June 2022

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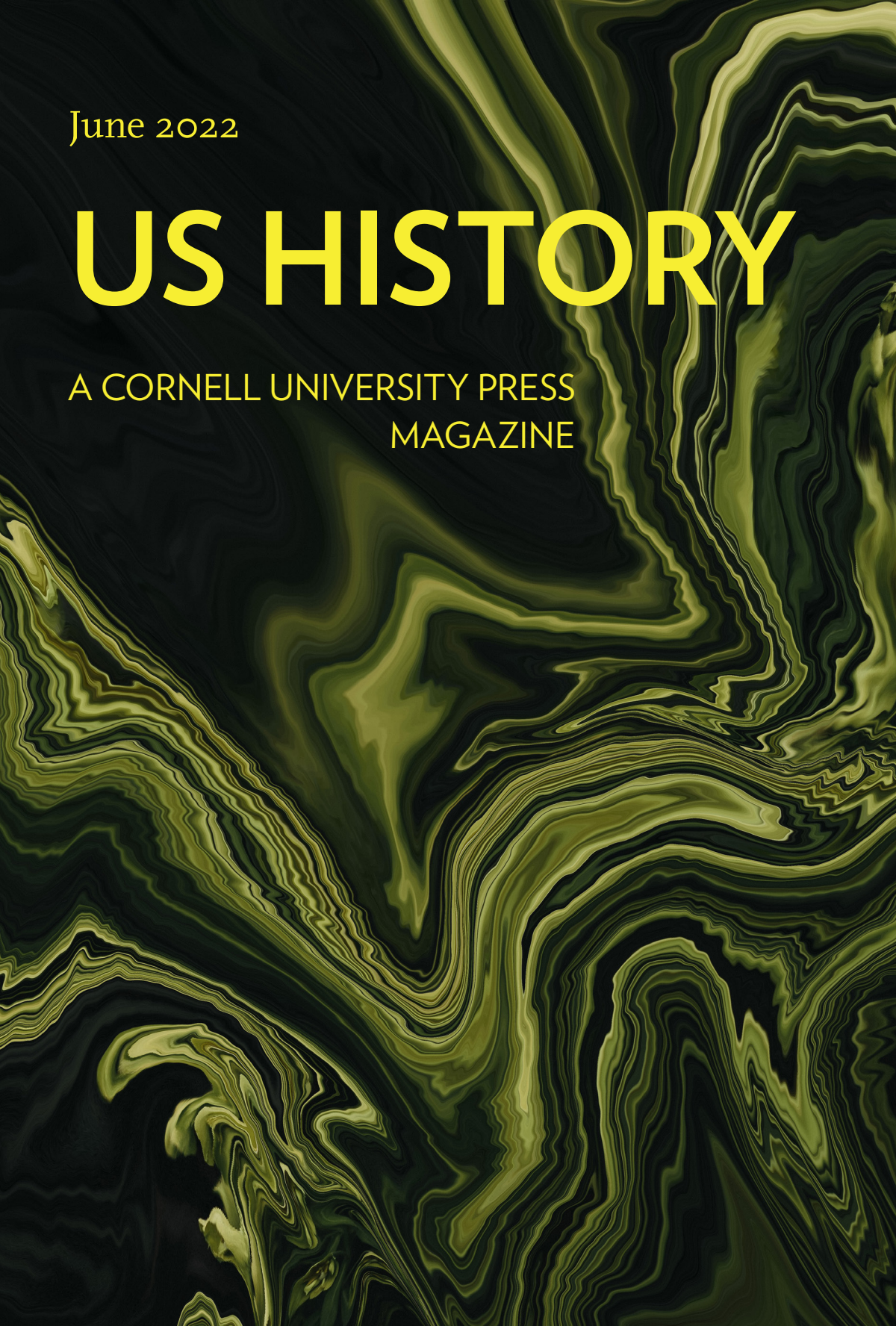

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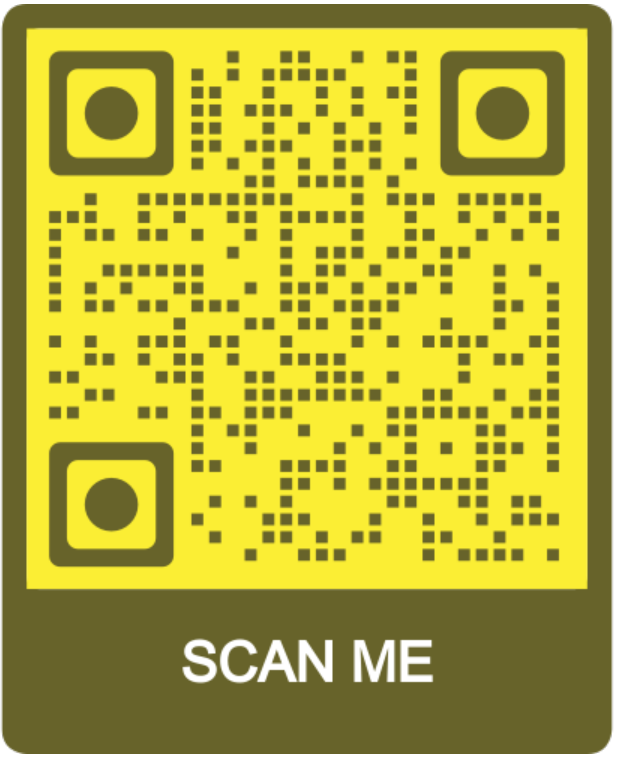

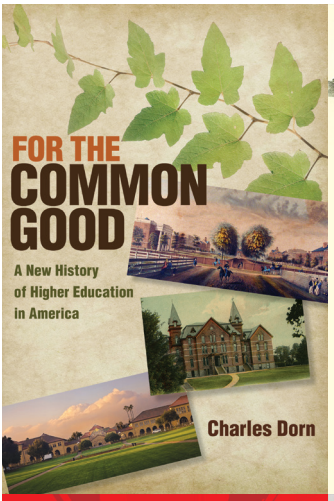
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A New History
of Higher Education
in America
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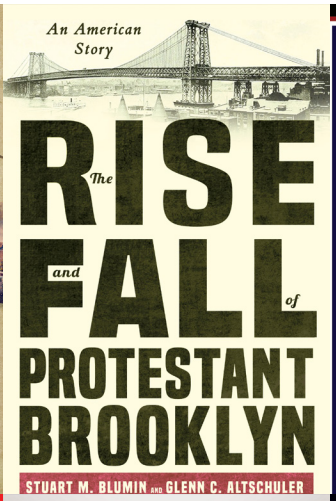
An American
Story
The RISE
and FALL of
PROTESTANT
BROOKLYN
STUART M. BLUMIN AND GLENN C. ALTSCHULER


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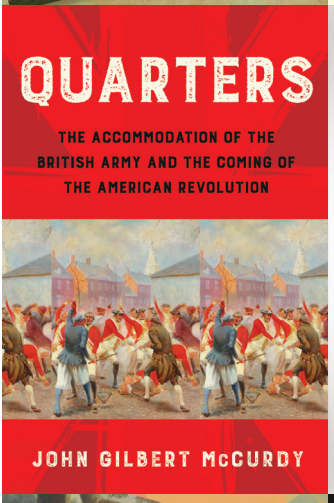
TO ALL NATIONS
EVANGELICAL INFLUENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS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THE ACCOMMODATION OF THE
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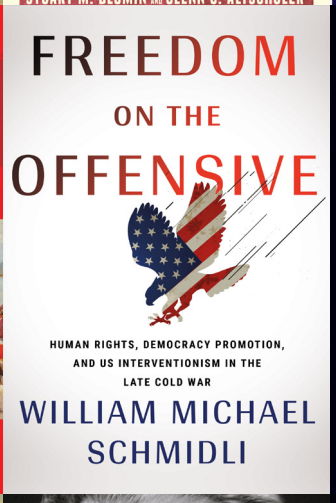
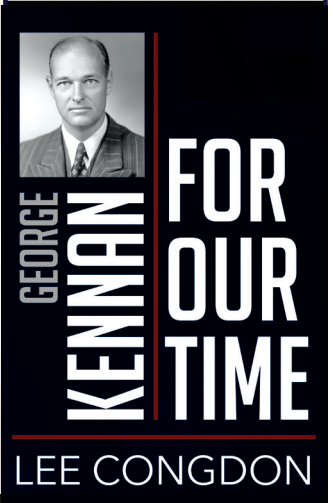
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
JOHN GILBERT McCURDY


FREEDOM
ON THE
OFFENSIVE
HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY PROMOTION,
AND US INTERVENTIONISM IN THE
LATE COLD WAR
WILLIAM MICHAEL
SCHMIDLI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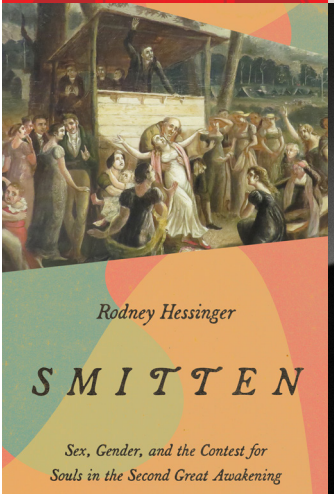
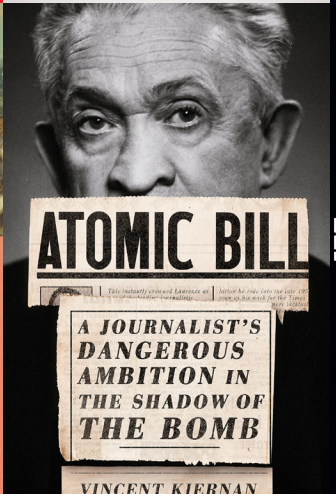
KENNAN
FOR
OUR
TIME
LEE CONGDON


Rodney Hessinger
SMITTEN
Sex, Gender, and the Contest for
Souls in the Second Great Awakening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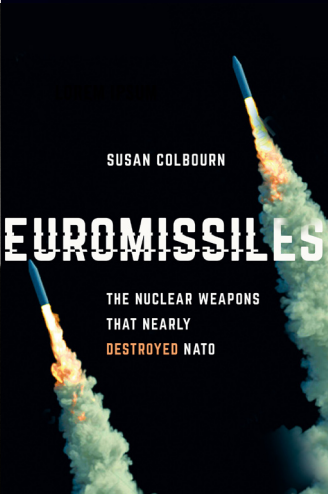
A JOURNALIST'S
DANGEROUS
AMBITION IN
THE SHADOW OF
THE BOMB
VINCENT KIERNAN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THAT NEARLY
DESTROYED NATO


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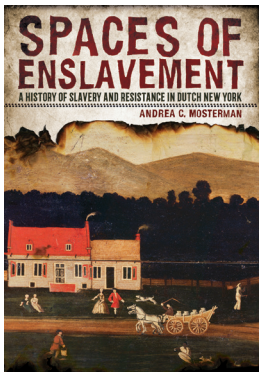
The Article

THE FORGOTTEN HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN NEW YORK

by Andrea C. Mosterman

When discussing slavery in Dutch New York, I am often asked why so little of this history is taught in schools or at historic sites. Most Americans know very little about U.S. slavery or that it extended far beyond the southern cotton plantations. The U.S. North is often portrayed as a safe haven for enslaved Southerners, when in reality New York did not abolish slavery fully until 1827, only 34 years before the Civil War began.



While there are a concerted efforts by, among others, Slavers of New York, historic sites like Philipsburg Manor, and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation to bring more attention to this history, New York's slavery past is still relatively unknown.

Dutch slavery in New York began not long after the first Africans were brought to Virginia in 1619. As early as 1628, the Dutch West India Company put enslaved Africans to work in its colony of New Netherland, some of them laboring in chain gangs. In 1664, the Dutch lost the colony to the English, but that was not the end of slavery or Dutch slaveholding in the region. In fact, the number of individuals who relied on the labor of enslaved peoples increased during the eighteenth century. With this expansion of slavery came more emphasis on limiting the movements and activities of enslaved New Yorkers. Through legislation white New Yorkers prohibited enslaved people to trade, travel, or purchase alcohol without permission. Within their homes, New York's enslavers restricted the people they enslaved to back rooms, cellars, attics, and garret spaces. In all of these spaces, enslavers used systems of control necessary to hold people in bondage.

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As elsewhere, racist ideologies proved integral to sustaining racial slavery. One document reveals the deep-seated racism of a Kings County–now Brooklyn–community. When in 1788 Dutch Reformed Church minister Peter Lowe received a request from a group of Black men who wanted to become full members in the church, congregants objected to admitting the men

because, they claimed among others, Black people "have no souls," "they are descendants from Ham, or the treacherous Gibeonites," and "they are a species very different from us—witness their nauseous sweat, complexion, and manners &c, I cannot endure them near me. I would be asham'd to commune with them."[1] At the time of their objections, close to 75% of the free, white Kings County families enslaved people within their home.

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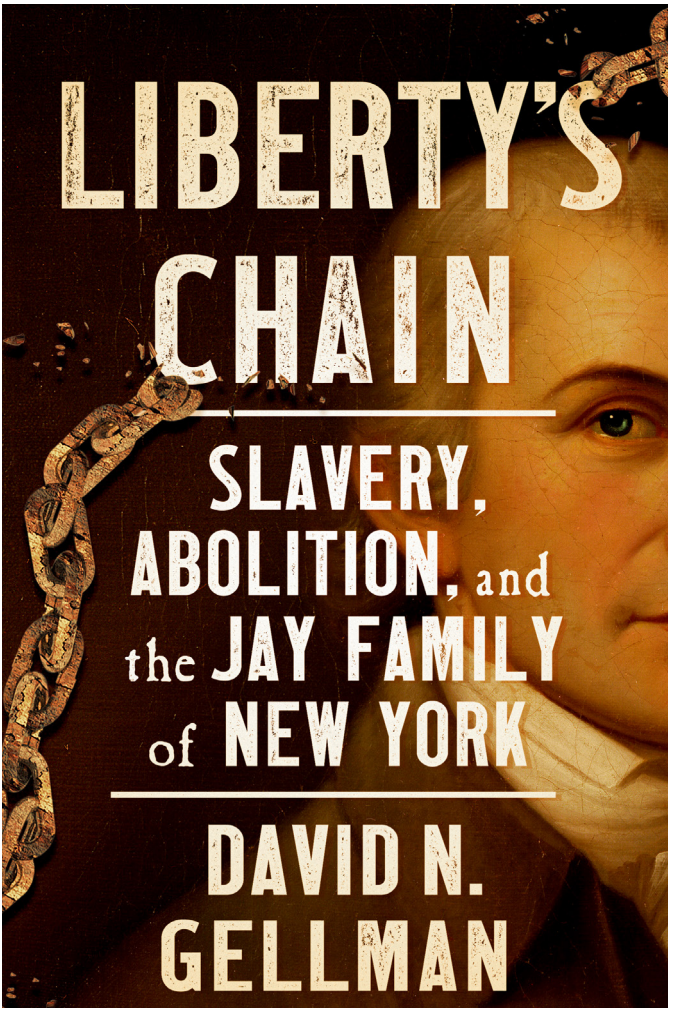
Enslaved New Yorkers resisted their bondage through everyday resistance and outright rebellion. Enslaved men, women, and children found ways to escape surveillance and control in private and public spaces by developing alternative ways of knowing and navigating these spaces. Many fled the homes in which they were enslaved, and some of them revolted, as was the case when in 1712 enslaved New Yorkers killed nine white residents of the city of New York.

Recent challenges to teaching U.S. slavery threaten attempts to bring this history to the wider public. Such opposition has been especially evident in the pushback against The *New York Times Magazine* 1619 Project, developed by Nikole Hannah-Jones. Since its publication two years ago, the 1619 Project has been widely celebrated and extensively criticized. In some cases, it has become a target of Republican lawmakers like Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas, who have embraced opposition to critical race theory and the teaching of America's difficult histories. Yet, the history of U.S. slavery is still not well-understood by most Americans, or perhaps it is because much of this history remains unknown that such opposition to teaching it has been so effective.

THE EXCERPT


LIBERTY'S CHAIN
SLAVERY, ABOLITION, and the JAY FAMILY of NEW YORK
DAVID N. GELLMAN

Prologue

Founding

"Posthumous fame is in no other respect valuable than as it may be instrumental to the good of the survivors." When forty-four-year-old John Jay penned this reflection in 1790, he had already earned his place as one of the most influential members of the revolutionary generation. The inaugural chief justice of the newly formed US Supreme Court had ample reason to believe he would remain famous long after his own death. He had served as president of the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War. As a leading political figure in New York, he helped author the state's first constitution. Alongside John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, Jay played a crucial role in negotiating the treaty that concluded the War for Independence.

After returning from his diplomatic triumph in Europe, John Jay was entrusted with the nation's fledgling foreign policy operations by the Continental Congress. The frustrations posed by the Articles of Confederation of performing this task prompted him to join with George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton in what historian Joseph Ellis has labeled "the quartet"—the moving force behind calling a national convention to supplant the Articles and to ratify the resulting United States Constitution. A few years later, Jay negotiated a treaty with Britain that forever after bears his name; the Jay Treaty averted a potentially disastrous war with the former mother country. In 1795, his fellow New Yorkers elected him as their governor. During his second

term, he had the honor of approving a law to gradually abolish slavery in the North's largest slave state.[1]

Slavery and fame—or, better yet, slavery and infamy. The enslavement of millions of human beings and the founding of the nation are inextricably bound. One need look no further than the US Constitution. The 1787 document made ominous references to "three fifths of all other persons" counting toward congressional appointments and to the need for Congress to "suppress Insurrections." The bedrock of our laws required that people "held to Service" who had fled across state borders be returned to their masters' states. The same seminal document also forbade Congress until 1808 at the earliest from banning the "Importation of such Persons as any of the States . . . think proper to admit." All these phrases referred to the enslaved. Quietly but unmistakably, the founders etched Black bondage into the nation's charter.[2] But Americans can—and have since then—amended the Constitution. Abolition, equal protection, and voting rights amendments removed chattel slavery from the living document. The lives of the founders themselves, however, were written in indelible ink. What good would their memory be to their survivors? What value is their memory to us—Americans and world citizens of every color, identity, and creed?

Because of slavery, the biographical record threatens to transform the founders' fame into infamy at almost every turn. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and other revered southern founding fathers owned slaves: hundreds of men, women, and children were the chattel property of these apostles of liberty. Thomas Jefferson's role in fathering several children by his slave mistress Sally Hemings is virtually a historical subfield of its own, its combination of sex and hypocrisy serving as a metaphor for our nation's entire shameful history of racial injustice.[3]

The Mason-Dixon Line, meanwhile, did not and does not secure the North's revolutionary legacy from slavery's disgrace. Every colony that became a state legally enforced the enslavement of people of African descent. Northern colonial economies reaped profits from the slave trade and provisioned slave colonies.[4] Once again, such facts force us to reconsider the founders' biographies. Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin not only owned slaves but also helped keep his renowned newspaper operation profitable by advertising slaves for sale and rewards for capturing runaways. Alexander Hamilton's twenty-first-century Broadway revival as the honor-obsessed forward-thinking founding father whose hip-hop storytelling embodies a city's and nation's multicultural dreams poses far more questions than it answers about the revolution and slavery.[5]

And John Jay? He owned slaves, as did his father, his grandfather, his father-in-law, and most if not all of the elite New York merchants and landholders to

which he was related by blood, marriage, and class.[6] The ties of the founding and the founders to slavery proved to be inextricable.

In the years following John Jay's death, his heirs demanded that slavery end. John Jay's second son, William Jay, and his grandson and namesake, John Jay II, embraced the new movement for immediate abolition in the 1830s, promoted the cause of national Black freedom for decades, and challenged the North's racial caste system. Just two years before the outbreak of the Civil War, the nation's foremost African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass declared in his eulogy for William, "In the great cause of universal freedom his name was a tower of strength, and his pen a two edged sword." Soon after, the editors of *DeBow's Review*, a leading mouthpiece of southern nationalism, offered John Jay II's antislavery invective during the fateful 1860 presidential race as proof of why southerners should exit the Union.[7] In the mid-nineteenth century, the Jay name became, for many friends and foes, synonymous with abolitionism even as it remained intimately associated with the founding.

Even so, members of the family knew full well the Jays' connection to enslavement. Zilpah Montgomery, who began life as the daughter of a family slave and was a slave herself until John Jay freed her, served the Jay family for decades and on her death in 1872 was interred in the Jay family burial plot. Zilpah's mother Clarinda had served the family as a slave and later as a freed person until 1837. The former slave Caesar Valentine worked in the household of John Jay's oldest son, the abolitionist Peter Augustus Jay, receiving a modest annuity on Peter's death in 1848. Fugitives making their way northward to freedom turned to the Jays for help. Generations of Jays formed a bond, albeit a lopsided one, to enslaved people and formerly enslaved people. The Jays did not imagine slavery as something that only took place in a distant region or at a distant time.

Yet the later Jays did not regard their principled, even daring, antislavery activities as a repudiation of their founding father, even as their abolitionism complicated the meaning of the nation's origins and their family story. As his successors knew, despite being a slaveholder, John Jay had been an abolitionist too. In 1785, he became the founding president one of the world's first antislavery organizations, the New-York Manumission Society. In 1799, as already noted, he served as governor while the state enacted a gradual emancipation law. And in 1819, in one of the last political statements of his long life, Jay opposed the admission of Missouri as a slave state—a striking contrast to Thomas Jefferson's response during the same crisis.

To be sure, slavery deeply compromised the founders' legacy. Yet the beliefs and actions of several founders regarding slavery, especially John Jay's, complicated the interpretation of that legacy even before the last major founders passed away. He embraced a gradual emancipation ethos that, although it

was freighted with unfairness, moved steadily forward. This approach stood in contrast to Washington's grand "imperfect" gesture of liberating his slaves at his death and to Jefferson's disturbing moral retreat.[8] Unlike these three founders, Jay's historically minded heirs, traditionalists in so many other ways, would seek to identify the family name with immediate emancipation and racial equality, even though that cause threatened to radically transform and even to destroy the nation that John Jay had played a central role in creating. Their father and the laws of New York ensured that they owned no slaves to free.

The Jay story invites, indeed demands, that Americans treat the founders as a part of, rather than set apart from, subsequent conflicts over slavery.[9]

To link together this narrative chain of slavery and liberty, documents from John Jay's long career as a public servant proved valuable, but I relied far more heavily on family documents—especially letters written by, to, and in between generations of Jays.[10] Although the Jays' style of letter writing was not generally confessional in nature, they freely shared their opinions about policies, politicians, and publications. They also corresponded frequently with their abolitionist colleagues and contemporaries. Their correspondence illustrates an abiding web of family and activist connections, distinctive personalities, and motivations emerging against an American historical landscape that from the colonial era to the industrial revolution, from the American Revolution to Reconstruction, underwent massive upheavals. The religious, political, and personal motives they ascribed to themselves and others do not have to be accepted at face value. But patterns of continuity and change abound. William Jay and John Jay II, the family's most vociferous abolitionists, published essays and articles that contributed vitally to the antislavery struggles, reform movements, and political contests of their times. Placed into conversation with the rich scholarship of slavery and abolition, the Jays' private correspondence and public advocacy shed new light on the transitions from the practice of gradual emancipation to the demand for immediate abolition, from the commitment to peace to the embrace of war, and on the waxing and waning of nationalism as a force of liberation.

Getting at the motivations and personalities of enslaved and freed family servants is much more difficult, requiring the historian to read between the lines and against the grain in the vast trove of Jay documents. What their white masters and employers said about their Black slaves and servants or about slavery and racism does not directly convey African American life in and around the Jay household. As the narrative will make plain, the Jays' criticisms and blunt attacks on unjust institutions and their championing of various forms

of emancipation were neither divorced from nor a straightforward reckoning of the experiences of the enslaved and emancipated people in their midst. Although the Jays forged meaningful alliances with African American antislavery activists, those who served the family achieved much more modest forms of respect. Paternalism and personal loyalty never produced anything like equality within the Jays' households.[11]

For all that the Jays have to tell us about slavery, emancipation, and race in America, as well as about the first century of politics in the United States more broadly, the historical and biographical record is stunningly thin—dots are left unconnected when not outright neglected. John Jay has gotten more and broader attention than his ancestors and descendants, but engagement with his life as a slaveholder and abolitionist has been fleeting by critics and celebrants alike. Historians and biographers sometimes gesture to the fact that, whatever his achievements and shortcomings regarding slavery, his sons carried the antislavery banner forward. What that entailed for the better part of the nineteenth century is a story with which the Jays themselves, especially William Jay and John Jay II, wrestled.[12] The fight against slavery threatened to destroy the nation on which their family fame rested. Thus, to some contemporaries, the Jays' abolitionism seemed to betray John Jay's founding legacy. This book is no simple story of sons finishing the work their fathers started.

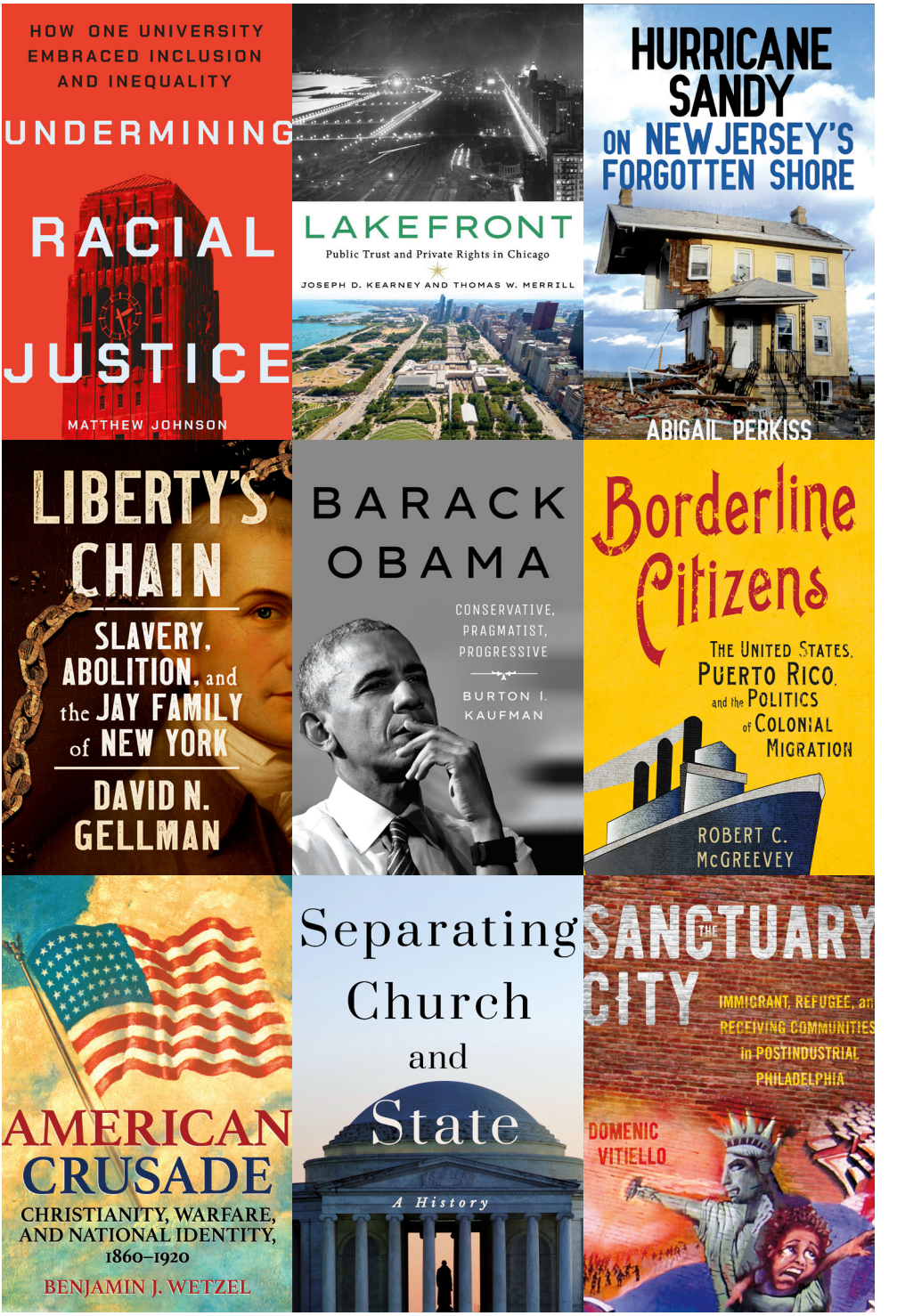
Indeed, telling the story requires resisting the temptation to assemble a series of discrete lives into neatly sequenced narratives. That is not how the Jays experienced the history they helped make. Their stories and those of the African Americans in their midst were enmeshed. To shift the metaphor, this is not the story of a relay race, baton smoothly passed from one hand to another; members of the household ran alongside one another, albeit at different speeds to different finish lines. Fathers, sons, mothers, and daughters experienced the same events from distinct perspectives, the same moments in time coming at separate phases of long lives. They watched each other, collaborated with each other, and learned from each other. Decades after family patriarch John Jay died, his survivors looked back over their shoulders for approval and repurposed family stories for public justification, for personal self-understanding, and with the hopes of shaping American historical memory.[13]

The Jays are abiding characters in each others' biographies, much as the colonial and revolutionary past shaped and marked the history of the nineteenth century and beyond. The moral incompatibility of slavery with the nation's founding ideals clashed—in ways that the Jays found impossible to ignore—with slavery's economic and political compatibility to the nation's development. For long stretches, antislavery radicalized a conservative family. Timing

and temperament determined how individual members of the family experienced and made sense of this tension between radicalism and conservatism.

The narrative unfolds in three parts. The first section, "Slavery and Revolution," traces the long arc of the Jay family's rise to prominence. It begins in colonial New York, where enslaved Africans provided luxury and wealth to the upwardly mobile, like John's grandfather Auguste, a French Protestant refugee; it ends in the 1820s, when, in part due to the efforts of members of the Jay family, slavery all but disappeared from the Empire State but sowed political division in the new nation. The American Revolution propelled John Jay to the top ranks of his state's and his nation's leadership. Intensified currents of egalitarian thought and slave resistance forced Jay to negotiate conflicting impulses toward slavery in his political and personal life. Imagining himself a kindly patriarch to loyal slaves, he bristled when the enslaved asserted their own needs. Yet he increasingly, if inconsistently, embraced antislavery principles in various public roles, identifying gradual emancipation as an effective method of ending slavery within his state and in his household. In national office, he tacked between compromise in the interest of national unity and censuring slaveholders who sought to assert their interests in matters of foreign policy. Meanwhile, a new generation of Jays engaged in their own antislavery activism through the New-York Manumission Society and in political life. As John Jay manumitted the last of the people he held in bondage, new issues emerged. Slavery's expansion westward, plans to colonize African Americans in West Africa, the right of Black men to vote, and the kidnapping of free people of color signaled that the gradual abolition of slavery in the North and constitutional compromises left gaping moral holes.

The subject of the middle part, "Abolitionism," is the radical antislavery movement of the 1830s and 1840s, as William Jay and John Jay II embraced the call for slavery's immediate end. William lived in his father's house, employed former family slaves, worshiped in his father's beloved Episcopalian church, and authored a laudatory biography of his father. Supported and pushed by his own son, John Jay II, William relentlessly articulated the case against slavery throughout this period. Navigating the choppy waters of the antislavery movement politics and the nation's increasingly partisan, white man's democracy, William entered into and then exited from the William Lloyd Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society. He also formed lasting alliances with other leading abolitionists like Lewis Tappan and Gerrit Smith. The prestige accrued from his family's connection to the founding made William a prized antislavery spokesman, as well as a puzzle to fellow conservatives surprised by this radical turn. William and his son, meanwhile, increasingly advocated for racially egalitarian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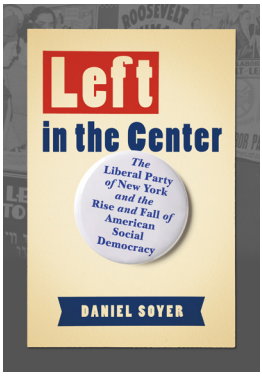
DOMENIC VITIELLO

The Article

"NOT LIBERAL, NOT A PARTY?" THE LIBERAL PARTY OF NEW YORK

by Daniel Soyer

New York voters know that the state has a multiparty system. If they are old enough, they might remember the Liberal Party, which played an important role in state politics between 1944 and 2002.



And if they remember the Liberal Party, they probably recall its last years as a cynical patronage machine with few actual members, no internal life, and no principles to speak of. By the end, critics joked that just as the Holy Roman Empire was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire, so the Liberal Party was neither liberal nor a party. Rather, it was a law firm with a ballot line.

But it wasn't always that way. The Liberal Party arose out of New York's labor movement, especially in the garment industry, and commanded considerable support in New York City's Jewish community. It could mobilize tens of thousands for election campaigns or rallies. Mainstays of the city's peculiar social-democracy-in-one-city, the Liberals prided themselves in being a "year-round" party that didn't go into hibernation between elections. Rather, they worked constantly to extend New Deal-style social welfare programs and defend civil rights. There was no doubt in its first several decades that the Liberal Party was both liberal and a party.

By the end, the Liberal Party was neither liberal nor a party.

From the beginning, though, the Liberal Party sought to strike a balance between idealism and pragmatism. Like New York's other small parties, it mainly exerted influence by offering or threatening to withhold support from the Democrats or Republicans. As one party activist put it, the Liberals could not guarantee a Democrat that he would win in a statewide election if they supported him. But they could guarantee that he would lose if they didn't. Conversely, in New York City, a Republican could only win a citywide election by outflanking the Democrat from the left with Liberal help. This strategy was successful, and the Liberal Party helped to elect presidents, governors, senators, and mayors. In return, winning candidates promised to support the party's liberal priorities.

The Liberal Party wheeled and dealed with the most well-oiled of political machines.

But the balance between pragmatism and idealism was precarious. Winning candidates also promised to appoint Liberals to government jobs. Alex Rose, the party vice chair and de facto leader, defended the Liberals' patronage practices by arguing that a political party existed to put its people in positions of influence. Moreover, the Liberals had good, qualified people. What was wrong, Rose asked, with seeing that they had jobs in government? Still, this strategy meant that the Liberal Party wheeled and dealed with the most well-oiled of political machines. Some began to question whether there was much difference between the Liberal Party and its infamous rival, Tammany Hall.

The Liberal Party wheeled and dealed with the most well-oiled of political machines.

By the end of the 1960s, the Liberal Party began to lose its social base, as the garment industry shrank, the unions disaffiliated, and the demographic make-up of New York City changed. At the same time, the party's New Deal-style liberalism began to seem old fashioned and out of step. By the 1980s, the party put much less emphasis on its program, and more emphasis on finding jobs for its people, fewer of whom seemed obviously idealistic or even qualified. By the turn of the millennium the party was a shadow of its former self. And in 2002, it lost its ballot line and went out of business.

By the turn of the millennium, the party was a shadow of its former self.

The recent democratic socialist insurgency led by Bernie Sanders, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and others within the Democratic Party shows that the issues of principle vs. pragmatism raised by the Liberal Party are not dead. The party's history provides a cautionary tale for movements of all stripes that seek to influence American politics from the margins of the mainstream.

1869

The Cornell University Press Podcast

AN INTERVIEW WITH

Carl Weinberg,

author of *Red Dynamite*

HOSTED BY Jonathan Hall

THE TRANSCRIPT

JONATHAN Welcome to 1869, The Cornell University Press Podcast. I'm Jonathan Hall. This episode we speak with Carl Weinberg, author of *Red Dynamite: Creationism, Culture Wars, and Anticommunism in America*. Carl is Adjunct Associate Professor of History and Senior Lecturer in the College of Arts and Sciences at Indiana University Bloomington. He is also the author of Labor, Loyalty and Rebellion from Southern Illinois University Press. We spoke to Carl about the very real and hidden labor and socialist history of John Scopes of the famous Scopes Monkey Trial; why there's a rational kernel of truth behind Christian conservatives linking the theory of evolution with communism; and why Christian conservatives' main argument against evolution has always been more about its potential impacts on society, rather than the actual science of biology itself. Hello, Karl, welcome to the podcast.

CARL Hey, Jonathan, glad to be here.

JONATHAN Well, we're very excited about your new book, *Red Dynamite: Creationism, Culture Wars, and Anticommunism in America*. It's available now in an affordable paperback and also available as a free download from our website, as well as other vendors, you can just click on the free download button and you can download a PDF or EPUB and read it right now. So we're really excited about that. So that in mind, we were curious to know how you got interested in this topic and the backstory to this book?

CARL Sure, that's a great question because I did not study evolutionary biology, in college or graduate school, nor did I focus very much on religion or intellectual history. But through various means I ended up in this field. So a couple of things come to mind. First of all, when I was right out of college, I one day happened into the militant bookstore in Washington, DC, where they were selling Pathfinder books published by the Socialist Workers Party, but also a various books on evolutionary science. And one was by Stephen Jay Gould, the very well known paleontologist and defender of evolutionary biology in the culture wars. And I bought his book ever since Darwin and still have it. And one thing that whole experience taught me is that there are communists and socialists out there promoting evolutionary science. Now, I have to say, another thread that led me to the book was my dissertation research on Illinois labor history, in which I came across some colorful characters, anti socialist activists in Illinois who would chase around socialists from town to town, when they were campaigning, one of the moves guy named David Goldstein, who became a convert to Catholicism. rather conservative one, he was a former socialist and became an anti socialist activist. And in his autobiography, he explained that he turned away from socialism when he read Frederick Engels, origin of the family private property in the state, in which angles openly embrace an evolutionary explanation for human history, and that we had ape ancestors which Goldstein found horrifying. And then the the most immediate spark to the book was I was teaching at North Georgia College in Delano, Georgia. And in 2002, Cobb County, not too far

from where I was teaching in the suburbs of Atlanta, issued a new policy, the school board issued a new policy that required a disclaimer sticker on all biology textbooks that explained that evolution is a theory not a fact. And therefore, it should be carefully considered and approached with an open mind. This was, of course, inspired by creationist activists by anti evolution activists, and the school board adopted this and it ended up in a lawsuit. So when this controversy broke up, I decided it would be really interesting to teach a course to trace the history of this controversy. And thankfully, the chair of the history department where I was teaching, gave me permission to create this course. And I called it the history of evolutionary science. And in the course, I was able to have as guest speakers, both Jeffrey Selman, the plaintiff in the lawsuit against Cobb County, and a parent who was supporting the school board. They didn't want to be in the classroom at the same time. They both insisted on that, but my students got to hear both sides. And that was really the germ of the project that became this book.

JONATHAN Wow, that's fascinating. Tell us what is red dynamite? what the title of the book, tell us what you was the term red dynamite where that comes from?

CARL Well red dynamite I have to say I borrowed from a chapter title in a book by creationist geologists George McCready price. I would consider him the godfather of young earth creationism of the kind of creationism we see today at say the Creation Museum in Petersburg, Kentucky run by Answers in Genesis, which claims that the earth is roughly 6000 years old. In the early 20th century, people who believe that were outliers actually and George McCready Price, who was a geologist, and at least an amateur geologist, and a 7/7 Day Adventists published a series of books were connected evolutionary science with a variety of social and political and moral evil. And one of these books was called the predicament of evolution published in 1925, the year of the scopes trial. And in that book, he told the story of a socialist activist and Minister, which he was appalled at a guy named Luke White, who, believe it or not started a church in New York City called The Church of the social revolution. White was arrested a number of times for his political activities, and he was also a devout evolutionist, and price quoted an interview with white where white said, that kind of liberal Christianity that included an openness to evolutionary science was social dynamite. Those were book White's words that will blow up the whole apparatus of capitalist civilization. He thought that was a positive thing. Needless to say, George McCready Price did not. And so when he wrote this book, the predicament of evolution, he borrowed from that quote from why he called the chapter read dynamite. And the key statement in his chapter that the captures this idea of red dynamite and why evolution is so horrible for George McCready Price. And then a whole series of figures who followed him in the 20th century, goes like this Marxian socialism and the radical criticism of the Bible, are now proceeding hand in hand with the doctrine of organic evolution, to break

down all those ideas of morality, all those concepts of the sacredness of marriage, and of private property on which Western civilization has been built during the past 1000 years. So evolution and socialism are marching together to create this hell on earth. And price is warning about this in his book, and that suggested to me the title of the book.

JONATHAN That's great, that's great. So in the eyes of creationists evolutionary thought promotes immoral social, sexual and political behavior. And Christians, conservatives have been, for decades been demonizing Darwinian thought, believers of evolution, and calling them either satanic or communist. And, you know, in the mainstream culture, that's people think that that well, that's that's crazy. But you said there's actually a rational kernel of truth behind these accusations. Tell us more about that.

CARL Sure, yes, that is one of the major aims of my book is to point out that christian conservatives may be propounding conspiracy theories that I wouldn't necessarily agree with. But there is a grain of truth in what they're saying about the connection between communism and evolutionism. First, the conspiracy theories, there are a range of them that I cover in the book, one of them that was supported for many years by Henry Morris, one of the founders of so called Creation Science in the modern era, and the founder of the Institute for creation research, which still is around today. Morris wrote in a number of books about how the real origin of evolutionary thought does not go back to Darwin, but goes back much further. And you can find the origin in the story of Nimrod and the Tower of Babel, in the book of Genesis, and according to Morris, Nimrod, and his minions, built this tower with the idea that man could become like God, and this then made him into a figure who was allied with the other side, that is Satan. And so the idea is then that, through this process, Satan somehow planted seeds of evolutionary thinking. Of course, peoples were then scattered all over the world. God punished humanity for for aspiring to become like Gods but also Scattered were these various evolutionary ideas which initially appeared in mythical origin stories that you that that you hear from different cultures around the world. But according to Henry Morris, these were infected with evolutionary ideas. And he then traced the influence of the satanic elements in evolutionary thinking all the way to the 20th century through through Charles Darwin who was implicated various conspiracies, and even through Alfred Russel Wallace, lesser known but the scientific investigator who came up with the idea of natural selection, almost exactly the same time as Darwin did, and Darwin freely gave him credit for this. In his book, The long war against God, Henry Morris actually makes the argument that Satan was present in the East Indies, when Alfred Russel Wallace hit on the idea of natural selection. And taking the satanic theme further, in a museum that the institute creation research created in San Diego, California. It's it's today in Santee, California, in the suburbs of San Diego, there is an exhibit that claims that Karl Marx was a Satanist as well, that's based on a book called marks and Satan, which I talked about in my book

by an interesting character named Richard wurmbrand. In any event, the creationist have seriously made this, this claim that, that Satan is implicated in evolution, and that Marx and Marxist are somehow Satan's. Now, I don't believe Marx was a Satanist. I don't believe Satan created evolutionary ideas. However, there is one aspect of this which is true and and the true part is that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, their followers in the United States, and in many places around the world, were supporters of evolutionary science. That part is true, and it has not gotten much attention from scholars. So as an example, in the family of origin of family private property in the state by angles, he affirms evolutionary ideas. Lenin gave many speeches supporting evolutionary thought, and Leon Trotsky, one of the other central leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, gave an interview with Max Eastman, where he explained that when he was in prison when Trotsky was in prison in Siberia for revolutionary activities, he read Darwin and Darwin, quote, destroyed the last of my ideological prejudices against Marxism. And Darwin, Trotsky told Eastman that Darwin stood for me like a mighty doorkeeper at the entrance to the temple of the universe. I always love that, that statement from Trotsky captures a lot and creationists have quoted it to for for opposite reasons. And I can add a few other things to this in the American socialist movement in the early 20th century. lesser known figures like Arthur Morell Lewis, who I write about in my book, who was working class himself. Louis spoke to workers in large overflow meetings in Chicago about Darwin's ideas and about evolutionary science, he was selling evolution to the masses. So there was this real campaign by socialists and communists to spread evolutionary ideas. And so christian conservatives are not making that up.

JONATHAN That's fascinating. Yeah, I mean, it's you hear that famous quote from Marx, who I'm sure probably pulled it from someone else, but that religion is the opium of the masses. So this is, seems to be part of the culture wars of science versus religion. And the the communists were taking aside the side of science, you know, the new scientific man, ideas like this, I can see how this would be a call to war for christian conservatives. And your book details a lot of these battles. I thought it was interesting in the very beginning, you focus on the Scopes Monkey Trial, and how they went after Thomas Scopes, the father, and then John Scopes, who was in the trial, as rabid socialists, and there was that I don't know if they were rabid, but they certainly were in the socialist spectrum. So it fit really very well into that narrative. Tell us tell us more of what you uncovered with the Scopes Monkey Trial.

CARL Yeah, indeed, I had not originally planned to start the book with the scopes trial. But I was asked to do something on that by the series editors at Cornell and I'm so glad that asked me because I ended up discovering a whole dimension of the background to the scopes trial that most people have never heard about. Well, it's certainly been noted by scholars that kind of scopes, john scopes. His father was a socialist and a labor organizer, but the full story hasn't been told. And I looked a bit

into that. I mean, he was really a central activist in the, in the Socialist Party in the Midwest. And he, he knew all the major figures in the party people like Eugene Debs, he introduced Eugene Debs, on the stage when a Debs came through town he was living in he organized he was the organizer, the branch of the party, in a number of places. And he arrived with several books under his arm, one of which was Darwin's on the origin species. And so socialism and evolutionism ran in the family. John Scopes is often portrayed as a kind of hapless, naive victim of circumstances in Dayton, Tennessee. But it turns out that his upbringing was highly relevant. The fact that his father was an evolutionist, a socialist, a labor organizer, all those things were relevant. The other piece concerns Dayton, Tennessee itself, which normally is simply a placeholder for a southern town that wants to get some attention to boost business. And that's all we really learned about. But it turned out that Dayton, Tennessee itself was an industrial boom town based on coal mining for the steel industry. Their coal mines, were powered by investments from English industrialists, who poured millions of dollars into developing this part of the country, part of the New South that people learn about when they study American history. And what that meant as well was that Dayton, Tennessee, featured class conflicts that we've seen all over the country, whenever there are mining towns and coal miners risking their lives to dig coal and dynamite coal out of the earth, that you're going to get conflict. And in fact, that happened there as well. There were a whole series of strikes in the 1890s and early 20th century, the United Mine Workers of America union local was formed in Dayton and the Dayton miners were very much in support of a, a widespread revolt by East Tennessee miners against the convict lease system that existed in Tennessee, the state of Tennessee had after the Civil War, when slavery was no longer illegal. The mine owners had gotten the state to agree to a system where those who were imprisoned could be leased out to the mine owners for a fee, and the miners would be paid nothing. They were predominantly African American, although not entirely so. And this became a kind of continuation of, of slavery immensely profitable for the Mayan owners. It also served to divide workers so that primarily white coal miners and black miners were set against each other. And so the union movement took this up as an issue and launched the campaign which eventually became in some places in armed rebellion against convict lease. Well, miners in Dayton, were very aware of this, and they actually signed a petition in support of this campaign. And so what you start to see is that Dayton, and the scopes family are part of this whole world of industrial capitalism of labor revolt, and a really big moral questions posed about what kind of society do we want to live in. And to me, this is the proper background for the trial, rather than an isolated sleepy town in which all people are mindlessly supportive of fundamentalism, and really don't know anything else that's going on in the world. It's an entirely different picture. And especially if you have a basic knowledge of the of the of the trap, as so many of you will have, by the movie, Inherit the Wind, which really accentuates all these features. So once you start to understand the

true context, the trial then the rest of my book, which address continually addresses these issues of the relationship between the fighter revolution with basic questions of power relations in society, and labor and revolt and all the rest, that that connection makes much more sense.

JONATHAN Interesting. Interesting. Yeah. So what you're saying is that the central question is, what kind of society do we want to live in, and that's where the attacks are coming from. And the arguments and essential premise of the creationist standpoint is that ideas have consequences for the future of our society. Tell us the evolution of this idea that it is the word evolution in the wrong context. But tell us the evolution of this idea and how prevalent this view is today in the year 2021.

CARL Yeah, I would say, and I say this in the book, that the main concern creationist has always been social evolution, not biological evolution. That is the idea that morality can evolve and our moral standards can change over time that's most disturbing, to creationists and to christian conservatives. The idea is that evolution undermines a belief in God and thereby undermines the idea of eternal stable moral codes. Because if you don't have the Bible, and God as the anchor for those codes, you have nothing. As a result, a christian conservatives say anything goes. And when they say anything goes in there, there are two sides to that, which I could summarize by sex and death, or sex and violence, the kinds of evils they say, flow from an evolutionary way of thinking. Another way of summarizing this idea is, if you teach people that they descended from animals, they'll act like animals. And to your question about To what extent this idea is still prevalent today, I would point to a piece Answers in Genesis published in 2011, where they say that today we're seeing the consequences of evolutionary teaching. When you teach generation after generation of children, they're nothing more than evolved animals, why should it surprise us that they begin to act like animals, and then they give examples of the kinds of behavior they see as evolution inspired, or in my book, I talk about animalistic behavior, or beastial behavior, which are terms that continue continually come up and the cover the lovely cover of the book that Cornell did, with a scary looking gorilla very powerfully conveys the the horror of this beast chill behavior that christian conservatives have been learning about. So Answers in Genesis points to things like school violence, lawlessness, homosexual behavior, pornography, abortion, and as they say, quote, many other destructive behaviors. So they found a way to make this ideas have consequences, concept very relevant to ordinary people's lives. And that's one of the points that I make in the book is that this way of arguing you could describe it as moral consequentialism. That is, you judge things by their effects, by their practical effect. It's, weirdly is a kind of pragmatist idea. And that's odd, because one of the people they demonize, they are one of the people they've demonized. Over the years, John Dewey, of the great pragmatists, who also had some sympathy for socialism. So they, they tend to include them in that same net, with communists, and socialists, any of that. The

idea then is that you judge ideas by their practical effects. And so, one example from history that I include in the book and there's a nice political cartoon in chapter three about this, it shows a monkey in a tree, and the monkey says, I refuse to claim a blood relationship with such people, such people being humans. Evolution is the bunk, the things the monkey attributes to evolution are a reflection of the ideas of Gerald wind rod, one of the best known creationists the 1920s. And the things that things that when rod attributes evolution include murder, divorce, crime, war, gangsterism Bolshevism, what the parties, not exactly sure what they are, but I think we get the idea. And greed and bootlegging. So there's a again, there's a real populist task to this idea of ideas have consequences. And any number of times in the creationist literature and I point this out in the book, we get a rhetorical move where creationists will spend a lot of pages talking about the alleged inadequacies of evolutionary science. Or they'll talk about how evolutionary science contradicts the book of Genesis. But if they're but they also are aware that their own followers and readers may not want to spend a lot of time reading about the intricacies of biology and they also may not be biblical experts. But your ordinary person does know about murder, divorce crime, war, gangsterism, etc. So that way of thinking that ideas have consequences strategy, which is really the frame for the whole book gives them the ability to talk to ordinary people in a compelling way.

JONATHAN Well, you've done a great service by bringing this information to the Academy to scholarship in the spirit of further understanding yet when it once you read The the rationale behind this critiques of evolution and thought evolutionary thought it makes sense yeah, like we would the the culture wars make sense that that both sides you know as a species not to go down the road of evolution but as a species we we are tribal in nature and it's, it's easy for us to to find an other to put problems of of humanity onto and both sides are multiple sides point the finger at some bigger cause that that needs to be reckoned with or part of some larger war of good versus evil. And you able to flesh out the argument from creation aside in a way that's understandable to people and and reduces the amount of tension between this, this ongoing battle of ideas. And the more we can, you know, put walk in someone else's shoes, the easier we can live together rather than say this is either my way or the highway or this. It's us versus them. Your your book brings understanding to this topic in a way I haven't seen before. And so I want to thank you for writing this book and bringing this information to light.

CARL Well, you're very welcome. And I certainly hope that it helps people think through what we're really facing here. And I would add to what you said that I personally think that deep conflicts will continue. But if we start to understand that where the creationists are coming from here is really a concern about the world they're living in. Yeah, even though they may, they may talk primarily in terms of the Scripture, or may claim that evolutionary science is bad science. But anybody who studies science seri-

ously knows that's not credible. It's not to say that evolutionary science is perfect. But But, but their critiques are not scientifically serious. But what but what we, what we all have in common is that we care about the world we live in. Yeah. And they're the issues that they're concerned about are tough issues, the cultural issues of gay rights, gay marriage, transgenderism, abortion rights, but they're also things that deal with this world we're living in, which gives us potential basis for for progress. They that understanding that makes me more optimistic about eventually resolving this conflict in a positive way.

JONATHAN That's good. That's good to hear. That's what I'm hopeful that we can diagnose the problem and come up with some potential solutions. So that's that's what we want. So I again, want to thank you for coming on to the podcast and discussing your new book, red dynamite, creationism, culture wars and anti communism and America. It's been a fascinating talk. And I encourage anyone listening to there's a, as I said earlier, there's an affordable paperback but there's also a free version of this book that you can just go to our website, download it, start reading it right now. So we encourage you to do that. Carl is a pleasure talking with you.

CARL It was a pleasure being here. Thanks for having me on.

JONATHAN Thank you. That was Carl Weinberg, author of *Red Dynamite: Creationism, Culture Wars, and Anticommunism in America*. Follow Carl on twitter @Euclid585.

Three Questions with
PETER CHARLES HOFFER

author of *Seward's Law*

1. What inspired you to write this book?

It is the middle part of a three book series, the first, already published, on Daniel Webster, and the third, now in the works, on Wendell Phillips. All of these men were orators, and all (save Webster) played major roles in ante-bellum, civil war, and post-war politics. What interests me is how their legal training infused their public roles and their political speech.

What interests me is how their legal training infused their public roles and their political speech.

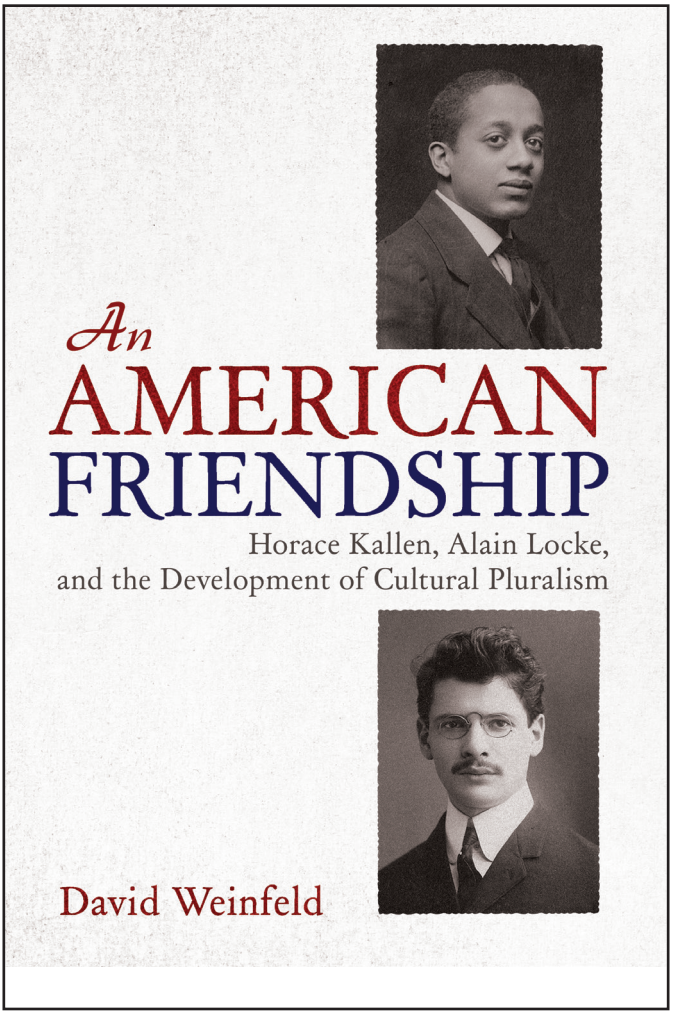
2. How will your book make a difference in your field of study?

Seward was a country lawyer, and despite his rise to prominence, indeed preeminence as Secretary of State, he remained a country lawyer in his attitudes and his conduct. In this context, he developed and deployed what I have called "relational rights" theory to explain how the US could overcome slavery.

3. What will attract your colleague in the field to this book?

Seward is a major figure in our history. My "take" on him as a country lawyer and my introduction of his "relational rights" are news.

THE EXCERPT


An
AMERICAN
FRIENDSHIP
Horace Kallen, Alain Locke,
and the Development of Cultural Pluralism
David Weinfeld

Introduction

What Difference Does the Difference Make? Cultural Pluralism as Friendship

In the fall of 1906, in a discussion section of the Harvard professor George Santayana's class on Plato's philosophy, a student named Alain Locke argued with his teaching assistant Horace Kallen. They did not argue about the world of forms or the nature of the good or the parable of the cave. They argued about color and humanity and difference. Locke, an African American, "insisted he was a human being and that his color ought not to make any difference" in his life or in people's perception of him. Kallen, a German-born Jewish immigrant, believed otherwise. He asserted that Locke's position, however heartfelt and idealistic, was mistaken. Kallen insisted Locke's color "*had* to make a difference," and more important, "it *had* to be accepted and respected and enjoyed for what it was."[1] That disagreement sowed the seeds of friendship and watered a very fertile, very American idea—cultural pluralism, the ancestor of today's multiculturalism.

The budding philosophers continued their conversation the following year at Oxford University. Kallen was finishing his doctoral dissertation on a Sheldon fellowship, and Locke had been awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, the first Black man to be so honored. When the two men spoke in England, it was not as student and teacher but as peers, as friends. Locke again exclaimed, "I am a human being. What difference does the difference make? We are all alike Americans."[2] Yet for Americans at Oxford, the difference made a big difference. In November 1907, the white southern Rhodes Scholars did not invite Locke

to the American Club Thanksgiving dinner. Angered at this slight against his former student, Kallen invited Locke to tea.

Kallen's stance solidified the friendship, sparking further conversation. He and Locke debated "the question of how the differences made differences," with the term *cultural pluralism* emerging from those very interactions. Kallen explained this concept in simple, clear language as the "right to be different," a response to nativist bigotry and the assimilationist melting pot.[3] He first used *cultural pluralism* in print in his 1924 book *Culture and Democracy in the United States*. But the phrase's genesis in his friendship with Locke illuminates how it became the most important idea about American diversity to emerge until it spawned multiculturalism in the 1960s.

This book tells the story of the friendship between Kallen and Locke to elucidate the idea of cultural pluralism they developed. The two were never best friends. No photograph of them together exists. At the beginning of their friendship, Kallen held racist views toward Black people, and Locke held anti-Semitic opinions of Jews. The friendship was strongest from 1907 to 1908, when they were at Oxford. It waned with geographic distance but rekindled in 1935. They grew closer over the next two decades until Locke's death in 1954.

The two philosophy professors' linked lives not only birthed the term *cultural pluralism* but also provided a paradigmatic example of cultural pluralism in action. Kallen and Locke bonded over shared experience as intellectual outsiders, a Jew and a Black man living and working among white Christians. They also shared values as pragmatists, individualists, elitists, and secularists committed to ethnic particularism, high cultural expression, and communal leadership. Above all, they shared an appreciation of difference, including their own differences. These commonalities and differences forged their friendship.

The Kallen-Locke relationship illustrates their understanding of friendship as the ideal metaphor for cultural pluralism. For both men, whereas family would come to symbolize stale sameness, friends found common bonds while accepting and appreciating their differences. Although many other metaphors exist to describe American diversity, from melting pots to symphonies to salad bowls, friendship reflects a process that all individuals engaged in, even more than cooking and music.

Their mutually beneficial friendship came with struggle, as Kallen overcame his racism and Locke his anti-Semitism. In becoming friends, neither erased his differences, but instead they embraced each other's distinctions and learned from each other's culture. Their complicated relationship shows that cultural pluralism, befriending the stranger, can be difficult yet rewarding to those who make the effort, particularly in a society that values diversity. Locke called this

value "reciprocity," suggesting different cultures could metaphorically be friends, borrowing, exchanging, and learning from one another, just as individuals like he and Kallen did.[4]

As the fathers of cultural pluralism, Kallen and Locke were important figures in their own right. A leading American Zionist, Jewish educator, and promoter of secular Hebraic culture, Horace Meyer Kallen (1882–1974) was a disciple of William James and an exponent of Jamesian philosophical pragmatism, a professor at the University of Wisconsin in Madison from 1911 to 1918, and a founding faculty member of the New School for Social Research in New York City in 1919, where he taught philosophy and psychology for four decades. In his long life, he wrote on many topics, including the book of Job, consumer cooperatives, adult education, and environmentalism.

Alain LeRoy Locke (1885–1954) has an even larger place in the intellectual history of the United States.[5] He became the first African American Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and then a professor at Howard University in 1912, where he taught until 1953. Locke's legacy endures, as he is considered the intellectual godfather of the Black aesthetics movement of the 1920s known known as the Negro Renaissance or Harlem Renaissance. He brought together brilliant Black artists and intellectuals, including Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston, in this New Negro movement. He penned its manifesto, "The New Negro," and edited a compilation by that name in 1925. In a 1927 letter, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, "Locke is by long odds the best trained man among the younger American Negroes."[6] As a pragmatist philosopher, Locke explored value theory and relativism, and as a critic he wrote on numerous subjects, from art, music, and literature to the race problem and adult education. But all his intellectual endeavors, like those of Kallen, were linked to his efforts to navigate the universal and the particular, nearing that unreachable equilibrium through the American idea of cultural pluralism.

Cultural pluralism emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century as an idea that both described the reality of the United States and articulated an ideal for the nation's future. It developed in opposition to discriminatory nativism as well as the more "progressive" assimilationist ideal of the "melting pot," the title of the popular 1908 play written by British Jewish writer Israel Zangwill. Contra nativism and the melting pot concept, cultural pluralists believed ethnic groups could and should maintain and develop their particular heritages while peacefully coexisting in the United States. Kallen hoped to replace the culinary metaphor of the melting pot with a musical version, the "symphony of civilization," with different cultures represented by instruments in an orchestra playing in harmony. He may have borrowed the musical metaphor from Locke. Regardless, Kallen and Locke argued that this process would

enrich the constituent cultures and the nation as a whole by allowing each to borrow and learn from the other.

During the First World War, cultural pluralism offered an appealing contrast to the absolutist nationalism exploding across Europe. Locke and Kallen championed American heterogeneity as freer, more modern, and more interesting than the homogenous and monotonous countries of the Old World. The melting pot, insofar as it represented coercive assimilation, seemed better suited for European nationalism than for American democracy. Cultural pluralism offered a path for Black people and Jews to navigate between universalism and particularism, the central binaries of African American and Jewish history.

Neither Kallen nor Locke had any use for cultural uniformity. They embraced particularistic pluralism over bland universalism. Locke's and Kallen's varied and distinguished careers, along with their experiences and relationships, reflected the "manyness" at the heart of cultural pluralism. They rejected monism in favor of a universe containing multitudes, including a variety of cultural groups. At the individual level, cultural pluralism allowed for dual and hybrid identities. Its very essence favored hyphenation, a concept both Kallen and Locke embraced, in which two or more identities coexist within a single person.

Identity is not a tangible thing but a feeling of loyalty to a particular community and a distinct heritage, a feeling that could coexist with other loyalties and wax or wane over time. Cultural pluralists preferred open borders between communities that could shift without disappearing or compromising the integrity of those communities. Kallen and Locke agreed cultural pluralism was only possible under democracy, as it was an inherently democratic idea, allowing individuals the freedom to preserve their identities and to build ethnic enclaves without segregation, and creating a framework where all identities and communities were equal.

As an idea that celebrated diversity, cultural pluralism was foundational to the development of modern multiculturalism. There are at least two significant differences between the two ideas. First, cultural pluralism, as envisioned by Kallen and Locke, was largely secular. Kallen and Locke lumped Jews with Black people, Italians, Germans, and Anglo-Saxons as ethnic or cultural groups—they usually called them races or nations—not with religious groups like Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, and Hindus. Both Kallen and Locke criticized mainstream religion and saw secular ideas and aesthetics as the anchors of modern cultures.[7] Multiculturalism, as espoused in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, is more embracing of religious distinctions woven into the tapestry of diverse societies.

Second, in embracing religious distinctions, multiculturalism reveals itself to be concerned with popular culture, not only religious rituals and spirituality but also food, fashion, and mass entertainment. Kallen and Locke's cultural pluralism, however, was more elitist and oriented toward intellectualism. For American intellectuals in the first quarter of the twentieth century, cultural pluralism went beyond an expression of ethnic solidarity. It entailed not simply preserving ancestral heritage but rather building something new by forging intergroup friendships, networks, and intellectual communities and by providing aesthetic portrayals of ethnic particularity and hybridity. Locke and Kallen hoped their movements would spread high culture to the masses—hence their shared interest in adult education. But they had a very narrow, hierarchical, and elitist view of what constituted culture and similarly elitist preferences in terms of whom they wanted in their friendship circles.

The Kallen-Locke friendship was different from other stories of Black-Jewish relations. Most such collaborations of that period occurred on the political or economic level, through shared commitments to social justice, mutual experience of discrimination, and self-interested pragmatism—the conviction that protecting Jews also protects Black people and vice versa. Locke and Kallen connected on a cultural and intellectual level. Many Jewish philanthropists and communists who allied with African Americans were deeply assimilated. Kallen was different: he rejected assimilation through his secular endorsement of Hebraism and Zionism. Similarly, Locke never affiliated with the Black church but was dedicated to developing Black culture. Their friendship went beyond a shared commitment to socialism or philanthropy. Both men overcame their prejudices and formed a genuine friendship based on shared values, intellectual interests, and recognition and appreciation of cultural difference.

Locke and Kallen were connected in their dedication to cultural nationalism. According to Moses Rischin, "The most striking evidence of the impact of Kallen's theory of cultural pluralism upon any ethnic group was in fact exemplified in the career of Alaine [*sic*] Locke, who became the father of the New Negro and the champion of the Harlem Renaissance."[8] Locke's cultural nationalism and his appreciation for his African past were the areas that overlapped the most with Kallen's cultural pluralism and Zionism. Both men envisioned a rebirth for a long-oppressed people in which culture would play a major role.

In the 1956 book *The Negro in American Culture*, by Margaret Just Butcher, a work "based on materials left by Alain Locke," Butcher cites Kallen for his "repudiation of the 'melting pot' idea and deliberate cultivation of differences." Unlike Kallen, and like Locke, she applies his doctrine specifically to the case of African Americans: "Because the Negro has fought against superficial

differences and intolerance for so long, he is identified with the idea of tolerance and thoroughgoing respect for all races and cultures."[9]

The New Negro movement, as Locke imagined it, served to prove African Americans could produce elite secular culture through exquisite artistic and intellectual achievement. This would earn Black people a place within the American framework of cultural pluralism. By advancing Black cultural nationalism, somewhat paradoxically, Locke was helping himself, and other African Americans, integrate into the broader society of the United States.[10]

Kallen's cultural nationalism was rooted in a similar paradox, ethnic assertion in the service of assimilation. For him, this cultural nationalism displayed itself as Zionism. Kallen was also a political Zionist who endorsed the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. But for him, and unlike other political Zionists like Theodor Herzl, the culture of the Jewish state mattered a great deal. For Kallen, that culture needed to be Hebraic, a secular Jewish culture with roots in Jewish religious history.

Kallen sought to develop Hebraism in the United States. His was a political and cultural Zionism and a cultural Diasporic Jewish nationalism. It was also a thoroughly modern Zionism that he rooted in progressivism, secularism, and democracy, values that the United States shared. As Matthew Kaufman argues, by embracing modern science, Kallen became something of a prophet of secular Judaism and "fused American democracy, secularism, and Jewishness into an interconnected whole."[11] Thus, Zionism, a movement dedicated to nation building in Palestine/Israel, was for Kallen a means to further Americanization while preserving Jewish culture.

Kallen's and Locke's different experiences led them to different expressions of cultural pluralism. As Kallen admitted, as a white man, "unlike the Negro," he "could 'pass.'"[12] He benefited from white privilege. Though he experienced anti-Semitism on more than one occasion, he never had to deal with the intense racism that Locke endured. Locke's race proved inescapable, try as he might to escape it, even by fleeing to England. Kallen's religion proved much easier to abandon. He affirmed and shaped his Jewish identity on his own secular Zionist terms. Nobody forced him in that direction. Locke, meanwhile, faced a starker choice, to accept and embrace his Black identity or to live in denial and fight hopelessly against the strictures of a racialized society. The world would not let him enjoy the universalism he might have preferred.

Given these different contexts, Kallen and Locke articulated versions of cultural pluralism that were similar but not identical. Kallen, secure in his whiteness, sought to build a strong Hebraic culture so Jews would not disappear into the American melting pot. Locke knew his people could not fully assimilate given the extent of racism in the United States. He hoped to use the tools

Three Questions with **MAEVE KANE** author of *Shirts Powdered Red*

1. What inspired you to write this book?

I graduated college in 2008, with the economic crash of the consumer market and "Millenials are killing X industry" in the news. Everything was about consumer power to shape global and national politics. There had been a number of studies on how white and Black consumers used clothing and other objects as a means of self-expression, but when I was doing an internship in college for a local history museum and looking for similar work on Indigenous clothing, and couldn't find anything at the time that wasn't wildly out of date and still relying on the story of Indians who sold Manhattan for a handful of beads. After working for the costume department to make reproduction clothing for the museum's costumed interpreters, where clothing was part of telling specific personal histories, I thought that clothing would be a good lens to approach the question of how Indigenous women thought about the many changes in early America that are better documented from settler perspectives.

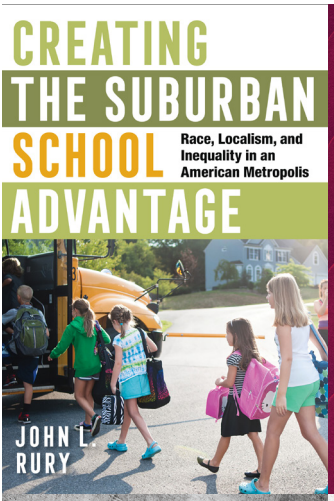
2. How will your book make a difference?

It makes three provocative claims: 1. Haudenosaunee people made active, conscious choices about what clothing to buy from European traders in ways that shaped the Atlantic fur trade. 2. European and American efforts to Indigenous people often focused on the Haudenosaunee because they were seen as the "key to North America." These conversion efforts focused on converting women and changing women's labor because women's work was seen as central to the European style material civility that was a necessary prerequisite for Christian conversion. 3. Haudenosaunee women in the 19th century like Seneca Caroline Parker made active choices about how the history of their nations were presented to white Americans through the creation of clothing. Parker created an ensemble of clothes for the New York State Museum collection that made an argument about the sovereignty and modernity of her nation, as well as the ongoing legitimacy of her nation's treaties with the United States.

"I thought that clothing would be a good lens through which to approach the question of how Indigenous women thought about the many changes in early America."

3. What will attract your colleagues in the field to your book?

This is the first book in forty years to examine Haudenosaunee women's history, and thefirst book in thirty years to reperiodize Haudenosaunee history before the US Civil War.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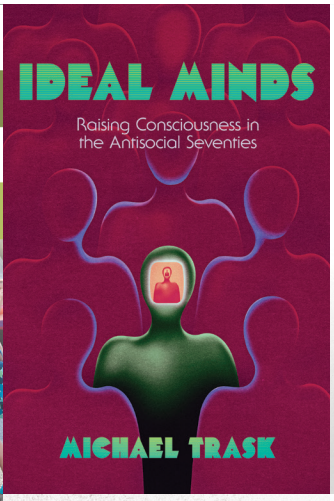
Race, Localism, and Inequality in an American Metropolis
JOHN L. RURY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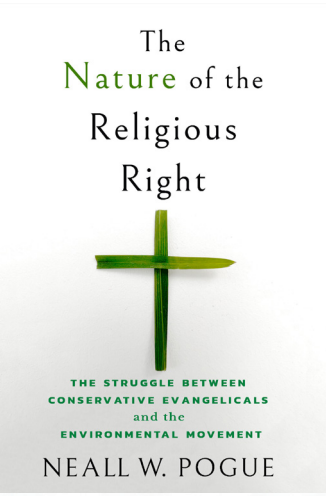
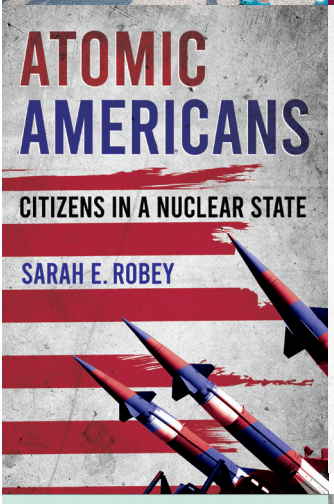
MICHAEL TRASK


The Nature of the Religious Right
THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE EVANGELICALS and the ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT
NEALL W. POGUE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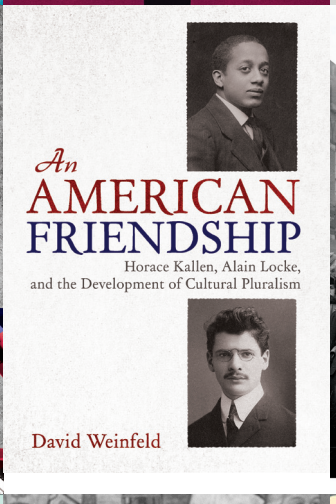
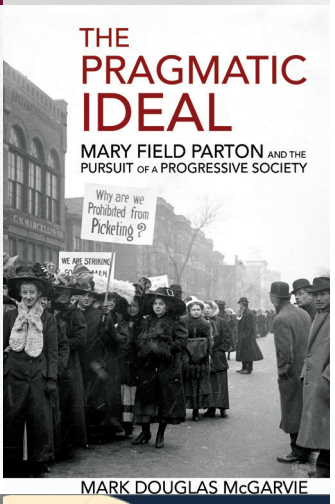
CITIZENS IN A NUCLEAR STATE
SARAH E. ROBEY


An AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP
Horace Kallen, Alain Locke, and the Development of Cultural Pluralism
David Weinfeld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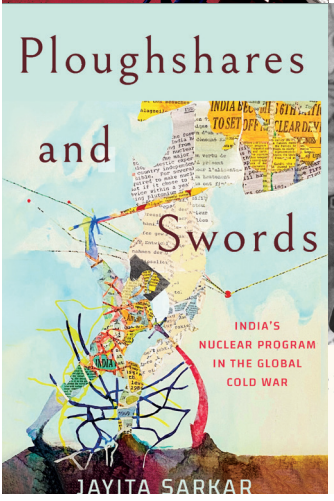
MARK DOUGLAS McGARVIE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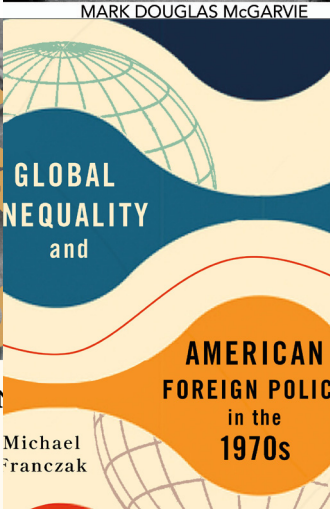
The POLITICS of TECHNOLOGY and JOBS from the ROARING TWENTIES


GLOBAL INEQUALITY and
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLIC
in the 1970s
Michael Franczak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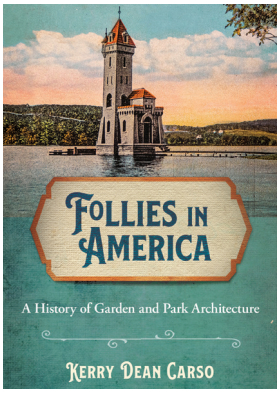
The Article

ARCHITECTURAL FOLLIES HELP US ENJOY NATURE

by Kerry Dean Carso

Recently, people have spent more time outdoors exploring nature as a safe activity during the pandemic, including such pursuits as hiking and gardening. Architecture often accentuates our experience of nature: for instance, gazebos and prospect towers frame the view and guide us to lookout points with particularly fine scenery. Perhaps we give little thought to these diminutive buildings, but as human marks upon the landscape, they have a fascinating history and can tell us a great deal if we look a bit closer.



My illustrated book, *Follies in America: A History of Garden and Park Architecture*, examines an understudied building type, the architectural folly. Follies are small-scale buildings that are non-essential in that they do little more than ornament a landscape and provide a view (they are often referred to as "belvederes" for this reason). Follies originated in eighteenth-century England where aristocrats built temples, towers, summerhouses (today known as gazebos), and sham ruins to lead viewers through the landscape through a series of views. These follies were historicized and were meant to spark reverie about the passage of time. With its democratic founding principles, the United States might seem an unlikely place to find follies. But my research led me to discover that this building type was very popular in late eighteenth and nineteenth-century America, especially as a symbol of gentility. Having a folly on your property suggested you had the leisure time to enjoy it. A particularly elaborate folly suggested great wealth.

Architecture often accentuates our experience of nature: for instance, gazebos and prospect towers frame the view and guide us to lookout points with particularly fine scenery.

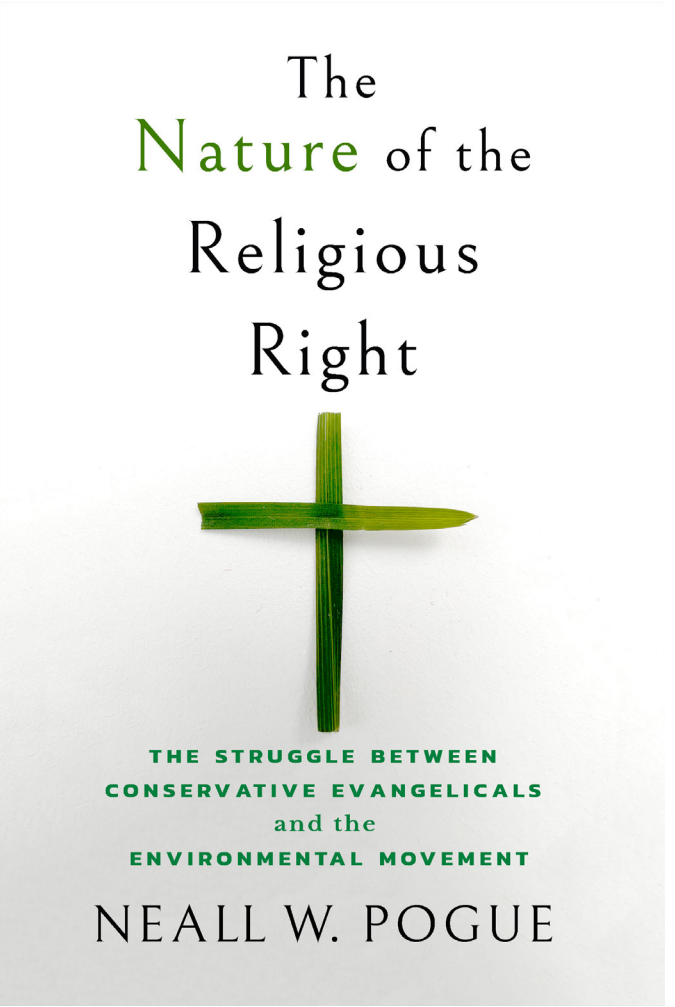
A single building sparked my interest in looking for American follies: Kingfisher Tower in Cooperstown, New York, designed by the architect Henry Hardenbergh in 1876 for Edward Clark, who made his fortune with the Singer Manufacturing Company. When I first saw this little medievalized tower on Otsego Lake, it reminded me of the follies that ornament the famous landscape gardens of Stowe and Stourhead in England. Now featured on the cover of my book, Kingfisher Tower inspired me to look for other nineteenth-century follies in America (and I found a lot of them!). Not all are extant, of course, so I relied on nine-

teenth-century photographs, prints, paintings, architectural drawings, and written descriptions to uncover their stories.

Even before the pandemic, a resurgence of interest in follies took shape in the late twentieth century with the advent of postmodernism in architectural design. Follies can be idiosyncratic and even eccentric, and their playful nature appealed to architectural sensibilities bored by the orthodox tenets of high modernism. In recent years, folly exhibitions have taken place at Olana, the historic house museum of famed Hudson River School artist Frederic Church; Storm King Art Center, featuring the follies of contemporary artist Mark Dion; and the Winterthur Museum, among others (my recent exhibition review details the latter two). Follies have made appearances in film and television, including *Downton Abbey*. And follies—fun, fantastic, and inherently photogenic—make perfect backdrops for selfies in the age of Instagram. In other words, the interest in follies shows no evidence of slowing down. So, get out there and enjoy the views. Follies will show the way.

Follies can be idiosyncratic and even eccentric, and their playful nature appealed to architectural sensibilities bored by the orthodox tenets of high modernism.

THE EXCERPT


The
Nature of the
Religious
Right
THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN
CONSERVATIVE EVANGELICALS
and the
ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT
NEALL W. POGUE

Introduction

It is no coincidence that both Scott Pruitt, former President Donald Trump's first appointed head of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and former Vice President Mike Pence are conservative evangelical Christians and opponents of the environmental movement, including solutions for human-caused climate change. Despite the existence of socially progressive evangelical groups such as the Evangelical Environmental Network (founded in 1993), the politically conservative evangelicals who make up the religious right have for years openly brandished anti-environmentalist views. The questions that religious and environmental historians, sociologists, and political scientists as well as the general public have yet to agree on are where do such views originate and have they always existed?

I first became fascinated with these questions as a graduate student concentrating in environmental history. While researching attacks against environmentalists waged by groups such as the Sagebrush Rebellion and the Wise Use Movement, I found little information regarding the relationship between the environment and the religious right. I was familiar with an anti-environmentalist formal statement released in 2000 titled "A Faith Community Commitment to the Environment and Our Children's Future," which was signed by religious right heavyweights Jerry Falwell and Patricia Combs, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition president. This document made the classic conservative argument that a healthy economy trumps that of nature conservation. What was unclear,

however, is when this view originated. Was this the standard politically conservative evangelical view at Earth Day 1970? Why did Falwell help develop this statement as late as 2000? Falwell and Robertson were intensely involved with social issues since the mid-1970s. They could not have been oblivious to the environmental movement until 2000. When Robertson ran for the White House in 1988, what environmental position did he support? These questions, it seemed, did not have answers.

Initially, I approached my investigation with the impression that the stereotypically militant, stubborn, and intolerant conservative evangelicals likely rejected the environmental movement in 1970, just as they had virtually done with women's liberation, gay rights, and pro-choice issues. This supposition proved to be surprisingly incorrect. In 1971 for example, the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) passed resolutions condemning homosexuality and abortion—two traditional religious right positions. That same year, the NAE pledged to protect the environment. Other period documents from this community beyond the NAE corroborated such nature-friendly sentiments. What happened between 1971 and 2000? Following a decade of research that expanded the investigation from 1967 to 2020, a clearer picture developed between politically conservative evangelicals and the environment proving the relationship to be much more complex than previously supposed.

In fact, conservative evangelicals nearly became active supporters of nature protection efforts not only in 1970, when Earth Day was first observed, but also twenty years later, in 1990, on its twentieth anniversary. Thus, *The Nature of the Religious Right* is a story of missed opportunities, especially at those two key moments, when segments of politically conservative evangelicals tried but failed to excite the whole community into action. Moreover, these two attempts were supported and fueled by underlying eco-friendly philosophies held by the conservative evangelical mainstream from the late 1960s to the early 1990s. In other words, during these years, conservative evangelicals did not support secular environmentalism, but at the same time they did not ignore or oppose environmental protection. Instead, they developed an eco-friendly theologically based philosophy, termed here as Christian environmental stewardship, which almost gave rise to action on two separate occasions. However, for a variety of reasons, in the early 1990s, the community shifted to strongly support anti-environmentalist views. It is the latter position that remains in place to the present day, despite quiet challenges by some who cannot justify abandoning the long-standing theological call to protect the earth.

Beyond examining conservative evangelical views on environmental protection, this book explores how the community utilized two different concepts of nature, largely throughout the 1970s, to help create the religious right move-

ment. The first involves the dichotomy between what they considered to be "natural" versus "unnatural." This perspective was not a basis for understanding environmental protection; rather it was used to justify political causes such as their fight against abortion and gay rights. Activists for these issues, they argued, were trying to destroy God's intended order as created in the Garden of Eden. Legalizing abortion or gay marriage, they reasoned, signified an "artificial" or "unnatural" change that would undoubtedly lead to an imbalance of the natural order that God designed as described in the creation story of Genesis. In this way, conservative evangelicals employed perceptions of creation as designed by God to support their most cherished political positions.

The second way conservative evangelicals went beyond ideas regarding nature protection also took place during the 1970s, when they constructed a sense of nationalism by reimagining the United States' historical origin stories using romanticized conceptions of humanity's relationship with natural landscapes. These stories contributed to the development of a unique identity that provided a common culture, or a connective historical tissue, that bound together conservative evangelicals nationwide to ultimately lay the philosophical foundations for what became known from the late 1970s to the present as the religious right. Through such an approach, the community came to think of themselves as "real Americans" who earned the land and therefore legitimized their movement as a stark rejection of societal changes often led by the 1960s counterculture. Again, these two ways of utilizing concepts of the natural world were not environmental policies of the conservative evangelical community. These perspectives go beyond the origin story of the group's current anti-environmentalist position to exhibit previously unexplored ways they used understandings of humanity's relationship with the nonhuman natural world to shape their political movement.

This book matters to our national understanding of American politics and culture because it explains why and how the religious right's conception of the natural world contributed to the movement becoming an important political barrier against nature protection initiatives, including solutions to global warming. In this way, *The Nature of the Religious Right* encourages a general audience of voters, environmental advocates, and especially evangelicals of the religious right to understand the present by exploring the past. With a clearer understanding of the past, people from diverse political and social backgrounds might be able to find mutually agreeable solutions to environmental problems, which would ultimately benefit our national and global communities. As sociologist Elaine Howard Ecklund says of her studies of evangelicals, "If we use research to humble the attitudes we might have towards another group . . . we will be more likely to approach that group and ask the

question, 'how can I collaborate in a way that benefits others?'" In this way, she hopes her work will break down stereotypes and thus allow for future cooperation between seemingly diametrically opposed groups. She wisely reminds the public, "We're not just talking about abstract ideologies, we're talking about real groups of people."[1] Indeed, in this current climate of intense political polarization, it may be easy to "other" those with whom we disagree, but perhaps by understanding the history of the religious right, we can gain a more nuanced perspective of its logic. Mike Pence may espouse anti-environmentalist rhetoric common among conservative evangelicals today, but as this book demonstrates, such views were not preordained. They evolved over time and although not prevalent, elements of their eco-friendly philosophies survive in the present day.

In addition to informing the general public, *The Nature of the Religious Right* challenges two fundamental ways that scholars traditionally understand the relationship between the religious right and environmental protection. This relationship is presently understood in the following two ways: The first suggests that politically conservative evangelicals developed anti-environmentalist views on the basis of their biblical or theological beliefs, which includes the view that the world would end soon (premillennialism) and/or that humanity should have "mastery over nature"; the latter perception stems mainly from an interpretation of Genesis 1:26–28, in which God commanded Adam and Eve to "subdue" the Earth and have "dominion" over all living things. The second is that the community opposed environmentalism not due to biblical interpretations but out of loyalty to conservative politics often connected with choosing a strong economy over the health of nature.[2] Both explanations undoubtedly have merit, but they are usually presented as reasons that always existed within the religious/political community, or that the issue was simply ignored until they decided upon environmental opposition.

Unlike the politically and theologically conservative evangelicals of today, other Christians who proved eco-friendly have traditionally received most of the attention from historians. For example, Mark Stoll's *Inherit the Holy Mountain* largely focuses on those from Calvinist and Presbyterian backgrounds who supported environmental efforts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and thereby helped set the foundations for the modern environmental movement. Other scholars have also recounted the journey socially progressive evangelicals took to embrace eco-friendly actions in the 1990s and 2000s.[3] The politically conservative evangelicals who today make up the religious right, however, have yet to receive a historical account regarding how they came to hold anti-environmentalist views, including a refusal to support climate change. This book fills that void.

To capture unfolding events and understandings of the natural world, *The Nature of the Religious Right* draws on conservative evangelicals' church sermons, television ministries, and published works disseminated to a national audience, as well as the leadership's private correspondences. Likewise, sources from the group's grassroots, including correspondences, polls, interviews, and reports from newspapers highlighting individual church activities as well as pastor sermons, are also analyzed. One of the most fascinating sources is k–12 educational material written by politically and theologically conservative evangelicals and consequently purchased by the growing number of independent Christian schools nationwide. These parent- and pastor-approved materials show how the community intended its worldview to inform the next generation of religious right supporters. They also demonstrate how the politically conservative evangelical community's attitudes toward the environment have changed over the past fifty years.

All these sources show that the community accepted and/or espoused eco-friendly values until the early 1990s. Educational books published by the quintessential politically and theologically conservative evangelical press known as A Beka Book (or Abeka since 2017), which operates in connection with Pensacola Christian College, stands as an example. In 1986, one chapter book for older elementary school students featured a story praising preservationist and Sierra Club cofounder, John Muir. The story, titled "Land that I Love," depicts a young John Muir begging his father not to cut down a particular very large oak tree. The story concluded, "As John's eyes followed the mighty trunk up, up to where the branches laced against the sky, his soul stirred with its splendor. And in his heart, the promise took root, never to be forgotten. This was his land—not by birth, but by love. He would fight all his life to preserve its richness for children yet unborn."[4] The accompanying illustration depicted Muir saving a tree from his axe-wielding father who wanted to cut it down. This story and/or similar sentiments were not reprinted in the next decade. Instead the same publisher released a high school science textbook in 1993 denying the reality of global warming accompanied by the poem "Roses are red, violets are blue, / They both grow better with more CO_2."[5] The reasons for this change in environmental views are found within the very pages of these texts and are furthermore supported by the wider conversation occurring among conservative evangelicals at the organizational and grassroots levels.

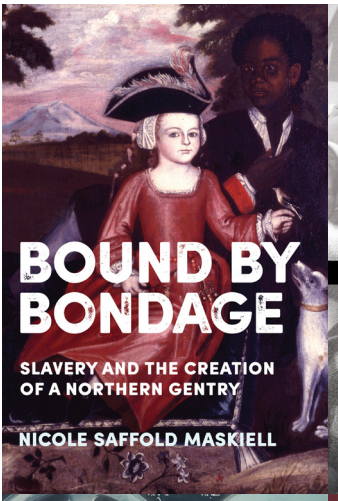
Another group of sources central to this story derive from two case studies involving the executive director of the Southern Baptist Convention's Christian Life Commission, Richard Land, and the NAE's vice president of governmental affairs, Robert Dugan.[6] Although Land and Dugan may be considered leaders at the organizational level, their journey to anti-environmentalism reflects the

struggle experienced by the wider grassroots community as demonstrated in their discussions with peers, the organization's membership, and the information they chose to read. Like most other conservative evangelicals, they began the decade promoting or being open to widespread eco-friendly activity, but they ultimately abandoned and opposed it.

Indeed, this history does not portray the stereotypically militant and closed-minded conservative evangelical voting demographic as preordained opponents of environmental protection efforts. Instead, this book reveals that those in the religious right attempted to find a compassionate balance between humanity and the nonhuman natural world, but due to a variety of factors, they found themselves opponents of views they once, at least philosophically supported. In short, the present day animosity toward environmentalists held among those associated with the religious right evolved over time and is truly complex.

The Nature of the Religious Right begins just before the birth of the modern environmental movement on Earth Day 1970. This popular event brought the environmental issue into the conservative evangelical community while confirming the importance of the issue among a few of their intellectual elite who previously discussed the topic.[7] Initially, the community, including those who held politically conservative views, constructed an eco-friendly theologically based philosophy known as Christian environmental stewardship. Simultaneously, however, the secular environmental movement accused Christianity of perpetrating the ecological crisis. In answering such allegations, both politically liberal and conservative evangelicals were forced into a defensive posture and therefore lost the momentum toward possibly developing a solid position that produced pro-environmental activity. This dilemma, however, did not prompt conservative evangelicals who later became the religious right, to label themselves "anti-environmentalist." Instead, they continued in their acceptance of Christian environmental stewardship and furthermore connected to ideas of nature in alternate ways stemming from Christian Reconstructionism and dominion theology.

The primary way Reconstructionism and dominion theology will be used in this study is through its connection to politically conservative evangelical understandings of the natural world. This relationship is explained in chapter 2 by unpacking Reconstructionist ideas with dominion theology concerning the Genesis creation story in which God set up a hierarchical relationship with humanity and the rest of the natural world. According to the primary founder of Reconstruction, Rousas John Rushdoony, getting back to this original hierarchy would bring balance and harmony to all areas of life. *The Nature of the Religious Right* utilizes such an aspect of Reconstruction as it proved attractive to the founders of the religious right movement. They factored it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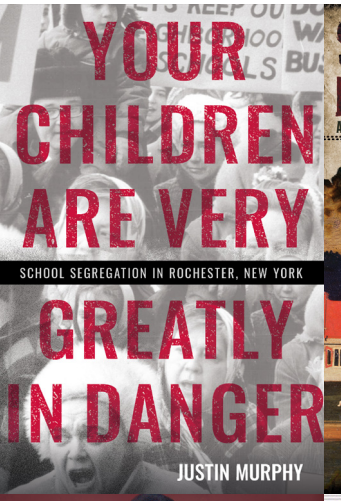
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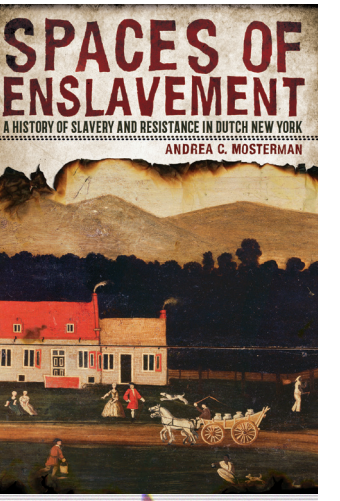
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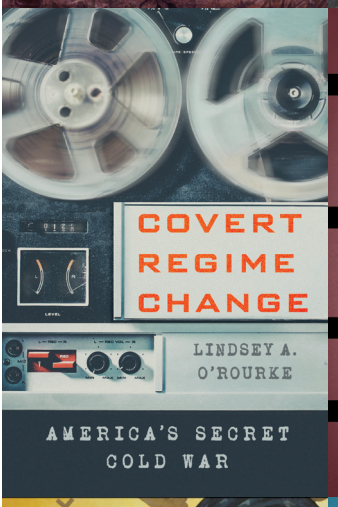
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LINDSEY A. O'ROURKE
AMERICA'S SECRET COLD WAR


AN AMERICAN BROTHEL SEX AND DIPLOMACY DURING THE VIETNAM WAR
AMANDA BOCZAR


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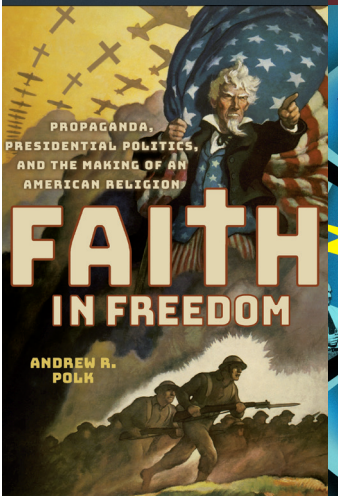
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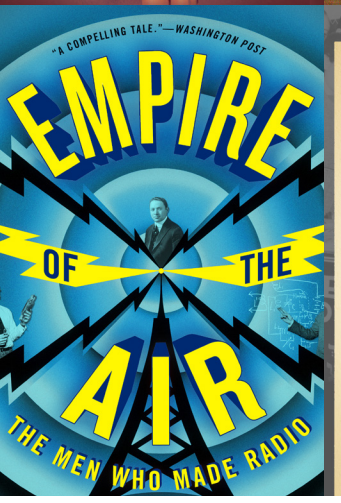
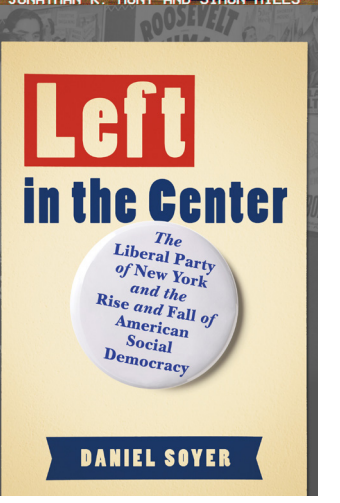

"A COMPELLING TALE."—WASHINGTON POST
EMPIRE OF THE AIR
THE MEN WHO MADE RADIO


Left in the Center
The Liberal Party of New York and the Rise and Fall of American Social Democracy
DANIEL SOYER

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