READINGS IN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY TO 1860

G. K. Chesterton called the United States a “nation with the soul of a church.” Perhaps at the end of this course we will understand what he meant.

Readings

Each week everyone will read the core assignment. Beginning in the second week, each person will select their own secondary reading. Generally, you will be free to choose the work that most interests you, but some “volunteers” may be sacrificed to ensure coverage across the topics. All paperbacks assigned as core readings may be bought at Room of One’s Own, 307 W. Johnson Street (608-257-7888; room@chorus.net; www.roomofonesown.com). The Peterson and Albanese readings exist only in hardcover, so you may want to find used copies. The Wisconsin Historical Society Library has placed the core readings on three-hour reserve for the semester but cannot reserve secondary readings, the great majority of which can be found in the Library’s collection. You can find an increasing number of journals on the web via JSTOR or other links (for which, go to the journal name in MadCat). Other items can be found elsewhere on campus [C = College Library, Helen C. White Hall; CLC = in my possession; E = Ethnic Studies Collection, Helen C. White Hall; G = Geography Library, Science Hall; I = Internet via MadCat; L = Law School Library, Law School; M = Memorial Library; RR = Reading Room, Wisconsin Historical Society Library; UGR = 1191 Collection, Helen C. White Hall]. If you cannot find a secondary reading at the Society, check MadCat to see if other campus libraries hold a duplicate. If your secondary reading is not available, you are responsible for choosing a replacement from among the unassigned selections.

Written Assignments

You will write three papers, 7-8 pages, typed, double-spaced. You may choose which two of the first four papers to confront, but everyone must write the final essay. You need utilize only course readings but may include any relevant materials. If you wish to write on a different topic, you must clear your proposal with me before beginning the paper.

DUE FRIDAY, SEPT. 28 - Determine the salient characteristics of the Anglo-American colonial religious order as it took shape by the mid-eighteenth century, and discuss their significance.

DUE FRIDAY, OCT. 12 - Discuss the construction of Kateri Tekakwitha’s and Rebecca Protten’s personal beliefs.

DUE FRIDAY, NOV. 2 - Evaluate the American Revolution’s impact on religion.

DUE FRIDAY, NOV. 16 - Analyze how evangelical Protestantism and rational/ metaphysical traditions configured antebellum religious culture.

DUE MONDAY, DEC. 17 - Interpret the Civil War as a religious conflict.
History 963, Readings in American Religious History to 1860, 2

Rewrite Policy

You may rewrite either or both of the first two assigned papers (time constraints prohibit rewriting the final one), but only after talking with me about such details as the new due date and the kinds of changes to be made. You must inform me of your decision to rewrite a paper by the Friday following the class session at which I first return the original version. You will ordinarily receive one week to rewrite, but I will be flexible about negotiating extensions for good cause. The old draft (plus any separate sheet of comments) must accompany the new version. Rewriting cannot lower your grade (nor can changing your mind about handing in a revised paper), but it does not by itself guarantee a higher one; you must substantially rework the essay, following my comments and initiating your own improvements too.

Grading

Simplicity itself. The papers and class discussion each count 25%.

Incompletes

The Gendzel Protocol governs the assigning of Incompletes: in fairness to those students who turn their work in on time, I will not grant an Incomplete for reasons other than Acts of God or other extraordinary disasters (covered in the Proclamation, p. 17 below). You may have an Incomplete without penalty only in such cases; in all other instances, an Incomplete carries a grade penalty of ½-step.

Email

You must have an email account. To contact me, send messages to: clcohen@wisc.edu. To contact everyone in the class (including me), send messages to: history963-1-f07@lists.wisc.edu

I. INTRODUCTION

SEPT. 4 - THE VARIETY OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

II. COLONIAL FOUNDATIONS

SEPT. 11 - GOSPEL COMMERCE

Core reading: Mark A. Peterson, *The Price of Redemption: The Spiritual Economy of Puritan New England*

Secondary reading:

Overviews


Ecclesiology and Evangelism

James Cooper, *Tenacious of Their Liberties: The Congregationalists in Colonial Massachusetts*, 133-50
Richard Gildrie, *The Profane, the Civil, & the Godly: The Reformation of Manners in Orthodox New England*, 1679-1749,

Popular Piety

Leslie J. Lindenauer, *Piety and Power: Gender and Religious Culture in the American Colonies, 1630-1700*, 43-68

Religion and Economy

Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750*, 29-51
Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England*, 192-238
Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*, 40-52

Worship and Sacraments

Core reading: Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Early America*

Secondary reading:

**Denominational Organization**

Randall Balmer and John R. Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians*, 23-45
Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers*, 83-117
John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, 107-135

**The Episcopate Controversy**

Frederick V. Mills, *Bishops by Ballot*, 133-52

**The Great Awakening**

Frank Lambert, *Inventing the “Great Awakening.”* 87-124

**Religion, Politics, and Revolution**

Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, 243-69
Joseph S. Tiedeman, “Presbyterians and the American Revolution in the Middle Colonies,” *Church History*, 74 (2005), 306-44
SEPT. 25 - FREE MARKET, FREE CONSCIENCE

Core reading: Frank Lambert, *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America*

Secondary reading:

Churches and States

- Thomas Buckley, *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia*, 144-72
- Derek Davis, *Religion and the Continental Congress*, 151-73
- Peter Judson Richards, “‘A Clear Stand and Steady Channel’: Isaac Backus and the Limits of Liberty,” *Journal of Church and State*, 43 (2001), 447-82

The Development of Religious Toleration

- Thomas Curry, *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment*, 78-104

Pluralism and Religious Rivalry

- Aaron Spencer Fogleman, Jesus is Female: The Moravian Challenge in the German Communities of British North America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 60 (2003), 295-332
III. TRANSATLANTIC CURRENTS

OCT. 2 - CANONIZATION FODDER

Core reading: Allan Greer, Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits

Secondary reading:

Missions

James Axtell, The Invasion Within, 131-78
Carole Blackburn, Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650, 105-28
Nicholas P. Cushner, Why Have You Come Here?: The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America, 149-69
Steven W. Hackel, Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850, 127-81
Jenny Hale Pulsipher, Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England, 138-59

Native Beliefs and Christianity

James Axtell, “Were Indian Conversions Bona Fide?” in idem, After Columbus, 100-21
Ramón A. Gutiérrez, When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away, 39-94
David Murray, “Spreading the Word: missionaries, conversion, and circulation in the northeast,” in Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes, eds., Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and native religions in colonial America, 43-64
James A. Sandos, Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions, 128-53

Tekakwitha and the Iroquois

John Demos, The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America, 120-39
Daniel Richter, Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America, 69-109
OCT. 9 - THE SOULS OF MORAVIAN BLACK FOLK

Core reading: Jon F. Sensbach, Rebecca’s Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World

Secondary reading:

Overview

Jon Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People, 129-63

African Influences

Yvonne P. Chireau, Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition, 35-57
Margaret W. Creel, “A Peculiar People”: Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs, 45-63
Michael A. Gomez, Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas, 143-84 [CLC]
Michael A. Gomez, Exchanging our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South, 244-90
Walter F. Pitts, Old Ship of Zion: The Afro-Baptist Ritual in the African Diaspora, 91-131 [M]

Moravians

Craig D. Atwood, Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem, 21-40
Elisabeth W. Sommer, Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727-1801, 33-68
S. Scott Rohrer, Hope’s Promise: Religion and Acculturation in the Southern Backcountry, 35-65

The Religions of Eighteenth-Century Slaves

Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830, 80-117
Philip D. Morgan, Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry, 610-58
Michael Mullin, Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736-1831, 174-212 [WHS, I]
Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South, 97-150
OCT. 16 - THE METHODIST INTERNATIONALE

Core reading: David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*

Secondary reading:

**African American Methodism**

Carol V. R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches 1760-1840*, 90-115


Charlotte Haller, “And Made Us to Be a Kingdom’: Race, Antislavery, and Black Evangelicals in North Carolina’s Early Republic,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, 80 (2003), 125-152


Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James*, 76-117

**Anglo-American Methodism**

Robert Bray, *Peter Cartwright, Legendary Frontier Preacher*, 75-100


**British and Canadian Methodism**

John Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleyans*, 63-103 [M]


W. R. Ward, *The Protestant evangelical awakening*, 296-355

**Transatlantic Revivalism**


IV. RELIGION AND REVOLUTION

OCT. 23 - FAITH'S LEVELERS

Core reading: Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*

Secondary reading:

Democracy and Religion


Eric Baldwin, “‘The Devil Begins to Roar’: Opposition to Early Methodists in New England,” *Church History*, 75 (2006), 94-119


Gregory A. Wills, *Democratic Religion: Freedom, Authority, and Church Discipline in the Baptist South, 1785-1900*, 37-49

Religion and Republicanism


Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770-1810*, 146-75

Monica Najar, “‘Meddling with Emancipation’: Baptists, Authority, and the Rift over Slavery in the Upper South,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 25 (2005), 157-186

Russell E. Richey, *Early American Methodism*, 82-97

Religion in a Republican Society


Sidney Mead, *The Old Religion in the Brave New World*, 32-57


Revivalism


Paul Conkin, *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost*, 64-115


OCT. 30 - ORDINARY PROPHETS

Core reading: Susan Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution*

Secondary reading:

Female Preachers

Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America 1740-1845*, 68-113
Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad*, 170-1775, 133-71

Millennialism

James W. Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, 213-54 [M]
Melvin B. Endy, Jr., “Just War, Holy War, and Millennialism in Revolutionary America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 42 (1985), 3-25
Nathan Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, 97-138
Stephen A. Marini, “Uncertain Dawn: Millennialism and Political Theology in Revolutionary America,” in Richard Connors and Andrew Colin Gow, eds., *Anglo-American Millennialism, from Milton to the Millerites*, 159-77 [M]

Women, Gender, Experience and Authority

Amanda Porterfield, *Feminine Spirituality in America*, 50-81 [M]
Karin E. Gedge, *Without Benefit of Clergy: Women and the Pastoral Relationship in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*, 163-95
Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, 193-230
V. FAITH AND REASON

NOV. 6 - EAR WITNESS

Core Reading: Leigh Eric Schmidt, Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment

Secondary Reading:

Overview


Enlightenment and Religion

Leon Chai, Jonathan Edwards and the Limits of Enlightenment Philosophy, 94-113 [M]
Henry F. May, The Enlightenment in America, 278-304
Nina Reid-Maroney, Philadelphia’s Enlightenment, 1740-1800: Kingdom of God, Empire of Reason, 77-94
James W. Turner, Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America, 35-72

Orality

Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World, 31-77 [M]
Richard Cullen Rath, How Early America Sounded, 97-119

Religion and Science

Theodore Dwight Bozeman, Protestants in an Age of Science, 44-70
Walter H. Conser, God and the Natural World: Religion and Science in Antebellum America, 105-35
Craig James Hagen, The Village Enlightenment in America: Popular Religion and Science in the Nineteenth Century, 65-112
Herbert Hovenkamp, Science and Religion in America, 1800-1860, 19-36

Liberalism and Deism

Jack Fruchtman, Jr., Thomas Paine and the Religion of Nature, 156-71 [M]
Charles B. Sanford, The Religious Life of Thomas Jefferson, 102-40
Kerry Walters, Rational Infidels: The American Deists, 3-43
NOV. 13 - MIND RELIGION

Core Reading: Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind & Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion*, 1-253

Secondary Reading:

Magic, Esotericism, and Occultism

Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*, 225-56
D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 112-49

Religions of Mind: Freemasons, Universalists, Transcendentalists

Ann Lee Bressler, *The Universalist Movement in America*, 1770-1880, 9-30
Lawrence Buell, *Emerson*, 158-98 [M]
Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood : Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order*, 1730-1840, 163-83
Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism*, 53-83
Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History*, 181-227 [M]
Anne C. Rose, *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement*, 1830-1850, 38-69

Religions of Spirit

Anne Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*, 82-115
Bret E. Carroll, *Spiritualism in Antebellum America*, 135-59
Richard Francis, *Transcendental Utopias: Individuality and Community at Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden*, 100-39
Robert C. Fuller, *Mesmerism and the American Cure of Souls*, 69-104
R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture*, 3-39
Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America*, 165-84
VI. CHURCHES AND STATE

NOV. 13 - FEAR AND LOATHING ON THE TRAIL OF TOLERATION

Core Reading: Philip Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State*, 1-284

Secondary reading:

**Anti-Catholicism**

Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: the Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s*, 103-26

Tracy Fessenden, “The Nineteenth-century Bible Wars and the Separation of Church and State,” *Church History*, 74 (2005), 784-811


Jason K. Duncan, *Citizens or Papists?: The Politics of Anti-Catholicism in New York, 1685-1821*, tba


Michael F. Holt, *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln*, 265-90


**Establishment and Disestablishment**


Mark DeWolfe Howe, *The Garden and the Wilderness*, 32-60 [HS, Law]

Daniel Walker Howe, “Church, State and Education in the Young American Republic,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 22 (2002), 1-24


John Witte, Jr., *Religion and the American Constitutional Experiment*, 2nd ed., 41-67 [CLC]

**Republicanism and Walls of Separation**


Daniel L. Driesbach, *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State*, 25-54


Core Reading: Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*

Secondary reading:

**Politics, Law and Anti-Mormonism**


Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*, 160-209

Terryl Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy*, 76-93


Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*, 147-79


**Polygamy and Sexuality**


Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling, A cultural biography of Mormonism's founder*, 437-58


Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*, 201-25

Lawrence Foster, *Women, Family and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons*, 123-69

B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage*, 39-83

Lewis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community*, 170-89


VII. A FIERY GOSPEL WRIT

DECEMBER 4 - AN AMERICAN (THEOLOGICAL) TRAGEDY

Core Reading: Mark A. Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*

Secondary reading:

The Bible and Slavery

Eugene D. Genovese, “King Solomon’s Dilemma - and the Confederacy’s,” *Southern Cultures*, 10 (2004), 55-75 (I)


Larry Tise, *Proslavery*, 286-307

Edwards, Edwardseanism and the New Divinity

Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible*, 57-87 [CLC]


E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War*, 102-26


A Republic of Christians

Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad*, 132-75 [M]


Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*, 27-64

Perry Miller, “From the Covenant to the Revival,” in *idem*, *Nature's Nation*, 90-120

Ernest Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 91-136

Theology and Theologians

Paul Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America*, 210-49


DECEMBER 11 - THE GOD OF BATTLES

Core reading: Harry Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War*

Secondary reading:

**Churches and the Sectional Crisis**

- Paul Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America*, 250-86
- Edward Crowther, *Southern Evangelicals and the Coming of the Civil War*, 81-120 [CLC]
- C. C. Goen, *Broken Churches, Broken Nation*, 65-107
- Samuel S. Hill, *The South and North in American Religion*, 46-89

**Gods and Generals**

- Allen Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, 311-51
- Charles Royster, *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans*, 264-95

**Religion and the Civil War**

- Terrie Dapp Aamodt, *Righteous Armies, Holy Cause: Apocalyptic Imagery and the Civil War*, 100-18
- Steven E. Woodward, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers*, 199-230
A PROCLAMATION
Regarding Late Papers

Whereas it may come to pass that one or more individuals, whether through dilatoriness, dereliction, irresponsibility, or chutzpah, may seek respite and suercease from escritorial demands through procrastination, delay, and downright evasion;

And whereas this unhappy happenstance contributes mightily to malfeasance on the part of parties of the second part (i.e., students, the instructed, you) and irascibility on the part of us (i.e., me);

Be it therefore known, understood, apprehended, and comprehended:

That all assignments must reach us on or by the exact hour announced in class, and that failure to comply with this wholesome and most generous regulation shall result in the assignment forfeiting one half of a letter grade each day for which it is tardy (i.e., an “A” shall become an “AB”), “one day” being defined as a 24-hour period commencing at the announced hour on which the assignment is due; and that the aforementioned reduction in grade shall continue for each succeeding day of delay until either the assignment shall be remitted or its value shrunk unto nothingness. And let all acknowledge that the responsibility for our receiving papers deposited surreptitio (i.e., in my mailbox or under my door), whether timely or belated, resides with the aforementioned second-part parties (i.e., you again), hence onus for the miscarriage of such items falls upon the writer's head (i.e., until I clutch your scribbles to my breast, I assume you have not turned them in, all protestations to the contrary notwithstanding).

Be it nevertheless affirmed:

That the greater part of justice residing in mercy, it may behoove us, acting entirely through our gracious prerogative, to award an extension in meritorious cases, such sufferance being granted only upon consultation with us, in which case a negotiated due date shall be decreed; it being perfectly well understood that failure to observe this new deadline shall result in the immediate and irreversible failure of the assignment (i.e., an “F”), its value being accounted as a null set and less than that of a vile mote. And be it further noted, that routine disruptions to routine (i.e., lack of sleep occasioned by pink badgers dancing on the ceiling) do not conduce to mercy, but that severe dislocations brought on by Acts of God (exceedingly traumatic events to the body and/or soul, such as having the earth swallow one up on the way to delivering the assignment) perpetrated either on oneself or on one’s loving kindred, do.

And we wish to trumpet forth:

That our purpose in declaiming said proclamation, is not essentially to terminate the wanton flouting of our didactic intentions, but to encourage our beloved students to consult with us, and apprehend us of their difficulties aforehand (i.e., talk to me, baby), so that the cruel axe of the executioner fall not upon their Grade Point Average and smite it with a vengeance.

To which proclamation, we do affix our seal: