant philanthropy, it is necessary for students to develop an understanding of the meaning, structure, and history of philanthropy and voluntarism. Not only will this enable students to better comprehend the complex analysis of philanthropy as a religious, political, and social phenomenon it will also help facilitate discussion by minimizing the confusion of terminology and definition.

The collected essays contained in Jon Van Til et al., ed., Critical Issues in American Philanthropy, offer focused discussions on key terms and concepts, including the definition of “philanthropy” in its broad and narrow interpretations. In particular, instructors should consider: Jon Van Til’s essay, “Defining Philanthropy;” Maurice G. Gurin and Jon Van Til’s “Philanthropy in its Historical Context;” and Robert Payton’s “Teaching Philanthropy, Teaching About Philanthropy.” A broader understanding of the philanthropic experience in America is available in Robert Bremner’s American Philanthropy. William Trattner’s From Poor Law to Welfare State discusses the evolution of social welfare from its British roots to the Great Society programs of the 1960s and 1970s. For a more critical analysis of the relationship between private and public sources of welfare, instructors may wish to consider Michael Katz’s In the Shadow of the Poorhouse. The collection of essays contained in Faith and Philanthropy in America and William McLoughlin’s Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform offer useful discussions of the relationship between religion, philanthropy, and social change. Instructors may wish to pay particular attention to Robert Wuthnow’s essay, “Religion and the Voluntary Spirit in the United States,” and to Peter Dobkin Hall’s essay, “The History of Religious Philanthropy in America.”

Possible uses as a module:

American social history: reform; social welfare; liberalism.
 Labor history: mutual aid; early organizing efforts.
 Women's history/studies: women's voluntary associations.
 African-American history/studies: mutual aid; civil rights.
 Religion: charitable activities.
 Sociology: social welfare; social activism.
 Political Science: community-based social and political activism.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. How can we best define "philanthropy" and "voluntarism?" Has the meaning of philanthropy and voluntarism changed over time?
2. As scholars, should we assume a moral perspective when we categorize activities as "philanthropic" or "voluntary?"
3. Should motivation be considered in making this categorization? Does self-interest disqualify an activity as "philanthropic?" If so, where should we draw the line?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Should we categorize an activity as "philanthropic" if its goals are essentially political, or if it espouses violence as a mechanism for change?
2. In what ways has the relationship between private and public welfare changed over time? How has this effected the relationship between religion and social welfare?
3. Has the role of religion in American philanthropy been understated or overstated by historians?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Develop a historiography of American philanthropy. Identify the leading studies and analyze the direction of the debate. What are the major questions being posed by historians? Has this debate developed distinct interpretations or schools of thought? What is the

current trend of the scholarship on philanthropy in the United States?

2. Analyze change over time in the contribution of religious philanthropy within the overall system of American social welfare. Selecting two periods in American history, compare and analyze the role of religious philanthropy in the overall system of social welfare. What changes occurred? What can these changes be attributed to? Comparisons can include: pre- and post-American Revolution; antebellum versus post-Civil War; affluence (1920s) versus depression (1930s); liberalism (1960s) versus conservatism (1980s and 1990s).
3. Analyze the marketing strategies used by philanthropic enterprises. Philanthropic enterprises provide the organizational structure for voluntarism, charitable giving, and the distribution of funds and services. In doing so, they market themselves to potential providers and to potential recipients. Narrowing your focus to a particular group of philanthropic enterprises, assess their marketing strategies. Have they developed their own methods of "marketing" or have they borrowed from each other and/or from private industry? In what ways has this changed over time?

Graduate research topics:

1. Develop a community study using demographics. Using demographics, develop a community study that measures the flow of private versus public welfare over a manageable period of time. Define your community, collect and develop the data, and present the results of your findings as both a series of statistical tables and as an analytical overview of the results.
2. Assess the relationship between religious philanthropy and the political economy. Narrowing your topic to a manageable time frame, assess the relationship between religious philanthropy and the political economy. Did a symbiosis exist between the two, as Michael Katz argues? Did religious philanthropy respond to, facilitate, or oppose change? Topics can include: revolution and republicanism (the Early republic); the market economy (the 1820s-1840s); the growth of enterprise (the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries).

3. Evaluate the meaning and/or impact of visual media on the image of philanthropy in America. Visual media has proven particularly effective in developing and critiquing "image." Philanthropy has made frequent use of visual media to put a positive spin on its own image. At the same time, the public media (print, film, and television) has offered its own interpretations of philanthropy. Using visual media as your primary source of information, analyze and critique one segment of this visual media. You may want to consider advertisements and promotional material generated by the philanthropic enterprises themselves; commercial films that depict philanthropy and/or voluntarism; or the treatment of philanthropy by the news media.

Suggested readings:

Robert H. Bremner, American Philanthropy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Peter Dobkin Hall, "The History of Religious Philanthropy in America," in Robert Wuthnow et al., ed., Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion In America's Voluntary Sector (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), 38-62.

Michael B. Katz, In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

Francie Ostrower, Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

Robert I. Trattner, From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989).

Jon Van Til et al., eds., Critical Issues in American Philanthropy: Strengthening Theory and Practice (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1990).

Sue N. Weiler, "Religion, Ethnicity, and the Development of Private Homes for the Aged," Journal of American Ethnic History 12 (Fall 1992): 64-90.

Robert Wuthnow et al., ed., Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion In America's Voluntary Sector (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990).

Background readings:

Edward H. Berman, The Ideology of Philanthropy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983).

Robert H. Bremner, Giving: Charity and Philanthropy in History (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994).

John H. Ehrenreich, The Altruistic Imagination: A History of Social Work and Social Policy in the United States (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

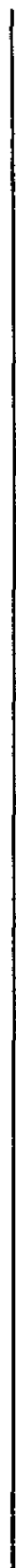
Sources:

Center for the Study of Philanthropy, The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, "Working Papers: International Bibliography" (New York: Center for the Study of Philanthropy, 1994).

Daphne Niobe Layton, Philanthropy and Voluntarism: An Annotated Bibliography (New York: Foundation Center, 1987).

Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, "Papers of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, 1792-1973" [microform] Special Collections, John Jay College, CUNY, New York, NY.

Russell Sage Foundation, Report of the Princeton Conference on the History of Philanthropy in the United States (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956).



Unit 3**Church and State**

What is the proper relationship between the church and the state has consistently ranked among the most important debates in American history. This issue continues to inflame passions in the late twentieth century, including the constitutional debates concerning abortion and the school voucher system. To a large extent the church-state issue originated during the Early Republic, when state sponsorship of Protestant churches was replaced by disestablishment. Worded to prohibit government from interfering in religious matters—that is, from recognizing one faith or denomination over others—the religious clause in the Constitution has also been interpreted by some as restricting the involvement of the church in matters of state. Historians and politicians, however, are divided over the meaning of separation of church and state. At various points in its history Protestant philanthropy has operated in harmony and in opposition to the state, offering students an excellent opportunity to engage this complex and intriguing debate.

James Reichley's analysis, Religion in American Public Life, presents an enlightening discussion of original intent and of the evolution of the relationship between church and state from the Early Republic to the 1980s. Benjamin Hart's essay offers a critical assessment of this relationship from the perspective of religion. Students desiring more background information on the issue of church and state may benefit from Arlin Adams' A Nation Dedicated to Religious Liberty.

Protestant philanthropy is clearly enmeshed in the debate over church and state, offering an excellent window for assessing this relationship and how it has changed over time. It is important, therefore, that students of American Protestant philanthropy understand the complex relationship between church and state. Although Protestant churches remained the majority religion in the new republic, disestablishment had a significant impact on their environment. Sanctioned pluralism and

voluntary membership resulted in increased diversification and in the growth in the number of organized congregations. Increased secularization also created what some historians refer to as civil religion. Americans in the new republic began to look upon the nation as embodying some degree of sanctity. The Protestant churches, however, continued to serve as the primary organizer of social welfare. Limited government and a reluctance to assess taxes left philanthropy in the hands of voluntary organizations, which were primarily mobilized by the Protestant church. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the responsibility for social welfare shifted to the state. At the close of the twentieth century, the responsibility for social welfare shifted back to the private sector. Throughout this experience, the Protestant churches have played a leading role, first as primary purveyors and then as senior partners, in an expanding network of private and public providers.

In many cases, the activities of the church acted to shape the social and political agenda. The essay by James Woods and James Houghland, Jr. and the study by Bernard Coughlin, Church and State in Social Welfare, offer a thorough discussion of the broader experience of religious philanthropy as both a provider and a shaper of social welfare. Paul J. Weber raises interesting questions concerning the first amendment, original intent, and the role of religious interest groups. The essay by Barry Karl and Stanley Katz analyzes the public-private relationship from the perspective of the philanthropic foundations. Joseph Gabrill's Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East provides a focused analysis of the role played by missionaries in that region as internationalists and as communications agents for the United States.

Possible uses as a module:

American political history: constitutional law and interpretation.

American social history: the church and society.

Religion: the issue of church and state.

Political Science: using Protestant philanthropy as a model for discussing the relationship between church and state.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. How should we interpret the religious clauses? Should separation be viewed as religious exclusion from the public sphere or as protection for religious institutions from the government?
2. In what ways has the meaning of separation of church and state effected the philanthropic role of religion in America?
3. Has philanthropy provided a window for church-state cooperation? Is a public role for the church tolerated when it concerns social welfare, but not tolerated when its involvement becomes more blatantly political?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Given their combined size and scope, have the American Protestant churches played a major role in shaping the social agenda? Has this role changed over time?
2. Should we interpret the increasing involvement of the federal and state governments in social welfare during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a change in the church-state relationship?
3. Has the reduced responsibility assumed by the government for social welfare programs once again altered the church-state relationship?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Analyze the changing relationship of the church and state as providers of social welfare. Narrowing your analysis to a specific political or social experience, analyze the changing relationship of the church and state as providers of social welfare. Topics can include pre- and post-Revolution; American foreign policy in the nineteenth century; industrialization; and the social activism of the 1960s.
2. Assess the role of philanthropy as an intermediary between the church and the state. Following disestablishment, religion lost its official relationship to the state. Has philanthropy served as a negotiating ground between church and state since this time, allowing American Protestantism to shape the social agenda?

3. Analyze the impact of pluralism and voluntary membership on American Protestant philanthropy. Disestablishment encouraged pluralism and denominationalism. Over time, this diversity has increased to include non-Protestant and non-Christian faiths. Has pluralism and voluntary membership narrowed or expanded the philanthropic role of the American Protestant churches?

Graduate research topics:

1. Analyze the impact of Protestant foreign missionaries on American foreign policy. Foreign missions dispatched an army of American Protestants to overseas posts. Many of these missions were established in areas that were considered or would soon become vital to American foreign policy. Did the Protestant missionaries help shape American foreign policy? Did they serve as the first area experts for a nascent diplomatic corps?
2. Develop a textual analysis on the discussion on freedom/disestablishment. Using documents originating during the period of constitutional debate, develop a textual analysis of the discussion on religious freedom/disestablishment. Your analysis can consist of opinions exchanged among the framers themselves, it can focus on the response among the clergy and the laity, or it can compare one to the other.
3. Analyze the impact of conservative Protestantism on the relationship of church and state and/or on Protestant philanthropy. Historically, liberal Protestantism has encouraged expanded social welfare programs. In the 1980s, evangelical Protestantism has thrown its support behind the conservative attack on social welfare. At the same time, conservative Protestantism does not appear to be interested in filling the void, even though conservative politicians have called on the private sector to do so. Develop a paper that analyzes some segment of this conservative Protestant response. Is it unique in American history? Does it represent a change in the relationship between church and state? Has conservative Protestantism mobilized philanthropic efforts among its membership? How have the mainline liberal Protestant churches responded?

Suggested readings:

Bernard J. Coughlin, Church and State in Social Welfare (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

Joseph L. Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

Benjamin Hart, "The Wall that Protestantism Built: The Religious Reasons for the Separation of Church and State," Policy Review 46 (Fall 1988): 44-52.

Paul J. Weber, "Religious Interest Groups, Policymaking, and the Constitution," in The Political Role of Religion in the United States, ed. Stephen D. Johnson and Joseph B. Tamney, 307-325 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986).

Barry D. Karl and Stanley Katz, "The American Philanthropic Foundation and the Public Sphere," Minerva 19 (1981): 236-270.

James Reichley, Religion in American Public Life (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 1985).

James R. Wood and James G. Houghland, Jr., "The Role of Religion in Philanthropy," in Critical Issues in American Philanthropy, ed. Van Til, et al., 99-132 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass).

Background readings:

Arlin M. Adams, A Nation Dedicated to Religious Liberty: the Constitutional Heritage of the Religious Clauses (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

George M. Marsden, Religion and American Culture (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1990).

Sources:

J. F. McClear, Church and State in the Modern Age: A Documentary History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).



Unit 4**Women and Protestant Philanthropy**

Philanthropy and voluntarism have enabled women throughout American history to expand their involvement in the public sphere, even when their role was strictly proscribed by society. To a large extent, this was made possible by women's active participation in religion and philanthropy. Protestant women in particular have used their position within the church to organize and to reach out to each other and to the community at large. The vast majority of this activity was voluntary and a significant percentage of it can be categorized as philanthropic. Many women have used their voluntary activities as stepping stones to professional careers as social workers, educators, and administrators. Women's voluntary and philanthropic experience, however, has also served to reinforce existing restrictions on women's participation in the public sphere, creating a contradiction that requires careful analysis. Given the scope of women's philanthropic activity and the essential links between women's voluntarism and the Protestant church, it is essential that students of philanthropy develop an understanding of the role of women in religious philanthropy.

In recent years, the literature on women's voluntarism and women's participation in religion has been expanding at a rapid pace. The suggested readings do not attempt to represent the breadth of the literature that is available. Instead, they concentrate on women's participation in Protestant philanthropy by focusing on three basic issues: women's religious, voluntary, and philanthropic experience. Readings concerning the general experience of women in American religion and Protestantism can be selected from Susan Juster and Lira MacFarlane's collection of essays on gender in American Protestantism; from the essay collections edited by Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether; and the excellent overviews by Janet Wilson James. Joanne Carlson Brown's essay, "Protestant Women and Social Reform" (*In Our Own Voices*), offers a valuable discussion of women's involvement in philanthropy. Susan Lindley's monograph offers selected read-

ings on women and religion in America, particularly her excellent discussion of women's experience in the foreign missionary movement, reformism, and the Social Gospel. Patricia Hill's The World Their Household reconstructs women's experience in the Protestant foreign missionary movement, focusing not only on women's contributions but on the lasting effect this experience had on the image of womanhood in the United States. Kathleen McCarthy's essay, "Parallel Power Structures and the Voluntary Sphere" (Lady Bountiful Revisited), and Carma Van Lierce's study, Hallowed Fire, offer thorough discussions of women's voluntarism and philanthropy as a broader experience. Joanne Carlson Brown's essay, "Protestant Women and Social Reform," (In Our Own Voices) narrows this discussion to American Protestant women. Barbara Leslie Epstein's The Politics of Domesticity focuses on the philanthropic efforts of women reformers involved in the temperance movement. Sandra Shaw's study, Reinventing Fundraising, analyzes the organizational and financial aspects of women's philanthropy.

The background readings on women's and gender history are strongly recommended for those students who have not had the opportunity to study women's and gender history. Students and instructors might benefit from reviewing Karen Anderson's Teaching Gender in U.S. History.

N.B. The readings and discussion questions included in this section will allow students to establish a general understanding of gender as an issue. Women's experience and gender will, of course, continue to inform discussions in topics 5-15. Instructors may wish to return to one or more of the discussion questions listed below at later points in the semester when the students have developed a better understanding of the historical context of women's experience.

Possible uses as a module:

American social history: reform; social welfare.

Women's history/studies: women's voluntarism; women and religion.

Political Science: grassroots political and social organizations.

Religion: women in the missionary movement.

Sociology: social activism.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. Is it possible to point to specific differences in men's and women's experience in Protestant philanthropy? Do these differences include motivation, methodology, and areas of specialization?
2. Do men continue to exercise authority even when women constitute the overwhelming majority in Protestant philanthropic activities?
3. In what ways have women succeeded in using religious philanthropy to challenge and expand their roles in society? Has the image of philanthropic women changed over time? How should we read the late twentieth-century image of women in philanthropy?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Does women's involvement in religious philanthropy present a paradox: voluntarism as a liberating force and religion as a constraining force?
2. Have some of these activities taken a decidedly conservative direction, encouraging women to fulfill their proscribed roles in society, even though they are doing so outside the traditional family setting?
3. In what ways has women's philanthropic experience advanced the cause of women's equality in society? Has it helped equip women with administrative and organizational skills and exposed them to policymaking, politics, and economics?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Develop a historiography for women's voluntarism and philanthropy. Identify the leading studies and analyze the direction of the debate. What are the major questions being posed by historians? Has this debate developed distinct interpretations or schools of thought? What is the current trend of the scholarship on women's voluntarism and philanthropy?
2. Analyze the relationship between women's philanthropic activities and women's participation in social and political activism. Have women's philanthropic activities enabled or disabled women from assuming a public role?

3. Analyze the change in the image of women's voluntary/philanthropic activities. Using literary and visual sources, compare the change or lack of change in the image of women's voluntary and philanthropic activities over a defined period of time. What can you attribute the changes or lack of changes to?

Graduate research topics:

1. Analyze the organizational structure of a women's philanthropic/voluntary organization. Using organizational records, newspaper articles, and other sources, develop an analysis that investigates the demographics (class, age, marital status, educational level, etc.) and activities of a philanthropic organization within a defined time period. How do the demographics of membership influence the activities? Does your study reveal change over time in either the demographics or the activities? What can this change be attributed to?
2. Create a study that identifies women's voluntary networks. Using a specific organization or community as the basis of your research, chart and analyze the interlocking network(s) of voluntary women. Among other sources, you may wish to consider: organizational, church, and community records, newspaper articles, obituaries, and personal papers.
3. Assess the status of women's voluntary activities in the late twentieth century. In what ways has increased access to political and economic activities changed the direction/meaning of women's voluntarism? Is there a recognizable difference between the activities of women based on economic class, race/ethnicity, marital status, or employment status? Has the corporation assumed the role once played by women's voluntary organizations?

Suggested readings:

Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

Patricia Ruth Hill, The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985).

Janet Wilson James, "Women in American Religious History: An Overview," in Women in American Religion, ed. Janet Wilson James, 1-25 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980).

Susan Juster and Lira MacFarlane, eds., A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether, eds., In Our Own Voices: Four Centuries of American Women's Religious Writing (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995).

Susan Hill Lindley, "You Have Stept Out of Place:" A History of Women in Religion in America (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996).

Kathleen McCarthy, ed., Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 1-34.

Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller, Women and Religion in America, volume 2 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983).

Sandra C. Shaw, Reinventing Fundraising: Realizing the Potential of Women's Philanthropy (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1995).

Carma Van Lierce, Hallowed Fire: Faith Motivation of Early Women Activists. (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1991).

Background Readings:

Karen Anderson, Teaching Gender in U.S. History (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1997).

Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Journal of American History 75 (June 1988): 9-39.

Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," Signs 1 (1975): 1-29.

Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," American Historical Review 91 (1986): 1053-75.

Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990).

Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," American Quarterly 18 (1966): 151-74.

Sources:

Helena T. Grossmann, The Christian Woman in Philanthropy: A Study of the Past and Present (Amherst, MA: Carpenter & Morehouse, 1895).

Dawn Keetley and John Pettegrew, ed., Public Women, Public Words: A Documentary History of American Feminism, volume 1 (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997).

"Papers of the Lenox Settlement House," Special Collections (Hunter College, CUNY, New York, NY).

"Papers of the Women's City Club of New York," Archives and Special Collections, (Hunter College, CUNY, New York, NY).

Unit 5**African-American Philanthropy**

Although the focus of this guide is on Anglo-American traditions, race and ethnicity have played a major role in the development and continued experience of Protestant philanthropy in the United States. This is most readily evident in the African-American experience. Outreach programs in the form of domestic missions among African-American slaves had contradictory results. Slave masters frequently obstructed these efforts. Yet they benefited by gaining an additional measure of control over slaves. Similar contradictions emerged among African Americans. Many welcomed the Protestant efforts; others resisted them. In the end, however, Protestant philanthropy had an undeniable impact on the African-American experience, particularly within the free black communities. The Protestant church acted as the central institution within the black community. As such, it became the hub for African-American voluntarism.

Valuable as a unit in itself, the African-American philanthropic experience also offers a significant opportunity for comparative analysis not only with the majority or white experience, but with the philanthropic experience of other ethnic and religious minorities in the United States. Instructors may wish to return to the issues raised in unit 4 (Women and Protestant Philanthropy) and compare the experiences of white and black women's voluntary activities. Similarly, instructors may wish to draw comparisons with unit 10 (American Expansion: Immigration, Industrialization, and Urbanization).

Although the black voluntary experience has drawn significant attention, no comprehensive study has been published to date. A number of monographs are available, that combined span the experience as a whole. Jon Butler's Awash in a Sea of Faith and the collection of essays edited by Susan Juster and Lira MacFarlane, A Mighty Baptism, offer an effective introduction to this subject. The studies completed by Lester Scherer, Joseph Washington, Edward Cowther, Edyth Ross, Gary

Osofsky, and Stephen Johnson provide an overview of the relationship between Protestantism and African-American voluntarism from the colonial period through the civil rights movement. Gary Nash's Forging Freedom and Harry Reed's Platform for Change discuss in detail the experience of the free black community in the North. Hugh Pearson's The Shadow of the Panther examines the black power movement, which espoused violence as a means of achieving the goals originally defined by the civil rights movement. The essays by Lillian Aschcroft and Erica Ball focus on the experience of African-American women. These readings can be supplemented with additional readings drawn from primary sources, including the memoirs contained in the collection edited by William Andrews, Sisters of the Spirit. Finally, Emmett Carson's essay, "Patterns of Giving in Black Churches," provides an opportunity to draw important comparisons with the American philanthropic experience as a whole.

Possible Uses as a Module:

African-American history: slavery; religion; the free black community; civil rights.

Women's history/studies: comparative; voluntarism; women and religion.

Political Science: grassroots political and social organizations.

Religion: women in the missionary movement.

Sociology: social activism.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. How important was Protestant philanthropy within the black community? Did it supplement or did it substitute for other forms of social welfare?
2. What role did women play in African-American Protestant philanthropy? How does this experience compare to the Protestant philanthropic experience as a whole?
3. Although Protestant philanthropy did serve as the foundation for mutual aid within the black community, did it also act as a conservative political force? Did this experience change over time?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Did Protestant philanthropy isolate or insulate the black community, or did it create common ties with the American experience as a whole?
2. Can the civil rights and the black power movements of the 1950s and 1960s be viewed as heirs of African-American Protestant philanthropy?
3. How have the rise and decline of social welfare (from the New Deal and the Great Society to the Bush and Clinton administrations) affected the position of Protestant philanthropy within the black community?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. The free black community. Analyze the role played by the Protestant church as a center for mutual aid and social activism within the free black community, paying particular attention to who sponsored and who received philanthropic activities.
2. Where race and gender meet. Analyze role played by gender in the African-American philanthropic experience. Did Protestant philanthropy enable women's activism and organization within the black community? How did this experience compare with the Protestant philanthropic experience as a whole?
3. Philanthropy and social welfare. Select any major period in the history of American social welfare (e.g., antebellum revivalism and reform; Progressivism; the New Deal; the Great Society) and analyze the impact changes in the social welfare system had on African-American Protestant philanthropy.

Graduate research topics:

1. African-American voluntarism in the late 20th century: integrated or segregated? Analyze the current presence of African-Americans in key positions within major Protestant philanthropic organizations and compare their role now to their role at some point in the past.

2. The rural versus the urban experience in African-American Protestant philanthropy. Compare the presence and the variations of Protestant philanthropy in the black urban versus the black rural experience. Your analysis can be based on representative regions, or it can survey the general experience.
3. Where race and class meet. Analyze the class breakdown of Protestant philanthropic activities within the black community. Did they serve to separate the classes, or to unite them? Was this consistent with or different from the Protestant philanthropic experience as a whole.

Suggested Readings:

Erica Ball, "The Afro-American Woman's Club Movement and the National Association of Colored Women, 1892-1918," ARNOVA, Silver Anniversary Conference Nov. 7-9, 1996 (New York, NY).

Jon Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Emmett D. Carson, "Patterns of Giving in Black Churches," in Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion in America's Voluntary Sector, ed. Robert Wuthnow et al., 232-252 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990).

Edward R. Crowther, "Charles Octavious Boothe: An Alabama Apostle of Uplift," The Journal of Negro History 78, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 110-16.

Stephen D. Johnson, "The Role of the Black Church in Black Civil Rights Movements," in The Political Role of Religion in the United States, ed. Stephen D. Johnson and Joseph B. Tamney, 307-325 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986).

Susan Juster and Lira MacFarlane, eds., A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Gary B. Nash, Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto: Negro New York, 1890-1930 (New York: Harper & Row, 1964)

Hugh Pearson, The Shadow of the Panther: Huey Newton and the Price of Black Power in America (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1994).

Harry Reed, Platform for Change: The Foundations of the Northern Free Black Community, 1775-1860 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994).

Edyth L. Ross, Black Heritage in Social Welfare, 1860-1930 (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1978).

Lester B. Scherer, Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619-1819 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).

Joseph R. Washington, Race and Religion in Mid-Nineteenth Century America, 1850-1877: Protestant Parochial Philanthropists, 2 vols. (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1988).

Lillian Ashcraft Webb, "Black Women and Religion in the Colonial Period," in Women and Religion in America, volume 2, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983).

Background Readings:

Lewis Baldwin, "Invisible" Strands in African Methodism: A History of the African Union Methodist Protestant and Union American Methodist Episcopal Churches, 1805-1980 (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1985).

Edward Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America. (New York: Schocken Books, 1964).

Kevin K. Gaines, Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics and Culture in the Twentieth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Robert L. Harris, Teaching African American History (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1997).

James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, ed., A History of the African American People: The History Traditions and Cultures of African Americans (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997).

Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

Peter Kolchin, American Slavery, 1619-1877 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

William J. Walls, The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: Reality of the Black Church (Charlotte, NC: A.M.E. Zion Publishing House, 1974).

Sources:

William Andrews, ed., Sisters of the Spirit: Three Black Women's Autobiographies of the Nineteenth Century (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

Unit 6**Colonial America**

Colonial settlement in British North America began and continued as largely a Protestant migration. Although it was not free of inter-denominational conflict, Protestantism quickly secured a firm hold as the majority faith throughout British North America. The presence of Protestantism was also expanded through conversion. In some areas, Protestant ministers worked to convert the Native Americans. Large numbers of African-American slaves were forced or encouraged to convert, increasing the Protestant population of the Chesapeake and the Lower South.

The influence of Protestantism extended well beyond the theological. The Protestant church also represented one of the earliest and most persistent social institutions in the new colonies. Practice combined with limited government to create a loosely defined and largely informal system of social welfare. Social welfare, therefore, came largely in the form of charity. People in need were expected to turn to their families first. If the family could not provide, the burden shifted to the immediate community. Women, for example, provided for the sick, and the community as a whole saw after the needs of orphaned children. Since charity was often seen as an expression of piety, social welfare was often organized by the local church, which paralleled the state as a central social institution. The roots of American philanthropy and social welfare can, therefore, be identified in the activities of the Protestant community. This would, of course, change over time.

As Jon Butler, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, and Mary Ann Jimenez demonstrate, social welfare in colonial America was generally supported by private efforts, ranging from the informal mutual aid of women and neighbors to the more institutionalized assistance of the community and the church. Jimenez's study, however, demonstrates that social welfare in the colonial period was not a static experience. It evolved during the eighteenth century to include the beginnings of state-sponsored, indoor

relief. In his case study of poverty in eighteenth-century New York, Raymond Mohl links this transition to necessity—caused by the process of urbanization—and to the adoption and adaptation of the British experience in England. Frank Klingburg and Robert Cray offer additional perspectives on the philanthropic response to poverty in the colonial city. Klingburg, Ulrich, and Lillian Ashcroft Webb discuss the role of gender and race in Protestant philanthropy during the colonial period.

Women's participation was, of course, essential to Protestant philanthropy during the colonial period. Three essays in the collection Women in American Religion, edited by Janet Wilson James, offer differing perspectives of the experience of women in religion and philanthropy during this period: Mary Maples Dunn's "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period;" Gerald Moran's "Sisters in Christ: Women and the Church in Seventeenth-Century New England;" and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's "Vertuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature, 1668-1735." David Rothman's The Charitable Impulse in Eighteenth Century America contains a number of sermons and documents that offer excellent opportunities to incorporate primary sources into the reading assignments.

To fully appreciate the experience of Protestant philanthropy in colonial America students should have an understanding of the broad parameters of colonial history. This should include a familiarity with the settlement experiences and the religious foundation of the Chesapeake, New England, and the Mid-Atlantic colonies. Jack Greene's Pursuits of Happiness offers one of the better comparative analyses of the colonial experience in British North America. Perry Miller's Errand into the Wilderness is a classic of New England colonial history and is best read in comparison with the study by David Cressy. The settlement experience of the Chesapeake is thoroughly examined in the collection of essays edited by Thad Tate and David Ammerman and in the monograph by James Horn. An excellent examination of the colonial experience in New York can be found in Patricia Bonomi's A Factious People. Bonomi's Under the Cope of Heaven offers a comparative overview of religion in the colonial period.

Possible uses as a module:

American history: colonial; social; political.
American studies: the Atlantic world.
Religion: Protestantism in early America.
Women's history/studies: colonial women.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. How do the philanthropic experiences of colonial New England compare to those of the Chesapeake and the Mid-Atlantic colonies?
2. To what can we attribute the differences and similarities: British roots; Protestantism; differences/similarities in the patterns of settlement; establishment versus denominationalism?
3. How did this experience change over time? To what can we attribute these changes?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. How did gender, race and class factor into the private philanthropy of the Protestant community?
2. Was private philanthropy a means of bringing order to the experience of settlement and change in colonial America? Was it used to control/shape the society?
3. How does the Protestant philanthropic experience relate to the following theories of American colonial history: the New England declension model; the Chesapeake developmental model; Anglicization; modernization.

Undergraduate research topics:

1. The comparative colonial experience. Select any two colonies or regions and compare the experience of Protestant philanthropy. Are there noticeable differences between these two experiences? What can these differences be attributed to? Do the differences increase or decrease over time?

2. The role of women in colonial philanthropy. Analyze the role played by women in colonial philanthropy, focusing on the relationship of religion and women's voluntary activities and on the issue of change over time.
3. Specific issues in colonial philanthropy. Select a specific philanthropic category (i.e., the aged; orphans; unwed mothers; the mentally ill the poor) and analyze how the category was understood and addressed in the colonial period. Did Protestant philanthropy recognize the aged, etc. as qualified for assistance? What was this determination based on? Who was expected to aid individuals in this category, if they were not qualified? How was assistance rendered?

Graduate research topics:

1. Religion, tradition and social conditions. When he imagined the Massachusetts colony in the future, John Winthrop envisioned a "citty upon a Hill" or an ideal Puritan community. Analyze the relationship of Protestant philanthropy in the colonial period to religion, tradition and social conditions. To what extent did the philanthropic experience in Massachusetts reflect the ideology of Puritanism? To what extent did it reflect English traditions and social conditions in the colony itself?
2. Gender and philanthropy. Analyze the division of philanthropic responsibilities along gender lines. Did men and formal sermons. Using these sermons, analyze the ministers' references to philanthropy to actual practices within the community. To what extent were the ministers' exhortations reflective of the actual experience? Were the ministers managing the philanthropic activities, or were they expressing an ideal that far exceeded real practice? Does the language of the sermons reflect changes in rhetoric and/or changes in practice?

Suggested Readings:

Jon Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Robert E. Cray, Jr. Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and its Rural Environs, 1700-1830 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

Janet Wilson James, ed., Women in American Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980).

Mary Ann Jimenez, Changing Faces of Madness: Early American Attitudes and Treatments of the Insane (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986).

Frank Joseph Klingburg, Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York (Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1940).

Frank Joseph Klingburg, "Urban Wealth and Poverty in Pre-Revolutionary America," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 9 (1968): 3-22.

Raymond A. Mohl, "Poverty in Early America, A Reappraisal: The Case of Eighteenth Century New York City," New York History 50 (1969): 5-27.

Lester B. Scherer, Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619-1819 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750 (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

Lillian Ashcraft Webb, "Black Women and Religion in the Colonial Period," in Women and Religion in America, volume 2, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983).

Background Readings:

Patricia U. Bonomi, A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York (New York, 1971).

David Cressy, Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Jack P. Green, Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

James Horn, Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

Perry Miller, Errand Into the Wilderness (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1984).

Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, ed., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979).

Sources:

Cornelia S. King, ed., American Philanthropy, 1731-1860: Printed Works in the Collections of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984).

New York (State) Board of Social Welfare, Charity Legislation in New York, 1609-1900 (Albany: Q. A. Quayle, 1904).

Carla Gardina Pestana, Liberty of Conscience and the Growth of Religious Diversity in Early America, 1636-1786 (Providence, RI: The John Carter Brown Library, 1986).

David J. Rothman, ed., The Charitable Impulse in Eighteenth Century America: Collected Papers (New York: Arno Press & the New York Times, 1971).

Unit 7**Revolution and Republic**

As the literature on Protestant philanthropy during the colonial period demonstrates, changes in social welfare in British North America were already in progress prior to the American Revolution. The political rhetoric and the social and economic turmoil of the American Revolution expedited this process of change by questioning the existing relationship between the private and public sectors. Among the most crucial questions were the roles of government and religion in the new nation and the status of the various classes. Change, however, did not reach all sectors and levels of society. The lower classes received few immediate political and economic benefits. In many cases, their condition worsened, placing additional demands on private charity. Women's economic and political status did not change significantly, even though their roles underwent some redefinition. African Americans fared even worse. Although some were able to alter their status during the war, the change in governmental structure left the institution of slavery largely intact.

Increased need combined with changes in church-state relationships and changes in social expectations to create a new environment for the Protestant church and the existing structure of philanthropy. Disestablishment ended the state sponsorship of religion, increasing the number of denominations. Disestablishment also created a voluntary foundation for church membership, altering the sources of funding. Although the church continued to play an important part in people's lives, state and local government became an increasingly important component of the community. This was not true when it came to social welfare. The public supported limited taxation and limited government. As a result, social welfare remained largely a private responsibility. It held its position, however, in a very changeable environment.

Within the vast body of literature available on the American Revolution and the Early Republic, a number of studies address the changing nature

of social welfare. These studies offer exceptional opportunities for comparative analyses of Protestant philanthropy. Looking back to the colonial period, scholars have identified a pattern of change from private and often informal outdoor relief to more regulated and increasingly public indoor relief. Looking forward, some scholars connect these changes to the heightened interest in evangelism and reform that characterized the antebellum period. A significant body of literature concentrates on the comparative experience of women. David Rothman, Mary Ann Jimenez, Louis Masur, and Conrad Wright discuss these changes in broad geographic terms, focusing on the change in response. John Alexander, Priscella Clement, Robert Cray, Susan Grieg and Robert Muhl Clement focus on change within specific communities, emphasizing changing needs.

Religion, and in particular, Protestantism is the focus of the studies by Patricia Bonomi, Melvin Endz, Alan Heimert, Susan Juster, Rosemary Skinner Keller, and Mark Valerie. Butler's versatile study includes chapters on millennialism in the age of revolution. Abzug's monograph offers interesting analyses of Benjamin Rush and Lyman Beecher.

A number of studies address the experience of women during and following the American Revolution. Linda Kerber's Women of the Republic offers an excellent overview of women's experience prior to and during the Early Republic. Kerber's analysis of the changes in women's moral roles in the Early Republic is expanded in the essays by Ruth Bloch and Jan Lewis. Jacqueline Jones concentrates on the experience of slave women during the age of revolution. Gary Nash and Alfred Young focus on the experience of needy women in Boston during the American Revolution. These articles work well with Priscella Clement's analysis of needy women in early nineteenth-century Philadelphia. Women's changing roles in religion is investigated by Juster, Keller, and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich.

Possible uses as a module:

- American history: late colonial; American Revolution;
Early Republic.
- African-American history: the impact of the
American Revolution.
- Women's history: women's roles; women and war.
- Political science: the evolution of church-state.

Sociology: responses to poverty; mental illness; and urbanization.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. Did the American Revolution represent a watershed in social welfare? In Protestant philanthropy?
2. To what can we attribute the changing nature of philanthropy in the eighteenth century: increasing social complexity; the politics of the Revolution and Early Republic; religious dynamism; secularization; an increasingly market-oriented society?
3. Did women's roles in Protestant philanthropy change during this period of time? What can the change or lack of change be attributed to?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Did the movement toward more regulated, indoor charitable relief for the poor and the insane represent an attempt to provide increased and/or improved benefits, or was it a response to perceived social disorder?
2. Does women's philanthropic experience during this period support or contest the thesis of Republican Motherhood?
3. In what ways did Protestant philanthropy during Revolution and Early Republic reflect changing perceptions of race, class, and gender?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Women's changing roles. Using Protestant philanthropy as the foundation for your analysis, assess the changing expectations of women's roles within and outside the family. How did women perceive their roles during and following the Revolution? How did this compare to men's perceptions of women's roles?
2. Specific issues in Protestant philanthropy. Select a specific philanthropic category (i.e., the aged; orphans; unwed mothers; the mentally ill; the poor); and compare how this category was understood and addressed during the Early Republic. Did the meaning of phil-

anthropy change from that of the colonial period? What can these changes be attributed to?

3. Philanthropy and race. Although the Revolution did proclaim the natural rights of all men, it did not result in liberty for the slaves nor in equality for the free blacks. Analyze the relationship between Protestant philanthropy and African-Americans during and after the Revolution. Were there any definable changes in this relationship as a result of the Revolution and Constitution? Did Protestant philanthropy remain consistent with the larger political experience?

Graduate discussion topics:

1. He said/She said. Locate and analyze primary source references to philanthropy (e.g., diaries, letters, memoirs, sermons, speeches, prescriptive literature) and assess the ways in which men and women understood each other's philanthropic roles. Were their perceptions consistent? Did these perceptions reflect change, or were they conservative?
2. Protestant philanthropy and democracy. During the debate over the Constitution, many of the framers openly expressed the fear that democracy, if unchecked, would lead to disorder and eventually to chaos. Some historians argue that the fear of social disorder had a major influence on social welfare during this time period. Analyze the relationship of Protestant philanthropy during the Early Republic to the thesis of social disorder.
3. Separation of church and state. One of the major innovations of the American Constitution was the disestablishment of religion. Over time, this concept evolved into the often contested hypothesis that church and state were strictly separated. Analyze the impact of disestablishment on Protestant philanthropy in the Early Republic.

Suggested Readings:

Robert H. Abzug, Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

John King Alexander, Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800 (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

- Ruth Bloch, "American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785-1815," Signs 4 (June 1978): 101-126.
- Patricia U. Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Jon Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).
- Priscella Ferguson Clement, "Nineteenth-Century Welfare Policy, Programs and Poor Women: Philadelphia as a Case Study," Feminist Studies 18, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 35-58.
- Robert E. Cray, Jr., Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700-1830 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).
- Melvin B. Endz, Jr., "Just War, Holy War, and Millennialism in Revolutionary America," The William and Mary Quarterly 42 (January 1985): 3-25.
- Susan Grieg, The Dependent of Newburyport: Studies in Social History, 1800-1830 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1984).
- Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).
- Mary Ann Jimenez, Changing Faces of Madness: Early American Attitudes and Treatments of the Insane (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986).
- Jacqueline Jones, "Race, Sex, and Self-Evident Truths: The Status of Slave Women during the Era of the American Revolution," in Women in the Age of the American Revolution, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, 293-337 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1989).
- Susan Juster, Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelism in Revolutionary New England (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Rosemary Skinner Keller, "Women, Civil Religion, and the American Revolution," in Women and Religion in America, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller, 368-408 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983).

Linda Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect & Ideology in Revolutionary America (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980).

Jan Lewis, "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic," William and Mary Quarterly 27 (October 1987): 689-721.

Louis P. Masur, Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776-1865 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Raymond A. Mohl, "Poverty in Early America, A Reappraisal: The Case of Eighteenth Century New York City," New York History 50 (1969): 5-27.

Gary Nash, "The Failure of Female Factory Labor in Colonial Boston," Labor History 20 (Spring 1979): 165-188.

David J. Rothman, The Discovery of Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1990).

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Daughters of Liberty : Religious Women in Revolutionary New England," in Women in the Age of the American Revolution, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, 211-243 (U.S. Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of America, 1994).

Mark Valerie, "The New Divinity and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly 46 (October 1989): 741-69.

Conrad Edick Wright, The Transformation of Charity in Postrevolutionary New England (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992).

Alfred F. Young, "The Women of Boston: 'Persons of Consequence' in the Making of the American Revolution, 1765-1776," in Women and Politics, ed. D. Levy and H. Applewhite, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

Background Readings:

Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

Edward Countryman, The American Revolution (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985).

J. Franklin Jameson, The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976; 1921).

Linda Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

Sources:

Cornelia S. King, ed., American Philanthropy, 1731-1860: Printed Works in the Collections of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984).

Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, "Papers of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, 1792-1973," Special Collections (John Jay College, CUNY, New York, NY).

New York (State) Board of Social Welfare, Charity Legislation in New York, 1609-1900 (Albany: Q. A. Quayle, 1904).



Unit 8**Antebellum Revivalism and Reform**

The early nineteenth century was a period of major change for the new nation. The political culture was transformed by an expanded white male suffrage and by the development of professionalized party politics on a national scale. The debate over economic expansion yielded center stage to a growing market economy. Responding to the demand for land and resources, the nation expanded geographically. Economic and geographic expansion attracted a steady flow of immigrants. New centers of population emerged and the old urban centers swelled. Technology kept pace with this growth, providing the machinery, power, and transportation that helped bridge space and reduce investments in manpower and time.

These changes were most obvious in western New York State. Literally exploding out of the wilderness, this region experienced heavy migration from New England and immediate economic success as a nexus for western expansion and trade. With the opening of the Erie Canal, western New York experienced rapid change in its political, economic, and social make up. Among the many responses to this change was a wave of reformism that was tied directly to a revival in religion. Interest in reform was, however, equally important in the established urban centers as well. In turn, change, revivalism, and reform combined to reshape the Protestant response to social welfare.

Interest in this period has led to a wide spectrum of literature. David Brion Davies, Steven Mintz, and Ronald Walters offer broad overviews of the reformism as a whole. Other historians examine the same experience through a variety of lenses. In his landmark study, The Burned-Over District, Whitney Cross examines religious revivalism and reform in western New York State. Following his lead, Paul Johnson, Mary Ryan, and Nancy Hewitt study the same experience from the perspectives of class and gender. Lawrence Foster shifts his attention to the activities of three groups of communalists and utopians in upper New

York State and their efforts to perfect society in isolation from the mainstream experience. Interest is not, however, limited to newly developed areas. Robert Cray, Susan Grieg and Christine Stansell, examine the experience of reformers and their subjects in the established urban centers. In contrast, Barbara Epstein, Louis Masur, David Rothman, and Robert Abzug address particular reforms, analyzing them in broad spatial and temporal terms.

Each of these studies also addresses the issue of motivation, which has been the subject of intense debate. This debate has generally been divided into two camps: social control and benevolence. Clark Griffin's *Their Brother's Keepers* typifies the social control argument, which posits material motivations for the reform impulse that emerged among the American elite and middle class. Lois Banner ("Religious Benevolence as Social Control") contests this thesis, arguing that the increased interest in reform stemmed largely from a benevolent impulse. Numerous subsequent studies expand on this debate. In a more recent analysis, Richard Cawardine steers the debate in a new direction, positing a direct relationship between the market revolution, a current "hot" topic among historians of the antebellum period, and revivalism and reform.

Possible uses as a module:

American history: antebellum reform; market economy;
westward expansion.
Women's history/studies: evangelical women; reform;
women's voluntarism.
Political science: communalism; separatism.
Religion: revivalism; evangelical movements; utopianism;
communalism.
Sociology: social activism.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. In what way did Protestant philanthropy change during the antebellum period? Did these changes include motivation, method, funding, target groups, and philanthropic interests?
2. Does the social control versus religious benevolence debate apply to Protestant philanthropy?

3. How did the religious revivalism and evangelism of the early nineteenth century influence Protestant philanthropy?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Did economic change and the dislocations associated with it change the direction of Protestant philanthropy?
2. What can we learn about gender and class relationships in the early nineteenth century by studying the experience of Protestant philanthropy?
3. Did Protestant philanthropy undergo multiple experiences during the antebellum period (i.e., urban versus rural; mainstream versus revivalist; upper versus middle class)?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Antebellum philanthropy and gender. Analyze the relative roles of men and women in Protestant philanthropy. Is there a noticeable shift in numbers and responsibilities? Are these changes more apparent among evangelicals than among mainstream Protestants?
2. The Protestant roots of antebellum reform. Select a major reform movement of the antebellum period and assess its connections to Protestantism in terms of its leaders, supporters, funding, methods, and goals.
3. Philanthropy, class and ethnicity. The American population underwent significant changes during the antebellum period, including a rapid expansion of the working class and a sharp rise in immigration. In what ways did these changes affect the direction of Protestant philanthropy?

Graduate research topics:

1. The demographics of Protestant philanthropy. Select a representative location and chart the emergence of new and the disappearance of existing philanthropic activities. Is there an increase or decrease in the relative number of activities that can be identified as Protestant? Is the Protestant church more or less represented in some philan-

thropic activities as opposed to others? What can these trends be attributed to?

2. Protestant philanthropy: class cooperation or class conflict?
Narrowing your focus to one philanthropic organization or one locale, analyze the experience through the lens of class. What were the reformers' goals, how did they proceed, how were they received?
3. Philanthropy and domesticity. In a landmark essay, Barbara Welter proposed the concept of true womanhood as an ideal of domesticity and submissiveness that, while it was rarely achieved, was a widely accepted goal for middle-class women. Did Protestant women engaged in philanthropic activities accept or contest the concept of true womanhood?

Suggested Readings:

Robert H. Abzug, Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Lois Banner, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control," in Edward Pessen, The Many-Faceted Jacksonian Era: New Interpretations (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977).

Richard Cawardine, "'Antinomians and 'Arminians : Methodists and the Market Revolution,'" in The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880, ed. Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway, 282-307 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996).

Robert E. Cray, Jr., Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700-1830 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

Whitney Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1950).

David Brion Davis, Ante-Bellum Reform (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

Lawrence Foster, Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991).

Susan Grieg, The Dependent of Newburyport: Studies in Social History, 1800-1830 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1984).

Clark S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815-1860," in The Mississippi Historical Review 44, no. 3 (December 1957): 423-444.

Clark S. Griffin, Their Brother's Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865 (New Brunswick, 1960).

Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York 1822-1872 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

Paul E. Johnson, A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

Louis P. Masur, Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776-1865 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Steven Mintz, Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

David J. Rothman, The Discovery of Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1990).

Mary P. Ryan, "A Women's Awakening: Evangelical Religion and the Families of Utica, New York, 1800-1840," in Women in American Religion, ed. Wilson James, 89-110 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980).

Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

Ronald G. Walters, American Reformers, 1815-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

Background Readings:

Christopher Clark, "The Consequences of the Market Revolution in the American North," in The Market Revolution in America, ed. Stokes and Conway, 23-42 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996).

Clark S. Griffin, The Ferment of Reform (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1967).

Robert Remini, The Jacksonian Era (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1997).

Charles Sellers, The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History (Minneapolis, 1944).

Sources:

Anonymous, "Rise, Sisters of Temperance" (1855).

Mary C. Vaughan, "Address to the New York Daughters of Temperance" (1852).

Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, "Papers of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, 1792-1973," Special Collections, (John Jay College, CUNY, New York, NY).

New York (State) Board of Social Welfare, Charity Legislation in New York, 1609-1900 (Albany: Q. A. Quayle, 1904).

Unit 9**Slavery, Abolition and Civil War**

Beginning with the Quakers, the Protestant church became an early source of organization and motivation for the American antislavery and abolition movements. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the campaign against slavery had become a part of the repertoire of many of the antebellum evangelical reformers. At the same time, the rhetoric of proslavery borrowed on the theology of Protestantism to advance its arguments of black inferiority. Offering an excellent avenue for moral suasion, abolitionism also provided an effective outlet for women's political expression and social activism. The African-American community also seized on abolitionism, both as an issue that burned in their own hearts and as an opportunity for activism. Over time, abolitionism and the cause of black civil rights assumed a political identity separate from the philanthropic activities of the Protestant church. Although the church continued to provide a large segment of the support, the federal government became the primary agent of reform during Reconstruction. In fact, Reconstruction represented federal government reform at a scale that would not be repeated or exceeded until the New Deal of the 1930s.

Robert Abzug, James Stewart Brewer, James Moorehead, Timothy Smith, and Bertram Brown address the relationship between revivalism and the antislavery and abolition movements. Joe Richardson's study analyzes the role played by the American Missionary Association in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction South. John McKivigan offers an interesting analysis of Protestantism as a proslavery ideology. A significant literature has developed on abolitionism within the African American community, including recent studies such as Clara DeBoer's Be Jubilant My Feet, Shirley Yee's Black Women Abolitionists, and Lois Horton's essay on social activism in Boston's African-American community. The role of women and the impact of the abolitionist experience on women's demand for suffrage is discussed in the studies authored by

Yee, Ellen Carol Dubois, Nancy Hewitt, Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, and Lois Ginzberg.

Possible uses as a module:

African-American history: abolitionism; political activism;
community formation.
American history: Civil War and Reconstruction.
Political science: activism; grassroots organizations.
Religion: the church and slavery.
Sociology: social activism; moral suasion.
Women's history: suffrage and women's voluntary activities.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. In what ways did Protestantism provide the organizational framework for abolitionism?
2. Is there a recognizable difference in degree and method in the anti-slavery activism of the mainstream Protestant denominations versus that of their evangelical counterparts?
3. Did the Protestant church use its presence in the antislavery and abolition movements to influence and shape public opinion and policy in the North? In the South?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Is the growth of the suffrage movement either directly or indirectly involved with women's involvement in Protestant philanthropy? In Protestant-inspired abolitionism?
2. Did the Protestant church play a significant role in political activism within the free black community? If so, how?
3. Did the federal government's involvement in Reconstruction replace or reduce the role of Protestant philanthropy? Should we view Reconstruction as a forerunner of the increased state-sponsorship of social welfare in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. The war effort. Analyze the role played by Protestant philanthropy during the war effort from either the Union or the Confederate perspective? Were these wartime activities a new direction for Protestant philanthropic organizations or were they simply an extension of existing activities?
2. Philanthropy and gender. The Civil War and Reconstruction provided women with unique and often temporary opportunities to step outside of the prescribed social boundaries. Did Protestant philanthropy enable this experience, or did it act as a force of conservatism?
3. Philanthropy and race. Assess the impact of the antislavery movement on Protestant unity in the United States. Did the participation of Protestant reformers in the antislavery movement divide Protestants in North from those in the South? Did this same experience draw the Protestant church closer to the free black communities in the North, in which Protestantism was already a major institution?

Suggested Readings:

Robert H. Abzug, Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Barbara J. Berg, The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

James Stewart Brewer, Holy Warriors: Abolitionists and American Slavery (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976).

Bertram Wyatt Brown, "Conscience and Career: Young Abolitionists and Missionaries," in Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform, ed. Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1980).

David Brion Davis, Ante-Bellum Reform (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

Clara Merritt DeBoer, Be Jubilant My Feet: African American Abolitionists in the American Missionary Society, 1839-1861 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994).

Ellen Carol Dubois, Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

Lois D. Ginzburg, "Moral Suasion is Balderdash: Women, Politics, and Social Activism in the 1850s," Journal of American History 73 (December 1986): 601-22.

Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York 1822-1872 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

Lois E. Horton, "Community Organization and Social Activism: Black Boston and the Antislavery Movement," Sociological Inquiry 55 (Spring 1985): 182-99.

John P. McKivigan, The War Against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

James H. Moorehead, American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War, 1860-1869 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

Joe M. Richardson, Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890 (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986).

Timothy Lawrence Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

Ronald G. Walters, American Reformers, 1815-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

Joseph R. Washington, Race and Religion in Mid-Nineteenth Century America, 1850-1877: Protestant Parochial Philanthropists, 2 vols. (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1988).

Shirley J. Yee, Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992).

Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Background Readings:

Thomas Bender, ed., The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

Ira Berlin et al., eds., Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Martin Duberman, The Anti-Slavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (1965).

Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Eric Foner, Reconstruction America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

Michael Perman, Emancipation and Reconstruction, 1862-1879 (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1987).

Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

Kenneth M. Stamp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South (New York: Vintage Books, 1984).

David Turley, The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780-1860 (New York: Routledge, 1991).

Sources:

The "Declaration of Sentiments" of the Seneca Falls Convention (1848).

Frances Gage's Account of Sojourner Truth's Address to the Akron
Women's Rights Convention (1851).

Unit 10

American Expansion: Immigration, Industrialization, and Urbanization

During the half-century year following Reconstruction, the United States experienced an unprecedented economic boom. Industrialization combined with immigration to enlarge the American treasury as well as its population. New immigrants were no longer drawn by the promise of land, but by the promise of opportunities in the expanding industries. Old cities in the east absorbed a significant percentage of the new immigrants. Newer cities in the midwest and west grew at rapid rates.

Industrialization, immigration, and urbanization helped fuel the American boom. They also created a new set of social welfare imperatives, which caught the federal, state, and municipal governments completely unprepared. At the local level the new immigrants frequently turned to their own sources of mutual aid. Mutual aid, however, could not address the larger issues of widespread poverty, substandard housing, insufficient sanitation and juvenile crime. Private philanthropic sources remained as the primary safety net for social welfare in the United States.

As Aaron Abell demonstrates, urbanization had a direct impact on Protestantism. As a result, Protestant philanthropic organizations quickly expanded their activities to encompass these issues. Studies in this area take one of three approaches. The first concentrates on the general Protestant response to urbanization. These studies include: Nathan Huggins, Protestants Against Poverty; Bernard Maxwell, The Anglican Left; Henry May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America; and Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age. The second approach focuses on specific reform activities. This approach is exemplified by Francis Lane's analysis of child care, American Charities and the Child of the Immigrant, and by David Rosner's study of health care, A Once Charitable Enterprise. The third approach focuses on the

issue of socialization, arguing that the Protestant philanthropic response to urbanization and industrialization was largely an attempt to Americanize the non-Protestant, non-English speaking immigrants who were flooding the cities. This issue is examined in two collections of essays: Americanization, Social Control, and Philanthropy, edited by George Ponzetta, and Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism, edited by Robert Arnove.

Once again, Protestant philanthropy offers an excellent opportunity to examine the larger issues in American history and, at the same time, to examine how the American understanding of social welfare changed over time in response to changing conditions.

Possible uses as a module:

American social history.
Education: socialization and Americanization.
Political science: nativism; activism; grassroots organizations.
Religion: the emergence of religious diversity.
Sociology: social activism; moral suasion.
Urban and immigration history.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. In what ways did the following play a role in determining the Protestant philanthropic response to urbanization and industrialization: the Protestant philanthropic tradition; social control; and nativism?
2. To what extent did Protestant philanthropic organization cooperate with state and local governments? With each other?
3. In what way did the problems of urbanization and industrialization shape the direction of Protestant philanthropy?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Did the Protestant philanthropic organizations shape their reform agenda to meet specific goals, i.e. to socialize or Americanize the children of immigrants; to reduce labor tensions; to instill existing concepts of womanhood?

2. Did the Protestant response to urbanization and industrialization lay a foundation for the American system of public welfare?
3. To what extent did non-Protestant philanthropic activities (Jewish and Catholic relief organizations, for example) assimilate and/or imitate the structures, methods, and goals of the Protestant philanthropic organizations?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Survey the Protestant response to urbanization and industrialization. Select one area of concern (i.e., poverty, housing, education) and complete a survey of Protestant responses. How varied were the responses? Were these responses based on prior experience or did they develop distinct approaches when confronted by new concerns?
2. Child care. Analyze the various approaches made by Protestant philanthropic organizations concerning child care. Who were these efforts aimed at? What methods were used? Were reform activities institutionalized or were they conducted in the child's home?
3. Organizational structures. Select a major Protestant philanthropic enterprise and create a detailed organizational chart, including the sources of funding and interlocking relationships with other organizations.

Graduate research topics:

1. Investigate the thesis of socialization. Using textbooks and school records, among other primary sources, investigate the thesis of socialization as a goal of Protestant philanthropy. Does the evidence reveal a change in educational methods and content? Do these changes indicate a concerted effort to Americanize the children of immigrants?
2. Nativism. Analyzing the writings of leading Protestant reformers and the records of Protestant philanthropic organizations for evidence of nativism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Semitism. What effect did any of these have on the level, nature, or objectives of Protestant philanthropy?

3. Church and state. Select a city or state and analyze the relationship between Protestant philanthropy and the state or local government. How extensive was church-state cooperation? How open was it? Did the relationship represent a change from prior practice? Did it involve direct or indirect government support of church reform activities?

Suggested Readings:

Aaron Ignatius Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900 (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1962; 1943).

Robert Arnove, ed., Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad (Boston: GK Hall, 1980).

Nathan Irvin Huggins, Protestants Against Poverty: Boston's Charities 1870-1900 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971).

Francis E. Lane, American Charities and the Child of the Immigrant: A Study of Typical Child Caring Institutions in New York and Massachusetts between the Years 1845 and 1880 (New York: Arno Press, 1974).

Peter Mandler, ed., The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age (Cambridge: Belknap, 1954).

Bernard Kent Markwell, The Anglican Left: Radical Social Reformers in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1846-1954, The Chicago Studies in the History of American Religion Series (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1991).

Henry Farnham May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper, 1949).

Francis Emmet Lane, American Charities and the Child of the Immigrant: A Study of Typical Child Caring Institutions in New York and Massachusetts Between Years 1845 and 1880 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1932).

George E. Pozzetta, ed., Americanization, Social Control, and Philanthropy (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991).

George E. Pozzetta, ed., The Immigrant Religious Experience. (New York: Garland Press, 1991).

David Rosner, A Once Charitable Enterprise: Hospitals & Health Care in Brooklyn & New York, 1885-1915 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Background Readings:

John E. Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of the Immigrant in Urban America (New York, 1985).

Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

Melvyn Dubofsky, Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920 (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1985).

Elizabeth Ewen, Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985).

John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (Wesport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1963 & 1980).

Thomas Kessner, The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1800-1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Roy Lubove, ed., Poverty and Social Welfare in the United States (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

Glenn Porter, The Rise of Big Business, 1860-1920 (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1992).

Sources:

New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, Appeal of the Right Rev. the Bishop, on Behalf of the N.Y. Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society (New York: American Church Press, 1872).

New York (State) Board of Social Welfare, Charity Legislation in New York, 1609-1900 (Albany: Q. A. Quayle, 1904).

Unit 11**American Expansion: Foreign Missions**

American expansion in the nineteenth century was not limited to the domestic experience. Industrialization and the emergence of a strong centralized government supported by a large military propelled the United States into a position of global political and economic leadership. At the same time, the Protestant church expanded its philanthropic activities to encompass Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Missions and missionaries served as the international arm of American Protestantism. They also served, according to some analysts, as the advance guard for American imperialism.

The American Protestant missionary experience has been studied extensively from a variety of perspectives. The majority of studies focus on individual and regional missionary experiences in the field. Included in this group are Pat Barr's To China With Love, in which she demonstrates the duality of missionary work. On the one hand, Barr argues, missionaries were obsessed with "saving" the Chinese through conversion, while on the other, they acted as the agents of Western imperialism by advocating Western technology and culture. Additional perspectives on the Protestant mission in China are offered in The Missionary Enterprise in China and America, edited by John Fairbank; William Hutchinson's Errand to the World; and Martin Marty's Missions and Ecumenical Expressions.

Other studies point to more blatant examples of the transition of Protestant missions from what was originally a religious and philanthropic enterprise—seeking to improve the lives of their target populations—to nothing more than an extension of American foreign policy. Paul Varg argues that the Protestant missions in China not only had a direct impact on the host culture, but also influenced the course of American policy in the region, an influence which lasted into the Cold War era. Joseph Grabill echoes Varg's conclusions, crediting the American Protestant missionaries with establishing the foundation for

post-World War II American policies in the Near East. Similar arguments are made in Jonathan Bonk's essay, "All Things to All Persons—The Missionary as a Racist Imperialist, 1860-1910;" Kenton Clymer's Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines; and Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofré's Methodist Education in Peru.

Women played an important role in the Protestant foreign missionary experience. In fact, foreign missions represented one of the few avenues women had during this period to pursue an active career. While most studies touch on some aspect of women's missionary experience, students might benefit from the more focused analyses offered in Barbara Welter's essay "She Hath done What She Could" and Patricia Hill's The World Their Household. Equally valuable is Rachel Kerr Johnson's personal record of her own missionary experience, which is contained in her collected letters, Affectionately Rachel, edited by Barbara Mitchell Tull.

Possible uses as a module:

American history: social; foreign diplomacy.
Asian history.
Latin American history.
Political science: foreign policy; imperialism.
Religion: foreign missions.
Sociology: acculturation; cultural imperialism.
Women's history/studies: women's voluntarism; women's religious activism.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. Was the Protestant mission a philanthropic enterprise? Did the alleged connection with American foreign policy have a negative impact on its philanthropic goals?
2. In what ways did women benefit from the Protestant missionary experience? Did the foreign missions offer opportunities that were severely limited in the United States?
3. Did Protestant foreign missionary organizations borrow directly from the domestic philanthropic experience, in part or in full, or did they innovate structures and methods to meet changing conditions?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Have the readings demonstrated that a direct connection existed between the foreign missions and American foreign policy? If the connection was indirect, stemming from the missionaries own sense of identity or national loyalty, should the foreign missions be viewed in negative terms?
2. Does the process of "saving" foreign souls qualify as a philanthropic activity? If the answer is no, what ancillary activities must exist in order to qualify missionary work as philanthropic?
3. The China Lobby and the China Question have played an important role in American diplomacy throughout the twentieth century. Many historians point to the foreign missions as the source of this foreign policy culture. To what extent did the Protestant missionary experience shape American foreign policy in China?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Charting the missionary experience. Select a country or a region and develop a census of Protestant foreign missions, identifying the location of the mission, the extent of its presence (in numbers of missionaries and services provided), the mission's American affiliation, and its longevity.
2. The mission in literature, art, and film. Select and analyze a novel, painting, or motion picture film that contains a description of the missionary experience. Does your selection concur with the descriptions offered by missionaries themselves, or with the descriptions offered by historians? Does your selection present a romanticized image of missionary life?
3. Show me the money. Analyze the general sources of funding for the American Protestant missions. Was this funding obtained from the church itself; from small private donations; from large private or corporate donors; from the government; or was the mission self-funding?

Graduate research topics:

1. American perceptions of women missionaries. Using a selection of documentary and possibly visual sources, analyze the domestic perception of women missionaries. Are they viewed as less feminine relative to women who do not work outside the home? Are they viewed differently from other working women: factory workers; teachers; nurses?
2. Missionary biography. Identify an individual who served with a Protestant foreign mission. Research their background, including their family history, educational experience, prior work experience and prepare a brief analytical biography. Does your subject conform with the arguments offered in the readings you have completed?
3. Philanthropy or imperialism? Select a Protestant mission, research and catalogue the missionary staff and the mission's activities. To what extent was this mission consistent with the definition of "philanthropic?" To what extent could its activities be defined as imperialist or racist?

Suggested Readings:

Pat Barr, To China With Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1973).

Jonathan J. Bonk, "All Things to All Persons—The Missionary as a Racist-Imperialist, 1860-1910," Missiology: An International Review 8, no. 3 (July 1980): 285-306.

Jonathan J. Bonk, Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Missionary Problem (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991).

Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Joffré, Methodist Education in Peru: Social Gospel, Politics, and American Ideological and Economic Penetration, 1888-1930 (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988).

Kenton J. Clymer, Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

John K. Fairbank, ed., The Missionary Enterprise in China and America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

Joseph L. Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

Patricia Ruth Hill, The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985).

William R. Hutchinson, Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

Martin E. Marty, Missions and Ecumenical Expressions (New York: K. G. Saur, 1993).

Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," in Women in American Religion, ed. Janet Wilson James, 111-125 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980).

Paul A. Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).

Background Readings:

Robert Arnove, ed., Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad (Boston: GK Hall, 1980).

Emily Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

Brian Stanley, The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries (Leicester, England: Apollos, 1990).

Sources:

Rachel Kerr Johnson, Affectionately Rachel: Letters from India, 1860-1884, ed. Barbara Mitchell Tull (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1992).

Unit 12**The Social Gospel**

The problems of urbanization and poverty that emerged in the 1870s continued to concern reformers into the late nineteenth century. Among the many Protestant responses was the Social Gospel movement, which can best be described as a moral reform movement that focused on the problems of the urban poor, but, at the same time, emphasized the need for social justice. The Social Gospel emerged, as Susan Curtis argues, at a pivotal point in American history, linking Victorian America to the consumerism of the early twentieth century.

The Social Gospel anticipated Progressivism and, for a period of time, overlapped it. Like most progressives, advocates of the Social Gospel looked to the new concepts of business management as part of the solution. But they believed that these tools could only be used effectively if they were combined with the teachings of Christ. Unlike their predecessors and many of their contemporaries, advocates of the Social Gospel viewed the urban poor as the victims of industrialization and urbanization, rather than as the source of their own problems. Yet, as Susan Curtis demonstrates, the Social Gospel movement continued to fear the underclass.

Historians are divided, however, on the origins of the Social Gospel movement. Janet Fishburn in her study, The Fatherland of God and the Victorian Family, argues that the movement originated in the theology and philosophy of its most prominent leaders, particularly in the writings of Walter Rauschenbusch. Other important thinkers included Washington Gladden and Richard T. Ely. Representative work by each of these individuals can be found in The Social Gospel in America, edited by Robert Handy. In contrast, Charles Hopkins contends that the Social Gospel was a mass movement within the mainstream of American Protestantism and may have, in fact, represented the realization of the Puritan ideal of the "citty upon the Hill."

In either case, the literature currently available on the Social Gospel movement offers a variety of windows for analysis. Overviews are provided in: Charles Hopkins' The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism; Ronald C. White and Charles Hopkins' The Social Gospel; and Donal Gorrell's The Age of Social Responsibility. The Social Gospel's experience within the black community provides the focus for two studies: Ralph Luker's The Social Gospel in Black and White and Ronald White's Liberty and Justice for All. William Graham's Half Finished Heaven investigates the influence of the Social Gospel on American literature and Cecil Greek's The Religious Roots of American Sociology discusses the long-term impact of the Social Gospel on American concepts of social welfare.

Possible uses as a module:

American social history.
 Literature: the Social Gospel in American literature.
 Political science: activism; grassroots organizations.
 Religion: the church and social activism.
 Sociology: social activism; anti-poverty programs.
 Urban and immigration history.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. In what way did the Social Gospel movement diverge from mainstream Protestant philanthropy?
2. Can the Social Gospel be best described as a top-down or a bottom-up movement?
3. Was the Social Gospel's approach to race radically different from that of mainstream Protestant philanthropic organizations?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. In comparison to mainstream Protestant philanthropy, was the Social Gospel movement more or less interested in: social control; religious conversion; Americanization?
2. Susan Curtis views the Social Gospel as a pivotal link between Victorian America and the consumerism of the early twentieth cen-

ture. Is her argument supported by her own evidence? Contested by the evidence provided in the other readings?

3. Given their activities, did the Social Gospel movement represent a realist approach to the problems of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century city? Did it represent a well-managed approach?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. The Social Gospel and American literature. Select a novel from the period 1870-1920 that deals with the issue of urban poverty and social justice. Research the author's background and, with that background in mind, compare the ideas put forward in that novel to the concepts espoused by the Social Gospel movement.
2. The Social Gospel and race. Investigate the Social Gospel's involvement among the urban minorities. Was their philanthropy equally distributed? Did their methods and goals differ based on the target population?
3. Women and the Social Gospel. The leading thinkers in the Social Gospel were men. To what extent did women participate in the Social Gospel movement? Did it offer opportunities for women that were unavailable in mainstream Protestant philanthropy? How did the Social Movement compare to the foreign missions as a possible outlet for activist women?

Graduate research topics:

1. The public image of the Social Gospel. Research images in contemporary newspapers and magazines and compile an analysis of the various ways in which the Social Gospel was depicted in the public media. Your analysis should include research into the background and political affiliations of the media you have chosen. Is this image consistent with the image depicted in secondary sources?
2. The extended influence of the Social Gospel. Examine the changing trends in Protestant and non-Protestant philanthropy during this time period to determine the extent to which the Social Gospel movement influenced the activities of other philanthropic organizations.

3. The Social Gospel movement: Was it an early expression of liberation theology? Compare the Social Gospel movement in America to Liberation Theology movements in Central and South America. How do their concepts of social justice compare? Did the Social Gospel movement express similar goals, apply similar methods to those of Liberation Theologians? Were both movements equally political in nature?

Suggested Readings:

Susan Curtis, A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

Janet Forsyth Fishburn, The Fatherland of God and the Victorian Family: The Social Gospel in America. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981).

Donald K. Gorrell, The Age of Social Responsibility: The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988).

William C. Graham, Half Finished Heaven: The Social Gospel in American Literature (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995).

Cecil E. Greek, The Religious Roots of American Sociology (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992).

Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).

Ralph Luker, The Social Gospel in Black and White: American Racial Reform, 1885-1912 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

Ronald C. White, Liberty and Justice for All: Racial Reform and the Social Gospel, 1877-1925 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990).

Ronald C. White and C. Howard Hopkins, The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976).

Background Readings:

Robert T. Handy, ed., The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

Gertrude Himmelfarb, Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of The Late Victorians (New York: Knopf, 1991).

Matthew Josephson, The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalist, 1861-1901 (New York, 1962).

Teresa Odenthal, Charity Begins at Home: Generosity and Self-Interest Among the Philanthropic Elite (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

Sources:

Andrew Carnegie, The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays (New York: Century Co., 1990).

Mary Baker Eddy, Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures (Boston: The First Church of Christ, Scientist, 1971).

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, The Agricultural Social Gospel in America: The Gospel of the Farm, ed. Thomas E. Graham (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986).



Unit 13**The Early Twentieth Century: Progressivism, Depression, and War.**

The early twentieth century was a period of significant change in the United States: women gained the vote; trade unions grew in strength; and the corporation emerged as the model of American business. The beneficiaries of these changes were many, but they were not universal. The United States was still burdened with poverty, disease, and economic uncertainty. Not surprisingly, public and private demands for relief increased. The federal and state governments responded with new legislation and new welfare schemes. As a result, social welfare initiatives became more centralized and social welfare funding more public. Many historians view this period—from the early days of progressivism, through the Wilsonian and New Deal eras—as a watershed in the history of American welfare with the rise of the liberal welfare state. Child labor laws, federal pensions, Social Security, unemployment insurance, workplace safety, and many other social welfare ventures originated during this period.

The trend toward public welfare did not, however, reduce the efforts of private philanthropic organizations. Quite the opposite was true. Private charitable efforts, including those promoted by the Protestant philanthropies, became increasingly intertwined with federal, state, and local relief efforts. Protestant charitable organizations received a significant percentage of their funding from government agencies and, in turn, operated as a private branch of the American welfare system.

A number of studies analyze this experience from a broad perspective. In his study, "The Culture of Liberal Protestant Progressivism," Richard Wightman Fox views the early twentieth century as a time of increasing secularization among Protestant reformers. Although religious and secular culture in America were never sharply divided, Fox argues that Protestants shifted further away from traditional religious concerns, embracing the secular reform causes of the progressives.

Michael Katz (*In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*) views this same experience from a different perspective. In Part II of his broad social history of welfare, Katz offers an interesting analysis of the reorganization of capital, labor, and social welfare in the United States and its concomitant impact on public and private welfare efforts. This period, Katz argues, was an historic watershed for American social welfare. For the first time in American history, government assumed a leading role in dealing with the problems of poverty, urbanization, and industrialization. But, Katz argues, this transformation was never completed. Private philanthropy remained an important force in the American welfare scheme, resulting in what Katz refers to as the "semiwelfare state." In his study, *Business and Religion in the American 1920s*, Rolf Lunden concentrates on the relationship between Protestantism and the corporate reorganization of business. Lunden maintains that a two-fold relationship existed between business and Protestantism. Borrowing on the thesis initially developed by Max Weber, he argues that direct connections existed between Protestantism and the evolving culture of business. In turn, the new corporate strategies had a direct effect on church organization and on church strategies within the community. Morton Keller's broad narrative, *Regulating a New Society*, studies this same experience from a fourth and less critical perspective. Keller's analysis concentrates on the formation of public policy. The relationship between public welfare and private philanthropy, Keller contends, can be best examined by focusing on public policy. The new policies covering public welfare, he concludes, were shaped to a large extent by the lobbying efforts of private voluntary organizations.

Other historians offer more focused studies of the same experience. In their study of trade union evangelism, for example, Kenneth and Elizabeth Fones-Wolf examine the relationship between Protestant religious culture and union activism. In contrast, Mina Carson and Kathryn Kish Sklar concentrate on the burgeoning settlement-house movement, which provided many Protestant women reformers with their initial experience in philanthropic work. World War I also created a new field of opportunity for private philanthropic efforts, as demonstrated in the studies by Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral*, and John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*.

Possible Uses as a module:

American social history; business history.
Political science: social activism; separation of church and state.
Religion: religious culture; religious organizational structure.
Sociology: social activism; social work.
Urban studies: the settlement houses; community
out-reach programs.
Women's studies: women reformers.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. To what extent did public welfare inherit, adopt, or adapt the existing traditions and practices of Protestant philanthropy?
2. Did the increasing presence of the government in social welfare alter the role played by Protestant philanthropic organizations?
3. Did Protestant philanthropic organizations alter their strategies in response to: the increased presence of the government; the corporate reorganization of business; the emergence of new target groups or new concerns?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Did the continued presence of Protestant philanthropic organizations within an enlarged public welfare system signal a change in the American understanding of separation of church and state?
2. If the early twentieth century was a watershed in the history of American social welfare, was it also a watershed in the history of American Protestant philanthropy?
3. In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Max Weber argues that the American Protestant ethic had a direct influence on the development of American capitalism. Does Weber's thesis also apply to the development of public welfare in the United States?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Women Protestant reformers: Women with Protestant backgrounds were very active in the reform movements of the early twentieth

century. Investigate the connection between women's activism and Protestantism during this period. To what extent was women's activism influenced and/or made possible by their connection to Protestantism? To what extent was it the result of other factors?

2. The Corporate Organization: Business underwent a major transformation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, adopting a corporate organizational structure. Develop a paper that examines the changing structure of American philanthropy during this same period. To what extent were the Protestant philanthropies influenced by these corporate strategies?
3. Protestant Philanthropy in Historical Context: Major events and issues have a direct influence on people and the organizations they develop. Select any major event or issue from the period 1890-1945 and analyze its effect on American philanthropy. Suggested topics include: the suffrage movement; child labor; trade unionism; World War I; the Great Depression.

Graduate research topics:

1. Lobbying for public policy: Voluntary organizations assert their authority in a number of ways, including lobbying for or against changes in public policy. Select a major piece of public legislation from the Progressive or New Deal eras and research the role played by Protestant theologians, philanthropists, and philanthropic organizations as public and private lobbyists.
2. Public versus Private: Alan Wolfe in The Limits of Legitimacy argues that the transformation of public welfare in the United States created a "franchise society" in which private welfare organizations receive government funding to provide private relief services. Analyze this argument from the perspective of Protestant philanthropy. Did Protestant philanthropic organizations accept the role of "franchise," as Wolfe argues? To what extent was this role forced on them? To what extent was it negotiated?
3. Focused organizational study: Select a major Protestant philanthropic organization and examine how it changed or did not change in response to the changing nature of American public welfare. Your study should consider the following issues: leadership; membership; sources of funding; primary concerns; and targeted beneficiaries.

Suggested Readings:

Nancy K. Bristow, Making Men Moral: Social Engineering During the Great War (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

Mina Carson, Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990).

Elizabeth and Kenneth Fones-Wolf, "Trade-Union Evangelism: Religion and the AFL in the Labor Forward Movement, 1912-16," in Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society, ed. Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz, 153-184 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

Richard Wightman Fox, "The Culture of Liberal Protestant Progressivism, 1875-1925," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 23 (Winter 1993): 639-60.

John F. Hutchinson, Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross (New York: Westview Press, 1996).

Michael B. Katz, In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America, revised edition (New York: Basic Books, 1996).

Morton Keller, Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994).

Rolf Lunden, Business and Religion in the American 1920s (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988).

Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," Signs 10 (1985): 657-77.

Grant Wacker, "The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910." The Journal of American History 75 (June 1985): 45-62.

Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Co., 1996).

Background Readings:

Melvyn Dubofsky, Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920 (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1985).

Gary Gerstle and Steven Fraser, eds., The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Colin Gordon, New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920-1935 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Ellis Hawley, The Great War and the Search for Modern Order (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR (New York: Vintage Books, 1955).

Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," Reviews in American History 10 no. 4 (December 1982): 113-131.

Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

Alan Wolfe, The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism (New York: Free Press, 1977).

Sources:

A Campaign of Calumny: The New York Charities Investigation (New York: American Press, 1916).

Rev. Floyd Appleton, Church Philanthropy in New York: A Study of the Philanthropic Institutions of the American Episcopal Church in New York (New York: Thomas Whittaker, Publisher, 1906).

Kate Eleanor Huntley, Financial Trends in Organized Social Work in New York City (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935).

New York Department of Finance, Charitable Institutions Division, Catalogue of Private Charitable Institutions Receiving Public Money in New York City (New York: M. B. Brown Press, 1904).

Papers of the Women's City Club of New York, Archives and Special Collections, Hunter College, CUNY, New York, NY.

Amos Griswold Warner, American Charities: A Study in Philanthropy and Economics (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1894).



Unit 14**The Late Twentieth Century And Beyond**

For many historians, sociologists, and political scientists, the late twentieth century represents the apex and fall of liberalism and the social welfare state. The New Deal, they argue, found continued expression in the policies of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations and an almost religious zeal in Lyndon Johnson's unfulfilled "Great Society." To liberal observers, social welfare in the late twentieth century remains an unfinished project. Social Security, they argue, should be saved for future generations; national health care, a long deferred goal, should become a national priority. To conservatives, social welfare was nothing more than a costly and disordered system, heavily tainted with liberal politics, that expired none too soon under the relentless assault of the new conservatives. Social welfare, they argue, should be private; the nation should return to the "golden age" of neighborly charity.

These two perspectives have become the battle lines for the twenty-first century. The questions being asked are as large as ever. What does public welfare mean? Who is deserving enough to receive it? Should welfare be centralized and public, or decentralized and private? These issues pull students and instructors in two directions. They summarize the past experience with welfare and philanthropy in the United States. At the same time, they point toward a future which, while it may appear distinct in corporate and government advertising, offers a hazy picture for philanthropy, in general, and Protestant philanthropy, in particular.

Analysts do not necessarily agree on the benefits of a continued connection between public and private welfare. Jon Van Till sees a positive future, characterized by pragmatic planning and cooperation at all levels of philanthropy: government, corporate and private. James Wood and James Houghland see a continued role for religious philanthropic activities into the twenty-first century. Religious communities, they argue, will continue to have a positive influence on philanthropic activity, even when that activity does not fall under the rubric of organized

religion. Michael Katz, on the other hand, views the disjointed nature of American social welfare as both a historic legacy and a handicap toward progress. Consequently, he paints a more pessimistic picture of the immediate future. It is a future that continues to be hampered by the unfinished nature of American welfare. It is a future that favors those who are employed over children, the elderly, the disabled, and the unemployed. And, it is a future typified by fiscal pragmatism, which results in an increasingly narrowed scope of programs and qualified beneficiaries. It is not an inevitable future, however. "American history," Katz argues, "contradicts the current fashionable belief in the impotence of government to alter social conditions such as poverty, hunger, malnutrition, or disease." (334) Agreeing with Katz's argument, Robin Garr criticizes charity in general as offering little in the way of lasting social change. A lasting solution for poverty, Garr insists, lies in grass-roots organizing among the poor themselves and not in the temporary amelioration offered by philanthropic groups.

A second area of investigation involves the changing face of American Protestantism and, in particular, the emergence of the religious right. To a large extent, this area of analysis is an extension of the "culture wars:" the conservative attack on liberalism and the debate over what is and is not "American." At issue is the long-standing separation of church and state. Writing from the perspective of the Christian right, Robert Drinian views the separation of church and state as a source of discord in the United States. Having drifted away from religious influences and from republican moral values, he argues Americans lack a moral compass. Drinian calls on religious groups to involve themselves more in public life in order to return the nation to what he views as its original republican principles. The essays collected and edited as Religion and the Culture Wars offer a second and less polemical analysis. In particular, these essays explore the growth of the Christian Right and the influence it has had on politics and social change. Conservative Christians, they argue, take an individualistic approach to social change, which places them in opposition to the communitarian approach of mainline Protestants. James Wood offers a third perspective, arguing that liberal social policies continue to thrive among mainline Protestants, particularly among Methodists. The influence of the Christian right, he contends, has been overstated, since social and economic changes in the South are eroding their constituencies. The future, Wood contends, will favor strategies that go in directions opposite to those proposed by conservative Christians. These strategies will include consensus-building among Protestants *and* Catholics, flexibility, and tolerance of other religions.

A third area of investigation involves the increased presence of private sources of charity. Michael Katz offers some interesting insights into the corporation, both as an employer and as a philanthropic organization. Additional readings include Redmond Mullin, "The Roles of Private Funding in the Context of International Voluntary Activity," and the Congressional report, *Filling the Gap: Can Private Institutions Do It?*.

These debates are in progress and students would benefit from current sources of information. Instructors should, therefore, make every effort to incorporate current newspaper and journal articles, political debates, editorials, on-line sources of information, and philanthropic literature. Instructors should also consider visual sources of information that depict charity and welfare, including photographs, graphics and television programming (news reports, talk shows, etc.).

Possible uses as a module:

- Political science: the new conservatism; separation of church and state.
- Religion: the religious right; mainstream versus evangelical Protestantism.
- Sociology: social activism; philanthropic funding.

Undergraduate discussion questions:

1. In challenging the role of public welfare, does the Christian right strengthen or weaken the role played by Protestant philanthropy?
2. In what ways has Protestant philanthropy adjusted to the increasing diversity of the American population? Will the future demand additional adjustments?
3. Has the Conservative attack on public welfare forced Protestant philanthropic organizations to seek new sources of funding? What impact will privatized funding have on philanthropic strategies?

Graduate discussion questions:

1. Does the continued presence of religious-based philanthropy contribute to what Michael Katz refers to as the unfinished or "semi-welfare" state of American social welfare?
2. Given the growing religious diversity of the American population, do the policies promoted by the Christian right threaten the status of Protestant philanthropic organizations by challenging the traditional separation of church and state?
3. If current trends continue, government funding of social welfare programs will be cut even further. Will the competition for private funding encourage or discourage broad-based cooperation and pragmatism among private, corporate, and religious philanthropic organizations?

Undergraduate research topics:

1. Voluntarism and Protestant Philanthropy: Select a major Protestant philanthropic organization and examine its demographics. What demographic profile best describes the organization's leadership, its working members, and its sources of funding? In what ways have these demographics changed over time?
2. Philanthropic Goals: Examine the changing scope of Protestant philanthropy in terms of the targeted beneficiaries and the problems addressed. Have the target groups changed over time? What might these changes be attributed to?
3. Social control versus religious benevolence: Examine the changing motivations for Protestant philanthropy. Why do Protestant philanthropic organizations persist? Does the social control versus religious benevolence debate apply to Protestant philanthropy in the late twentieth century? Are there other factors at play?

Graduate research topics:

1. Communitarian or Individualistic: Select a Protestant group that is outside mainstream Protestantism and investigate their philanthropic activities. Do they adhere to the communitarian approach toward philanthropy, offering services to the community at large, or

do they assume an individualistic approach, supporting members of their own organization? What are the sources of their funding?

2. The Image of Protestant Philanthropy: Using a wide variety of sources—descriptive literature; visual media; on-line sources—analyze the current image of Protestant philanthropy, as it is promoted by the philanthropic organizations themselves. Has this image changed significantly in the past 50, 100, 200 years? Do Protestant philanthropic organizations use everything at their disposal to promote their image? At whom are these images targeted?
3. Assimilation: Prior to the late twentieth century, many historians would have asked the following question: To what extent have non-Protestant groups assimilated what could be reasonably identified as Protestant values and traditions? Prepare a paper that investigates this question from the reverse perspective: As the twentieth century comes to a close, to what extent have Protestant philanthropic organizations assimilated what could be reasonably identified as non-Protestant strategies and traditions?

Suggested Readings:

Robert L. Dana, "From Mission to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Foreign Missions Since World War II," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 18 (October 1994): 146-50:

Robert F. Drinian, The Fractured Dream: America's Divisive Moral Choices (New York: Crossroads, 1991).

Robin Garr, Reinventing in America: The Grassroots Movements that are Feeding the Hungry, Housing the Homeless, and Putting Americans Back to Work (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1995).

John C. Green et al, Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996).

Michael B. Katz, In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America, revised edition (New York: Basic Books, 1996).

Redmond Mullin, "The Roles of Private Funding in the Context of International Voluntary Activity," International Transnational Associations 4 (April 1980): 176-179.

U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Subcommittee on Children and Families, Filling the Gap: Can Private Institutions Do It? (Washington, DC: GPO, 1996).

Jon Van Til, "Preparing for Philanthropy's Future," in Van Til, et al., eds., Critical Issues in American Philanthropy (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1990), 263-275.

James P. Wood, "Liberal Protestant Social Action in a Period of Decline," in Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion in America's Voluntary Sector, ed. Robert Wuthnow et al., 165-182 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990).

James P. Wood and James G. Houghland, Jr., "The Role of Religion in Philanthropy," in Jon Van Til, et al., eds., Critical Issues in American Philanthropy: Strengthening Theory and Practice, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), 99-132.

Robert Wuthnow, The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Background Readings:

Alan Brinkley, The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).

Alonzo Hamby, Liberalism and Its Challengers: From F.D.R. to Bush (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

James Davison Hunter, Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

Allen J. Matusow, The Unraveling of America: The History of Liberalism in the 1960's (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

Theda Skocpol, "The Limits of the New Deal System and the Roots of the Contemporary Welfare Dilemmas," in The Politics of Social

Policy in the United States ed. Margeret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, 293-311 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).



Part II

The Protestant Missionary and Social Reform Experience: Sources and Trends in North America, Great Britain, and Northern Europe

By Angelo T. Angelis

Conducted under the auspices of the Kellogg Project on Multicultural Philanthropy at the Center for the Study of Philanthropy of the Graduate School and University Center, CUNY, this overview reflects an initial phase of research, identifying and analyzing primary and secondary sources concerning Protestant philanthropic and voluntary efforts in North America, Great Britain and Northern Europe. In approaching a project of this scope, the researcher is quickly confronted with a major quandary: how to distinguish between philanthropic and voluntary enterprises which are actually anchored in religious motivations and those whose motivations are secular, but whose leadership and/or membership reflects a large percentage of Protestants. With the exception of those philanthropic enterprises which have clearly identifiable evangelical goals, this distinction can be a difficult one to make. Given the geographic boundaries of this research, within which Protestantism represented, and still represents, the dominant religious identification, a wide spectrum of philanthropic and voluntary enterprises are found which reflect a clear Protestant influence, even though their activities may not have been directly underwritten by a Protestant organization. This is particularly true where financial support is concerned, since both secular and religious philanthropic enterprises have frequently secured their financial support from their respective societies' Protestant elite. The issue is further complicated by the economic, political and social influence held by the Protestant majorities in these societies, majorities which, as a result of their dominance, frequently merged religious and secular motivations to the extent that they regularly blurred the line separating private philanthropy from public charity, and religious enterprises from civil ones.

In order to deal with the difficulty of separating religious from secular philanthropic effort, "Protestant philanthropy and voluntarism," for the purposes of this research, has been defined as including those efforts and enterprises which were underwritten by organizations having identifiable connections to the organized Protestant churches, or which clearly espoused Protestant religious goals. Given this definition, Protestant missions and missionaries offer a readily accessible starting point for this portion of the project and, as a result, this category represents the bulk of the research completed to date.

Research into Protestant missions clearly benefits from the availability of primary sources. Protestant missionary organizations maintained scrupulous records and, as a result, a number of important collections exist, some of which have been thoroughly catalogued. These include the extensive collections of the Missionary Research Library in New York and the Church Missionary Society in London.¹ The Missionary Research Library, which is part of the Burke Library of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, is a particularly important collection, covering American Protestant missionary activities on an interfaith and international scale, and spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Included in this collection are documents and publications which focus not only on the theological aspects of the Protestant missions, but on their sociological and anthropological interests as well. Other collections also exist which, either in part or in their entirety, offer excellent research opportunities. Researchers, therefore, have ready access to missionary reports and records, printed matter, correspondence and material sources. In addition, some primary sources, especially those involving personal diaries and correspondence, have been edited and published, making available private and hard-to-access collections. The missionary experience has also resulted in a bounty of personal memoirs and recollections, many of which are also available in published form.

The availability of primary sources is, in fact, reflected in an equally extensive body of secondary studies, most of which focus on individual and regional missionary experiences in the field, or on missionary motivations and results. A second group of studies concentrates on the experience of women missionaries in particular. Although both of these areas of concentration offer interesting avenues for additional research, some of the most exciting scholarship in this field involves the effort to explore the connection between the Protestant missionary enterprise

and government, especially as it relates to issues of foreign policy. This scholarship generally follows one of three major hypotheses.

The first argues that, although missionary motivations were initially religious and philanthropic—seeking the religious conversion and social betterment of the target populations—the overseas missions did, at some point, become extensions of their own nation's foreign policy. Although all the studies which fall into this category agree that missionaries acted as agents of foreign policy, they are not necessarily in accord regarding the extent to which the missionaries ought to be held accountable for their conscious or unconscious actions.

Pat Barr, for example, views the Protestant missionaries in the Far East as serving two masters: religious and secular. She argues that, on the one hand, the missionaries were obsessed with "saving" the Chinese through conversion, while on the other, through their advocacy of western technology and civilization, they acted as the agents of western imperialism.² John McCracken views this relationship from a different perspective, arguing that it underwent a process of evolution, with the missionary eventually assuming an indirect role as an agent of foreign policy. In his study on the British mission in Malawi (Africa), McCracken contends that the Livingstonia mission, whose original religious/philanthropic goals had been outlined by David Livingstone, acted as an indirect extension of British colonialism by establishing diplomatic and educational footholds for British political and commercial interests. McCracken concludes, however, that the Livingstonia mission was never in complete agreement with the British government, frequently finding itself in conflict with the goals of British colonialism.³ Geoffrey Moorehouse, who also examines the Protestant missionary experience in Africa, takes yet a different position on this issue. While he agrees with Barr's and McCracken's assertions that the earliest missionary efforts were marked by an earnest desire to disseminate Christianity, he maintains that the missionary enterprises quickly and consciously evolved into an active extension of western foreign policy, making their efforts largely inseparable from the imperialist ambitions of their respective governments. Moorehouse, in fact, concludes that the presence of each of the western Protestant missions, in terms of scope and size, directly approximated their nation's desire to colonize.⁴

The second hypothesis is that the Protestant missionary enterprises acted, from the very beginning, as the agents of their respective nation's foreign policies. Stanley Brian, for example, develops the argument that

evangelical Christianity clearly incorporated, at least at the leadership level, an understanding that an alliance of interests existed between the religious mission and British commercial expansion.⁵ Similarly, A. J. Temu contends in his study, *British Protestant Missionaries*, that a direct relationship existed between the Protestant missionary movement in Kenya and British political and commercial interests. At its most basic level, Temu maintains, this relationship saw British military protection and colonial cooperation exchanged for the pioneering and reconnaissance capabilities of the missionaries.⁶

Although it involves domestic rather than foreign ambitions, the direct connection between government policy and missionary enterprise can be more easily identified in the support offered by the United States government for Protestant missionary efforts among the Native Americans. Robert Keller's study *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy* analyzes an important phase of this relationship: the Indian Office policies of Ulysses S. Grant. In 1869 Grant established a formal relationship between the United States government and the Protestant churches, under which a number of Protestant missionary boards were given responsibility for managing Native American (Indian) affairs. Keller argues that, although it represented a direct violation of the separation of church and state, President Grant believed his decision was justified by his desire to overhaul the Indian Office, which had been scandalized by charges of corruption and inefficiency. In giving the Protestant missions this responsibility, Grant also knowingly provided them with an uninterrupted opportunity to proselytize among Native Americans.⁷ At least one first-hand account of Grant's Indian policy in action is available in the form of Lawrie Tatum's memoir of his career as a Quaker missionary-Indian agent.⁸

The third hypothesis in this debate is that a mutuality of interests existed between the Protestant overseas missions on one hand, and foreign and commercial policies on the other, but that a direct connection between them did not necessarily exist. The debate within this hypothesis ranges from arguments which maintain the existence of parallel interests, to those which reverse the role of the government and the mission thereby placing the Protestant mission at the heart of foreign policymaking decisions. Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofré, for example, contends that Protestant missionary interests in Peru paralleled those of their respective nations, but did not serve them directly. Instead, Bruno-Jofré concludes, the Protestant missions had more of an impact on the

development of the emerging national government in Peru than they had on the policies of Britain and the United States.⁹

Paul Varg's conclusion, however, which draws on the American Protestant experience in China, argues that the overseas mission not only had a direct impact on the host culture, but also influenced the course of American policy in the region, an influence which lasted into the Cold War era.¹⁰ Varg's analysis recognizes the fact that nationalism, whether it was conscious or unconscious, served to tie the goals of the American Protestant mission to those of American foreign policy. In his own study, Joseph Grabill echoes Varg's conclusions by crediting the American Protestant missionaries, who he contends had close ties to the presidential administration of Woodrow Wilson, with establishing the foundation for post-World War II American policies in the Near East.¹¹

Although a significant amount of effort has been expended in exploring the relationship between Protestant missionary enterprises and government or foreign policy, the studies completed to date leave open a number of important questions. To begin with, few comparative studies have been completed, leaving unexplored the larger issue of government-missionary cooperation as a standard practice in western foreign policy, notwithstanding the fact that an abundance of research examining individual and regional experiences has been accumulated. Opportunities clearly exist for research which, by comparing and contrasting these experiences, can begin to answer a number of important questions. Was there, in fact, a common missionary experience among the Protestant missions from North America, Great Britain and Northern Europe, or did the experience vary from one region to another? Given the degree of common origin which existed between the two societies, how do the British and American Protestant missionary experiences compare? Was the connection between foreign policy and mission unique to the Protestants, or did the Catholic missionary enterprises from these regions maintain a similar relationship? Did they develop this relationship on their own, or did they draw on the Protestant experience?

It also appears from the sources reviewed to date that an insufficient amount of effort has been expended in researching the missionary experience from the very top of the philanthropic hierarchy. Research has tended to focus on experiences in the field, at the expense of those at the leadership and sponsorship levels. As a result, the debate concerning the connections between the overseas missionary enterprise and government or foreign policy has led to conflicting and inconclusive results, as

reflected in the three major historiographical trends. Can a direct connection between missionary enterprise and foreign policy be proven? If a direct connection did exist, it would have existed at the highest echelons and not at the field level.

It appears, therefore, that the best sources of information would potentially be found in the financial records of the missionary organizations, the records of their sponsors, and possibly the records of private and public organizations concerned with foreign policy and commerce. However, with few exceptions, private, government, and missionary financial records have not been carefully examined in the majority of these studies. Nor have their authors indicated that they attempted, but failed to locate these sources. A significant opportunity for research, therefore, exists in the potential to collect and examine, first, the sources and networks of funding behind these missionary enterprises and, second, the personal networks which might link key government and business representatives with missionary leaders and sponsors. Unless this level of research is undertaken, we will be left with the suspicion that a government-missionary connection existed, but with few conclusive results concerning the nature and extent of this relationship.

Given the fact that the Protestant missionary enterprise offers a large, diverse and open field for research, it is also important to remember that the Protestant philanthropic and voluntary experience neither begins nor ends with the missions. In fact, by the early eighteenth century, if not earlier, social reform and social welfare had already begun to play a major role, both individually and institutionally, for Protestants at all class levels in Great Britain, the United States and Northern Europe.

Once again, a few excellent collections are available for researchers seeking primary sources. For example, there are the collections of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia, all of which contain extensive holdings concerning eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philanthropy in the United States, and all of which have been carefully catalogued and indexed by Cornelia S. King.¹² Other opportunities for research exist in the private papers of individuals who were prominent benefactors of these enterprises, such as the papers of Maurice Pate, an American financier and an active supporter of international relief efforts during the twentieth century.¹³ Early secondary sources also offer significant opportunities for research, as exemplified by the 1906 examination undertaken by Reverend Floyd Appleton into the philanthropic

experience of the American Episcopal Church in New York.¹⁴ These early studies are particularly valuable since they frequently record data or cite sources which may be difficult for the researcher to identify on his or her own.

It is surprising, however, that a larger volume of research into Protestant philanthropic and voluntary enterprises has not been undertaken. This may result from the inherent difficulty in distinguishing religious from secular Protestant philanthropy, since it is in researching this very area, with its impressive array of responses to social and economic needs, that the boundary between the two becomes unclear. Religious motivations are easier to identify when examining earlier, more localized philanthropic efforts. However, in predominantly Protestant societies the separation between religious and secular philanthropic enterprises becomes increasingly blurred as these efforts progress toward generalized and professionalized solutions.

Although additional research may uncover a larger body of scholarship, it appears that research efforts into this area of study are clearly hindered by two factors. First, there is the dilemma created by the need to separate Protestant religious enterprises from those which were secular in nature, but were supported by a Protestant majority. Second, this confusion is also reflected in the tools made available to the researcher. Computer databases, such as those developed by major research universities and libraries, do not reflect the fact that philanthropy and voluntarism, let alone their related sub-categories, are, in fact, fields of research. Clearly, they are not indexed in a way that allows the researcher to successfully narrow the field of available sources, for example, to Protestant philanthropy and voluntarism. This presents a particularly difficult obstacle for researchers who are looking to cross the boundaries of the academic and professional disciplines.

Terminology, the third factor hindering research, appears to be at the heart of this problem. "Philanthropy," "voluntary," and "charity," along with their associated compounds, are used inconsistently in subject headings and descriptions, or are simply omitted, thereby frustrating subject and keyword searches. Initial research has also shown that no definitive bibliography, one which successfully indexes the sub-categories of philanthropy and voluntarism, has been published. Opportunities, therefore, clearly exist to advance this field of study. Among them are the need to clarify terminology, to bring research data

bases into line with the current state of research, and to develop a comprehensive bibliography.

However, despite the limitations of these research tools, even a cursory survey of the sources available for research into non-missionary Protestant philanthropic and voluntary efforts reveals the existence of clearly identifiable historiographical trends. These trends center around those charitable efforts which were evangelical in nature, seeking social reform through a combination of action and ideology, versus those efforts which represented a more direct response to specific social and economic problems, including unemployment, urbanization, industrialization and health and sanitation. The existing body of literature that has grown out of these two trends reflects a number of diverse hypotheses, most of which have identifiable parallels in the arguments put forward by studies into the Protestant missionary experience. One group of arguments supports the contention that Protestant philanthropists and reformers used these enterprises in an attempt to socialize the lower classes or to render them submissive. A second group concludes that Protestant philanthropic efforts were, in fact, tied to efforts at proselytizing. A third school of thought sees in these efforts an enthusiastic desire to bring about true social reform, one that is frequently tied to more radical Protestant ideologies, including those espoused under the umbrella of the Social Gospel or by radical Anglican reformers. A significant amount of research has also been completed on the evolution of Protestant social reform, beginning with its initial attempts to privately address specific social needs, progressing to the social reform movement, and culminating in the welfare state. Finally, a fifth hypothesis, one which clearly overlaps a major issue developed in the research on Protestant missionaries, involves the connection between Protestant women, religion and social reform.¹⁵

While each of these research categories represents a detailed examination of Protestant philanthropy in practice, it appears that there is one area of research that has been, once again, left largely untapped: the sources of financial support and sponsorship, and the network of connections that may have existed between Protestant philanthropic institutions and government/commercial interests. In addition, as with the Protestant missionary experience, comparative studies, at the very least those which would analyze Protestant experiences in different regions of the world, appear to offer a major opportunity for future research.

When taken together and viewed from a historical perspective, this body of research into the Protestant missionary experience and the Protestant experience with social reform and social welfare appears to address the majority of issues concerning Protestant philanthropy and voluntarism. However, as a body, this research also raises significant questions concerning the tradition of Protestant philanthropy in general. Did Protestantism provide the critical element for the rise of philanthropy and voluntarism in North America, Great Britain and Northern Europe? If so, was this the result of theology and ideology, or was it the product of a combination of factors, including, but not restricted to, the relationship between Protestantism, government and business? How has this experience evolved as societies which were once Protestant-dominated have become progressively more diverse, not only in terms of religious identification, but also in how individuals and groups view the place of religion and government in their daily lives? It is evident that philanthropy and voluntarism offers major research opportunities, opportunities which cross the boundaries of a number of professional and academic disciplines. It is also evident, therefore, that priority should be given to the process of identifying and analyzing available primary and secondary sources and to enhancing the research tools needed to quickly and accurately access these sources.

Endnotes

¹ Catalogues of the Missionary Research Library, Burke Library of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, NY; Clayton H. Chu, American Missionaries in China: Books, Articles and Pamphlets Extracted from the Subject Catalog of the Missionary Research Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); Church Missionary Society, Catalogue of the Papers of the Missions of the Africa (Group 3) Committee 2nd ed. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1981).

² Pat Barr, To China With Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1973).

³ Geoffrey Moorehouse, The Missionaries (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1973).

- ⁵ Brian Stanley, The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester, England: Apollos, 1990; Ibid, "Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860," The Historical Journal 26:1 (March 1983): 71-94.
- ⁶ A. J. Temu, British Protestant Missions (London: Longman Group Limited, 1972).
- ⁷ Robert H. Keller, Jr., American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).
- ⁸ Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant (John C. Winston & Co., 1899; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).
- ⁹ Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofré, Methodist Education in Peru: Social Gospel, Politics, and American Ideological and Economic Penetration, 1888-1930 (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988).
- ¹⁰ Paul A. Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).
- ¹¹ Joseph L. Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).
- ¹² Cornelia S. King, ed., American Philanthropy, 1731-1860: Printed Works in the Collections of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984).
- ¹³ Maurice Pate, "The Maurice Pate Papers." Mudd Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.
- ¹⁴ Floyd Appleton, Church Philanthropy in New York: A Study of the Philanthropic Institutes of the American Episcopal Church in New York (New York: Thomas Whittaker, Publisher, 1906).

- ¹⁵ For examples covering each major hypothesis see: John King Alexander, Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800 (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980); Frank Joseph Klingburg, Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York (Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1940); Bernard Kent Markwell, The Anglican Left: Radical Social Reformers in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1846-1954 (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1991); Patricia Rooke and R. L. Schnell, Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English Canada, 1800-1950 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1983); Joanne Carlson Brown, "Protestant Women and Social Reform," in Our Own Voices, Four Centuries of American Women's Religious Writing, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995).



Part III

**A.
Protestantism,
Social Reform
and
Charitable
Institutions**

Annotated Selected Bibliography

By Angelo T. Angelis, with contributions by Dorothy M. Browne, Ariel Rosenblum, Elsa Davidson, Kacy Wiggins, and Ted Wisniewski

Abend, Rosemary. "Constant Samaritans: Quaker Philanthropy in Philadelphia 1680-1799." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1988.

This dissertation explores the changing nature of Quaker philanthropy in Philadelphia from 1680 to 1799. Abend identifies two traditions of poor relief operating during this period: the first is the Puritan tradition, whereby the poor were separated into categories of worthiness and unworthiness. According to this position, those in poverty were expected to be submissive, and to work for their own relief. The second was the Quaker tradition, by which the poor were all seen as worthy recipients of aid and involvement in philanthropic giving was seen as a potential route to salvation. Abend examines the development of these positions on charity in England and the implementation of the Quaker system in Philadelphia. She highlights the Quaker dominance over Philadelphia's public and private relief efforts and the acquiescence of Philadelphia's non-Quaker population to this Quaker control. A major component of Quaker philanthropy, and according to Abend, an extremely important contribution to American philanthropic history, was the dual system of poor relief which the Quakers implemented. Philadelphia Friends taxed themselves to provide public poor relief, and at the same time, provided relief for members of their own religious meetings so that their co-religionists would not have to resort to public relief. Quaker leadership of Philadelphia poor relief (and all other Philadelphia cultural and political institutions) lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century, at

which point the American Revolution forced changes in Quaker participation in public life, including charitable endeavors. Unlike other historians of the Society of Friends, who argue that the French and Indian War was the pivotal event in the history of Quaker charity, Abend argues that the American War for Independence had a greater impact on Quakers' role in poor relief. During this time, the Quakers lost their elevated and respected position in Philadelphia society, due to their pacifist leanings. After the war, poor relief and philanthropy received much support in Philadelphia but the Quakers no longer controlled the organizations, societies, and apparatus through which charity was administered. A new figure emerged: the non-Quaker, secular humanist who engaged not only in poor relief, but also in broader reform efforts. Quakers ceded their role as the arbiters of charity to this new group of leaders.

Abzug, Robert H. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

In this book Robert H. Abzug analyses the emergence and development of antebellum reform, beginning with early nineteenth-century New England. In the first two decades of the century evangelical forces flourished. Influential leaders like Timothy Dwight and Lyman Beecher recast Calvinist notions of good and evil into new dramas. More emphasis was placed on free will, more faith in the individual's freedom to resist evil. Reform efforts took their place in the cosmic drama; voluntary societies became, in Lyman Beecher's words, "a sort of disciplined moral militia." (45) Domestic and missionary societies spread rapidly to combat "vice and licentiousness," and old problems—such as intemperance—now became dramatized as central issues in a Cosmic battle of Good against Evil. Temperance reform became a moral crusade of cosmological significance, and in 1835 the American Temperance society claimed over a million members. As Evangelicalism spread, many associations lost touch with their institutional moorings, and many reformers cast off religious alliances altogether to engage in spiritual experimentation. Radical reform schools such as abolitionism, feminism, phrenology, and communitarianism, became suffused with a religious ardor of their own. Abzug's study is important because it elucidates the eschatolog-

ical dramas that suffused even the most seemingly secular or "trivial" areas of antebellum reform.

Alexander, John King. Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.

This monograph examines the public and private responses to poverty in Philadelphia immediately prior to and following the American Revolution, a period which the author contends was marked by more class conflict and social distance than has been traditionally assumed. The objective of this analysis is to understand who comprised the poor, what poverty entailed, how the community perceived and responded to it, and whether or not the American Revolution had a direct impact on this response. The author has consciously limited his analysis to a single American community, focusing specifically on poor laws and charity records, in the expectation that a focused study would form the foundation for future comparative investigations. As a monograph, this study draws essentially on primary sources, which consist primarily of the records of the benefactors (since few records written from the perspective of the poor are available). This results in a history of charity and poverty in pre- and post-revolutionary America which is written largely, and necessarily so, from the perspective of the non-poor. The author supports his thesis with thorough citations, bibliographic and methodological essays and an appendix containing statistical tables on crime in Philadelphia. A general index is included.

Brown, Joanne Carlson. "Protestant Women and Social Reform." In Our Own Voices: Four Centuries of American Women's Religious Writing, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995.

A strong connection exists in the history of American Protestantism between women, religion and social reform. Supporting this theme, this study argues that, while not all reform movements in America had religious motivations, all reform movements possessed within them religious elements. Protestant American women found in religion not only a powerful motivation for voluntary and charitable work, they also found an element of empowerment, as well as a public voice.

The conviction that they had been called into the voluntary sector by God and not humans, Brown contends, allowed religious women to overcome the barriers which generally hindered women's involvement in public life. As a result, Protestant women have been, from the very beginning, among the strongest advocates for social reform in America. In keeping with the format of the collected work of which this essay is a part, the author has divided her study into two sections. In the first, the author offers an abbreviated history of women's involvement in American Protestant social reform movements, including an analysis of their motivations and achievements. This is followed by a selection of fourteen original documents, covering the late eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, which the author believes are representative of the involvement of Protestant women in the American social reform movement, and who, as a group, demonstrate the connections between religion, reform and feminism. A selection of captioned photographs and illustrations is also included.

Collison, Gary L. "A True Toleration': Harvard Divinity School Students and Unitarianism, 1830-1859." In American Unitarianism, 1805-1865, ed. Conrad Edick Wright. Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society and Northeastern University Press, 1989.

The 1830s and 40s were difficult years for the Harvard Divinity School. Assailed from liberals and conservatives alike, weakened from shrinking funds and a dwindling staff and student body, one would hardly perceive the school as a powerful force for change. In this essay, however, Gary L. Collison illustrates how "the loudest voices in an era of bitter controversy...are often misleading," and how the Divinity School, far from lapsing into inertia, "actually maintained a tenuous dynamism," with the students actively engaging themselves with the pressing issues of the day. (212) Drawing primarily from the recordings of the Philanthropic Society of the Harvard Divinity School (1831-1850), Collison explores the students' involvement with temperance, bible, missionary and peace societies. During the 1830s, as the student body became increasingly radicalized, issues like child labor, prostitution, and abolition made their way onto committee agendas—often against the wishes of senior faculty members. During the 1840s the students also demonstrated an interest in social experimentation. They may have criti-

cized Brooke Farm, but by 1847 the Society "was considering anti-capitalist resolutions in almost every way as radical as Fourierism." (228) Overall, Collison effectively captures the vitality and independence of the Harvard Divinity School during its most precarious years.

Curtis, Susan. A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

This study concentrates on the inherent duality contained within the Social Gospel movement: the desire, on the one hand, to secure reforms for the urban underclass and, on the other, the reformers' own private fears of that very underclass. This conflict, the author argues, shaped this movement's complexity as well as its pivotal position as a link between nineteenth-century American Victorian culture and the consumer-oriented culture that emerged in the twentieth century. Drawing heavily on the writings and experiences of a select group of influential individuals, especially Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden, the author offers a detailed analysis of the movement's ideology within the broader context of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American culture. The convergence of ideology, the evangelical Protestant roots of the Social Gospel movement and experience, the impact of industrialization, and urban growth and immigration are all thoroughly explored. This convergence, Curtis contends, challenged the Victorian ideals and values of many American Protestant youth, resulting in a number of socially progressive American Protestant responses, including the Social Gospel movement. However, as a result of the inherent conflicts within the Social Gospel movement, Curtis maintains that many of its advocates also adopted the fears and materialism created by the secular, consumer-oriented culture they opposed, causing some of them to lose contact with the movement's original goals. Curtis includes thorough citations, a general index, but no bibliography.

Drinan, Robert. The Fractured Dream: America's Divisive Moral Choices. New York: Crossroads, 1991.

Drinan outlines some of America's principle moral dilemmas, ranging from questions of foreign policy to abortion and gun

control. His main argument concerns what he sees as America's lack of a moral compass. Americans, he suggests, do not trust government, and since there is separation of church and state, they lack spiritual guidance as a polity. Drinan maintains that the nation has traveled far from the moral values upon which the republic was established, and that Americans might do well to consider the religious influences which inform our legal system and system of government. He goes on to explore moral dilemmas which the nation has faced in the second half of the twentieth century, such as nuclear stockpiling during the Cold War, the dominance of the United States in United Nations policy, and the lack of moral guidance in America's secular public school system. Drinan challenges religious groups to take part in public life, and return the nation to the spirit and spiritualism inherent to its republican founding principles. His style is rhetorical and polemical.

Fairclough, Adam. To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Beginning in 1957, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) became the institutional heart of the civil rights movement. But, Fairclough argues, it defied easy classification. At times it seemed more church than civil rights organization, more a movement than an institution. On the surface, inefficiency and disarray seemed a possible limit to its effectiveness. Yet from its inception to 1965, it successfully fought segregation with a series of nonviolent protests. Fairclough details the history of the SCLC by examining its evolving structure, membership, and leadership. The apparent lack of a rigid structure, the author concludes, insured its effectiveness for nearly a decade. The absence of rigidity, normally associated with formal organizations, allowed Martin Luther King and the other members to move from one community to another, from one protest to another. Fairclough also notes the SCLC's ability to use non-violence to provoke violent reactions from Southern racists. Combined with its mobility, this made the SCLC's campaign remarkably productive. But by 1965 the scene had changed considerably. The Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act, won with the help of pressure applied by the SCLC, were the most apparent differences. Ultimately, its greatest asset became a liability

and the SCLC was no longer able to hold its position as the pre-eminent civil right organization.

Fishburn, Janet Forsyth. The Fatherland of God and the Victorian Family: The Social Gospel in America. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981.

This study contends that elements of the Social Gospel continue to influence contemporary American thought, having been passed down within a broader tradition of Victorian thought. In this sense, this study intends to analyze the theology and philosophy of the Social Gospel from the perspective of its written literature and social institutions, focusing primarily on the experiences and writings of Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918), who was one of the principle leaders of the Social Gospel movement in the United States. Fishburn compares the theology of the Social Gospel as expressed by Rauschenbusch to that of traditional Christianity by placing both the book and its author in the social and cultural context of Victorian America. A major element of this analysis is a critical interpretation of Rauschenbusch's A Theology for the Social Gospel. Supported throughout by citations, this study offers a valuable analysis of the Social Gospel movement in the United States. A bibliography listing primary and secondary sources and a general index are also included.

Fones-Wolf, Elizabeth and Kenneth. "Trade-Union Evangelism: Religion and the AFL in the Labor Forward Movement, 1912-16." In Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society, ed. Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz, 153-184 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

This essay examines the use of revival tactics, customs, and language to infuse the organization of the AFL with new vigor during the era of World War I. The Labor Forward movement was an attempt to combine religion with trade-union activism. At its height, over a hundred cities were represented by 1916. Clergymen gave sermons, allowed unions to use their church pulpits and give pro-union speeches, ran bazaars, and held meetings. Furthermore, even where there was no religious message, unionists employed evangelical revival tactics such as conversion cards. They had their greatest success in towns and cities

with strong traditions of craft unionism and their least success in locales with monopolistic industries. After 1916, the AFL ceased to support the Labor Forward movement, preferring to focus instead on patriotic support for the efforts in the world war then underway.

Foster, Charles. An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

In this book Charles Foster examines the emergence of the "united evangelical front" in England and the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He points out the close ties between British and American evangelical organizations during the 1820s. Picking up from their British connections "first hand experience," the jobbers, importers, and merchants in Boston and New York City played crucial roles in expanding the movement in the United States. Despite its ties to England, America's evangelical movement developed distinct characteristics of its own. The role of the clergy as articulators of the movement was more pronounced. Also different was the frequent merging of the "role of spokesman . . . with the role of political leader . . . perhaps because of a greater fluidity in the society of the United States." (140) Samuel Bayard, for example, the founder of Princeton Theological Seminary and the New York Historical Society, was a prominent New York lawyer and judge. Overall, there emerged in the United States a distinct coalition of lawyers, judges, politicians, businessman and clergy. Taking full advantage of the emerging railroads and other technological developments, these people coordinated the activities of benevolent associations throughout the country. Holidays like Anniversary Week in New York City, and Ecclesiastical Week in Philadelphia, proved highly effective in bringing together people from various organizations. The 1830s also saw the rise of the "convention circuit" as an effective fundraising tool. In the Fall of 1830 the American Sunday School Union held its first national convention, successfully assembling "200 delegates from fourteen states and territories"—this at a time when the United States "could boast only three hundred miles of railroad track." (147) The Union's success set other groups organizing, and by 1834 an evangelical convention circuit "was in full swing." Overall, Foster provides a useful look at the agendas

and activities of America's evangelical movement, and the effective fundraising and administrative strategies it employed.

Friedman, Lawrence J. Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Abolitionist opinion in antebellum America spanned a wide range of attitudes and ideas. Focusing on the first generation of "immediatist" abolitionists, Lawrence J. Friedman explores the diversity and factionalism that permeated the movement. He examines the insurgent radicalism of William Garrison and his associates, the "temperate" immediatism of the Lewis Tappan Circle, and the "half-way abolitionism" of moderates like Lyman Beecher and Horace Mann. Friedman traces these differences to their specific social contexts, specifically the intimacy circles or "sanctuaries" of these different abolitionist schools. He focuses on the three most prominent networks: the Boston Clique, the Lewis Tappan Circle in New York City, and the Gerrit Smith faction in upstate New York. Despite their hostility to slavery, differences between these groups ran deep, particularly in their attitudes toward politics, benevolent associations, and churches. The Boston Clique tended to distrust established churches; the radicalism of its members generally alienated them from other benevolent associations. The Tappan Circle, in contrast, was deeply evangelical, and "derived deep comforts from the fellowship of missionaries within the benevolent society movement."⁶⁹ Of these factions, only Gerrit Smith's group seriously embraced party politics, in this case the Liberty Party in the 1840s. All of these groups had their own internal tensions and power struggles, and Friedman discusses the social rituals that emerged to "contain" them. He explores how the "social dynamics" and "personal idiosyncrasies" of these circles affected the impact of such pressing issues as the "woman question," race relations, violence, and the preservation of anti-slavery societies after the war. Friedman's study captures the social and psychological complexity of abolitionism; he shows how the movement permeated the lives of those who embraced it.

Garr, Robin. Reinvesting in America: The Grassroots Movements that are Feeding the Hungry, Housing the Homeless, and Putting Americans Back to Work. Readings, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1995.

Garr profiles grassroots organizations which provide shelter, housing, food, job training, and health care all over the country. Telling the individual stories of participants in the various programs she highlights, Garr underscores her argument that the solution to poverty lies in grassroots political organizing and advocacy by and for the poor in the United States. She is critical of charity, and suggests that lasting social change only occurs when people are given opportunities to help themselves.

Garrow, David J. Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. New York: Random House, 1986.

Garrow's book is a detailed analysis of the role of Martin Luther King, Jr., in the struggle for civil rights. It examines his early influences and traces the evolution of his mission to transform the nation. The book describes the strategies employed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the struggle and discusses the obstacles that King confronted and the various campaigns that he launched. Garrow provides a human portrait of a heroic yet deeply flawed man who made great personal sacrifices in order to take up the cross of the civil rights movement. King constantly battled with depression, and his familial relationships were strained. He was very isolated and alone as he traveled the country fighting for equality and human rights. King eventually paid the ultimate sacrifice for his dedication to the movement, but the personal toll his work took on him during his life only amplifies his selfless giving to his people and to the nation.

"The Good News of Secularism." The Woodrow Wilson Quarterly 17 (Spring 1993): 140-1.

In this short piece, the author reviews Richard Wightman Fox's The Culture of Liberal Protestant Progressivism, 1875-1925. Fox argues that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century Protestants turned away from traditional Protestant religion

and toward the reformist causes of that era. In contrast, the unnamed reviewer maintains that religious and secular culture in America have never been sharply divided, and that both the clergy and religious institutions have played an indisputable role in promoting secular culture. Fox, the reviewer tells us, suggests that after the Civil War and until the turn of the century, the Protestant clergy in America were instrumental in defining and representing modern American conceptions of character and personality. Calvinist emphases on self-sacrifice and individual subjection to a higher law were appropriate to a rapidly industrializing society. The idea of the ever-changing adult always subject to regeneration and improvement was also well-suited to the burgeoning consumer society. Fox links the late nineteenth-century argument advanced by the Protestant clergyman Henry Ward Beecher—that character depended upon the cultivation of personality—to the 1920s Social Gospel movement. The reviewer points out that Liberal Protestantism paid a price for its failure to define itself against other secular currents. He/she also suggests that Fox's representation is overly simple.

Green, John, et al. Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996.

Four Christian political scientists contributed to and edited this book of essays, which attempts to understand the Christian right's place in American culture and politics. The period between 1980 and 1996, the authors claim, witnessed a considerable expansion of religious-based politics. Evangelical Christians took the lead in lobbying for the restoration of traditional values to public policy. The authors are concerned to contextualize the growth of religious-based politics in the United States, and provide a reason for its existence. They maintain that Protestant evangelism has always been prevalent in "under-developed" regions of the country, such as the South, and the Mid-West. Moreover, the authors argue that the historical experiences of urbanization and industrialization were instrumental in the genesis of an evangelical "cultural defense movement." As Protestant evangelicals have grown in wealth and power within their communities, they have begun to assume leadership roles in politics and command vast communication networks. A fundamental point which the authors raise is that

Protestant evangelicals favor an individualistic theory of social change, in contradistinction to the more communitarian epistemology of American Catholics and mainline Protestants who, in keeping with the sensibility of the Progressive era, feel that society improves when its institutions are improved. One essay traces the development of the Christian Right from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s, while another takes a close look at the Pat Robertson campaign. Other essays look at electoral strategies and lobbying issues of concern to politicized Christians. With respect to the Moral Majority, it is suggested that by the time that movement ended in the late 1980s, it left in its wake a core of well-organized conservative Christians aligned with the Republican Party, and influential within the culture of Political Action Committees (PACs). The authors conclude that, as evangelists and secularists respectively represent the cultural cores of the Republican and Democratic Parties, they are each in line to shape the ideologies of the two-party system.

Griffin, Clifford. *Their Brothers Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States 1800-1865*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1960; Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Griffin examines organized social reform in the nineteenth century through the lens of social control. American moral stewards in the antebellum period—trustees to the Calvinist stewardship tradition—used religion to combat social upheavals, and the breakdown of American homogeneity in evidence during this period. These men were members of the wealthy elite, usually of the patrician classes; they condemned as evil every practice in which they did not indulge and viewed men with different ideas as ungodly. Through various associations (American Bible Society, American Tract Society, American Peace Society, American Antislavery Society, American Education Society, American Home Missionary Society), the trustees attempted to exert control over all members of American society. They approached their task through two methods: moral suasion and compulsion (through law). They nationalized their program, through auxiliaries and agents, and eventually through the Republican party. Their goals and methods found their way through the Civil War and into the Gilded Age, as the combination of morality by persuasion and morality by coercion became permanent characteristics of American life.

Handy, Robert T., ed. The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

The Social Gospel movement experienced rapid growth in America following the Civil War, only to experience a sudden decline and reorientation immediately following World War I. During this period of rise and decline, the movement gave birth to a significant volume of theological and intellectual literature. This study presents a collection of articles and speeches drawn from three of the movement's leading spokesmen—Washington Gladden (1836-1918), Richard T. Ely (1854-1943) and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918). These writings, the editor believes are representative of the movement's rise and decline. To place these sources in their appropriate context, the author has provided introductions for each of the authors and for each of the written selections. This volume is particularly valuable as a survey of, and ready source for, selected literature related to the development of social Christianity in the United States. Handy includes a general introduction offering an overview of the Social Gospel movement, a selected bibliography and a general index.

Harries, Richard. Is There a Gospel for the Rich?: The Christian in a Capitalist World. London: Mowbray, 1992.

In this text, the author, the Bishop of Oxford in England, offers a uniquely modern adaptation of the Gospel of Wealth. He proposes a social gospel for the modern age aimed especially at the wealthy British Protestant. Combining theological, social and economic elements, and drawing on a wide variety of religious, philosophical and economic sources, Harries contends that capitalism and all it entails can be a positive lifestyle for the devout Protestant, as long as a concerted effort is made to counterbalance the negative byproducts of wealth. Although Harries agrees with the Christian doctrine that the poor are blessed and are more likely to possess true religious faith, he believes that the wealthy individual is not excluded from genuine faith and salvation provided that he or she uses his or her wealth to do good for others. In fact, the author argues, the present industrial, capitalist economy should not be viewed as an obstacle to true faith, but should be embraced by all Christians as a positive

force, except where it endangers the environment, community, family or individual. Along with individual redistribution of wealth, Harries calls for the church (specifically the Church of England) to reorient itself to the current economic order and for corporations to increase their ethical practices and charitable efforts. He includes citations and a general index in his text.

Hopkins, Charles Howard. The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.

Although a significant amount of attention has been focused on the intellectual history of social Christianity in the United States, little emphasis has been placed on it as a popular movement. This study, presented as a survey of the history and theory of the Social Gospel movement in the United States, argues that, rather than being the work of a handful of influential theologians, the Social Gospel represented a mass movement within American Protestantism. The author maintains that, as a result, the Social Gospel, which was largely the product of modern American industrial society and scientific thought, represented the most significant American contribution to Christianity and Christian thought. In fact, the author theorizes, the Social Gospel may have even represented the realization of the Puritan image of the "city on the hill:" the ideal Christian community in the New World. Although this study tends to offer a less than objective defense of the Social Gospel movement, a tendency which is probably a reflection of events contemporary to its publication, the author's analysis of the origins and development of the movement, coupled with some very valuable citations, make it an effective research tool. It includes a general index, but no bibliography. A supplementary bibliography exceeding 1,500 items is promised by the author in the preface, but has never been published.

Howe, Daniel Walker. The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805-1861. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

This study takes a close look at the Unitarian intellectuals and clergymen who dominated Harvard College for the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. Heavily influenced by the Scottish moral philosophy of Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid, specifically their theories on innate human benevolence, Harvard Unitarians contributed a great deal to American philanthropy. They joined bible, temperance, and peace societies; they outlined programs for prison and legal reform. They also gave considerable attention to the plight of the urban poor. In 1826 the American Unitarian Association established a full-time ministry in the urban slums of Boston. Under the leadership of Joseph Tuckerman the ministry attracted a great deal of inter-denominational support. To combat alcohol addiction Tuckerman set up an innovative outreach program of home counseling. His emphasis on physical, moral and psychological rehabilitation prefigured later developments in the emerging profession of social work. Not all Harvard Unitarians, to be sure, were as active and energetic as Tuckerman. Ardent social critics, these intellectuals could also be undeniably elitist, and their dismissal of politics and fear of social conflict often undermined their calls for change, particularly their calls for the eradication of slavery. Disdainful as they were toward the institution, their hatred of conflict alienated them from the more radical abolitionist schools. Those less willing to compromise, such as William Ellery Channing, ran the risk of upsetting the conservative, wealthy sectors of Boston society, precisely those people upon whom Unitarian philanthropists depended for funds. Divided over the slavery issue, Unitarian consensus eventually declined, as did their influence in the university and in Boston society at large. For awhile, though, they were quite influential, and Howe's study illuminates their contribution to antebellum philanthropy and social reform.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. Protestants Against Poverty: Boston's Charities, 1870-1900. West Port, CT: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971.

Charitable enterprises appeal to both the humanitarian interests of a given society and to its inherent fears and concerns. This monograph contends that the charitable movement that emerged during the late nineteenth century was a deeply conservative, if not reactionary, response to a threatening set of conditions brought about by a combination of urban expansion, private enterprise and materialism. The response to this challenge, the author contends, was twofold: private and semi-private charitable enterprises were expanded and public welfare agencies were developed. The author argues that Protestants, through the Social Gospel, served as a strong guiding force for much of this effort. To demonstrate this, he has chosen to focus on one group of reformers: middle- and upper-class Anglo-Saxon Protestants in Boston, a city which, he believes, had, by the mid-nineteenth century, reached an identifiable level of maturity and had established a reputation for social reform. Relying on primary sources, the author examines the evolution and development of charitable and public welfare organizations in Boston through the end of the nineteenth century, including the shifting focus of interests and the professionalization of the charitable/welfare enterprise. Thorough citations, a complete bibliography and a general index are included.

Irvin, Dona L. The Unsung Heart of Black America: A Middle-Class Church at Mid-century. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1992.

Irvin, the mother of historian Nell Irvin Painter, describes the far-reaching impact of Oakland, California's Downs Memorial United Methodist Church on the larger African-American community. After a brief history of the church and its place in the Oakland community, Irvin profiles 40 Downs members, allowing them to express in their own words their life's accomplishments and the influence of Downs in their successes. During the 1950s and early 1960s, Irvin remembers the church as a center of community volunteer activity. Voter registration drives, NAACP membership campaigns, and Homework Help tutorial programs were carried out under the umbrella of the church.

The member profiles reveal that the spirit of philanthropy fostered by the church was passed on to individuals who went on to take part in a wide array of social service projects including the NAACP, United Way, Bay Area Black United Fund, literacy programs, AIDS awareness programs, Red Cross, and teen-parent programs.

Katz, Michael. In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986.

Michael Katz's social history of American welfare begins with the rise of the poorhouse during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Considered the "cutting edge of welfare policy," poorhouses, by the Civil War, had spread "throughout most of the settled regions of the country, north and south."⁽¹⁵⁾ Most philanthropists and politicians endorsed these institutions, and overlaps in public and private funding were common. The state often took over institutions founded by philanthropists, and voluntary associations routinely inspected state-run institutions. "Almost everywhere complex funding and administrative arrangements blurred the boundary between public and private."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Concomitant with the rejection of poorhouses was a rejection of the traditional mechanisms of outdoor relief, which many blamed for eroding the work ethic and fostering dependency. In the 1860s and 70s, philanthropists and clergymen launched a concerted attack against it. Outdoor relief, however, with its intricate social network of local merchants, manufacturers, physicians, and ward politicians, proved quite resilient, and efforts to abolish it were only partially successful. Katz explains this attack on outdoor relief and commitment to poorhouses as part of the general bureaucratization of social reform. Of particular interest is Katz's discussion of Catholic charity. Rejecting what he sees as the "Protestant coloration of the history of American social reform," he points out the large number of orphan asylums, hospitals, and homes for young women established and run by Catholics. He goes so far as to postulate that "the Catholic Church spent a greater proportion of its resources on charity than did Protestant denominations."⁽⁶³⁾

Keller, Morton. Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.

This sweeping narrative examines public policy development during the later Progressive era and at the start of the New Deal. Some of the issues Keller highlights include: education; churches; health and medicine; crime and punishment; social welfare programs; and the changing positions and status of minority groups and women in America. This study focuses primarily on legislation and government programs, and the many voluntary associations which lobbied the government in regard to these issues. For example, the chapter on social welfare describes the work of charitable groups, social workers, and their opponents, while the chapter on race highlights such associations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Keller concludes that perhaps the most significant aspect of this period was the way in which groups sought to create and enforce, within an increasingly diverse society, national standards of policy and values.

Kessel, Elizabeth A., "A Mighty Fortress is Our God': German Religious and Educational Organizations on the Maryland Frontier, 1734-1800," Maryland Historical Magazine 77, no. 4 (Winter 1982): 370-387.

Kessel examines German churches, and, to a lesser extent, educational institutions in Frederick County, Maryland, in the eighteenth century. Members of several German denominations coexisted on the Maryland frontier (Lutheran, Reformed, Sectarian), but most of the settlers shared a deep connection to their respective religious institutions. While sustaining German cultural forms, these settlers stepped into the void of religious authority caused by "frontier conditions and the absence of an established German church. . . ." They developed "traditions . . . that are now established patterns in American Protestantism"; patterns included: "voluntarism; congregationalism; denominationalism; a large measure of independence from European churches; and adherence to the doctrine of separation of church and state." Despite a certain degree of dependence on churches in the homeland, slow communications fostered independence. Settlers established an organizational base for their churches in

the colonies, in the form of synods. These synods served as administrative bodies for the churches, and also as mutual benefit societies, providing their congregants with social services, counseling, poor relief, communications links with family members, and medical aid. By the 1740s, settlers, in an effort to maintain their cultural heritage, established German parochial schools, with instruction in German. Through these schools, they inculcated their children with German cultural values, as well as German-influenced religious ones. This was true of the various denominations. The centrality of religion to the settlers' lives was sustained through various colonial wars as well as the American War for Independence.

Klingburg, Frank Joseph. Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1940.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), an arm of the Anglican Church, represented one of the leading philanthropic organizations in colonial America. This study analyzes the humanitarian activities of the SPG in colonial New York, concentrating on their efforts to assist African and Native Americans, which aimed at exchanging Native- and African-American mores and values for those held by the British. While their efforts were not limited to African and Native Americans, but were extended outward to non-English whites as well, the SPG's potential for success among the white population of colonial New York was limited by the Anglican Church's minority status in the religious life of the colony. The two non-white groups, therefore, offered a potentially more attractive target audience. Drawing heavily on primary sources, including the records of the SPG, the author concludes that, although they were never able to grasp fully the precarious position held by African and Native Americans in New York's colonial society, the members and leaders of the SPG did succeed in helping to change public opinion, at least toward African Americans. Along with other primary sources, numerous sermons are cited and the complete text of three of these sermons is incorporated into the body of this study. This book includes a thorough bibliography and a general index.

Lane, Francis E. American Charities and the Child of the Immigrant: A Study of Typical Child Caring Institutions in New York and Massachusetts between the Years 1845 and 1880. New York: Arno Press, 1974.

Originally prepared as a dissertation to satisfy the doctoral requirements at the Catholic University of America, the author presents this study as a survey of private and public charitable efforts in the field of child care in New York and Massachusetts during the mid- to late nineteenth century. This study, however, offers a predominantly subjective analysis of Protestant and Catholic charitable efforts in the area of child care during that period, attributing Protestant charitable motivations to an attempt to increase declining church membership by winning converts among desperate Catholic immigrants; at the same time, the author apologizes for the delayed entry of the Catholic Church into this critical arena. Although lack of objectivity may decrease this study's overall importance, its very subjectivity offers a valuable insight into, as well some sources concerning, Protestant-Catholic philanthropic competition and the reaction of the Catholic Church to Protestant charitable efforts among immigrant children during the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, the book includes a bibliography and a general index.

Lincoln, C. Eric, and Lawrence H. Mamiya. The Black Church in the African American Experience. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990.

Lincoln and Mamiya offer a complex study of the "black church," providing, perhaps for the first time, a historical and sociological examination. Finding the label unclear, they define the black church as any church controlled by a predominantly black clergy and laity, so it includes a number of denominations. By focusing on the church's changing role in the lives of African Americans over the last two and a half centuries, the authors reveal the importance of what they argue has been the one African-American institution to maintain a degree of autonomy in slavery and in freedom. Moreover, they conclude that without a separate church to meet the particular needs of a people faced with the hardships of slavery, de jure or de facto segregation, and racism, many of the institutions used to "uplift the

race" could not exist. From these churches came some of the first schools, mutual aid societies, and insurance companies in the black community. Even into the twentieth century, as American life became more secular, these central religious institutions provided the leaders and members of such organizations as the NAACP and the National Urban League.

Lubove, Roy. The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement Reform in New York City, 1890-1917. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1962.

Through the lens of social control, Lubove examines the ideas and attitudes of New York housing reformers during the Progressive Era. He traces the development of housing reform from voluntary efforts through the city planning efforts of the early twentieth century. While these reformers differed sometimes in approach, they all viewed housing reform as a technique of social control—a way of reducing class and ethnic conflict, and inculcating the tenement dweller with middle-class values. Lubove concentrates on voluntary and legislative approaches to housing reform in New York City. He examines the social thought of reformer Jacob Riis, who went beyond the limited aims of the tenement reformers, by advocating reform of the entire tenement neighborhood, not just of the tenement house itself. Central to Lubove's narrative are the ideas and approaches of reformer and legislator Lawrence Veiller who, he argues, was the father of organized, Progressive housing reform. Lubove also examines the shift from voluntary reform to professionalized, bureaucratized reform, including the emergence of social work as a career. Lubove concludes that the significance of Progressive housing reform is threefold: it highlights, as exemplified by the work of Jacob Riis, the need for combined attention to housing and neighborhood; it engendered a technically proficient, well-organized housing reform movement, as spearheaded by Veiller and his drive for effective restrictive legislation; and it led to the early urban planning movement, as indicated by adherence to zoning programs, and the City Beautiful programs of the early twentieth century.

Lunden, Rolf. Business and Religion in the American 1920s. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988.

Rolf Lunden offers a Swedish viewpoint on the culture of business and the way that business permeated American society and culture between 1920 and 1929. He chose this period because it represents the zenith in positivistic faith in business in the United States. While many Europeans over the course of the last two centuries have commented at length upon the preoccupation with the mercenary in American culture, Lunden provides historical substantiation to past anecdotal evidence. In the nineteenth century, the United States lacked a strong centralized state, aristocratic values, and tradition of peasant agriculture common to much of Europe; and this, in turn, led to the integration of business into the fabric of American cultural life. In particular, Lunden concerns himself with how business influenced Protestantism and how the culture of business actively appropriated aspects of Protestant religiosity. As managerial capitalism overtook family capitalism in the post-World War I period, corporate strategies permeated the church organization. Moreover, the idea of the corporation as a good neighbor gained recognition, and corporate advertising strategies were increasingly adopted by Protestant denominations. Furthermore, the market expanded through the sale and promotion of religious articles. Pastors frequently mentioned products in their sermons. Lunden provides examples of many forms of church advertising including the phenomenon of the "skyscraper churches" (built during this period in a number of American cities) to indicate the extent to which the church and American business culture were interdependent. Ultimately, Lunden suggests that the church as a "living body of believers" was subsumed by the church as a cultural institution.

Mann, Arthur. Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1954.

Through an examination of urban social reform and reformers in Boston from 1880 to 1900, Mann attempts to place the reformer within the liberal tradition. He defines the liberal as one who: refuses to accept the status quo; believes that "tinkering with institutions could bring out the good and suppress the evil of men in society;" and dedicates himself to improving the

position of disadvantaged groups. Mann uses the terms liberal, social reformer, and progressive synonymously. The theme of the book is "how Bostonians attempted to square the ugly facts of inequality with the noble ideal of equality for America as a whole." Through an examination of reform and reform movements from various backgrounds and social groups (Protestants, Jews, Irish Catholics, feminists, trade unionists, intellectuals), Mann demonstrates that reform thinking can be traced to the reformer's sensitivity to evil, which in turn can be traced to his or her position and role within the larger community. Thus, Protestant reformers, for example, approached philanthropic and charity efforts via the Social Gospel, while intellectuals did so through scientific rationalism. Although the various reform groups in Boston used diverse means, they all met on the common ground of American egalitarianism. Mann's purpose is threefold: to demonstrate that the liberal tradition continued in Boston throughout the nineteenth century; to prove that the roots of modern liberalism can be found in the city as well as the farm; and to trace the origins of reform sentiment to the character of a community, especially to the kinds of people in the community. He sees the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the seedbed of modern America. It was during this time that reformers transformed the spirit of reform to deal with the problems of modern, urban-industrial culture. In so doing, they prepared urban Americans to support Progressive politicians.

Markwell, Bernard Kent. The Anglican Left: Radical Social Reformers in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1846-1954. The Chicago Studies in the History of American Religion Series. Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1991.

Prior to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Episcopal Church, the American arm of the Church of England, had not played an important role in the Protestant movement for social change. In fact, it had long been identified as the church of the upper and elite classes in America. This study contends that, beginning with the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Episcopal Church in America assumed the initiative for the social reform movement. This newly discovered enthusiasm for reform, the author argues, was fueled by the example established by the Church of England. Confronted by the problems of industrialization and urbanization in the period following the

Civil War, but without their own tradition of social reform, Episcopalian reformers could only look to the mother church in England for direction. What they found, Markwell argues, was a radical social reform movement whose foundations had already been firmly established in England. The Episcopalians, the author asserts, emulated the Anglican model, and by the end of the nineteenth century, social change was being championed in both the United States and England by a corps of radical Anglican reformers. The study begins with a thorough analysis of the English movement itself, and follows with a discussion of the evolution of the American movement, which centers on the careers and ideologies of three leading Episcopalian social gospel advocates—James Huntington, William Bliss and Vida Dutton Scudder—all of whom the author has identified as leading members of the Anglican left. The author relies heavily on the writings of these three individuals, especially on those of Vida Dutton Scudder. Thorough citations are provided, as is a bibliography that offers an extensive listing of secondary sources. The work includes a general index and introductions by Jerald C. Brauer and Martin E. Marty, editor of the Chicago Studies in the History of American Religion series.

Matthews, Donald G. Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Methodism spread rapidly across the country, soon becoming the largest Protestant sect in America. In this book, Donald G. Matthews explores the confrontation between this highly popular church and the institution of slavery. The relationship between Methodism and slavery was defined largely by context. New England Methodists were more likely to speak out against slavery than their southern counterparts, many of whom owned slaves. Even in New England, however, criticism of slavery was often cautious and low-keyed. Nevertheless, there had always been abolitionist currents of dissent within the church. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, had proclaimed slavery "one of the greatest evils that a Christian should fight."⁵ Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke, the most vocal Methodist evangelicals in eighteenth-century America, were rabid abolitionists. Their early efforts to abolish slavery failed however, and thus

began a long process of "acquiescence, compromise, and conscientious moral struggle." In the South, abolitionism gave way to evangelism and conversion, and during the 1810s and 1820s, Methodist missionary societies flourished. Thousands of slaves were preached to, black pastors were ordained, and church membership soared. Some Methodists, however, spoke out against slavery. Many endorsed the American Colonization Society. Particularly interesting is the story of Methodist abolitionism, which emerged primarily in New England and Western New York, especially in Utica. A minority in the church, the abolitionists were vocal and influential. They established abolitionist societies and set up their own newspapers, such as The Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Herald and Zion's Watchman. Orange Scott, La Roy Sunderland, and George Storrs, three of the most active and influential abolitionist preachers of the day, traveled widely, lecturing and writing and "vigorously [assailing] ecclesiastical authoritarianism." In 1838, Scott claimed there were 50,000 abolitionists within the Methodist church—"probably as accurate an estimation as possible." (168) Abolitionists, however, came up against a great deal of resistance, and like the rest of the country the Methodist church became increasingly torn with internal disputes. In 1844 the church divided over the slavery question. Overall, Matthews does a superb job elucidating the tensions and power struggles that emerged as Methodists grappled with the issues of slavery, colonization, and emancipation.

Mullin, Redmond. Present Alms: On the Corruption of Philanthropy. Birmingham, England: Phlogiston Publishing Limited, 1980.

This study offers an analysis of the state of voluntary charity in the United Kingdom, with recommendations on how charitable organizations can be structured in order to survive and flourish within the modern political, economic and social matrix. For the purpose of clarity, the author defines a charity as "an independent non-profit organisation existing solely to make an adequate and relevant response to need within the community." Discussions are offered which examine the myths, responsibilities, structures and practices of voluntary enterprises and charitable giving. However, the author argues, the sum total of most charitable efforts is, unfortunately, substandard service to the needy. This, he contends, is the result of practices and attitudes on the part of the charity staff which contradict the goals and

objectives of voluntary philanthropy. Central to this problem is the lack of quality, in terms of selection and training, among the charitable workers and managers. Although improved fund raising and regulation are also needed, Mullin concludes that a genuine solution relies on improved recruitment and training standards, along with expanded information resources and improved administration and management. He includes citations, a general index, and an appendix of training materials drawn from the National Academy for Volunteerism/United Way of America.

Richard, John R. "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture." *Journal of the Early Republic* 10, no. 4 (Winter 1990).

In April of 1810 Congress passed legislation requiring postmasters to deliver mail and to open their offices to the public all days of the week—including Sunday. Within months, a coalition of Presbyterian and Congregationalist ministers drew up petitions to repeal the law and protect the "sacredness of the Sabbath." In October, the Pittsburgh Synod of the Presbyterian church called for federal legislation to ban altogether any sorting or transporting of Sunday mail. Thus began a movement that would soon spread from the northeast to "widely scattered parts of the country," a moral crusade that would cut across regional and sectional lines, enlisting the support of such notable figures as Lyman Beecher and William Ellery Channing. Often slighted or dismissed by historians, Sabbatarianism, John R. Richard argues, should be taken seriously as a reform movement. He points out its effective petitions and propaganda strategies, particularly in 1828, when over one thousand copies of Lyman Beecher's "address" were circulated in pamphlet or newspaper form—an astonishing quantity for its time. By 1831, over nine hundred petitions had found their way to the House and Senate; the General Union of the Promotion for the Christian Sabbath, an organization funded by Josiah Bissell Jr., had established auxiliaries in twenty-six cities and towns. "Taking full advantage of the postal system and the evangelical press, the first 'mass media' of the United States," the Sabbatarians "successfully [united] thousands of Americans in a common cause."⁵⁶ Many abolitionists would later adapt the movement's strategies to promote their own crusade. Richard ably explores the causes, consequences, and strategies of this

interesting movement, as well as the anti-Sabbatarian movement it fostered.

Rooke, Patricia, and R. L. Schnell. Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English Canada (1800-1950). Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1983.

Efforts to aid needy and dependent children are a key element within the overall structure of many Protestant charitable enterprises. This monograph analyzes the philanthropic and public welfare efforts to aid "dependent" children—those living outside their natural family settings—in British Canada during the period of 1800-1950. Both the physical and moral dimensions of these efforts are examined, including the shifting perceptions of childhood, the development of theories concerning the potential for human improvement and redemption, the influence of the British model on Canadian child welfare efforts, and the evolution of child welfare from private, voluntary philanthropic efforts to state welfare schemes founded on scientific and professional charity. Supporting information is drawn largely from primary sources, especially the minutes, correspondence and reports of selected philanthropic and welfare organizations and individuals. Thorough citations and a general index are included.

Rose, Anne C. Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

In this book, Anne C. Rose argues that Transcendentalism was not simply an intellectual movement, but a social one as well. The traditional focus on Transcendental individualism has generally obscured the movement's preoccupation with and commitment to social reform. The Transcendentalists were indeed social reformers. Scornful of mainstream politics, they established, throughout the 1830s and 40s, their own newspapers, voluntary societies, schools and communities. Rose traces their commitment to social reform to the evangelical Unitarianism from which Transcendentalism emerged. The Second Great Awakening had signaled a burst of reform initiatives from within the Unitarian church, and by the 1830s prominent ministers like William Ellery Channing were soon writing on social issues, lecturing to reform societies, and "moving religion out of

the Church and into the sphere of voluntary associations.”(52) The Transcendentalists were the most radical proponents of Evangelicalism, and by the 1830s many rejected the church altogether and struck out on their own. Focusing on the reform activities of Orestes Brownson, George Ripley, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Elizabeth Peabody, Margaret Fuller, and Bronson Alcott, Rose’s study spans a whole array of Transcendentalist projects, such as the Green Street School, the Alcott House, the Hopedale and Fruitlands Communities, as well as the Brooke Farm project, launched by Ripley in 1840. She examines the antislavery efforts of Theodore Parker, who participated in the Underground Railroad. Overall, she effectively captures the movement’s social dimension. Criticism of the Transcendentalists’ rejection of mainstream politics has too often minimized their significance as social reformers. “To work outside established channels,” however, “is not to abandon serious reform.” (219)

Rothman, David. The Discovery of the Asylum. Toronto: Little, Brown, and Company, 1971.

This book examines the emergence and rapid spread of almshouses, penitentiaries, and orphan and insane asylums during the Jacksonian era. Philanthropists generally were unanimous in their support of such institutions. Only within carefully structured environments, so they thought, could the sick be comforted and the delinquent reformed. The boundaries between delinquency, illness, and homelessness, however, were generally vague and confused, and Rothman suggests that reformers promoted these institutions as the ideal social panacea for poverty, delinquency, and other complex social problems. To these developments Rothman contrasts colonial mechanisms for dealing with the poor, sick, and dependent elements of society. Focusing on such specific eighteenth-century communities as the Virginia parishes, as well as the family-oriented almshouses founded by Quakers and other Protestant churches, Rothman points out the colonial “dependence upon informal mechanisms and informal households” to provide relief. Rothman is, to say the least, ambivalent toward the emergence of these later, larger institutions and to the ideals which fostered them. He points out their sustained popularity even after they devolved from “reformist to custodial institutions.”(278) He argues that “by

incarcerating the deviant and dependent and defending the step with hyperbolic rhetoric, they [the reformers] discouraged—really eliminated—the search for other solutions that might have been less susceptible to abuse.”(295)

Scott, Donald M. From Office to Profession: The New England Ministry, 1750-1850. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.

During the eighteenth century, the New England ministry was clearly different from other occupations. It was a “public office,” closely intertwined with that other “sacred” profession, the magistracy. Working solely within the confines of the New England town, ministers deemed themselves “stewards” of public virtue, called to inculcate in the townspeople those habits of obedience and deference so essential for social and political stability. In this book, Donald M. Scott examines how these roles and perceptions of the ministry changed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He begins with the emergence of electoral politics in the 1790s, and the “increasing incompatibility of interests” between ministers and politicians. Uneasy with the competitiveness and factionalism of the electoral system, the New England ministry disentangled itself from politics and struck out on its own. A new sense of “moral citizenship” emerged, embracing all Christians, everywhere. Seminary students at Andover and Oneida were called to “evangelize the nation and convert the world.”(87) An elaborate, wide-ranging network of benevolent associations accordingly emerged, absorbing the energies of an increasingly mobile profession. During the 1840s, concerted attempts would be made to restore the capacities of the local church, but never again would church functions and services be as locally defined as they had been during the eighteenth century. The emergence of highly organized charitable institutions had clearly enlarged the boundaries of the profession. Various services, once the province of the local minister, “were now performed by specialized institutions . . . unconnected to the local churches and conducted by clergymen with no pastoral position or responsibilities.”(153) For many clerics, such as Henry Gallaudet, with his Hartford School for the Deaf, and Charles Loring Brace, with his Children’s Aid Society, charity in itself had become a vocation and a full-time job.

Sklar, Kathryn Kish. "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers." *Signs* 10 (1985): 657-77.

Sklar argues that before women could vote their political power emanated from voluntary associations and communities such as the settlement Hull House. Founded in 1889, this organization served as a spring board for the reform careers of activists such as Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley. This article focuses on Florence Kelley's experiences among these women. Although Hull House was founded and staffed primarily by women, Sklar stresses that they depended on male support as well. While the settlement community provided companionship, funding, support, education, and guidance, its residents eventually moved in ever larger circles of political power in order to effect changes in social policy. Kelley and her colleagues effectively harnessed the power of a network of women's associations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Cook County Suffrage Association, and the Ladies' Federation of Labor. Although independent of male-dominated organizations such as the major trade unions, the Hull House activists cooperated with them and successfully pushed for labor legislation and factory inspection.

Sorin, Gerald. *The New York Abolitionists: A Case Study of Political Radicalism*. Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971.

Focusing on the years 1838-1845, Gerald Sorin presents a series of biographical sketches of high-ranking radical abolitionists in New York State. Drawing from a variety of primary New York and national anti-slavery sources, Sorin ranks Henry B. Stanton, Joshua Leavitt, Lewis Tappan, William Jay, Theodore S. Wright, Samuel Ringgold Ward, Henry H. Garnet, Samuel E. Cornish, Charles B. Ray, and James C. Jackson as New York's "ten high ranking abolitionist leaders." Through his analysis of the lives and careers of these people, Sorin sets out to discredit the "tension-reduction theory of political radicalism." (ix) The radicalism of New York's abolitionist movement did not, he argues, spring from emotional frustration wrought by economic dislocation. These radicals were not merely "inert objects wafted about in a public domain by external forces." Rather, they were empowered by "intelligent vision" suffused with the

ardor of religious revivalism. Those unwilling "to work inside the gates of the city" saw the elimination of slavery as only one aspect—albeit a crucial one—of major, widespread reform. "Many saw or came to see American society and its institutions as basically corrupt and in need of restructuring." (126) Sorin critiques the "bad press" so often given to radical abolitionism. Intense radicalism, he argues, need not be a "symptom of personality disturbance" but rather a "symptom of maturity and health." (17)

Tarn, John Nelson. Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas Between 1840 and 1914. London: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

Housing projects for the poor and working classes represented one of the most significant reform movements in England during the nineteenth century. Initiated as private philanthropic efforts, housing reform evolved into a major public enterprise. This study offers an in-depth examination of the housing movement in nineteenth-century England. Beginning with an analysis of the first philanthropic ventures, the author offers a discussion of the private and public efforts to establish suitable housing for the working classes, including the theories, practices, laws and agencies which developed around this issue. In addition to offering a comprehensive review of charitable housing programs, the author has included photographs and floor plans of selected housing projects which offer researchers the opportunity to assess the material aspects of this experience. The analysis is supported by thorough citations which, along with the bibliography, stress primary sources. The text includes a general index.

Van Til, Jon. "Preparing for Philanthropy's Future." In Critical Issues in American Philanthropy, ed. Jon Van Til, et al., 263-275. San Francisco: Jossey Bass, Inc., 1990.

Van Til suggests that pragmatism characterizes corporate, governmental, and philanthropic practice, and therefore, that philanthropists must consider what the issues and strategies of tomorrow will be. He follows the thought of eighteenth-century social commentator, Giambattista Vico, suggesting that history is somewhat cyclical, and while we cannot predict events,

we can anticipate cycles of liberalism and conservatism. Van Til goes on to outline a "Four Futures" approach: a continuity future; a good-luck future; a hard-luck future; and a transformational future. "Futuring," or the act of anticipating future trends, is a critical element in planning philanthropic strategies, he argues. He links traditional areas of philanthropic endeavor, such as helping the poor and giving educational assistance, with possible scenarios of future philanthropic action nationwide.

Warner, Amos Griswold. American Charities: A Study in Philanthropy and Economics. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1894; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989.

The author, a professor of economics and a leader in the private and public philanthropic sectors during the nineteenth century, presents this volume as both a history of philanthropy in the United States and as a guide for future philanthropic enterprises. The narrative offers a discussion of the history and theory of philanthropic and charitable administration and finance, as well as the author's personal analysis on how improvement can be achieved in both areas through thorough supervision and organization. The author also offers an analysis of what he refers to as the "dependent classes." This study is particularly valuable for the insights it offers into nineteenth-century attitudes concerning philanthropy and welfare in general and for the economic perspective that it provides, especially the numerous statistical tables and charts included to support the author's arguments. Although this study has limited footnotes, it is supported by a thorough bibliography listing contemporary sources organized by subject. A general index is included.

Wood, James P. "Liberal Protestant Social Action in a Period of Decline." In Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion in America's Voluntary Sector, ed. Robert Wuthnow and Virginia Hodgkinson, 165-182. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1990.

After a brief exploration of the Christian theological roots of liberal social action among Protestants, Wood examines which denominations are surviving the general decline in Protestant social action. He maintains that the Methodist denomination has maintained impressive political power, demonstrated by

their continuing congressional representation. Additionally, the liberalization of the Catholic Church has contributed to the success in coalition-building that politically-inclined Protestants and Catholics are enjoying because new Catholic attitudes are more congruent with mainline Protestant sensibilities. Wood also suggests that the apparent mushrooming of Conservative Christian interests is somewhat deceptive because the urbanization and economic development of the New South is contributing to the erosion of fundamentalist constituencies as income and educational levels rise. Ultimately, Wood suggests that consensus-building is the strategy, and flexibility and tolerance the attitudes, that will foster a just and democratic society.

Wood, James P., and James G. Houghland. "The Role of Religion in Philanthropy." In Critical Issues in American Philanthropy: Strengthening Theory and Practice, ed. Jon Van 't'il, 99-132. San Francisco: Jossey Bass, Inc., 1990.

Wood and Houghland argue that much philanthropic activity which does not fall under the rubric of organized religion is in fact affected by religious communities, and that much religious activity is philanthropic. They maintain that we underestimate the purview of religious organizations where philanthropy is concerned. The authors cite study results which indicate that the growth of church participation and the giving of time and money for philanthropic purposes are in direct correlation. The challenge for philanthropists is to accept that people are most in tune with philanthropic issues when they are "plugged-in" to an organized group with specific goals, and to figure out how to create these opportunities given the increasing secularism the United States is experiencing. While corporate philanthropy may suffer the vagaries of profit margins, economic recession, and quarterly earnings, religious communities have the potential to transform the "climate of giving" in novel ways by offering appropriate material incentives and by building new kinds of communities based upon national solidarity as opposed to class interests. Likewise, the two suggest that face-to-face debate within religious and secular philanthropic sectors can result in the development of useful strategies for philanthropy in the twenty-first century.

Wuthnow, Robert, and Virginia Hodgkinson, eds. Faith and Philanthropy: Exploring the Role of Religion in America's Voluntary Sector. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1990.

Protestant philanthropy in the United States did not operate as an isolated effort. It competed and cooperated with the efforts of the other major faiths as well as those of the non-religious private sector. This collection of fourteen articles, organized around three themes—the relationship between religion and volunteerism, the charitable patterns of specific faiths, and the future of religious philanthropy in America—offers both a comparative and a multi-disciplinary analysis of religious philanthropy in the United States. The collection is particularly valuable for the variety of perspectives offered, including those of the non-profit profession, sociology, psychology, religion and history. Key articles concerning Protestant charitable enterprises include: James R. Wood's "Liberal Protestant Social Action in a Period of Decline"—a discussion of the role played by the liberal churches in implementing socially progressive policies; Dean L. May's "The Philanthropy Dilemma: The Mormon Church Experience"—which analyzes the conflicts between the internal needs of the Mormon Church and the desire to turn charitable efforts outward; and Emmett D. Carson's "Patterns of Giving in Black Churches"—an analysis of the philanthropic efforts of the contemporary African-American Protestant community, which is especially valuable for its use of quantitative sources. Each of the articles is supported by appropriate citations and/or a bibliographic listing of sources; the volume includes a general index and a brief background on each of the contributing authors.

Wuthnow, Robert. The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Wuthnow tackles the issue of religion in American society since World War II, focusing principally upon the ways in which political, social and economic events have shaped trends in American religion—whether within Protestant denominations, among Catholics, or among Jews. He attempts to capture the national mood that permeated organized religion after the war, pointing out that while congregations of various sorts were able

to put into effect agendas that had been suppressed during the Depression and the war, they remained cautious and wary of potential disaster. Wuthnow suggests that the experience of war and a fear of the Cold War were in part responsible for this mood. He also suggests that these historical events led to cross-denominational characterizations such as the Protestant insistence that Catholics were like the totalitarian socialists. Wuthnow disagrees with those who would represent the post-war history of American religiosity as a linear and steady move toward increasing secularization. By examining inter-denominational Protestant tensions and solidarities as well as Protestant-Catholic and Jewish-Christian relations, Wuthnow is able to provide a nuanced account of the effects upon religious groups of increased national education levels, the explosion of science and technology, and social unrest during the 1960s. Drawing upon his data, he observes that there has been a tendency for congregations of all kinds to mobilize around politically adversarial issues and that active church-goers are more likely to become involved in political activities.

Barr, Pat. To China With Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1973.

This study seeks to explore the influence of the Protestant mission in the Far East by examining the motivations and ambitions of ordinary missionaries. The author contends that despite arguments to the contrary, which are largely the product of historical hindsight, nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries in the Far East did succeed in shaping events and influencing lives, thereby changing the course of China's history. As a result, given the overall importance of China, the missionary enterprise became an intrinsic element of Western imperialism throughout the Far East. Using specific individuals to illustrate the missionary experience as whole, Barr depicts the missionaries in China as individuals who were obsessed with saving the Chinese people through conversion and thoroughly convinced of the superiority of western technology and civilization. The author also argues that these values, combined with a willingness to martyr themselves for the cause, created a *mentalité* which served to strengthen their commitment. Barr's bibliography offers a comprehensive catalogue of these memoirs along with missionary histories, memorials and an extensive list of secondary sources. The study also includes a selection of photographs and illustrations, a chronology listing key historical milestones in China from 1369 to 1900, and a general index.

Bisson, T. A. American Policy in the Far East, 1931-1941. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941.

Although the majority of this study is concerned with the political and diplomatic crisis confronting the United States in the Far East just prior to American entry into World War II, a number of key references are included which imply that, as late as 1938, American missionaries were playing a role in the formation of American policy in this region. In some instances their very presence unwittingly supplied the State Department with sufficient justification to claim that American interests in the region were being threatened by Japanese military aggression. Two key citations are offered concerning this issue. The first involves a protest lodged with the Japanese government by Ambassador Grew on May 31, 1938, which included, among

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other demands, a provision that the American missionaries in China be allowed to return to their places of work and residence, and that the University of Shanghai, a Baptist missionary enterprise, be returned to its rightful American owners. A second citation presents the complete text of a letter written by Secretary of State Cordell Hull to the United States Senate on January 9, 1938, which, among other issues, states his belief that American foreign policy should include the option to protect American citizens and their property abroad, including the use of American military force if necessary. Hull was careful to point out that the majority of Americans abroad have traveled specifically for educational, cultural and philanthropic, as opposed to business, purposes. A third citation reflects the continued attempts on the part of the Protestant missions to influence American policy in the region. An announcement issued in 1938 by the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church denounced American policy in the Far East, specifically the continuation of trade with Japan in the face of Japanese aggression in China.

Bonk, Jonathan J. Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Missionary Problem. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991.

This study focuses on the conflicts created within the missionary enterprise by both the perception and the reality of economic affluence among Protestant foreign missionaries, specifically those originating in North America. The author contends that, regardless of their original status in their home country, many foreign missionaries, having arrived in their overseas assignment, have found themselves suddenly elevated in social and economic status, relative to the wealth and social environment of their missionary subjects. This, the author contends, has created both positive and negative impacts on the missionary task. While relative prosperity allows the missionary and his or her family to maintain a comfortable and healthy lifestyle overseas, thereby extending their life spans and expanding the range of their activities, it also acts to isolate the missionaries from their subjects, leading to unproductive and/or counterproductive efforts. This condition, the author argues, has existed from the very beginning of the Western missionary enterprise and continues to make an impact on modern missionary efforts. To this end, Bonk, a second-generation foreign missionary him-

self, offers his own recommendations on how a reconciliation can be achieved between missionary affluence and missionary goals. Bonk's book includes thorough citations and an extensive bibliography, which contains a selection of unpublished manuscripts along with an extensive listing of secondary and primary sources.

Boone, Muriel. The Seed of the Church in China. Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1973.

Written by his granddaughter, the third generation in the Boone family to serve as foreign missionaries, this publication is largely an account of the experiences of Bishop William J. Boone, an American missionary in China for the Protestant Episcopal Church during the period 1837-1864. Although it is predominantly anecdotal, citing no additional sources other than family recollections and correspondence, this work's value is twofold. First, it demonstrates that, among some families, missionary work became virtually a family "trade," spanning multiple generations. Second, it includes the text of family correspondence, the originals of which are apparently still in the family's private possession. These letters offer insights into the missionary experience distinct from those of official reports and personal memoirs. Numerous photographs and engravings, also apparently drawn from the family collection, are included.

Brian, Stanley. The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries. Leicester, England: Apollos, 1990.

The relationship between British imperialism and the missionary enterprise forms the particular focus of this study. The author's objective is to place the missionary movement in its historical and cultural perspective by analyzing the Christian attitudes and convictions which motivated the British missionary enterprise, comparing them to the convictions and motivations surrounding British political and commercial expansionism. This study is, therefore, organized around three themes: an examination of what comprised imperialism in general and British imperialism in particular; an analysis of both the theological and secular (or imperial) motivations and assumptions of British missionary enthusiasm; and a survey of the actions of the

British missionaries in those areas where they supported the efforts of British expansionism. Although some key primary sources are noted, the author has based his analysis principally on secondary sources. Stanley's work includes three maps and a general index.

Brian, Stanley. "'Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860." The Historical Journal 26, no. 1 (March 1983): 71-94.

Supported by numerous examples and citations, this article contends that evangelical Christianity, the Christianity most tied to the missionary movement, incorporated within its theology philosophical elements which created the common understanding among its leadership that an alliance of interests existed between religious enthusiasm and commercial expansion. Conversely, the conversion of trading partners to Christianity, the author argues, was commonly viewed by the British as a key to the expansion of British commerce and communication. This article opens with an examination of the theological and ideological background behind the alliance of Christianity and British commercial interests during the early Victorian era. It continues with an analysis of the relationship between the British missionary movement and British commercial imperialism, arriving at the conclusion that the association of commercial and religious missions remained a vital force for both British diplomacy and British religious enthusiasm until its eventual breakdown during the 1860s. (See Andrew Porter's article, "'Commerce and Christianity': The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan," cited below, for an opposing viewpoint.)

Bruno-Jofré, Rosa del Carmen. Methodist Education in Peru: Social Gospel, Politics, and American Ideological and Economic Penetration, 1888-1930. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988.

This monograph investigates the Protestant missionary experience in Peru, which began in 1822 with the efforts of James Thomson, an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and was subsequently extended by American Protestant missionaries during the nineteenth century under the auspices of

the American Bible Society and the American Methodist Episcopal Church. The author contends that both the British and American Protestant missionary efforts paralleled their respective nation's expanding economic and diplomatic interests in the region. In the case of the American mission, the author argues that both the social gospel and progressive Christianity had a significant impact on intellectual and political thought in Peru during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A thorough discussion of the development of Methodist progressive educational theory is offered, which the author argues affected the Peruvian state by providing an independent alternative for the masses to the state-sponsored public school system. Citations make extensive use of primary sources—government documents, private correspondence, church and organizational literature—which have been collected by the author from widely scattered depositories. The book includes a comprehensive bibliography, a map of the region and several statistical tables.

Campbell, James T. Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Campbell traces the history of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, its activities, and its influence across the Atlantic. Formed by free black Philadelphians in the nineteenth century, by the end of the century it played a pivotal role in the development of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa, which the AME church incorporated as its South African arm in 1896. Campbell begins his story with the origins of the free black church in the United States, dealing specifically with the battles against racism and the resulting race consciousness. He asserts that by adopting Christianity, black Americans rethought and questioned their views of Africa. The ideas that developed were carried with them to South Africa in their various missions and evangelization. Campbell then traces the evolution of the AME church as it began such missions in South Africa. Campbell looks at the AME church as an institution that created a bridge between black Americans and South Africans. He argues further that the church served as a lens that allowed blacks on both sides of the Atlantic to reshape and better understand their worlds, as well as performing philanthropic tasks.

Clark, Christopher M. The Politics of Conversion: Missionary Protestantism and the Jews in Prussia 1728-1941. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

This monograph addresses the prolonged effort of the Protestant missionary movement in Prussia to convert the Jewish population to Christianity, a movement which was initiated in the sixteenth century by Martin Luther. Although the author offers an analysis of earlier attempts to establish a Protestant mission to the Jews in Prussia, his investigation concentrates on the revival of interest in the missionary-conversion effort during the nineteenth century, examining the relationship between the revived missionary movement and the state, as well as the techniques employed by the missionaries to establish contact with the Jewish community and achieve conversion. The author's thesis contends that during the nineteenth century the Protestant missionary movement in Prussia was poised between a grassroots voluntary movement, which gained its support primarily from the artisan classes, and the official policies of the Prussian government, which underwrote missionary activity among the Jews until full legal emancipation was finally granted. Thorough citations and an extensive bibliography are provided, both of which stress primary and unpublished sources drawn from archives in Germany.

Clymer, Kenton J. Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Diplomatic, financial and humanitarian interests converged to make the Philippines an intriguing target for American expansionism overseas in the period following the Spanish-American War. This study contends that most of the American Protestant churches encouraged American expansionism during this period, supporting the war against Spain and lobbying for acquisition of the Philippine Islands. The Protestant churches, which had been severely limited in their activities in the Philippines by the dominant Catholic Church, were motivated by the realization that American acquisition would open the islands to Protestant evangelism and were quick to capitalize on this opportunity. The Methodist church arrived in 1900, quickly becoming the largest of the Protestant enterprises. It was soon

joined by Presbyterian, Episcopalian and American Baptist missions. The missionary movement was not, however, a united enterprise. Instead it alternated between cooperative and competitive efforts. Still, as a group, the author argues, the American missionaries, who had both secular and religious motivations, represented an important and articulate segment of the American colonial presence, helping to shape colonial attitudes on both sides and to influence American policy in the region. The missionaries were especially important in motivating Filipinos to reconcile themselves to the American presence and in acting as a check on the American colonial authorities. Compelling discussions are also offered concerning the missionaries' attitudes towards Filipino culture, their ambivalent response to Filipino nationalism and their conscious and unconscious support of American concepts and values. The author makes thorough use of primary sources throughout this study, relying heavily on missionary records as well as the private papers and manuscripts of missionary leaders. A selected bibliography listing primary and secondary sources, a selection of captioned photographs, and a general index are also included.

Colby, Gerald, and Charlotte Dennett. Thy Will Be Done. The Conquest of the Amazon: Nelson Rockefeller and Evangelism in the Age of Oil. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995.

Gerald Colby and Charlotte Dennett provide an exhaustive history of Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller's economic and political activities in Latin America. The analysis has two foci. One is the intersection of Rockefeller's economic interests (primarily in oil and timber), influence in policy-making, and particular strand of liberal foreign policy, which emphasized cultural diplomacy. During the Second World War and throughout the Cold War, Rockefeller served in numerous powerful public and private positions. Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Rockefeller director of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), which brought together business (such as United Fruit), the state, and scholars to operate cultural, educational, and scientific programs in Latin America, thus paving the way for US hegemony in the region. Eisenhower appointed Rockefeller to the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization, in which he organized and promoted US banking interests in the region; he served as an architect of the United States

Information Agency and the Organization of American States; and he was Governor of New York state. In the private arena he moved between various Rockefeller-related institutions, including Chase Manhattan Bank and Standard Oil. He also promoted US business interests in Latin America by forming companies like the International Basic Economy Corporation. According to this analysis the Rockefeller Foundation served two functions: it provided a ready pool of privately-funded experts to the state; and it operated intellectual, cultural, and educational programs which would further Rockefeller's economic interests. The second main foci of the narrative is William Cameron Townsend and his Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and Wycliffe Bible Translators. Townsend was a missionary who contended that the most effective way to convert "uncivilized" natives and assimilate them into the Christian, capitalist system was to learn their different languages, infiltrate their communities, and teach them the Bible in their native tongue. Townsend organized missionary expeditions into remote parts of Latin America and received substantial funding from both public and private institutions. The SIL was implicated in Cold War politics insofar as it served as a vital information agency for the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency and a liaison between the US and Latin American governments. The SIL gained access to remote Indian tribes and negotiated for the removal of their land, thus extending Rockefeller and the US government's interests. This work documents the proliferation and intersection of seemingly different kinds of philanthropies (such as the Rockefeller Foundation and missionaries), and provides a lens to chart the expansion of the American intelligence establishment during the Cold War.

Fairbank, John K., ed. The Missionary Enterprise in China and America. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

This collection of twelve essays concerning the American Protestant missionary experience in China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is organized around three central themes. The initial group of four essays addresses the relationship between the missionary movement in the nineteenth century and American commercial and cultural expansion in China. Valentin H. Rabe's essay, "Evangelical Logistics: Mission

Support and Resources to 1920," provides a well-documented examination into the development of large-scale missionary enterprises. In expanding their size and scope, Rabe argues, missionary organizations underwent changes in personnel and administration similar to those experienced in American business and industry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The second group of four essays addresses the Chinese reaction to American Protestant theology: a combination of accommodation and resistance. The final four essays examine the relationship between American foreign policy and the missionary movement, and include Paul Varg's analysis of missionary reaction to growing nationalism in China, which draws on State Department and missionary archives for supporting data, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s discussion of the relationship between the missionary enterprise, capitalism, and American nationalism. Citations and footnotes support all of the essays in this collection, which includes an introduction by the editor, as well as a general index.

Grabill, Joseph L. Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.

Although Grabill's study includes background information on American Protestant missionary efforts in the Near East throughout the nineteenth century, his analysis concentrates on the relationship between the American missionary enterprise and American foreign policy during the Wilson Administration. The author maintains that American Protestant missions acted as communications channels for American policy in the Near East and that, as such, they endeavored to effect an American brand of stability in the region during the early twentieth century. These efforts, Grabill contends, foreshadowed the post-World War II policies of the Truman Administration. Although their overall plan failed, the lobbying efforts of the Protestant missionaries, with their close ties to Henry Morgenthau and Herbert Hoover, succeeded in gaining significant government support for their operations in the Near East. As a result, the author concludes that the American Protestant missionary influence on American diplomatic efforts was greater in this region during the early twentieth century than at any other time or place, making it an exception to the American his-

torical trend. Thorough citations and frequent use of primary sources support the author's analysis. A comprehensive bibliographic essay, photographs, maps, and a general index are also included.

Hill, Patricia Ruth. The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985.

Women missionaries played a significant role in the American Protestant foreign missionary movement, a role which this study contends has been largely ignored in traditional missionary historiography. The author intends to reconstruct and restore, through a reexamination of the American missionary experience as a whole, the history of the missionary women, who represented the largest lay movement to participate in the American Protestant missionary enterprise during the nineteenth century. Supported by citations and a bibliography, both of which draw heavily on primary sources, this study investigates the cultural and ideological climates that made foreign missionary work particularly attractive to women philanthropists in the period following the Civil War: the role played by women missionaries in America's expanding cultural imperialism; the increased professionalism of the women's missionary movement; the struggle for an equal voice in missionary administration; the eventual loss of autonomy; and the impact of the movement on cultural images of womanhood at home.

Keller, Robert H. Jr. American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Making extensive use of primary sources, this monograph examines the decision made by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1869 to place the regulation of Native American affairs (the Indian Office) into the hands of the Protestant missionary boards. Although Grant's decision amounted to an obvious violation of the separation of church and state, the author maintains that Grant's decision was, in fact, a logical product of a long tradition of American government-missionary cooperation, as well as a continuation of the European conquest of the Native Americans, the purpose of which was the seizure of land held by the indigenous people. For the Protestant churches, the author

argues, involvement in Native American affairs was also a logical progression, reflecting the churches' failure to embrace the concept of separation of church and state and their continued conviction that the nation was fundamentally Protestant. The author asserts that Grant, in making this decision, only sought to reform abuses in the Indian Office. For their part, the missionary boards sought moral and financial support from the government to further their conversion and assimilation programs. The author concludes that this policy, which lasted from 1869 to 1882, was a failure for both parties, only serving to hasten the decline of the Native American culture. This, he argues, was largely the result of missionaries who entered the field with little knowledge of the native cultures and little awareness of the history of missionary failure. Keller's work includes a comprehensive bibliography, a bibliographic essay, illustrations, statistical tables and a general index.

Lagergren, David. Mission and State in the Congo: A Study of the Relations between Protestant Missions and the Congo Independent State Authorities with Special Reference to the Equator District, 1885-1903. Translated by Owen N. Lee. Uppsala, Sweden: Gleerup, 1970.

Offered as a critical analysis of the relationship between the Protestant missions and the Congo Independent State, this study contends that the independent state and the Protestant religious mission developed, from the very beginning, on a parallel course. Consequently, each had a significant influence on the other, an influence which lasted the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The author's thesis contends that the Protestant mission was particularly responsible, through its severe criticism of certain state activities, for creating friction between the two parties and for accelerating the decline of the Congo Independent State. Using a large volume of primary sources drawn from Belgian government archives and from British, American and Swedish missionary records, the author examines in detail the experiences of two older Protestant missions, one Belgian and the other American. His intention is to develop a set of conclusions concerning missionary-state relations that can be applied to the missionary experience in general as well as to the origin and impact of mission-

ary-state accommodation and conflict. Lagergren's book includes a comprehensive bibliography and a general index.

Markowitz, Marvin D. Cross and Sword: The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1960. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1963.

The Christian missions, Markowitz argues, exerted a significant influence on the politics of colonization and decolonization in the former Belgian Congo. His study, organized as a chronological overview of this experience, focuses primarily on missionary efforts in the Belgian Congo during the first half of the twentieth century, a period which saw the last era of European colonization and the emergence of the movement for political independence. Included in the analysis are discussions of Christian missionary philosophy and methodology, the Catholic-Protestant rivalry in the Belgian Congo, missionary policy and administration, and mission-state cooperation and conflict. Researchers will find this study particularly valuable for its thorough citations, as well as for its bibliography, both of which draw heavily on primary sources and unpublished materials. The author has also included appendices containing excerpts from key treaties and legislation, as well as a number of statistical tables, all offered to support the narrative.

Marty, Martin E. Missions and Ecumenical Expressions. New York: K. G. Saur, 1993.

Published as one of fourteen volumes in the series "Modern American Protestantism and Its World: Historical Articles on Protestantism in American Religious Life," this collection of eleven essays, selected and reprinted from various journals, addresses the American foreign missionary experience from the late nineteenth through the twentieth centuries. Thematically, the collection is organized around two topics: the influence of nationalism and expansionism on the motivations and actions of the American missionary enterprise overseas and the impact that returning missionaries had on American Protestantism in the United States. Key articles concerning missionary motivations include Paul Varg's "Motives in Protestant Missions, 1890-1917" and Dorethea Muller's "Josiah Strong and American Nationalism: A Reevaluation." Neil Lebharr and

Martyn Minns, in their article "Why Did the Yankees Go Home? A Study of Episcopal Missions: 1953-1977," combine their efforts to analyze why American missionaries chose to return home during the Cold War era. The second group of articles assesses the impact of the missionary experience on religious thought and practices in America. This group includes Robert McClellan's "Missionary Influence on American Attitudes toward China at the Turn of This Century" and William Clement's "The Rhetoric of the Radio Ministry." An introduction by the editor, appropriate citations for each article and a general index are included.

McCracken, John. Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 1875-1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province. London: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

The Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland was an important force in the Christian missionary movement in Central Africa during the late nineteenth century and had a significant impact on the relationship between the local inhabitants and the colonial authorities. The mission was the inspiration of David Livingstone, who believed that a combination of religious conversion and economic improvement, specifically the inclusion of Africa in the world economy, would raise the status of the African natives. Unable at first to secure a sponsor, Livingstone's concept was eventually embraced by the Free Church of Scotland, which together with its principle supporters, a group of influential philanthropic industrialists in Scotland, saw in his vision a project compatible to their own interests. After a period of experimentation, the Livingstonia mission centered its activities in the Northern Province of Malawi, where the author argues it had significant cultural, economic and political impact. The author argues that the Livingstonia mission, once it was firmly established in Malawi, acted as an arm of British colonialism, helping pave the way for British occupation by establishing diplomatic and educational contacts. However, the author also maintains that relations between the mission and the colonial government were never in complete harmony, varying from active solicitation of British protection to inherent conflicts of interest. The Livingstonia mission also acted to both expand and divide native political and cultural forces by recruiting members of the local elite as con-

verts while simultaneously excluding the masses. This resulted in resentment among the latter group and the growth of alternative religious and political movements. However, rather than inhibiting the mission's activities, local friction allowed the mission to expand its diplomatic and political roles in the region by placing it in the position of a neutral authority. By the 1890s the mission teachers had altered this role, emerging as a major political force among the locals. Based principally on missionary records, including those of the Livingstonia mission, the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, this study offers a valuable analysis of the often inconsistent relationship between religious mission and imperial enterprise. A variety of private papers and manuscripts, public records and missionary publications are also drawn on as sources. The work includes an extensive bibliography listing primary and secondary sources, a selection of maps, and a general index.

Moorehouse, Geoffrey. *The Missionaries*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1973.

This analysis concentrates on the Protestant missionary experience in Africa during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the author consciously ignores the endeavors of the most well-known missionary figures and concentrates, instead, on the experiences of ordinary Protestant missionaries, primarily those from Northern Europe and North America. The author's thesis argues that, although the earliest missionary efforts were marked by an earnest desire to disseminate Christianity, by the end of the nineteenth century the goals and objectives of the missionaries were largely inseparable from the secular motives of imperialism. This pattern was, according to the author, most apparent in Africa, where Protestant missionaries from every white Protestant nation descended in proportions which approximated each nation's desire for expansion and colonization. Among these missionaries, the British came in the largest numbers, experienced the greatest success, and were the most extensively supported, both publicly and privately, by their homeland. The sources rely heavily on missionary memoirs and biographies, and there are few which draw a direct connection between the missionary enterprise and commercial and political

imperialism. Moorehouse includes a bibliography, a general index, and numerous photographs and illustrations.

Neils, Patricia, ed. United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1990.

The American Protestant and Catholic missionary efforts in China played a significant role in shaping intercultural and diplomatic relations between the two nations. This collection of thirteen essays is organized around one central theme: the American missionary enterprise as an adjunct to American policy in China. The individual essays range in content from a discussion of the nineteenth-century missionary as an agent of acculturation to an investigation of the role played by American missionary-diplomats in the development of Chinese-American relations. As a body, the articles present a conflicting picture of the actions and results of the American missions to China, particularly the consequences which resulted from the missionaries' efforts to develop a Christian system of education. The editor has provided an introduction, a summary and a bibliographic essay to support the collection.

Porter, Andrew. "‘Commerce and Christianity’: The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan." The Historical Journal 28, no. 3 (September 1985): 597-621.

This article offers an opposing opinion to Stanley Brian's 1983 essay which asserts that a natural alliance existed between British commercial expansionism and the evangelical missionary enterprise during the early Victorian period (see the citation for Stanley Brian, "‘Commerce and Christianity’: Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade.") Supported by equally thorough citations, Porter's thesis contends that, when viewed over an extended period, the cumulative experience of the British missionary enterprises and British commercial and political policies in the colonies demonstrate a visible range of perceptions concerning the alliance between Christianity and commerce. He argues that neither the early Victorian evangelicals nor the British merchants viewed commerce and the Christian mission as a necessary alliance. Instead, Porter maintains, the convergence of the evangelical

missions of the early Victorian era and British commercial expansion often resulted in conflicts, with cooperation between the two only evolving during the mid-nineteenth century, when white settlement created the need for security and peaceful coexistence between the settlers and the indigenous population. This cooperation, Porter adds, was, in fact, never complete nor was it ever uniform throughout the British commercial empire.

Reed, James. The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915. Cambridge: Council on East Asia Studies, Harvard University, 1983.

Contending that the American Protestant missionary movement was largely responsible for the selective and inconsistent policies and perceptions which marked American relations with East Asia through the middle of the twentieth century, this study investigates the political influence exerted by one generation of American Protestant missionaries in Asia during the early twentieth century. The author argues that, by promoting the interests of China over the balance of East Asia, American Protestant missionaries created a collective mentality towards Asian affairs, a "missionary mind," which had a dramatic influence on American policy in that region. This influence was most pronounced during the critical years of 1911-1915, when formal recognition and diplomatic relations were first defined. Extended outward, this policy formed the basis for, among other diplomatic decisions, the American reaction to Japan prior to World War II and to Communist China between 1949 and 1972. The author supports his argument by making broad use of primary sources, particularly the private papers of leading missionaries and statesmen, as well as various publications produced by the overseas American missionary agencies. His bibliography also includes a comprehensive list of secondary sources concerning the history of American diplomacy in this region.

Tatum, Lawrie. Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant. Lincoln: John C. Winston & Co., 1899; reprint, University of Nebraska Press, 1970.

In 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant initiated a sweeping change of policy which transferred responsibility for the Indian Bureau to the Protestant missions. This new approach was a two-pronged effort aimed at reducing corruption within the Indian Bureau and pacifying the Native Americans through a process of religious conversion. Lawrie Tatum, the author of this volume, was one of the many religious men assigned as Indian agents under Grant's policy. This study represents Tatum's personal experiences as an agent to the Kiowa-Commanche nation as well as his reflections on the missionary-agent experience in general. Although the accuracy of Tatum's perspective may be compromised by a twenty-six-year gap between his actual tenure as an Indian agent and the execution of this volume, his study still offers a valuable first-hand commentary on the Protestant missionary-Indian agent experience. Tatum's reflections reveal that he, like most of the other missionary-agents, was neither prepared nor qualified for the appointment. The author also offers a revealing insight into the conflict between the missionaries' efforts to achieve conversion and the determined resistance offered by the Native Americans to what they saw as government efforts to subdue them. Tatum, as a Quaker, was also forced to confront the inherent conflict between the goals of the Quaker mission and those of the United States military in the Indian Territory, a conflict which eventually compromised his position as a missionary-agent. This reprinted edition includes a selection of illustrations and a foreword by Richard N. Ellis.

Temu, A. J. British Protestant Missions. London: Longman Group Limited, 1972.

The British Protestant mission to Kenya had its beginnings in the 1870s, undergoing a rapid expansion during the 1890s, a process which paralleled the establishment of British colonial rule. Temu argues that a supportive relationship existed in Kenya between the Protestant missionary movement and British political/commercial interests in the region. On the one hand, British protection of the missions and the development of

the railway into the interior allowed the Protestant missionaries to expand their operations from their coastal footholds into the heavily populated highlands. On the other, the British missionaries, recognizing that the natives were attracted to the missions for the educational opportunities they represented rather than for the theological offerings of Christianity, responded by strategically organizing their efforts around the mission-house and becoming adjuncts of the British colonial administration. Despite this alliance, a general disregard for native culture, opposition to African cultural nationalism, disruption of African society, acquisition of land, and support of forced labor during World War I brought the missionaries into conflict with the rising tide of African nationalism. Added to this was the missionary schools' emphasis on submission, total obedience and acculturation, a formula which gave birth to a number of anti-colonial and anti-missionary critics among the native Africans who attended the schools. The author supports his arguments with citations which rely on primary sources, including missionary and government correspondence, reports and records. A bibliography and a general index are included.

Varg, Paul A. Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

The American Protestant mission to China had significant impact, not only on the host culture, but on American policy in the region as well. This study investigates the relationship between the two cultures, the impact of the missionary movement on Chinese-American diplomatic relations and the support that the missionary movement received from the American government. Focusing on the effort of the American Protestant mission to export American ideology—a combination of Christianity, democracy and capitalism—to China during the period of 1890-1952, the author contends that, although the missionary movement was both an intellectual and a practical expression of philanthropy, it was also subject to the strong nationalistic cross-currents of this era and, as a result, failed to make the necessary adjustments to the host culture which would have avoided the cultural conflicts inherent in its programs and policies. This failure, the author concludes, brought the American Protestant missionary enterprise into direct conflict

with the rise of Chinese nationalism and the upsurge of Marxist ideology by 1952. Researchers will find this study valuable for its citations, which, among other primary sources, identify key missionary and State Department reports and correspondence. It includes a general index, but no bibliography.

**C.
Manuscript
Collections,
Archives &
Organizational
Materials**

Alvard, Jonathan Pennington. "Selected Papers of Jonathan Pennington Alvard." Manuscripts Division, Princeton Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

While this collection consists primarily of Alvard's (1812-1841) sermons and writings executed while a student at the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), it is valuable for the journal kept by Alvard during his journey to Liberia, which lasted from 1839-1840. Alvard made this journey as a member of a commission dispatched by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church to identify potential missionary sites in that region. The journal reflects Alvard's experiences and impressions, encompassing his transatlantic voyage, visits to various missionary sites, the activities of the commission, and his return to the United States. The boxed originals are on deposit at Princeton University; a microfilm edition is available.

Broomhall, Marshall, ed. Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission, with a Record of the Perils & Sufferings of Some Who Escaped. London: Morgan & Scott, 1901.

Prepared as a testimonial to the China Inland Mission, this collection of memoirs and memorials records the hardships experienced by the organization's members while serving as religious missionaries to China during the late nineteenth century. The editor asserts that this particular Protestant mission experienced the heaviest death toll, due primarily to political turmoil in China, of any unit sponsored by the Protestant Missionary Societies, accounting for the deaths of at least 52 adults and 16 children. Although it offers a largely anecdotal and potentially skewed perspective, this collection is valuable for the insight it provides into the Protestant missionary mentality. Added to the memoirs and memorials are the editor's commentary, a selection of illustrations, appendices that contain cables from China, translations of what the editor believes are key Chinese political documents relating to this experience, and various letters written to the editors of English-language newspapers. Statistical tables concerning the Protestant mission to China and a general index are also included.

Chu, Clayton H. American Missionaries in China: Books, Articles and Pamphlets Extracted from the Subject Catalog of the Missionary Research Library. Research Aids for American Far Eastern Policy Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

The Missionary Research Library (MRL) of the Union Theological Seminary in New York represents one of the most important centers for missionary studies in the United States. This work represents a valuable cataloging of this collection's holdings concerning the Protestant missionary experience in China. The author has extracted and indexed approximately 7,000 books, periodicals and pamphlets from a general collection which, at the time of publication, held approximately 60,000 bound books and 50,000 unbound periodicals, reports and manuscripts. Although the focus is on the writings of American Protestant missionaries from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries until 1941, this catalog does include the publications of a few Chinese Christian authors, as well as some works published outside of the United States. Each individual citation lists the author's or sponsoring organization's name, the title, source, date of publication, publisher and MRL catalog number. Page numbers and annotations are included for some of the citations. Listings are indexed in two ways: the first is a detailed table of contents, which is organized alphabetically by subject heading, following the topical classifications contained in the MRL catalog; the second index is organized by author or sponsoring organization. Chu includes introductions by the author and by K. C. Liu, general editor of the Research Aids for American Far Eastern Policy Studies.

Church Missionary Society, Catalogue of the Papers of the Missions of the Africa (Group 3) Committee. 2nd ed. London: Church Missionary Society, 1981.

The British Church Missionary Society was active in Africa, the Near East, New Zealand and the West Indies from the early nineteenth through the middle twentieth centuries. This eight-volume catalogue serves as an index to the extensive papers of the Church Missionary Society, which are currently on deposit in the Library of the University of Birmingham, England. Included is correspondence between field missionaries and various branches of the home office, as well as an extensive listing

of missionary journals and reports. The largest selection of holdings represents the missionary experience in Africa, including Egypt and the Upper Nile, with volumes 1-5 cataloguing papers relating to this region. Volume 6 contains the Mediterranean and Palestine, volume 7 New Zealand, and Volume 8 the West Indies through 1880. Each volume is subdivided by various subject categories, within which individual items are listed chronologically. Unfortunately, the catalogues contain neither subject nor general indexes.

Cochran, Samuel. "The China Papers of Samuel Cochran." Manuscripts Division, Princeton Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

Samuel Cochran (1871-1952) served as a medical missionary to China for the Presbyterian Church of America between 1898 and 1926, a period critical to American expansion overseas and American foreign relations in China and the Far East. This archival collection reflects Cochran's twenty-eight-year career in China and offers potential insights into both the missionary experience and the relationship between the religious mission and American foreign policy. This collection includes correspondence—a significant portion of which was written by Cochran to his mother—journals, notes, photographs and memorabilia collected during his service in China. Boxed originals are on deposit at Princeton University; a microfilm edition is available.

Johnson, Rachel Kerr. Affectionately Rachel: Letters from India, 1860-1884, ed. Barbara Mitchell Tull. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1992.

This collection represents the letters of Rachel Kerr Johnson to her family in western Pennsylvania during her period of service, which lasted from 1860 to 1883, as the wife of an American Presbyterian missionary in India. This collection offers insights into the life of the missionary wife, whose role was strictly limited, placing the care of family and home ahead of all other considerations. While some missionary women sought to expand their involvement, Johnson's letters indicate that she apparently accepted her limited role. Her comments are also valuable for the perspective they provide on the foreign missionary experi-

ence in general, offering an alternative resource to the more official viewpoints expressed in missionary reports, memoirs and journals. This collection, organized chronologically, has been edited by Rachel Johnson's granddaughter, who has made some grammatical changes and included explanations of unfamiliar abbreviations and definitions for Hindi words. The editor indicates, however, that every effort has been made to retain the original color and uniqueness of Rachel Johnson's prose. This edition represents the majority of letters which have survived in the family's possession, the originals of which are on deposit with the archives of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in Philadelphia. The editor has also provided some biographical information, a family tree, a selection of illustrations, a limited bibliography and a general index.

King, Cornelia S., ed. American Philanthropy, 1731-1860: Printed Works in the Collections of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984.

The American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia represent three major collections which contain extensive holdings concerning eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philanthropic activities in America. This bibliography, which contains extracted and catalogued holdings from the balance of these three expansive collections, lists sources representing a wide range of private and public charitable efforts. It includes aids to education, temporary shelters, volunteer fire companies, orphanages, women's societies, libraries, religious groups providing material support, and temperance and penal reform organizations. The editor has specifically omitted from this bibliography the records of those organizations and activities which provided goods or services of a temporal nature, including those involved in the abolitionist movement. Sources listed include sermons, pamphlets, writings, and various documents and printed matter. Arranged alphabetically by the author's name, or by the title if no author is indicated, each entry is accompanied by a complete bibliographic notation, pagination and library location. A limited number of entries have been briefly annotated and/or cross-referenced. An index listing all institutions and organizations cited

in the bibliography and a chronological listing of sources have also been included. Subject indexes are not provided.

Montgomery, Helen Barrett. Western Women in Eastern Lands: An Outline Study of Fifty Years of Woman's Work in Foreign Missions. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910.

Prepared by the Woman's Board of Missions in America, of the Woman's Union Missionary Society, to mark the organization's fiftieth anniversary, this volume offers a review of the work of the organization's member missions in the Near and Far East. This publication, even though it is meant to be, in part, a celebration of the Woman's Board of Missions, is valuable both for the insights it provides into the women's missionary movement—including a frank discussion of women's rights in the Orient—and for its analysis of the administrative, financial and political problems confronting the movement as it entered the twentieth century. A valuable statistical table containing financial and demographic information drawn from the organization's member missionary societies is included as a foldout appendix, as are a selection of photographs and a general index.

Newton, Grace. "The China Papers of Grace Newton." Manuscripts Division, Princeton Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

Grace Newton (1860-1915) served as a missionary in China for the Presbyterian Church of America during the period of 1887-1915. Along with offering insights into the experiences and impressions of American Protestant missionaries abroad, this material offers valuable information on the American Protestant mission in China during the Boxer Rebellion, an event that had a significant impact on the overseas missionary effort and on American impressions concerning foreign relations in that region. The collection includes Newton's correspondence, her diary covering 1903-1905, a journal kept by her during 1900, photographs and other documents. The information on the Boxer Rebellion is reflected in Newton's personal accounts as well as in Chinese pamphlets and English-language newspaper clippings collected by Newton and included among her papers. Boxed originals on deposit at Princeton University. Microfilm edition available.

Pate, Maurice. "The Maurice Pate Papers." Mudd Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

Industrialists and financiers have been among the most prominent financial benefactors of American philanthropic and charitable enterprises. A few, however, have distinguished themselves by lending their personal leadership to these efforts. Maurice Pate (1894-1965), an American financier and banker whose involvement in philanthropic work, particularly in the area of international relief, extended over a 45-year period, was among this latter group. Pate's efforts in international relief began with service on the Commission for Relief in Belgium during World War I and continued during the period between the wars. During World War II, Pate actively participated with the American Red Cross in providing aid to prisoners of war. Following the war, he served with Herbert Hoover on the World Food Survey, a position that led to his appointment as the Executive Director of UNICEF. Pate remained at the helm of UNICEF for its initial 18 years, holding the directorship from 1947 to 1965. His papers reflect most of his expansive career and include his correspondence, diaries covering the period of 1916-1939, family and personal papers, as well as files concerning his business interests in Poland during the period 1925-1940. Boxed originals can be found on deposit at Princeton University, as can a microfilm edition.

Rogers, Miriam. "The Miriam Rogers Collection of Albert Schweitzer, 1945-1973." Manuscripts Division, Princeton Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965) achieved widespread support and virtual celebrity status for his efforts as a medical missionary to French Equatorial Africa. This collection reflects the close association between Dr. Schweitzer and Miriam Rogers, one of his most ardent supporters. Rogers' efforts to support Schweitzer's mission included several visits made by her to his facility in Africa as well as a 21-year period of service (1950-1971) as chairperson of the "Friends of Albert Schweitzer," an organization geared to publicizing and supporting Schweitzer's mission. The collection includes letters from Schweitzer to Rogers concerning Schweitzer and the organiza-

tion, as well as correspondence from other friends and associates, scrapbooks containing photographs and clippings, a selection of slides apparently used at organization meetings, and tapes (which include interviews with Dr. Schweitzer). Included among this material are items reflecting the organization's fundraising activities. Boxed originals are on deposit at Princeton University; a microfilm addition and a collection inventory are available.



Part IV

Additional Citations

Collected by Ariel Rosenblum, Kacy Wiggins, and Ted Wisniewski

Anderson, Gerald H. "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission, 1886-1986." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 12 (July 1988): 98-102.

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